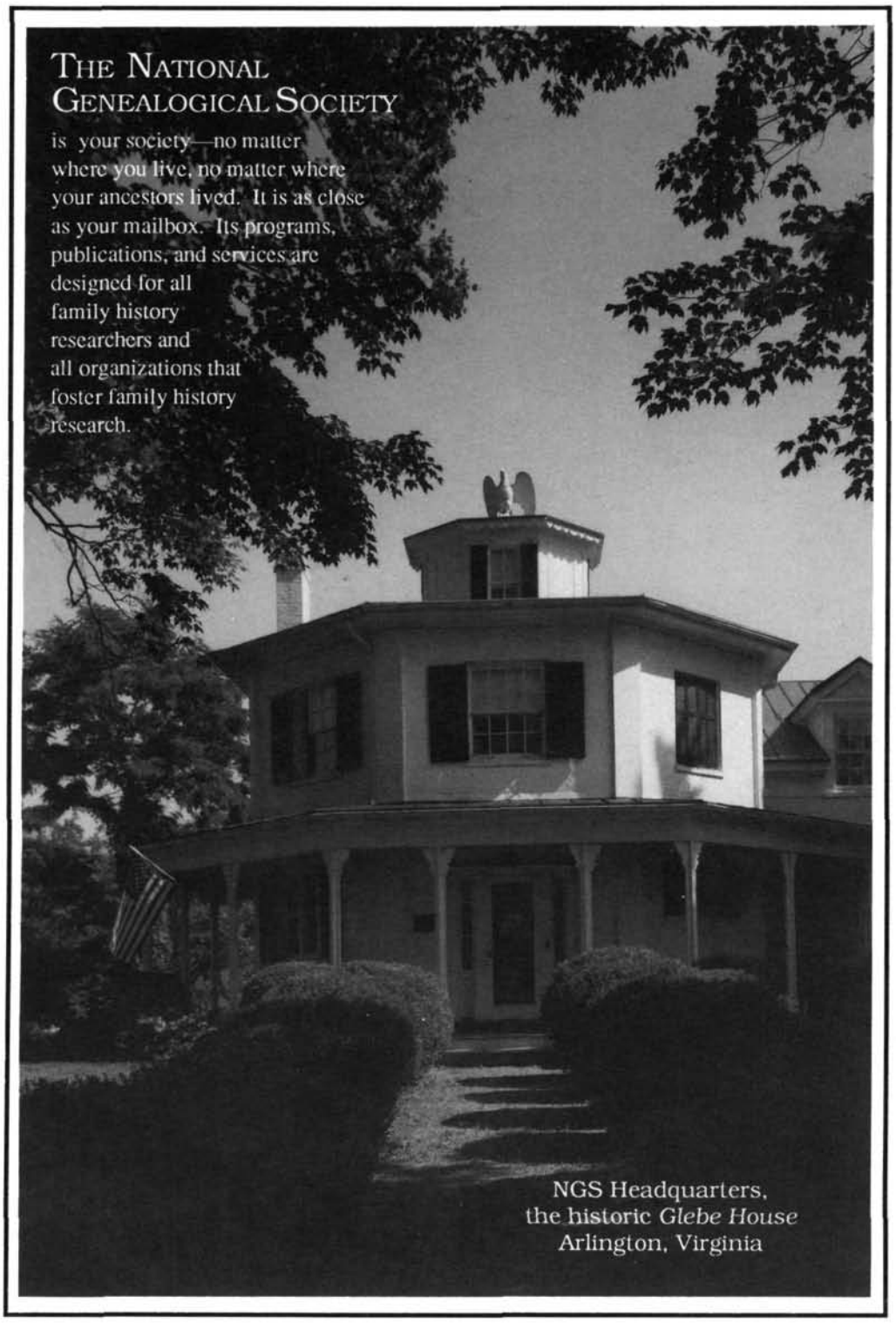
National Genealogical Society Quarterly

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A journal for today's family historian



Photograph by Hugh B. Johnson

National Genealogical Society
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Editors' Corner

Evidence—how do we find the truth?

In Hollywood's western heyday, a cinematic reporter of gullible bent was dispatched by an eastern newspaper to a frontier town. There a local editor quickly set him straight. "This is the *West,* my boy—where a lie becomes the truth, if repeated often enough."

That cynical advice should be plucked from celluloid and bronzed for the desk of every genealogist—or, at least the last nine words of it.

Not just lies but also honest errors plague the evidence we depend upon, and discerning the truth of a matter is often the most-difficult part of research. Acquiring a new ancestral line on which others have previously worked can be more of a hindrance than a boon, when we discover that someone's prior misrepresentation has been repeated so often it now assumes the hard veneer of truth. How do we crack a false shell? How do we dislodge errors that are already in print and cannot be obliterated from the shelves of every library?

The present issue is designed to help you find the truth about your own stalemates, examining not just evidence peculiar to random cases but the *subject* of why and how evidence must be analyzed. Christine Rose explains, in "layman's terms," one of the trickiest issues relating to the matter: what *is* the "preponderance of the evidence" and what constitutes the valid application of this principle? Thomas Jones, taking a seemingly radical stance, demonstrates the danger of rigidly classifying any type of evidence as better or worse than another. Joy Reisinger reminds us of another troublesome thought—The Gospel According to the Church Books is rife with conflict and error—then helpfully shows another manner in which contradictions can be understood and the truth reassembled.

Stewart Baldwin, under this issue's Update banner, tackles head-on the worst type of case: the repetition of a false assumption, in print, until it becomes accepted without question—even on the pages of major journals. His bottom line is well worth remembering: "The files maintained by most family historians contain much that is submitted to them by others—material of widely varying value. The papers of eminent researchers are no exception and should be combed with much caution and discernment."

In short, the evidence we gather can easily betray us—even when it is culled from sources we consider trustworthy—if we do not understand the differences between *speculation, hypothesis,* and *proof* and do not apply to our evidence the principles of sound documentation, correlation, and analysis.

NGSQ, March 1995 *—The Millses*

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What *Is* "the Preponderance of the Evidence"?

Genealogical research today goes far beyond personal gratification. It affects the correctness of conclusions made in many fields—from historical interpretation, to legal precedence, to medical and genetic findings—and the burden of proof is now far heavier. To ensure accuracy, when direct evidence is lacking, researchers must test their theories and conclusions against five specific criteria.

By Christine Rose, CG, CGL, FASG*

Genealogists often face the necessity of proving lineages through records that individually do not establish any fact, although—when properly evaluated—they may prove ancestry or identity beyond reasonable doubt *by a preponderance of the evidence*. This tenet, important in any attempt to reconstruct families by modern standards of documentation, must be firmly grasped before it can be appropriately applied. Misunderstanding can lead to heated debates, deficient genealogies, and considerable frustration. Once understood, the preponderance-of-the-evidence principle becomes an important research tool.

PREVAILING DEFINITIONS

Black's Law Dictionary defines the term as "evidence which is of greater weight or more convincing than the evidence which is offered in opposition to it; that is, evidence which as a whole shows that the fact sought to be proved is more probable than not." According to Black, the preponderance of evidence "may not be determined by the number . . . but by the greater weight of all evidence."[1]

The late attorney and genealogist Noel Stevenson notes in his *Genealogical Evidence:* "Absolute proof, or conclusive proof, is not required to establish a preponderance or greater weight of the evidence. . . . One witness may be more believable than ten whose testimony may create some doubt in the minds of jurors."[2] Applying this concept to genealogy, he adds: "A genealogist will be substituting books, records, and documents instead of the testimony or statements of witnesses, unless the witnesses are living."[3]

An excellent summation of preponderance, as applied to genealogy, is given by genealogist Walter Lee Sheppard Jr., in a prior issue of *NGS Quarterly:*

> Exactly what is the preponderance of the evidence? When direct evidence is lacking, but there is contemporary, primary evidence of a number of related matters, all

> pointing in the same direction, and the evidence so accumulated leaves no doubt in the reader's mind that only one reasonable conclusion can be drawn from it, then it is appropriate to say that a fact can be established by the preponderance of the evidence. However, if there is found a single contemporary document that points in a different direction, and if it is not possible to show clearly that this document is in error, then the argued case has not been proved acceptably.[4]

Genealogist Elizabeth Shown Mills, in lectures and in print, includes another crucial element in her list of criteria—thoroughness:

> To [use the preponderance-of-the-evidence principle] justifiably, . . . the researcher *must be scrupulously certain that all possible resources have been examined,* that all evidence has been correctly analyzed and interpreted, that there exists no contradictory evidence of substance, and that—within the valid evidence that does exist—all elements point toward the same conclusion.[5]

ANALYZING THE CRITERIA

All of these now-standard definitions emphasize certain factors. When direct evidence does not exist, an acceptable conclusion made on the basis of the preponderance of the evidence must consider the thoroughness of the research, the relative weights of the various proofs, the reliability of each piece, and the convincing rebuttal of contrary data. Each piece of information must be carefully examined in its parts and in its entirety—then digested and evaluated. If the weight of the evidence is sufficient, the principle is applicable.

Judgments as to reliability and "greater weight" of evidence require the researcher to keep in mind several related principles—all of which are fundamental, but none of which are inviolable.

Primary evidence carries more weight than secondary evidence.

The genealogical purist defines primary evidence as original source material—written or oral—that is created by someone with direct knowledge, at or about the time the event occurred. Virtually all other records and statements are considered secondary. This concept is based upon long-standing legal precedent. *Black's Law Dictionary* defines primary evidence as "original or first-hand evidence,"[6] while Stevenson explains that "what the law contemplates as 'primary evidence' or 'best evidence' is the original object" and not a copy.[7] Genealogist Val D. Greenwood, also an attorney, adds that "a copy of an original record provides secondary evidence."[8]

One common genealogical source, Bible records, well illustrates the difference between primary and secondary source materials. The flyleaf of a Bible published in 1748 might be inscribed with the owner's name and record his 1749 wedding as its first entry. The inclusion of a 1750 birth of his first child, penned in his handwriting (or written for him in his or his wife's presence) would be considered a primary indication of the child's date of birth. Any dates in this Bible preceding

the date of publication are presumed to be secondary evidence. (Exceptions can occur if the creator of the entry was present at the prior event and thus had firsthand knowledge.) To illustrate further: a 1750 birth entry in a Bible published in 1875 could *not* have been inscribed by someone with firsthand knowledge of the 1750 event; the latter "record" can only be secondary evidence.

Direct evidence carries more weight than indirect evidence.

As defined by *Black's Law Dictionary*, direct evidence is that which, "if believed, proves existence of fact in issue without inference or presumption . . . without the interference of the proof of any other fact."[9] Thus, the specific document must be sufficient on its own to prove a point, without having to introduce other records. To differentiate: direct evidence specifically establishes a certain matter. Indirect evidence (or circumstantial evidence) is not based on personal knowledge or observation but on "other facts from which deductions are drawn, showing indirectly the facts sought to be proved."[10]

To illustrate with two variations: (1) The birth of a child named Mary Jones is recorded in a county's birth register of 1875–85 as 2 April 1878, with her parents given as William and Martha Jones. This is *direct evidence* of Mary's birthdate, birthplace, and parentage. (2) The same entry appears, but the child's name is omitted and only "unnamed female" is written. This record provides *direct* evidence that William and Martha had a daughter born on that date, but it becomes *indirect* evidence when used to prove the daughter's name. (It can be successfully combined with other records to establish the name of the child by applying the preponderance-of-the-evidence principle, but it remains indirect evidence.)[11]

Both primary and direct evidence are subject to error.

Major genealogical journals offer many representative cases in which both secondary and indirect evidence can be more reliable in selective instances than primary or direct.

Classes of evidence can be mixed.

To illustrate: even though a death certificate is considered a *primary* record, it also contains *indirect* evidence. A husband who is present at the drafting of his wife's death certificate will have firsthand knowledge of his own name and should have firsthand knowledge of his wife's death. But any information he gives regarding parental names or birth information for the deceased wife is indirect evidence if he did not personally know those parents or was not personally present at the birth of the wife.

Not all evidence carries the same weight, even within a single class.

In determining the greater weight, a genealogist must consider *when* a record was created, *who* created it, and *why*. Evidence closest in time to the event will

usually (but not necessarily) have more weight. Death information provided by a sibling of the deceased would normally (but not necessarily) carry more weight than information provided by a casual acquaintance. A list of heirs dividing the property of the deceased would likely (but not necessarily) be more accurate than a pension application by someone hoping to obtain government funds on the basis of a deceased person's military service. Moreover, each piece of evidence must be subjected to yet another test: *is it an original record or merely a copy?* To illustrate: in the case of a will, one would consider whether it is a loose sheaf (penned in the testator's own hand or written for him in his presence) or whether it is the clerk's recorded copy (which is reduced in strength). Even if the copy is contemporary, it is subject to a copying error.

APPLYING THE PRINCIPLES

Two short cases, one hypothetical and one real, can be posed to illustrate these principles. To test the evidence in each case, it is useful to dissect the five criteria set forth by Sheppard and Mills:

- all possible resources have been examined;
- direct evidence is lacking;
- there is contemporary, primary evidence of a number of related matters, all pointing in the same direction; and
- the evidence so accumulated leaves no doubt that only one reasonable conclusion can be drawn.

But, the case is not made if

- there is found a single contemporary document that points in a different direction, and it is not possible to show clearly that this document is in error.

JOHN SMITH [HYPOTHETICAL CASE]

All records known to be extant for the subject and his places of residence have been examined. Six separate pieces of evidence state that John Smith was the son of William Smith. First, the *county birth register* lists William as the father of John, born 3 March 1872. Second, a contemporary *family Bible* gives the same parentage and date. Third, the 1880 *census listing* of the William Smith household contains John, aged eight years. Fourth, a *letter* from John Smith in 1894 that begins "Dear Father" is addressed to William Smith. Fifth, the 1906 *death certificate* of John Smith gives the same birthdate as first shown above; and it cites William Smith as the father. Sixth, the *gravestone* of John Smith likewise calls him "son of William."

Do these six pieces of evidence establish that William Smith was the father of John? Yes. Do they establish this on the basis of the preponderance of evidence? No. The second provision above ("direct evidence is lacking") eliminates the preponderance-of-the-evidence principle. The Smith case is established purely—and well—by *direct evidence.*

BENNET ROSE [ACTUAL CASE]

No known record identifies the father of Bennet Rose, who was born about 1788 according to census data[12] and an affidavit he made when he applied for military bounty land at the age of sixty-two.[13] Bennet first appears on record in Warren County, Tennessee, in 1814, the year he enlisted in the War of 1812. He obtained land in Lauderdale County, Alabama, in 1818;[14] and in January 1819 he married Nancy Burney in that county.[15] The 1820 federal census of Lauderdale, where one might expect to find him, is missing. He does appear on Lauderdale's 1830 enumeration.[16] In 1837 he bought another tract in adjoining Limestone County[17] and is listed there in the 1840 and 1850 censuses.[18] He died, according to the family Bible, on 3 January 1852.[19] His children, based on a number of reliable records, were Martha Jane, Alfred Alexander, Bennet B., Rebecca E., Rhoda Ann, William Jefferson, Burtice Smith, and Samuel Adam Burney Rose—all born from about 1820 through 1838.[20]

The Rose Bible, mentioned above, had belonged to the youngest of these children, Samuel Adam Burney Rose.[21] Its family record includes an entry for the death of one Abner Rose on 25 October 1832—a promising clue, since Bennet had a grandson named Abner A. Rose. Subsequent research revealed a number of records left by an older Abner. He was born about 1760–65[22] and was last enumerated as a head of household on the 1830 census of Giles County, Tennessee.[23] He married one Sally Summers in Surry County, North Carolina;[24] is listed in the 1784–87 state census of Surry;[25] and was taxed there between 1785 and 1789.[26] For a short time in the 1790s, he appeared in Buncombe County, North Carolina,[27] but returned to Surry by the 1800 census.[28] He was found there again by the census taker of 1810;[29] but in 1812 he surfaced in White County, Tennessee, where he served on a jury[30] and then left subsequent records through 1813.[31] In the summer of 1813, he joined residents of the northeast corner of adjacent Warren County, who petitioned the legislature to have elections for their end of the county held at a home on Pine Creek.[32]

Moving again, Abner was appointed constable of Lauderdale County, Alabama, in 1821.[33] In 1827, he appeared at the estate sale of Abner A. Strange in adjoining Limestone County;[34] and in 1829, as Abner *Sr.*, he purchased land across the state line in Giles County, Tennessee.[35] He is listed there alone in 1830, aged between sixty and seventy years.[36] The census was the last record found for Abner Rose before the 1832 date of his death. Extensive research among land records failed to reveal any clue to the disposition of the twenty acres he bought in 1829. No public record in any of these counties treats any other Abner Rose, and at no time other than 1829 was Abner Rose designated *Sr.*

All other conceivable records were searched for direct evidence that Bennet was indeed a son of Abner Sr. No estate records were located for either. Despite Abner Sr.'s land ownership, there is no recorded deed of sale that might have listed

his heirs. No obituaries or estate notices for either of the Abners or Bennet were found in extant newspapers, nor does the marriage of Bennet cite his parentage.

ANALYSIS OF EVIDENCE

At this point, each piece of evidence was thoroughly tested for validity, answering four critical questions:

- was it a piece of primary evidence?
- when was the record created and recorded?
- what was its purpose?
- who supplied the data?

All known evidence satisfactorily passed these tests. All were primary records or official copies of primary evidence. All were made by appropriate parties and in a timely fashion. Any record that might have produced personal gain was scrutinized for bias or misrepresentation but contained no conflicting information.

The evidence amassed for Abner was then correlated with that found on Bennet. Similarities were listed, with attention to any possible conflicts—i.e.:

BENNET	ABNER
• Born circa 1788, North Carolina. The 1850 census record cites sixty-two as his age and North Carolina as his birthplace. His December 1850 bounty-land affidavit also cites his age as sixty-two.	• On record, Surry County, North Carolina, 1784–89—thus, in North Carolina at the time of Bennet's birth in that state. 1800 and 1810 censuses assign him a male of the right age to be Bennet.
• Enlisted, 1814, for military service from Warren County, Tennessee.	• Signed a petition, 1813, with inhabitants of northeast Warren County.
• Obtained land, 1818, Lauderdale County, Alabama. Married there, 1819. [*1820 census missing for Lauderdale; Bennet does not appear on surviving censuses for Tennessee.*]	• Appointed constable, 1821, Lauderdale County. [*1820 census missing for Lauderdale; Abner does not appear on surviving censuses for Tennessee.*]
• Moved to Limestone County, Alabama, by 1837 and bought land.	• Bought property at a Limestone County estate sale in 1827.
• Bennet is not known to have had a son Abner (though one could have died young), but he did have a grandson Abner.	• Called self Abner Rose *Sr.* in 1829, implying there was an Abner *Jr.* in the area.
• Death of Bennet is cited in Bible of his youngest son.	• Death of one Abner is cited in Bible of Bennet's youngest son.

It is now appropriate to test the summary criteria provided by Sheppard and Mills:

Have all possible resources been examined?

Yes. All known records were examined for the areas in which these families lived. All known relatives and associates were pursued. All modern methodology for devising links and developing indirect evidence were employed.

Is direct evidence lacking?

Yes. An exhaustive search uncovered no direct evidence that Abner Rose was the father of Bennet.

Is there contemporary, primary evidence of a number of related matters, all pointing in the same direction?

Yes, as set forth in the comparative table on page 10.

Does the evidence, so accumulated, leave no doubt that only one reasonable conclusion can be drawn?

Yes. A careful analysis leaves no other possibilities. (Examples of evidence that might have pointed in another direction would have been the existence of another unidentified Rose in one of the family Bibles or an older, unidentified Rose in the land records of the pertinent areas.)

Is there found any contemporary document that points in a different direction? If so, is it possible to logically and reasonably rebut that document?

No such contemporary document was found. The only contradictory evidence that might be suggested is suppositional itself. The documented ages of Abner and Bennet place them a generation apart. Although, in some families, eldest and youngest siblings have been twenty to thirty years apart, the odds heavily weigh in favor of a father-son relationship. Moreover, there was in the area no other male or female Rose who was a generation older.

Conclusion:

The findings have passed all tests. The preponderance-of-the-evidence principle can be properly used to determine that Abner Rose was in all probability the father of Bennet Rose.

CONTINUED TESTING

Even after a preponderance case is made, each new discovery forces a complete reevaluation. With the new evidence encompassed, all the previously discussed criteria must be reapplied. It may strengthen, or it may even negate, the previous conclusion. In the Rose case, new evidence did surface—data that supported the conclusion while shedding new light on Abner Sr. Correspondence with other

Rose researchers turned up a related Bible record kept by the family of one David Pace of Tishomingo County, Mississippi.[37] The one-page, typewritten copy (location of the original Bible is unknown) starts with birth and death entries for David (February 20, 1792–8 April 1848) and his wife Elizabeth (2 August 1796–10 March 1872). It continues with similar data on children, then cites a birth and death for Abner Rose (6 February 1763–18 July 1841), before concluding with death information for individuals surnamed Riddle.

David Pace's connection to Abner Rose, like that of Bennet, appears unprovable by direct evidence. However, it is implied by sundry facts of a circumstantial nature. Abner's 1829 land purchase in Giles County, Tennessee, was witnessed by David Pace.[38] The 1840 census of Tishomingo County enumerates an elderly male in the Pace household who was of an age compatible with Abner Rose;[39] and it was a common pattern of their society that elderly parents were cared for by their children—more frequently by daughters. Elizabeth Pace's birthdate, 1796, is in accord with that of one previously unidentified female child enumerated in Abner's census households of 1800 and 1810. And one of her children, as cited in the Bible, was Abner Pace—arguably named for Abner Rose.[40]

The discovery of the Riddle Bible prompted a renewed search for records of Abner after 1832 (the date he was first believed to have died). One tax roll at the State Archives revealed that Abner paid an assessment on his twenty acres in 1836,[41] providing further evidence that it was Sr. who died in 1841. The Abner Jr., whose existence is implied by the 1829 deed in Giles County, would seem to be the Abner who died in 1832—one who died on the verge of manhood. No further mention of him was found. The case might reasonably be made, from this additional evidence, that Abner Rose Sr.—last on record in Giles County—moved to Tishomingo County, Mississippi, after it opened for settlement in 1836, with his married daughter and son-in-law. The preponderance conclusion remains intact.

SUMMATION

It is especially important, when there is a lack of direct evidence, that every available record, of any type, be located and examined. Mills has made this point repeatedly in her discussions of the subject. From a practical standpoint, she cautions: "If a contrary fact exists somewhere in the record we skip, we may rest assured that someone else will find it and prove us wrong."[42] More broadly, she warns: "To build a genealogical case on the basis of the preponderance of the evidence, the researcher is obliged to accumulate a significant body of evidence—original, primary, direct and indirect—to justify the conclusion drawn. If evidence is insufficient in quality, breadth, or depth, then a judgment is simply premature and few sound genealogists will take the argument seriously."[43]

Genealogical research today goes far beyond personal gratification. It affects the correctness of conclusions made in many fields—from historical interpreta-

tion, to legal precedence, to medical and genetic findings—and the burden of proof is now far heavier. To ensure accuracy when direct evidence is lacking, researchers must test their theories and conclusions against the five specific criteria set forth variously by Sheppard and Mills. If research has been exhaustive, if direct evidence is missing, if various indirect evidences of a contemporary and primary nature all point in the same direction, if the accumulated evidence leaves no reasonable doubt, and if all potentially contrary evidence can be satisfactorily rebutted, then one may, indeed, be able to resolve the most-difficult problem on the basis of the preponderance of the evidence.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

*1474 Montelegre Drive, San Jose, CA 95120-4831. Ms. Rose is a Certified Genealogist, a Certified Genealogical Lecturer, and a Fellow of the American Society of Genealogists. Two of her studies, published as *Descendants of Robert Rose of Wethersfield and Branford, Connecticut,* and *The Brothers Rev. Robert Rose and Rev. Charles Rose of Colonial Virginia and Wester Alves, Morayshire, Scotland,* won the prestigious Donald Lines Jacobus Award for compiled genealogy in 1987.

1. Henry Campbell Black, *Black's Law Dictionary,* 6th ed. (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1990), 1182. It is also recommended that readers consult Donald Lines Jacobus, "On the Nature of Genealogical Evidence," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register [NEHGR]* 92 (July 1938): 213–14; Jacobus, "Confessions of a Genealogical Heretic: Society Regulations and Hearsay Evidence," *NEHGR* 112 (April 1958): 81–87; and Milton Rubincam, ed., *Genealogical Research: Methods and Sources,* vol. 2, rev. ed. (Washington, D.C: American Society of Genealogists, 1980), for the essays by Walter Lee Sheppard Jr., "Interpreting Genealogical Records," and Noel C. Stevenson, "The Rules of Evidence: A Standard for Proving Pedigrees."

2 Noel C. Stevenson, *Genealogical Evidence: A Guide to the Standard of Proof Relating to Pedigrees, Ancestry, Heirship and Family History* (Laguna Hills, Calif.: Aegean Park Press, 1979), 184.

3. Ibid., 182–83.

4. Walter Lee Sheppard Jr., "Documentation for Lineage Papers: Two Perspectives," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly [NGSQ]* 75 (June 1987): 125. The first part of this article is Sheppard's essay; the second perspective on documentation is offered by Elizabeth Pearson White.

5. Elizabeth Shown Mills, "The Search for Margaret Ball: Building Steps over a Brick-wall Research Problem," *NGSQ* 77 (March 1989): 59; italics added. For another published treatment of the subject by the same author, see "Applying the Preponderance-of-the-Evidence Principle to a Southern Frontier Problem: William Medders of Alabama," *NGSQ* 82 (March 1994): 32–49. A more-detailed treatment of the subject is given by Mills in two taped and commercially disseminated national-conference lectures titled "The Preponderance of the Evidence," presented at the NGS Raleigh Conference of 1987 (available as RNC-23, from Triad; P.O. Box 120; Toulon, IL 61483) and the Federation of Genealogical Societies' Phoenix Conference of 1992 (available as AZ 92 from Repeat Performance; 2911 Crabapple Lane; Hobart, IN 46342).

6. *Black's Law Dictionary,* 1190.

7. Stevenson, *Genealogical Evidence,* 184.

8. Val D. Greenwood, *The Researcher's Guide to American Genealogy,* 2d ed. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1990), 62–63.

9. *Black's Law Dictionary,* 460.

10. Ibid., 221.

11. To demonstrate a possible use of the indirect evidence in this hypothetical case: a search of family records might reveal that William and Martha Jones had a daughter Mary, aged twelve at the time of the 1900 census, and that her gravestone is inscribed "died 2 September 1910, aged 32." Her father's obituary in 1908 might indicate that he left a daughter Mary. His will might name only two daughters, Mary and Catharine; and Catharine's birth might already be established for 1885. No death records or gravestone might be found to indicate that William and Martha had another daughter who died in infancy, and there might be no other Jones family in the township. In such a case, one can use the birth record of the unnamed female (indirect evidence), in combination with the other extant records, to establish Mary's actual date of birth.

12. Bennet Rose is aged 40–50 on the 1830 U.S. census of Lauderdale Co., Ala., p.192. He is aged 50–60 on

the 1840 U.S. cens. of Limestone Co., Ala., p.168. He appears as 62 on the 1850 U.S. cens., population schedule, Limestone Co., p. 34, district 4, dwelling 483, family 483.

13. Bennet Rose (widow Nancy) File BLWt. 42167-80-55; War of 1812 Bounty Land Applications; Records of the Veterans Administration, Record Group 15; National Archives, Washington, D.C. The surrendered bounty-land warrant file (General Land Office Files; Records of the Bureau of Land Management, Record Group 49; National Archives–Suitland, Maryland) shows that Nancy Rose sold this warrant to Frederick M. Porter in 1856; he then took it up at the land office in Osage, Iowa. A search for the surrendered warrant issued to Bennet Rose under the act of 1850, no. 15855 (same file), has proved fruitless. The Land Office cannot find a record of its surrender, even though Nancy Rose, in a 12 August 1855 affidavit filed with the bounty-land application, declared that this earlier warrant had been located by the heirs—i.e., used by them to secure title to a specifically located tract of land.

14. Lauderdale Co. Land Certificate no. 5143, dated 22 October, 1818, in Register of Certificates Granted in Pursuance of Law to Purchasers of Lands, U.S. Land Office; Huntsville, Madison Co., Ala., 1818–1820, housed at Alabama State Archives, Montgomery. Rose's land was the southeast ¼, section 21, township 2, range 7 west, being 160.26 acres purchased at $2 per acre. Buying under the credit system then in force, he paid $80.13 cash and owed $240.39. The Bureau of Land Management, Eastern Division, Springfield, Va., records this in Tract Book, Huntsville S&W#7: 112. Rose also acquired a tract on assignment from one Zachariah Rose, as evidenced by the file " Huntsville Cr[edit] 1549, Ala. CVFC-1549: 3-29-25 Under. S23T2R7W," General Land Office, National Archives–Suitland. Zachariah assigned his claim to Bennet on 27 June 1818; and Bennet assigned his interest in the tract to Thomas Jenkins on 1 September 1827. By another preponderance-of-the-evidence argument that is too complex to present in these notes, Zachariah can be identified as a brother of Bennet.

The term *Under,* in this file name, signifies that the land was purchased before the Act of 1820 abolished credit sales, but that it had not been completely paid for until sometime after the 1820 legislation. Titles to these lands are covered by a *credit under certificate.* (By contrast, lands purchased under the credit act and paid for before the abolishment of credit sales are covered by *credit prior certificates.*)

15. Lauderdale Co., Ala., Marriage Book 1: 1 (inside front cover), states that Bennet's license was issued 30 December 1818 and that the marriage was solemnized on 1 or 7 (illegible) January 1818 [*sic;* the year should be 1819]. The bounty-land file cited in n. 13 includes a certified record dating the marriage at 16 January 1819. On a photocopy of the record from Lauderdale Co., the left digit of the marriage date missing, perhaps covered by tape.

16. 1830 U.S. cens., Lauderdale Co., Ala., p. 192.

17. Limestone Co., Ala., Deed Book 5: 261, Benjamin French and Katherine French (*X,* her mark), his wife, of Lauderdale Co. to Bennet Rose of Limestone Co., sale of N½, NE ¼, sect. 33, twp. 2, range 6, 40 acres. The transfer was personally acknowledged by the grantors on 8 July 1837 and registered 15 July 1837. In a deed of trust recorded in this county (Deed Book 7: 145), Bennet Rose and Nancy, his wife, acknowledged being indebted to R. W. Vasser for $27.15. They mortgaged three tracts totaling 80 acres, described as (1) N½, E½, NE¼, sect. 33, twp. 2, range 6W; (2) E½, N½, W½ NE¼, sect. 33, twp. 2, range 6W; and (3) N½, S½, E½, NE¼, sect. 33, twp. 2, range 6W. This instrument was recorded 10 December 1845 and satisfied 3 July 1848. Bennet evidently had obtained at least 39 acres of his land by 15 June 1837, for he is listed in the tract book of twp. 2S, range 6W, Huntsville Meridian (see Margaret Matthews Cowart, *Old Land Records of Limestone County, Alabama* [Huntsville, Ala.: Privately printed, 1984]). This latter source adds that there is a secretary of state's copy giving date of 10 October 1839. A personal examination of the tract book by the present researcher failed to disclose further amplification; possibly Bennet was an assignee and not the original warrantee.

18. 1840 U.S. cens., Limestone Co., Ala., p. 168; 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Limestone Co., p. 34, dist. 4, dwell. 483, fam. 483.

19. Bible of Samuel Adam Burney Rose. Circa 1961, a photocopy of the family records, consisting of three pages, was provided to the present writer. The Bible's title page was said to be missing and presumed lost. The present location of the original Bible is unknown. Bennet Rose's bounty-land file (see note 13) confirms the death date given for him in this Bible record.

20. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Limestone Co., p. 34, dist. 4, dwell. 483, fam. 483, lists children *Roda* Ann, William J., *Burtus* S., and Samuel A. B. in the home of Bennet and Nancy Rose. The older children—i.e., Martha Jane, Alfred Alexander, and Rebecca E.—were already married at this time; but an examination of their pertinent records for proximity, association with members of the Bennet Rose family, etc., well establishes their connection. Personal interviews with elderly grandchildren of Bennet—Ingram F. Rose, John E. Rose, and Martha Rose, in their eighties and nineties in 1966—verified the identity of their aunts and uncles.

21. Limestone Co., Ala., Death Register 1908–14, entry for Samuel A. B. Rose, Jan. 13 [1913], gives the following data: b. Ala., farmer, aged 74y 11m 22d, widowed; father: Bennet Rose, b. N.C.; mother: Nancy Rose, b. S.C.; deceased was of Limestone Co., Beat 7; d. of "LaGrippe;" interment: Limestone Co.; officiating doctor: J. H. Maples.

22. The age of Abner Rose is based on his age as given in the censuses of 1800 (26–45), 1810 (45+), and 1830 (60–70). His 1790 and 1820 census records have not been located; the 1820 census of Lauderdale Co., Ala., is missing. See 1800 U.S. cens., Surry Co., N.C., p. 685; 1810 U.S. cens., Surry Co., p. 665; and 1830 U.S. cens., Giles Co., Tenn., p. 167.

23. 1830 U.S. cens., Giles Co., Tenn., p. 167.

24. Original Marriage Bonds, N. C. State Archives, Raleigh [no file no.]; the file is accessed alphabetically by name of county and name of party. Abner's record is actually a fee memorandum, filed among bonds in place of the missing original. It is undated and shows only "Abner Rose and Sally Summers Mariage [*sic*] Bond fee paid," and on the reverse there appear the signatures of Abner Rose (Seal), Rezia Rose (Seal), and W. [?] Ward, witness.

25. Alvaretta Kenan Register, *State Census of North Carolina, 1784–1787,* 2d ed., rev. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1973), 135 [*sic,* actually 144]. The pertinent list of "Willeses" District, taken by John Taliaferro (presumably in 1786), records the Abner Rose household with 1 male, 21–60; 1 male, under 21 or over 60; and one female. The next listing is that of Sarah Rose, with 3 males under 12 or over 60 and 4 females.

26. Folder: Tax Records, 1775–1789, collection C.R.092,701.6, N. C. State Archives, Raleigh. Abner Rose is listed in Capt. Willis's District in 1785, with no acreage and 1 free poll. In 1786, he appears on the list of Capt. Atkins's Dist., with 150 acres and 1 white poll. In 1787, district not shown, he is credited with 300 acres and 1 white poll, listed next to a Martin Rose. In 1788, he appears in Capt. Edward's Dist. as Abner *Rowse,* with 150 acres and 1 white poll; and in 1789, he is taxed in Capt. Meredith's Dist. with 1 poll, but no acreage or horses. He then disappears from Surry Co. tax lists until 1797. During some of these intervening years, he appears in records of Buncombe Co., N.C. Note: the annual change in district names does not necessarily reflect moves by Abner. Districts were named for their militia captains, and militia officers were elected annually.

27. Abner Rose Land Grant, 7 July 1794, State Grant no. 60, file 143, N. C. State Land Office, Raleigh. The record cites 100 acres in Buncombe Co. on both sides of Flat Creek. The grant is also recorded in Buncombe Co. Deed Book 2: 50. On 1 April 1795, Abner Rose of Surry Co., N.C., deeded to John Roberts of Buncombe Co., for 50£, 100 acres of land on Flat Creek, in an instrument signed by Abner Rose and J. Williams, witnessed by John Dillard and William Hunter, and recorded 5 January 1796; see Buncombe Co. Deed Book 3: 34–35. Abner was also on a jury in the October session, 1792 (Buncombe Co. Court Proceedings, 1792–1832, p. 12) and again on a jury in the April 1793 term of court (ibid., 25).

28. 1800 U.S. cens., Surry Co., N.C., p. 685.

29. 1810 U.S. cens., Surry Co., N.C., p. 665.

30. Abner Rose served on a White Co., Tenn., jury on 15 February 1812 and was exempt from jury duty on 11 May 1812; see White Co. Inventories and Will Book A, 1810–1828: 110, 115.

31. White Co., Tenn., original tax lists for 1813 at the courthouse in Sparta include Abner Rose in Capt. William Ridges's Co., with one white poll and a town lot. Abner Rose and Benjamin Rose were bondsmen for Richard Horne on 12 August 1812 (White Co., Inventories and Will Book A, 1810–1828: 214–15). Abner Rose and others were appointed road commissioners on 2 March 1813 (White Co., Court Minute Book, 1812–1814: 74); and Abner Rose did jury duty 3–4 March 1813 (ibid: 77, 95).

32. "Petitions to the General Assembly of Tennessee," *Ansearchin' News* 37 (Winter 1990): 4, abstracted from microfilmed Legislative Petitions, 1812–1813, roll 4, p. 159, no. 29-3-1813, Tenn. State Archives, Nashville. Cited here is a 31 July 1813 petition of citizens living in the extreme northeast corner of Warren Co., who ask to have elections for their end of the county held at George Cain/Pain's residence on Pine Creek, as they are thirty miles or more from the courthouse and may find it impossible to attend elections. Among the eighty-two signatures is that of Abner Rose, listed between James Lockhart and Peter Tittle.

33. Jill Knight Garrett, *A History of Lauderdale County, Alabama* (No place: P.p., 1964), 5, lists Abner Rose as constable in 1821; Garrett cites her source as *Alabama Review* (Summer 1944). An examination of the Official Bonds card index, at the Alabama State Archives, Montgomery, and the corresponding original register reveals one "Aner" [presumably A^{ner}— i.e., the abbreviation of Abner] Rose, Lauderdale Co., commissioned as constable on 1 June 1824; see Official Register, vol. 1 (1819–1832), Civil Register, County Officials. In the same Official Register, p. 142, is record of the appointment of Bennet Rose, Justice of the Peace of Lauderdale Co., commissioned 29 August 1825, with his vice (substitute) being Thos. Aken.

34. Limestone Co., Ala., Will Book 3: 67–70. Account of sale of property of Abner A. Strange by Edmund (or Edmond) S. Strange, administrator, returned 4 January 1827. Purchasers, who would typically be residents of the immediate neighborhood of the deceased, included Edmund L. Strange, Daniel Strange, Flander Tisdale, John Ridgeway, William Weatherford, Gabriel Long, William Yearwood, John C. Harrison, *Abner Rose,* Seaborn Bruce, Middleton Harrison, Simpson Flanagan, James Coalter, Henry Kelley, Brit Barret, Elizabeth Ridgeway, Joseph Moore, John Flanagan, Rice Bryant, Abner A. Strange, Ann Perry, Sophia Strange, Thomas Moore, Joseph Lane,

Wm. G. Gamble, Zacheriah Jacobs, and Barziller Harrison. The last page, 70, presents a further account that includes a negro and was returned 2 April 1827. Pauline Jones Gandrud, *Alabama Records,* vol. 88, *Limestone County* (typescript, 1934; published, Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1981), includes this account but erroneously gives the administrator as *Erasmus* S. Strange, and Sophia Strange (who bought several items) as *Stephen* Strange.

35. Giles Co., Tenn., Deed Book H: 228–29, for George Beelor [var. Beeler] to Abner Rose Senr., sale for $160 of land in Giles Co. on Weakley Creek, containing 20 acres and 100 poles, surveyed 10 Dec. 1824 as lying in 7th [dist.] of Giles Co., along lines of Lawson Hopson, Martin Armstrong, and Alexander McDonald. Beeler signed with his *X* mark, as witnessed by John Buchanan and David Pace. The instrument was proved 7 Dec. 1829 and registered 11 February 1830. A note has been added, questioning the district in this document as the 7th. According to Giles Co., Tax Book 1836: 45 [reel 3 of unnumbered 10-reel series], Tenn. State Archives, Nashville, Abner Rose's 20 acres were in Dist. 5.

36. 1830 U.S. cens., Giles Co., Tenn., p. 167.

37. "Old Riddle Bible," a one-page, typewritten copy of family records. This typescript was provided to the present writer by Gloria Hendrix of Tishomingo, Miss., who had obtained it in 1971 from Patsy Clark Pace of Aberdeen, Miss. The latter is now deceased; but her son, T. W. Pace, of Amory, Miss., by letter dated 10 March 1987, states that his mother copied all the records from a Bible then owned by Mr. Minter Riddle, now deceased. The present location of the Bible is unknown.

38. Giles Co., Tenn., Deed Book H: 228–29.

39. 1840 U.S. cens., Tishomingo Co., Miss., p. 218.

40. David and Elizabeth Pace also had a daughter Sarah who may have been named for Sarah (Summers) Rose, if she was the first wife of Abner Rose and mother of the children.

41. Giles Co., Tax Book 1836: 45; Abner is taxed on 20 acres worth $200, 0 slaves, and 1 poll, paying $.20.

42. Mills, "The Preponderance of the Evidence," NGS Raleigh Conference, 1987; see n. 5.

43. Mills, "Applying the Preponderance-of-the-Evidence Principle to a Southern Frontier Problem," 32–33.

POSTSCRIPT

William Jefferson Rose, born to Bennet and Nancy (Burney) Rose in 1831, left Lauderdale County, Alabama, after his father's death and took his family overland to California. A detailed account of their trip was dictated by W. J.'s widow to her daughter Martha many years later; a copy is in possession of this writer. Arriving in the fall of 1856, they buried their daughter Nancy during the first harsh winter, and—to pay doctor bills—sold the new little home they had bought there. William died in June 1879, while traversing the Sierra foothills in search of gold. The local newspaper said of his death:

> Last Sunday noon, Mr. W. J. Rose of Pleasant Valley died at the new mines on Middle Tule River, about 12 miles east of Mountain View. He was taken sick on Wednesday after having been out hunting, and died on Sunday morning. His wife was sent for and arrived before he died. Messrs. Joseph Street and John Gill went with a mule to Rand & Houghton's mill for lumber with which to make a coffin. Mrs. Rand on hearing of the sad event sent a burial shroud and walked the whole distance, ten miles, over precipitous mountains, to be with and console Mrs. Rose in her afflictions—a noble act which will ever be kindly remembered by the grief-stricken widow of the unfortunate man. On Monday afternoon about 2 o'clock all that was mortal of William Rose was laid to its long rest amid the mountains, where the breezes murmuring through the leaves of the pines and redwoods of the forest will sigh a perpetual requiem over his lovely grave. There were present at the funeral eleven persons besides the widow and three children of Mr. Rose. (*Visalia [California] Weekly Delta,* 27 June 1879)

Until severe storms in the 1950s washed away his grave site, trail signs in the Sequoia National Forest pointed the way to "Rose's Grave."

—*Christine Rose*

The Children of Calvin Snell: Primary versus Secondary Evidence

Wills are generally considered primary sources, but they are not indisputable. As with any other record, a will's data must be weighed against all other known information on the family—secondary as well as primary. Doing so occasionally leads the thoughtful genealogist to a seemingly heretical conclusion: that the preponderance of the evidence actually falls away from this primary source and tilts toward a mass of other evidence that individually might be unacceptable.

By Thomas W. Jones, PhD, CG*

For good reason, seasoned genealogists tend to give more credibility to official records than to genealogical accounts compiled by family members. This practice is consistent with rules of legal evidence, in which official records are considered trustworthy and exempt from rules applying to hearsay evidence.[1] Yet the careful genealogist is leery of basing family relationships on records *solely* because they have been created or recorded by seemingly impartial public officials. Regardless of the type of record, it must be analyzed and compared to other records before the genealogical relationships in it can be accepted as accurate. As the present case of conflicting evidence shows, such analysis and comparison sometimes can lead to the conclusion that the unofficial records are correct and the official record wrong.

Written by individuals with firsthand knowledge of their heirs, wills appear to be among the most trustworthy of official records specifying genealogical relationships. Only occasionally do they fail to name at least some of the testator's living children. Even more rare is the situation in which individuals named in the will as the testator's children are not his offspring at all. Aside from fraudulent wills, such errors can occur when the will is copied incorrectly into the record book or when the testator avows a parental relationship to heirs who are not his biological children.

CALVIN SNELL'S WILL

The official record of Calvin Snell's last will and testament, as proved 18 April 1849 in Lake County, Ohio, names only three children: in the testator's words, "my two sons Solomon Snell and Calvin Snell . . . [and] my beloved daughter Lydia."[2] The original document, dated 16 January 1849 (see photocopy, p. 18), shows the same three children except that the daughter's name, overwritten and blurred, is partially illegible.[3] No other record of his estate has

Original Will of Calvin Snell
[Lake Co., Ohio, Loose Estate Papers, Box A-270]

I Calvin Snell of the County of Lake
State of Ohio do make and Publish this My last
will and testament in manner and form ~~follo~~
following that is to say - first it is my will that
my funeral Expences and all just debts be fully
paid 2d- I give and devise and bequith to my
beloved wife all my real and personal Estate
for her use and benefit so long as she remains
my widow 3d when she is done with the said
property or loses it by becoming another mans
wife. I bequith the same to my two sons Solomon
Snell and Calvin Snell 4th it is my will that
my beloved daughter Lois Snell should have
the rest of the House Hold furniture that
belongd to Her mother that not disposd of and
also the gold Beads
Lastly I bequith to my beloved wife the cloth that
is now cut out for my coat for her use
I also bequith the possibly that fell to me by way
of my mother to Solomon and Calvin my two sons
Signed Sealed and Delivered in presents of
this 16th day January 1849 — Calvin Snell (L.S.)
Phillip Lockwood
Thomas Elwin?

been found, nor any other official document that provides direct evidence of his children's identities. Unofficial records of his family, however, show that he had eleven or twelve daughters—none of whom was named Lydia—and one son, John Snell. The evidence differs on whether Solomon and Calvin were his sons or nephews whom he reared.

TWO CALVIN SNELLS?

Sifting and correlating genealogical evidence requires accurate discrimination between records of different individuals having the same name. In fact, the analysis of every document should seek to determine that it does not refer to an individual of the same name who was previously unknown to the investigator. Such is the case with Calvin Snell. Could two men of that name have lived simultaneously in Lake County, Ohio—one who was the testator of the 1849 will and the father of Solomon, Calvin, and Lydia; and another who had eleven or twelve daughters and a son John?[4] Such a situation could explain the apparent anomalies in the will and its conflicts with other evidence.

Except for the will itself, the evidence—both positive and negative—consistently indicates that only one Calvin Snell headed a household in Lake County in the 1840s, as summarized below:

1. Only one man of that name paid personal-property and land taxes there in that decade. He was a resident of Perry Township.[5]

2. The sons named in the will, Solomon and Calvin (hereinafter called Calvin II), were born in Ohio about 1823 and 1825,[6] implying that their father should appear in the 1830 and 1840 censuses of Ohio. However, only one Calvin Snell has been found in the state.[7] His household had a large number of female children, and the family resided in Perry Township—a jurisdiction that lay in Geauga County in 1830 and became part of Lake County in 1840.

3. The land bequeathed in the will was sold by Calvin II and Solomon Snell in 1850 with a deed showing that it included the same Perry Township tract purchased by Calvin Snell in 1844 from Joseph Ingraham.[8] This Ingraham bore the name of one son-in-law of the Calvin of many daughters.[9]

4. The gravestone of Calvin Snell, in Perry Center Cemetery, indicates that he died at seventy-three years, on 17 March 1849—a date perfectly consistent with an individual whose will was dated 16 January 1849 and proved that 18 April.[10] The possibility is extremely remote that two men with the same name died in the same county within a month of one another. In addition, the age on the gravestone is consistent with that of the Calvin Snell whose 1830 census household included many female children.

5. The gravestone also refers to "Sally Snell his wife," who died 17 March 1846, aged sixty years.[11] The latter date is consistent with the evidence offered by the late Olive Glass Gage, whose mother (Ada Leach Glass, a granddaughter of Calvin) dictated to Olive information concerning her Snell relatives. According to Olive, Ada named her aunts (Calvin's daughters) and provided the following additional detail:

> My mother also said that one of the four oldest girls, who lived in Pennsylvania, died in 1845; Sallie Sinclair Snell, the mother, died in Feb./Mar., 1846; the son John died in July/Aug., 1846; and Sophie or one of the others died in Dec. 1946 [*sic*] or Jan., 1847. Each death occurred five months after the preceding one, until the family wondered whether all of them were to die in the same series.[12]

In conjunction with the death date on Calvin's gravestone, Mrs. Gage's evidence shows that the 1849 testator and the father of the daughters were the same person.

All available evidence, the will excluded, indicates that only one adult Calvin Snell lived in Lake County, Ohio, in the 1840s. Logically, he was the testator of the will written and recorded in Lake in 1849—even though the will implies a family group almost totally different from that described by his granddaughter.

UNOFFICIAL SOURCES NAMING CALVIN'S CHILDREN

Four unofficial records identify the children of Calvin Snell, as itemized on table 1. Like any record, but especially those from unofficial sources, their credibility depends on an analysis that considers the creator of the material, its date, the reason for its preparation, and a comparison with other documents.

Hallock Porter Long, 1934–35 president of the National Genealogical Society, prepared a four-volume, typescript, preliminary genealogy, dated 1939, of descendants of the Snell families who settled in colonial New England.[13] Although Long, whose mother was a Snell, provided documentation for the early generations of the family, he did not indicate sources for information after the early-nineteenth century. His work, the result of forty years of research, appears to be based on communications with Snell descendants who may have provided much of the undocumented data. Long noted some errors and contradictions in his text, and there are additional errors of which he may have been unaware. As shown in table 1, his Snell genealogy lists fourteen children for Calvin.

The account of Ada Leach Glass, also summarized in table 1, cites eleven children for Calvin, including two daughters not named by Long. Regarding Calvin's sons, Ada said: "Calvin [II] and his brother Solomon were nephews of Calvin Snell . . . adopted by Calvin and Sally when they were orphaned."[14] In a subsequent letter, Ada's daughter Olive speaks of her grandmother, Julia Snell (Calvin's daughter), and adds other information on the orphaned Calvin II and Solomon:

> Mother said that when they already had about six children of their own, Julia's parents adopted these two boys, orphaned sons of Calvin's brother. . . . As adults, Solomon and Calvin worked on the lake boats. Caught in a storm on a late-season run from Buffalo to Chicago, Calvin went down with the boat. Observers reported that the last man seen made the sign of a Mason and Calvin was the only known Mason on the boat.
>
> His widow, Julia Anne, remarried a man named Hyde and in the early 1920's her children lived around Traverse City, Mich., but whether these wer[e] Snell or Hyde children, I don't know.[15]

An 1896 Sinclair genealogy, treating the family of Calvin Sr.'s wife, is a third source identifying some of Calvin's children. The author, a professional genealogist who apparently received information from the family that commissioned him, writes of Calvin and Sarah (Sinclair) without documentation:

> Among their children were Nabby Snell[7], Sally Snell[7], Jane Snell[7], Calvin Snell[7]. Andrus Snell of Parisville, Ohio, is reputed to be a descendant.[16]

A file in the Morley Library in Painesville, Ohio, is the fourth and perhaps least reliable of the unofficial records relating to this line of Snells. Its material is sketchy, and both the compiler and the date of the information are unknown. According to a researcher familiar with the collection, it "is made up of miscellaneous notes and correspondence of one of the charter members" of the Lake County Genealogical Society. "She is in her 70's and in the past few years has become vague and forgetful. Two years ago she gave up her home in Mentor and moved out of state. Her notes fell into the hands of our society and two of the members sorted them and filed them under the family names."[17] The notes in the file include the following:

> Calvin Snell lived in Perry, Lake Co., Ohio, married in the Sinclair family *also* from Vermont. . . . According to tradition Alexander Snell was adopted and ran away from home. . . . Calvin Snell and wife, Sarah St. Clair, married in Connecticut, removed to Pennsylvania and Ohio. Had 12 daughters and a son John. Youngest daughter, Julia, born in Lake County.[18]

As shown in table 1, the above sources corroborate each other to a great extent. That point bolsters their reliability—presuming they did not copy each other or trace back to the same informant. Their differences might imply that they are from independent sources, thereby enhancing rather than diminishing their credibility. Disparate origins would also make them a stronger contradiction to Calvin's will than would be records from a single source.

TESTING UNOFFICIAL RECORDS AGAINST OTHER PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

Census records, although they do not specify family relationships or establish paternity during this crucial period, do corroborate remarkably well the unofficial accounts of Calvin's family. His household can be traced from the 1810 and 1820 federal returns of Crawford County, Pennsylvania,[19] through the 1830 enumeration of Geauga County, Ohio,[20] to the 1840 census of Lake County.[21] As shown in table 2, correlating the data in these censuses shows thirteen individuals who could have been daughters and three individuals who could have been sons tallied in the household during those years. Moreover, the census data from table 2 fit very well with information on Calvin's children as gleaned from unofficial sources that are cataloged in table 1.

As Calvin was the only Snell enumerated by name on the 1830 Geauga census and the only such householder in 1840 Geauga or Lake who could have had

Table 1
Comparison of Information on Calvin Snell's Children
As Identified in Secondary Sources

SNELL GENEALOGY	GAGE ACCOUNT	SINCLAIR HISTORY	MORLEY LIBRARY	MISCELLANEOUS
i. **Sophia** b. 1804 m. Albert Crowe	**Sophie**		1 of 12 daughters	
ii. **Mary** b. 1807 m. John Woodside	**Polly** m. [—?—] Woodside		1 of 12 daughters	1850 census implies b. 1806–07[A] m. John Woodside before 1829
ix. **Sarah** m. Joseph Ingraham	**Sarah** m. Joe Ingaham lived & d. Lake Co.	**Sally**	1 of 12 daughters	Gravestone implies b. 1807[B] m. 1827, Geauga Co., Joseph Ingraham[C]
vii. **Jane** m. Calvin Davis	**Jane**	**Jane**	1 of 12 daughters	1850 census implies b. 1809–10[D] m. 1830, Geauga Co., Calvin Davis[E]
—	"older" daughter in Penn. d. 1845	**Nabby**	1 of 12 daughters	
xi. **Caroline**	**Caroline** m. [—?—] Allen		1 of 12 daughters	m. 1833, Geauga Co., Sylvester Calhoun[F]
xii. **Sophronia**	daughter, name forgotten		1 of 12 daughters	Possibly Philoma Snell who m. 1833, Geauga Co., Abraham Ellis[G]
—	**Charlotte,** never wed		1 of 12 daughters	

v.	**John**	**John** d. July or August 1846		**John**, only son	
x.	**Susan** m. Saml. Stickney	**Susan** m. [—?—] Tichnor lived in Penn.		1 of 12 daughters	1850 census implies b. 1821–22[H] m. 1845, Lake Co., Samuel Ticknor.[I]
xii.	**Harriet**	**Harriet**		1 of 12 daughters	
iii.	**Solomon** b. 1823	**Solomon** (adopted)			1850 census implies b. 1823–24[J] m. 1845, Lake Co.[K]
iv.	**Calvin** drowned Dec. 1854	**Calvin** (adopted) drowned	**Calvin**		1850 census implies b. 1824–25[L] m. 1846, Lake Co.[M]
vi.	**Anna** m. Saml. Narlow	**Ann** m. [—?—] Byrum		1 of 12 daughters	1850 census implies b. 1824–25[N] m. 1848, Summit Co., Simeon Byrum[O]
xi.	**Louise**				**Louisa** Snell m. 1855, Lake Co., Wm. Amidon[P]
vii.	**Julia** m. Calvin Leach	**Julia Candace** b. 1833 m. John Calvin Leach		**Julia,** youngest daughter m. John Calvin Leach	Death certificate shows b. 1833[Q] m. 1851, Summit Co. John Calvin Leach[R]

Note: The roman numerals represent those assigned by Long's genealogy of the Snell family. They clearly are at odds with actual family arrangement. The above reconstructed list presents the children (natural and/or adopted) in the most-probable birth order.

children of marriageable age, one might assume that the Snells who married in those counties during those decades were Calvin's children. As table 1 also shows, seven marriages in those counties and two marriages in nearby Summit County fit well with the information that unofficial sources give on Calvin's family.[22]

ALLEGED CHILD LYDIA

What of Lydia, the daughter supposedly named in the recorded copy of Calvin's will? No evidence has been found to corroborate her existence. Several possible explanations for this discrepancy must be considered.

First possible explanation

The will is perhaps correct that Calvin had a daughter Lydia, not found in any other record. If so, it is unlikely that she was born before 1840, as the daughters named elsewhere account for all daughters enumerated in Calvin's household through 1840. Between 17 March 1846, the date of Sarah (Sinclair) Snell's death,[23] and 16 January 1849, when he wrote the will in which a widow is mentioned but not named,[24] Calvin married again. Lydia could have been an infant by this late-life wife.[25] However, several points weigh against such a conclusion: (1) The family accounts identify Julia as Calvin's youngest daughter—including the recollections of Julia's daughter, Ada—and Julia was born in 1833.[26] (2) The phrasing of the will ("my beloved daughter [—?—] Should have the rest of the House Hold furniture that belongd to Hir mother that [has] not [been] disposed of") attaches the heiress to Calvin's first wife. Also, if Calvin did make a bequest to a young daughter in 1849, one would expect a guardianship record and an entry for her in the 1850 census of Lake County. Neither has been found.

One "Lydidia" Snell, aged four, lived in Solomon's household when the 1850 census was taken.[27] Ten years later, the child of corresponding age in Solomon's household is called "Hannah."[28] Long's Snell genealogy shows her as Lydia H. Snell, "b. 1846," the only daughter of Solomon Snell.[29] All three records indicate that she was born too early to have been Calvin's daughter by a second wife. She also was born too late to be Calvin's daughter by his first wife, who was about sixty at the time of this Hannah Lydia's 1846 birth and at the time of her own 1846 death.

One "Lydia Biram," aged two, is similarly found in the 1850 household of Simeon Biram [Byrum], Calvin's son-in-law.[30] That same census includes an individual called "Julia Biram," who appears to have been Calvin's daughter, Julia Snell. Thus, the possibility cannot be ruled out that Lydia Biram might be Lydia Snell. However, the odds would favor her being the natural daughter of Simeon and his wife Ann, and the census attributes to them no other child of conflicting age.

Conclusion: Unless the alleged daughter Lydia died very young and within months of her father's death, the possibility is remote that Calvin Snell had a daughter named Lydia.

Second possible explanation

Lydia may have been another name for one of Calvin's daughters cited in the unofficial records. As a daughter of the wife born in 1786, this "Lydia" of the will had to have been born well before 1840 and would have been enumerated in the census records of the household. Both official and unofficial records exist to account for and identify all the females in Calvin's 1800–40 household, and no other record cites one of the daughters by the name *Lydia.* With only one possible exception (Julia or Julia Candace), the girls are known by a single name; yet nothing exists to negate the possibility that another may have had a second name.

Third possible explanation

The indistinct name in the original will is not Lydia, but the name of one of Calvin's known daughters. Of these daughters, the name appears to be closest to that of Louise/Louisa or Julia. Both are likely candidates to have been singled out for a bequest, as they appear to have been Calvin's youngest daughters and were unmarried when he wrote his will.

ALLEGED SONS, SOLOMON AND CALVIN II

Unlike the case with Lydia, Calvin's original will clearly writes the phrase "my two sons Solomon Snell and Calvin Snell." Were it not for this testament, the statement of Calvin's granddaughter, that Solomon and his brother Calvin were nephews of her grandfather, would be highly credible. There appears to be no logical reason—short of a faulty memory—for her misrepresenting the relationship. On the other hand, one *can* imagine why Calvin, who reportedly reared the boys from a young age, would refer to them as *sons*. The granddaughter's statement is seemingly corroborated by the Morley Library file, which states that Calvin had twelve daughters and one son, although the fact that this information's source is unknown leaves another shadow of doubt. Additionally, if Solomon and Calvin II Snell were Calvin's natural offspring by his legitimate wife, then he and Sally would have had four or five children born in the 1820–25 range—a possible but unlikely proposal.

Evidence that Calvin also reared an orphaned nephew Alexander—not mentioned by Calvin's granddaughter in 1928—complicates the question whether Solomon and Calvin II were sons or nephews. The Morley Library file states that Alexander was adopted, but not by whom. Long's Snell genealogy is more explicit, saying that Alexander was born in Vermont circa 1812 and that on the death of his father Moses in Vermont in 1816, he was sent to the home of his uncle Calvin Snell.[31] Supporting Long's undocumented account are census records that place Alexander's birth at, variously, 1809 and 1810,[32] and his gravestone, which indicates that he was born in 1810.[33] Both are consistent with the data on a male in Calvin's household who was aged ten-to-fifteen when the 1820 census was taken but was not enumerated in the household in 1810.

Table 2
Census Data and Calvin Snell's Household

1810 CENSUS	1820 CENSUS	1830 CENSUS	1840 CENSUS	INFERENCES FROM DATA		SUGGESTED IDENTITY	
male 26–44	male 26–44	male 50–59	male 60–69	Calvin	b. 1775–80	**Calvin**	b. 1776[S]
female 16–25	female 26–44	female 40–49	female 50–59	wife	b. 1785–90	**Sarah (Sinclair)**	b. 1786[T]
female 0–10	female 10–15			daughter left home by	b. 1805–10 1830	**Sophia**	b. 1804
female 0–10	female 10–15			daughter left home by	b. 1805–10 1830	**Polly**	b. 1806–07 m. bef. 1829
female 0–10	female 10–15			daughter left home by	b. 1805–10 1830	**Sarah**	b. 1807 m. 1827
	male 10–15			unknown left home by	b. 1805–10 1830	**Alexander?** *Calvin's orphaned nephew*	b. 1810
	female 0–10			daughter left home by	b. 1810–20 1830	**Jane**	b. 1809–10 m. bef. 1827
	female 0–10			daughter left or died by	b. 1810–20 1830	**Nabby**	

female	0–10	female	15–19			daughter left home by	b. 1810–15 1840	**Caroline**	b. _____ m. 1833
female	0–10	female	15–19			daughter left home by	b. 1810–15 1840	**Sophronia** or **Philoma**	b. _____ m. 1833
female	0–10	female	10–14	female	20–29	daughter	b. 1815–20	**Charlotte**	never m.
male	0–10					son	b. 1810–20	**John**	d. 1846?[U]
		female	5–9			daughter left home by	b. 1820–25 1840	**Susan**	b. 1821–22 m. 1845
		female	5–9			daughter died? by	b. 1820–25 1840	**Harriet**	
		male	5–9			son	b. 1820–25	**Solomon** *Calvin's nephew (adopted)*	b. 1823–24[V]
		male	5–9			son	b. 1820–25	**Calvin II** *Calvin's nephew (adopted)*	b. 1824–25
		female	0–4	female	10–14	daughter	b. 1825–30	**Ann**	b. 1824–25
		female	0–4	female	10–14	daughter	b. 1825–30	**Louise**	b. _____ m. 1855
				female	5–9	daughter	b. 1830–35	**Julia**	b. 1833

That Alexander, Solomon, and Calvin II Snell were brothers seems to be a possibility; but the 1816 date Long gives for the death of Alexander's father Moses is eight to nine years earlier than the birthdates that the several censuses imply for Solomon (1823–24) and Calvin (1824–25).[34] The 1810 census household of Moses does include a son under the age of ten who might be Alexander,[35] and the lack of any 1820 census record for him supports the information that he died in 1816. No estate record, which might verify his date of death and identify his orphans, can be found in the Vermont probate district where Moses resided in 1810.[36]

Aside from Calvin's will, his granddaughter's information that he adopted Solomon and Calvin is not without contradiction. However, their census ages suggest that the adoption occurred much later than she recalled. The data provided in tables 1 and 2 show that the nephew-sons were born after eleven of Calvin's children. The six prior children specified by the granddaughter better fit the timetable for Alexander—implying that she might have confused Alexander's arrival in the family with that of Solomon and his brother Calvin.

CONCLUSION

Beyond reasonable doubt, only one adult Calvin Snell existed in Lake County in the 1840s. His will cites two sons and one daughter, specifically stating a relationship in each case. However, both censuses and family recollections attribute to him a very large family—eleven to twelve daughters, just one son, and three "adopted" nephews. In balance, a sensible rationale can be drawn for Calvin's identification of two of the nephews as his "sons." He had reared them from the time they were small, according to family tradition; and they did not run away from his home as the oldest adopted nephew is said to have done. Moreover, the dying Calvin had no son of his own—his only son, John, having died three years before.[37] Aside from the emotions these situations probably engendered, the pains he took to cite them in his will would better insure that they would not be excluded because of their "adopted" status. Meanwhile, a sensible rationale *cannot* be put forth for error on the part of his granddaughter when stating that two of her mother's "brothers" were actually "cousins" brought into the family—especially since there exists no evidence of ill will between the children of Calvin who were clearly his biological offspring and those who were said to be adopted.

Wills are a bedrock source in genealogy, much sought and highly regarded. They are generally considered primary sources—although careful genealogists always differentiate between original and holographic wills and the secondary copy that is officially recorded—but they are not indisputable. As with any other record, a will's data must be weighed against all other known information on the family—secondary as well as primary. Doing so occasionally leads the thoughtful genealogist to a seemingly heretical conclusion: that the preponderance of the evidence actually falls away from this primary source and tilts toward a mass of other evidence that individually might be considered unacceptable.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

*9232 Arlington Boulevard; Fairfax, VA 22031-2505. Dr. Jones, a Certified Genealogist and a professor at Gallaudet University, has contributed several papers to the *NGS Quarterly* since 1990. The present essay is an extension of his prior study, "The Four Fathers of Amzi Leach: Analysis of Conflicting Evidence," which appears in vol. 82 (September 1994): 207–16.

1. Noel C. Stevenson, *Genealogical Evidence: A Guide to the Standard of Proof Relating to Pedigrees, Ancestry, Heirship, and Family History* (Laguna Hills, Calif.: Aegean Park Press, 1979).

2. Lake Co., Ohio, Probate Record C: 443.

3. Lake Co., Loose Estate Papers, Box A-270.

4. The younger Calvin Snell, referred to as "my son" in the 1849 will, was born circa 1824–25. Frequently identified as Calvin O. Snell, he married Julia Ann Singer in Lake Co. in 1846, was enumerated (twice) in the 1850 census, and drowned in Lake Erie in 1854. These facts rule out Calvin O. as either the testator or the father of the daughters born 1804–33 and make straightforward the task of separating his records from those of one or more older Calvins.

For the marriage of Calvin II, see Lake Co., Marriage Record B: 174; for his census data, see 1850 U.S. cens., population schedule, Lake Co., Mentor Township, p. 274, dwelling 218, family 224; and his second entry that same year, recorded in Cuyahoga Co., Ohio, Brooklyn Twp., p. 65, dwell. 942, fam. 1052. The circumstances of Calvin's death were recorded by the daughter of his (adopted?) sister Julia; see Olive A. Glass Gage, Dearborn, Mich., to author, letter dated 23 May 1979.

5. Lake Co. "Treasurer's Tax Duplicates," 1844, 1845, 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, LDS Family History Library microfilm numbers 0973860, 0973859, 0973867, 0973866, 0973865, and 0973864, respectively.

6. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Lake Co., Ohio, Mentor Twp., p. 273, dwell. 214, fam. 220, for Solomon Snell, age 26, b. Ohio; Sarah Snell, 23, b. Ohio; Lydidia Snell, 4, b. Ohio; John Snell, 2, b. Ohio; and p. 274, dwell. 218, fam. 224, for Calvin Snell, 20, b. Ohio; Julia Snell, 18, b. Ohio; Marian Snell, 1, b. Ohio; Clarissa Davis, 14, b. Ohio. For Calvin, also see 1850 U.S. cens., Cuyahoga Co., Ohio, Brooklyn Twp., p. 65, dwell. 942, fam. 1052, which shows Calvin Snell, age 25, b. N.Y.; Juliann Snell, 19, b. Ohio; and Mary A. Snell, 6 mos., b. Ohio.

7. 1830 U.S. cens., Geauga Co., Ohio, Perry Twp., p. 213; 1840 U.S. cens., Lake Co., Perry Twp., 128.

8. Lake Co., Deed Book H: 521. Possibly this was an arrangement to provide a home for an aged father-in-law.

9. Lake Co., Deed Book E: 544.

10. New Conn. Chapter, National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, "Tombstone Inscriptions in Mentor, Perry, and Willoughby Townships, Lake County, Ohio" (typescript, NSDAR Library, Washington, D.C.), 75.

11. Ibid.

12. Gage to author, 23 May 1979.

13. Hallock P. Long, "Snell Families in New England and Descendants," MS., 1939, LDS Family History Library microfilm 483677. What appears to be a manuscript index to this 4-volume work is in the library of the National Genealogical Society in Arlington, Virginia.

14. Gage to author, 8 May 1979.

15. Ibid., 23 May 1979.

16. Leonard Allison Morrison, *History of the Sinclair Family in Europe and America* (Boston: Damrell & Upham, 1896), 149–50. "Andrus Snell of Parisville, Ohio," probably refers to Andros Snell of Painesville, Ohio, a son of Alexander Snell.

17. Alma Pool, Painesville, Ohio, to author, letter, 22 June 1979.

18. Ibid.

19. 1810 U.S. cens., Crawford Co., Penn., Venango Twp., p. 434; 1820 U.S. cens., Crawford Co., Penn., Venango Twp., p. 62.

20. 1830 U.S. cens., Geauga Co., Ohio, Perry Twp., p. 213.

21. 1840 U.S. cens., Lake Co., Ohio, Perry Twp., p. 128.

22. One "stray" Snell marriage was found also—that of Paul Snell to Frances Lisco in Geauga Co., 4 November 1837, by Hilen Canfield, J.P.; see "Geauga County Marriages, 1805–1865" (typescript, n.d., NSDAR Library), sect. 3: 55.

23. DAR, "Tombstone Inscriptions in Mentor, Perry, and Willoughby Townships, Lake Co," 75.

24. Lake Co., Loose Estate Papers, Box A-270.

25. Calvin's second wife appears to be Huldah Snell, who paid personal-property taxes in Perry Twp. in 1850 only. Like the children named in his will, Calvin's widow is an enigma. No marriage record has been found for her and Calvin between 1846 and 1850, nor a marriage of someone who could have been his widow, even though the region's marriage records appear to be fairly complete for that time. A possible widow for Calvin was not enumerated on the 1850 census. Calvin left all his property to his widow in 1849; but his avowed sons, Solomon and Calvin Snell, sold the land in 1850—just a year after the will was recorded. This would indicate that the widow had relinquished the property, died, or remarried.

26. Gage to author, 23 May 1979; Poole to author, 22 June 1979. Julia's approximate year of birth is drawn from her death certificate; see Julia C. [Leach] Cole, reg. no. 4332, Mich. Dept. of Public Health, Lansing.

27. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Lake Co., Mentor Twp., p. 273, dwell. 214, fam. 220.

28. 1860 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Lake Co., Painesville, p. 339, dwell. 1707, fam. 1641.

29. Long, "Snell Families," vol. 3 [unpaginated], fam. 786.

30. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Summit Co., Ohio, Northfield Twp., p. 334, dwell. 22, fam. 24, for Simeon Biram, age 31, b. N.Y., carpenter; Anna Biram, 25, b. Ohio; Lydia Biram, 2, b. Ohio; Julia Biram, 17, b. N.Y. The latter appears to have been Julia Snell, daughter of Calvin Snell. The census age attributed to this Julia places her birth at circa 1833, the year of birth indicated for Calvin's daughter Julia on her death certificate (see n. 26)—although the death certificate also states that Calvin's Julia was born in Ohio, not N.Y. Calvin's daughter Julia wed in this same Northfield Twp. in 1851; see Genealogical Records Committee, DAR, "Early Marriage Bonds of Ohio: Summit County" (typescript, 1936, NSDAR Library), vol. 2, p. L-6.

31. Long, "Snell Families," vol. 3 [unpaginated], fam. 785.

32. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Lake Co., Mentor Twp., p. 268, dwell. 132, fam. 135, for Alexander Snell, age 40, b. N.Y., and family. Also 1860 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Lake Co., Mentor Twp., p. 256, dwell. 358, fam. 344, for Alexander Snell, age 50, b. Vt., and family. Also 1880 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Lake Co., Mentor Twp., enum. dist. 85, p. 370B, dwell. 318, fam. 336, for Alex Snell, age 69, b. Vt. of parents b. Vt., and family.

33. New Conn. Chapter, National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, "Cemetery Inscriptions, Madison Township [Lake Co., Ohio]" (typescript, 1928, NSDAR Library), 25, offers the following from Mentor Cemetery: "Alexander Snell, b. 30 October 1810, d. 29 November 1882."

34. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Lake Co., Mentor Twp., p. 273, dwell. 214, fam. 220 (Solomon); and p. 274, dwell. 218, fam. 224 (Calvin).

35. 1810 U.S. cens., Windsor Co., Vt., town of Chester, p. 452/629.

36. Beatrice W. Corliss, Register; Probate Court of Vt., Dist. of Windsor; Windsor, Vt., to author, letter, 26 July 1979.

37. John Snell's gravestone data from the Perry Center Cemetery, as transcribed in DAR, "Tombstone Inscriptions in Mentor, Perry, and Willoughby Townships," 75, identify him as a son of Calvin and Sarah Snell, with a death date of 3 September 1846 at the age of 17 years. The date of death conforms to that provided by Olive Glass Gage, but the age conflicts with the census data for 1820, 1830, and 1840 (as shown in table 2).

REFERENCE NOTES FOR TABLES 1 AND 2

A. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Erie Co., Penn., Washington Twp., p. 325, dwell. 120, fam. 121. Mary Woodside, age 43, b. Penn., was included in the household of John Woodside. The oldest child in the household was aged 21.

B. "Tombstone Inscriptions in Mentor, Perry, and Willoughby Townships," 15: "Sarah P. wife of Joseph Ingraham d. 30 July 1872 age 63 years, 4 months." In addition, Sarah Ingraham, aged 42, b. Penn., is included in the household of Joseph Ingraham in the 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Lake Co., Ohio, Painesville, p. 198, dwell. 352, fam. 356.

C. "Geauga Co., [Ohio] Marriage Records, 1806–1860" (typescript, n.d., NSDAR Library), sec. 2: 16: Sarah Snell to John P. [*sic*] Ingraham, 24 May 1827, by Robert MtGomery, Elder.

D. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Lake Co., Mentor Twp., p. 268, dwell. 129, fam. 132, shows Jane Davis, aged 40, b. Penn., in household of Calvin Davis.

E. "Geauga Co., Ohio, Marriage Records," sec. 2: 35: Jane Snell to Calvin Davis, [—?—] August 1830, by John Glass, J.P.

F. Ibid., sect. 2: 51: Caroline Snell to Sylvester Calhoun, 31 January 1833, by Gilbert Rose, J.P.

G. Ibid., Philoma Snell to Abraham Ellis, 31 January 1833, by Gilbert Rose, J.P.

H. 1850 U.S. cens., Lake Co., Painesville, p. 195, dwell. 312, fam. 315, includes Susan Ticknor, aged 28, b. Penn., in household of Samuel Ticknor.

I. Lake Co., Marriage Record B: 91, Susan Snell to Sam'l Ticknor, 29 April 1845.

J. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Lake Co., Mentor Twp., p. 273, dwell. 214, fam. 220.

K. Lake Co., Marriage Record B: 82: Solomon Snell to Sarah Lapham, 15 February 1845.

L. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Lake Co., Mentor Twp., p. 274, dwell. 218, fam. 224; and 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Cuyahoga Co., Ohio, Brooklyn Twp., p. 65, dwell. 942, fam. 1052.

M. Lake Co., Marriage Record B: 174: Calvin O. Snell to Julia Ann Singer, 1 March 1847.

N. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Summit Co., Northfield Twp., p. 334, dwell. 22, fam. 24.

O. "Summit Co., Ohio, Marriage Licenses, 1840–65," typescript, n.d., NSDAR Library, p. 82: Ann Snell to Simeon Byrum, 11 May 1848, by Erastus Jackson, J.P.

P. "Probate Court Marriage Records, Lake Co., 1840–1865," typescript, n.d., NSDAR Library, p. 3: Louisa Snell to William Amidon, 8 July 1855.

Q. Julia C. Cole Death Certificate, reg. no. 4332, Mich. Dept. of Public Health, Lansing; Julia died 23 August 1906, according to the informant, her daughter Minnie E. [Leach] Cone.

R. DAR, "Early Marriage Bonds of Ohio: Summit County," 2, p. L-6, for Culvin Leach to Julia Snell, 1 January 1851, by Zeno Pameli, J.P.

S. "Tombstone Inscriptions in Mentor, Perry, and Willoughby Townships," 75.

T. Ibid.

U. Ibid.

V. Solomon Snell Death Certificate, no. 2664, died 14 Sept. 1896, recorded 2 June 1897. A certified copy from the Van Buren Co., Mich., Co. Clerk, dated 17 May 1993, and another from the Mich. Dept. of Public Health, 29 September 1993, both state that Solomon Snell's father was Calvin Snell and his mother was unknown. The informant is not identified on either certificate.

Last Surviving Pensioners of the Revolutionary War, 1891

[News clipping, unidentified paper, bearing penned date January 1891; found in the papers of Judge David Wilson Small, who died 1899 in Oconomowoc, Wisconsin]

War Relicts: Twenty-three fine old ladies, widows all, complete the roll of the surviving pensioners of the revolutionary war. So short is the list that it may be given: Lovey Aldrich, 90, Michigan; Elizabeth Betz, 87, Pennsylvania; Mary Brown, 85, Tennessee; Susan Curtis, 93, Maine; Sarah Dabney, 90, Illinios; Esther S. Damon, 76, Vermont; Jane Denmore, 89, New York; Nancy A. Green, 72, Indiana; Nancy Gregg, 79, N. Carolina; Jane Harbison, 84, Illinois; Sally Heath, 85, Kentucky; Nancy Jones, 76, Tennessee; Rebecca Mayo, 77, Virginia; Olive C. Morton, 79, Michigan; Lucy Morse, 89, Vermont; Nancy Rains, 98, Tennessee; Patty Richardson, 89, Vermont; Nancy Robertson, 87, Tennessee; Meridy Smith, 85, Georgia; Mary Snead, 74, Virginia; Asenah Turner, 85, New York; Mary Weatherman, 85, N. Carolina; Anna Maria Young, 98, Pennsylvania.

The main suggestion contained in the exhibit of war relicts is that if, at this date, widows in good health survive the soldiers of a war which ended 110 years ago, there will be surviving widows galore of the recent unpleasantness nearly as late as the year 2000 A.D.

—Contributed by Sue Brown [great-granddaughter of Judge Small]
4917 Ravenswood, no. 1622; San Antonio, TX 78227-4344

Ed. note:

Five years remain before the projected year A.D. 2000. At this point, there remains at least one surviving widow of the Civil War: Mrs. Alberta Martin of Elba, Alabama, the 88-year-old widow of the Confederate soldier William Jasper Martin.

When Original Evidence Disagrees: Is Mother Geneviève a Greslon or a Fontaine?

By Joy Reisinger, CGRS*

Even when records conveniently state the facts one hopes to find—such as parental identity—that information may be erroneous or it may be warped by circumstances yet unknown. Only by identifying and tracking the problem individual's extended family, *gathering and analyzing their evidence as well as that of the direct line, can one confidently proceed beyond the ambiguities and inconsistencies of historical documents.*

Genealogists naturally hope for ancestors who attended church regularly; received the sacraments at birth, marriage, and death; and lived in a literate society that recognized the importance of recordkeeping—civil and ecclesiastical. The public and private records left by French-Canadian settlers epitomize the wish list of family historians in many ways.

Yet even in French-Canada, there remain numerous family lines that seem to be untraceable. Extant records cite parental couples who don't seem to exist. The marvelous compendiums that have been published link spouses and generations in puzzling ways. Outright errors plague both primary and secondary sources. How do researchers identify and discount the misinformation; how do they bridge the voids? Several procedures are fundamental: thorough research in all existing sources; comprehensive study of related family members; in-depth analysis of all evidence for innate signs of improbability; and careful correlation of the individual pieces of information, weighing each against the other.

For researchers with similar problems in colonial "New France," as well as for descendants of Canada's Galarneau-Greslon-Fontaine family, the present paper has three objectives: to identify the major resources available, to spotlight and explain some types of errors that occur, and to illustrate how the correct identity was established.

THE PROBLEM

When Charles Galarneau (hereinafter called Charles II) married in 1721 at Saint-François de Sales, Ile-Jesus, Québec, the priest recorded that he was the son of Charles Galarneau and Geneviève Fontaine of the parish of Nôtre-Dame de Québec.[1] His marriage contract, drawn up the same day by the notary François Coron, identifies him as the son of the late Charles Galerno and Geneviève Fontaine.[2]

Many genealogists would assume the extension of this line to be easy, using the major compendiums that have been published for early Canada: Jetté's *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec,*[3] Tanguay's seven-volume *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes,*[4] Leboeuf's *Complément* to Tanguay's work,[5] and the abundant marriage *répertoires* (abstracts). However, none of these sources reveal a marriage for any Charles Galarneau (or variant) to any woman named Fontaine—or a marriage of any Geneviève Fontaine to anyone named Galarneau. The compendiums do include a 1689 marriage of a Charles Galarneau to one Geneviève, but the bride's family name is given in all records of this event as *Greslon,* not *Fontaine.*[6] The Galarneau-Greslon couple is credited with a son Charles, who would have been twenty-three at the time that Charles II, son of Galarneau and Fontaine, married in 1721.

A major problem confronting U.S. genealogists when they research Québec lines is the custom of *dit* names. Literally translated, this French word means *called,* or *alias,* or *aka* [also known as]. Sobriquets were used because, in any given time and locale, there might be multiple people with the same combination of given and family names. Unlike better-known "nicknames," however, a *dit* was used in place of an individual's *surname*—not his or her forename; therein lurks the genealogical havoc that a *dit* name can wreak. Many of these *dit*s are conveniently identified in the published literature. Many more remain to be defined.

None of the standard reference works cite Greslon as a *dit* of Fontaine or vice versa. Were they interchangeable? Or were there two separate Charles Galarneaus, each with a wife named Geneviève—a type of situation that did occur in this society? The ultimate answer was arrived at only by studying the whole family and placing the "problem" members into a broader context.

SORTING THE GALARNEAUS

Extracting all Galarneau marriages contemporaneous with that of the 1721 Charles immediately resulted in two pertinent lists. In brief:

CHARLES GALARNEAU AND GENEVIÈVE FONTAINE (LAFONTAINE)—cited as parents of three children who married over an eighteen-month period: one in the vicinity of Québec and the other two near Montréal, a hundred and fifty miles or so upriver:

- Joseph, who wed Madeleine Pinel, 5 February 1720, Pointe-aux-Trembles, Québec.[7]
- Jeanne, who wed Jean Cardinal, 24 August 1721, Pointe-Claire, near Montréal.[8]
- Charles [III], who wed Jeanne Drapeau, 7 January 1721, Saint-François de Sales, Ile-Jesus, near Montréal.[9]

CHARLES GALARNEAU AND GENEVIÈVE GRESLON—cited as parents of one child who married at Québec almost a generation earlier:

- Marie-Louise, who wed François Marquet, 26 April 1706, Nôtre-Dame de Québec.[10]

When baptismal records were sought for all these children, the results were the same as the initial search for Charles II's parents. None of the standard reference works cite baptisms for children born to the Galarneau-Fontaine couple. However, all of the sources—each of whose compiler(s) made an independent investigation of the extant records—report the following set of five children for Charles Galarneau and Geneviève *Greslon:*

1. Marie-Louise, born 1 February and baptized 2 February 1690 at Québec.[11]
2. Philippe-Joseph, born in Basse Ville, the "Lower City" area of Québec, and baptized there 15 January 1693.[12]
3. Jeanne, born in the Lower City on 6 September and baptized 7 September 1695 at Québec.[13]
4. Charles, born and baptized on 5 November 1697 at Québec.[14]
5. Jeanne-Geneviève, born and baptized 30 January 1700 at Québec; no further record.[15] (One "Pierre" Galarneau, aged two years, was buried from the same church on 21 January 1703, without identification of the child's parents in the burial record. There may or may not be a recording error in this entry.[16])

The similarity is striking between the three lists: i.e., that of the children born to Geneviève Greslon between 1690 and 1700, the daughter of Greslon who married in 1706, and the 1720–21 newlyweds who identified their mother as Geneviève Fontaine or Lafontaine. Were they indeed part of a single family unit, or would more-thorough research reveal two parental couples?

TRACKING THE PARENTS

Charles Galarneau, husband of Greslon, was the son of Jacques Galarneau and wife Jacqueline Heron. (In New France, as in most Catholic countries of that era, wives retained their birth names for life.) Charles was a dresser of hides, the son of immigrants from France.[17] In fact, his mother had been one of the legendary *filles du roi,* the so-called "daughters of the king," who were recruited by the French government and given a royal dowry to immigrate to Québec and marry colonists.[18]

Geneviève, whom Charles married on 13 January 1689 at Nôtre-Dame de Québec, was the daughter of Jacques Greslon and Jeanne Vignault.[19] A native of New France, she had made and annulled two marriage contracts prior to finally wedding Charles. Her first contract was with Jean Mineau, 31 December 1687, before the notary Gilles Rageot; the second was with François Hubert, 5 September 1688, using the same notary. The Galarneau-Greslon contract, also before Rageot, was dated 22 November 1688.[20] The nearly two-month delay until the ecclesiastical ceremony was unusual in their society; the church blessing usually occurred the day after the contract, very seldom more than two weeks thereafter.

On 3 September 1700, one Charles Galarneau died at Québec's hospital, Hôtel-Dieu. No wife's name is cited for him in the burial record.[21] However, on 4 June

1703, Geneviève Greslon, widow of Charles Galarneau, married Jean Delouvois *dit* Dragon, an immigrant from France who was several years her junior.[22] Her remarriage was not unusual, considering that she had several small children to raise.

Research on Greslon and her second husband led to important implications for the Galarneau-Fontaine problem. By Delouvois, Geneviève bore six more children. With only one exception, all their baptismal records and the subsequent death records for those who died young identify Geneviève by the surname *Greslon*—but never as *Fontaine.* In brief:

1. Jean, born 12 October and baptized 13 October 1704 at Québec;[23] buried there 23 June 1708.[24]
2. Marie-Geneviève, born and baptized 7 November 1705 at Québec.[25]
3. Louise-Angélique, born 4 March and baptized 5 March 1707 at Québec;[26] buried there 14 March 1710, at the stated age of two years.[27]
4. Marie-Charlotte (twin), born and baptized 8 May 1708 at Québec;[28] buried there 13 May 1708, at the stated age of five days.[29]
5. Geneviève (twin), born and baptized 8 May 1708 at Québec;[30] nothing further known.[31]
6. Marie-Louise, born and baptized 6 June 1709 at Québec, at which time her mother is recorded as Geneviève *Galarneau.*[32] Nothing further known.

Geneviève Greslon died a few weeks after the birth of Marie-Louise, on 12 July 1709 at Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, at the reported age of thirty-nine years.[33] She likely was unable to attend her infant's baptism, which may account for her name's being entered differently in the parish registers. Pursuing her surviving Delouvois children into adulthood clinches the hypothesis already posed for the Galarneau family of Saint-François de Sales: that Geneviève Greslon and Geneviève Fontaine were one and the same. The following extract leaves no doubt:

> Marie-Geneviève Delouvois wed André Campagna, 27 July 1730, St.-François de Sales. Father: Jean Delouvois. Mother: Geneviève *Fontaine.*[34]

DEFINING THE PATTERN

An examination of all records relating to the Galarneau and Delouvois children reveals a decisive pattern. During her lifetime, Geneviève was consistently identified as *Greslon.* When her eldest child married at the age of sixteen, in her home parish and during her mother's lifetime, that mother was called *Greslon.* When Geneviève's last child was baptized during her childbed-to-deathbed confinenent, someone—when called upon to provide her legal name—recollected only the more-recent Galarneau connection. Eleven years passed before another child of hers married; he, and all his siblings who married thereafter, named their mother as Geneviève *Fontaine* or *Lafontaine.*

INTERPRETING THE PROBLEM

Why *Fontaine?* The answer comes from a more-detailed study of Geneviève's birth family. She was born 27 February 1672 at l'Ange Gardien, Québec.[35] Her father, Jacques Greslon, died sometime after 16 May 1677.[36] On 16 October 1679, his widow Jeanne Vignault, remarried—that new husband being a tailor who had recently emigrated from France, Philippe Poitiers *dit* Lafontaine.[37]

On 20 May 1700, Geneviève's sixty-year-old mother, Jeanne Vignault, died at Hôtel-Dieu de Québec.[38] Geneviève's husband, Charles Galarneau, died there the following September.[39] Geneviève's stepfather, Lafontaine, would live another twelve years[40]—outliving Geneviève herself. He was not only the stepfather who reared Geneviève, he was also the only maternal grandfather her children knew.

Genealogical evidence is often misleading. Even when records conveniently state the facts one hopes to find—such as parental identity—that information may be erroneous or it may be warped by circumstances yet unknown. Only by identifying and tracking the problem individual's *extended family,* gathering and analyzing their evidence as well as that of the direct line, can one confidently proceed past the ambiguities and inconsistencies of historical documents.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

*1020 Central Avenue; Sparta, WI 54656. Ms. Reisinger, a Certified Genealogical Records Specialist, is the founder and former editor-publisher of *Lost in Canada?* Her research focus is Canada and Wisconsin—especially early settlers with Indian wives.

1. Parish Registers, St.-François de Sales, Ile-Jesus, Family History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City [hereinafter FHL] microfilm 1018119, item 4, p. 13 verso.

2. Notarial files of François Coron (22 Nov. 1688), Archives Nationales du Québec, Montréal, Canada, available as FHL 1420358. For an instructive study of early Canadian notarial records, see John P. DuLong, "The Notarial Acts of Québec: Their Genealogical Value and Use," *NGS Quarterly* 82 (March 1994): 5–16.

3. René Jetté, with the collaboration of the Programme de Recherche en Démographie Historique, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles du Québec des origines à 1730* (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1983).

4. Cyprien Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes,* 7 vols. (1871–90; reprinted, Montréal: Editions Elysée, 1975).

5. J.-Arthur Leboeuf, *Complément au dictionnaire généalogique Tanguay* (Montréal: Société Généalogique canadienne-française, 1977).

6. Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique . . . du Québec,* 458; Hubert Charbonneau and Jacques Légaré, *Le répertoire des actes de baptême, mariage, sépulture et des recensements du Québec ancien,* 47 vols. to date (Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1980—), 1: 301. The accuracy of the published abstracts for the one found marriage has been checked against Parish Registers, Nôtre-Dame de Québec, FHL 1289659, p. 248.

Both Jetté and Tanguay (n. 4) assembled French-Canadian families into family groups and gave each person's vital data without explanation or citation. When dates are only approximate and location of the record is absent, the compiler guessed at the family structure—often in error. It is incumbent on researchers who use these works to consult the original records and confirm (or deny) the published results.

7. Parish Registers, Pointe-aux-Trembles, FHL 1290462, p. 271 verso; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 10: 93. Pointe-aux-Trembles is now known as Neuville.

8. Parish Registers, Pointe-Claire, FHL 1018105, item 5, unpaginated; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 14: 382. Jeanne Galarneau's husband, Jean Cardinal, was a *voyageur* (fur trader); she was his second wife.

9. Parish Registers, St.-François de Sales, Ile-Jesus, FHL 1018119, item 4, p. 13 verso.

10. Parish Registers, Nôtre-Dame de Québec, FHL 1289660, item 2, p. 97 verso; Charbonneau and Légaré,

Répertoire des actes, 8: 225. Marie-Louise and her husband, François Marquet, left soon after for Detroit, where the first two of their children were baptized; Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique . . . du Québec,* 774.

11. Parish Registers, Nôtre-Dame de Québec, FHL 1289659, p. 272; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 1: 174.

12. Parish Registers, Nôtre-Dame de Québec, FHL 1289660, p. 45; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 1: 189.

13. Parish Registers, Nôtre-Dame de Québec, FHL 1289660, p. 97; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 1: 204. After the death of her mother in 1709, the teenaged Jeanne lived at least a while in the home of her maternal aunt, Marie-Anne Greslon, wife of Pierre Dassilva *dit* Portugais [the Portugese]. The 1716 census shows eighteen-year-old Jeanne in the Dassilva home at rue Sault au Matelot, Basse Ville [Lower City], Québec. See André Lafontaine, *Recensements annotés de la ville de Québec, 1716 & 1744* (Québec: Privately printed, 1983), 27.

14. Parish Registers, Nôtre-Dame de Québec, FHL 1289660, p. 145 verso; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 1: 217.

15. Parish Registers, Nôtre-Dame de Québec, FHL 1289660, p. 195; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 1: 217.

16. Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 8: 1 and 300. It is possible there was a Pierre Galarneau born about 1701, whose baptismal record has not been found. It is also possible that the child buried in 1703 was not the child of Charles Galarneau and Geneviève Greslon. However, Jetté blends Jeanne-Geneviève and Pierre as one, while Tanguay reports the baptism of Jeanne-Geneviève and ignores the burial of Pierre; see *Dictionnaire généalogique . . . du Québec,* 458, and *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes,* 4: 157.

17. Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique . . . du Québec,* 458; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 1: 301; Parish Registers, Nôtre-Dame de Québec, FHL 1289659, p. 248.

18. Joy Reisinger and Elmer Courteau, *The King's Daughters* (Sparta, Wis.: Joy Reisinger, 1988), 65–66.

19. Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique . . . du Québec,* 458; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 1: 301; Parish Registers, Nôtre-Dame de Québec, FHL 1289659, p. 248.

20. Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique . . . du Québec,* 527–28.

21. Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 8: 589.

22. Parish Register, Nôtre-Dame de Québec, FHL 1289660, item 2, p. 6; Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique . . . du Québec,* 323; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 8: 219. Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes,* 3: 324, renders *Delouvois* as *DeLouvais.*

23. Parish Registers, Nôtre-Dame de Québec, FHL 1289660, item 2, p. 49.

24. Ibid., p. 148 verso; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 8: 29, 312.

25. Parish Registers, Nôtre-Dame de Québec, FHL 1289660, item 2, p. 76 verso; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 8: 35. Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique . . . du Québec,* 194, lists her as Marie Geneviève *dite* Angelique.

26. Parish Registers, Nôtre-Dame de Québec, FHL 1289660, item 2, p. 117 verso; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 8: 42.

27. Parish Registers, Nôtre-Dame de Québec, FHL 1289660, item 2, p. 208; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 8: 316.

28. Parish Registers, Nôtre-Dame de Québec, FHL 1289660, item 2, p. 144 verso; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 8: 49.

29. Parish Registers, Nôtre-Dame de Québec, FHL 1289660, item 2, p. 145; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 8: 312.

30. Parish Registers, Nôtre-Dame de Québec, FHL 1289660, item 2, p. 144 verso; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 8: 49. Geneviève's baptism and that of her twin, Marie-Charlotte, were recorded in the same entry.

31. Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique . . . du Québec,* 323. Although Jette's work stops at 1730, Tanguay continues through the French regime and offers nothing further about her either; see Tanguay, *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes,* 3: 324.

32. Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 8: 56. Observant readers will have noted that Geneviève's eleven children included two Marie-Louises (and three Louises) as well as two Genevièves. This was not uncommon in their society, where children were often named by and for godparents. The fact that a younger child was baptized under the same name as an older child does not signify the death of the older child as it commonly has with Anglo-American families.

33. Québec Medical Records, FHL 1287129, item 2, p. 33; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes,* 8: 593.

After Geneviève's death in 1709, her recently married daughter Marie-Louise, who had moved to Detroit with her husband, returned with him and their infants—possibly to help rear her young siblings. Eventually all the other Galarneau and Delouvois children moved up the St. Lawrence River to the Montréal area, where they married. Geneviève's second husband, Delouvois, remained in Québec City, where he died 12 December 1730, long after his surviving child and stepchildren married in a distant part of the province. See Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique . . . du Québec*, 323, for Delouvois and 774 for Marie-Louise.

Regarding Geneviéve's death in the hospital, her stays there were frequent. Extant registers show the following:

16 Aug.	1689	age 17	home: Chateau-Richer	16-day stay, seven months after marriage
15 Feb.	1690	age 17	home: Chateau-Richer	6-day stay, after birth of first child on 2 Feb.
1 Feb.	1693	age 22		3-day stay, 2 wks. after bapt. of 2d child, 15 Jan.
9 Apr.	1696	age 20?	home: Ste.-Anne de Beaupré	6-day stay, 7 mos. after bapt. of 3d child, 7 Sep. 95, 19 mos. before birth of 4th child
3 Apr.	1697	age 25	home: Québec	12-day stay, 2 mos. pregnant with 4th child
24 Mar.	1699	age 30	home: Ste.-Anne de Beaupré	8-day stay, 14 mos. after birth of 4th child and 10 mos. before birth of 5th child
1 Apr.	1699			12-day stay

After the 1700 death of her first husband, Galarneau, Geneviève does not appear again in the hospital registers until her death.

34. Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes*, 26: 449. Parish Registers, St.-François de Sales, FHL 1018119, item 5, pp. 42 verso, 43, cites the bride as *Angelique*. Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique . . . du Québec*, 194, cites this individual as *Marie-Geneviève* dite *Angelique*.

35. Parish Register, L'Ange Gardien, Québec, FHL 1290498, Baptisms, vol. 3, unpaginated; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes*, 2: 242; Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique . . . du Québec*, 527–28.

36. Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique . . . du Québec*, 527. Greslon's daughter made a marriage contract on that date; presumably he was present and this is the source of Jetté's information. The church record of her marriage has not survived, and the published abstracts of notary Vachon's files do not identify those in attendance. Microfilms of Vachon's files are not yet at FHL to permit a check of the original record.

37. Ibid., 933. Philippe was in Québec as early as 14 September 1685, when he renounced his Protestant faith in the chapel of l'Hôpital-General de Québec; see Church Records, Archdiocese of Québec, FHL 1311432, item 5, p. 10. He remained single until his marriage to Jeanne Vignault; see Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes*, 1: 288.

38. Québec Medical Records, FHL 1287129, p. 41; Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique . . . du Québec*, 933.

39. Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique . . . du Québec*, 323.

40. Jetté, *Dictionnaire généalogique . . . du Québec*, 933; Charbonneau and Légaré, *Répertoire des actes*, 8: 596, reports this death under the name *Potie/Le Bonhomme* [literally translated, "the good man"] of Québec.

Flogging and Branding, 1857

[Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Colon, July 10, 1852–Dec. 19, 1857, Microcopy T-193, Roll 1, National Archives]

Aspinwall, 19 April 1857
Geo. W. Fletcher to the Honorable Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, Washington
"I have the honor to inform you that Horace B. Pratt, an American seaman [has] been most cruelly treated by being flogged, branded in both cheeks, and cast ashore on the coast of Peru about 100 miles south of Guayaquil, from the Bark 'Sappho,' a whale vessel of New Bedford to which he belonged and which was commanded by Alexander Seabury. [Pratt] is now at this Consulate receiving Consular aid, and will be sent home in the Steamer 'Illinois,' at the government expense, which leaves this day for New York. The Bark Sappho sailed from New Bedford on or about the 18th day of August 1855 on a whaling voyage in the Pacific and having only 400 barrels of oil when Pratt left her, will not return to the United States for some 12 or 18 months, but in the meanwhile will probably touch at one or more of the ports of Paila, Talcahuana, and Tambos for supplies."

Update

The Paxson Brothers of Pennsylvania: A Reassessment of the Evidence

Contributed by Stewart Baldwin, Ph.D.*

In 1983, this journal published "The Paxson Brothers of Colonial Pennsylvania: The First Three Generations," a study by Martha Jonet Paxson Grundy.[1] In addition to the purpose alluded to in the title—tracing the earliest descendants of the immigrants Henry, William, James, and Thomas Paxson, who left Buckinghamshire, England, for Pennsylvania in 1682—the author also includes five generations of supposed English ancestors. Two weak areas in this family reconstruction require closer analysis: *(a)* the proof by which James is placed into the sibling cluster; and *(b)* the evidence upon which the alleged ancestry is based.

Grundy offers detailed documentation for most of the American part of the genealogy but provides nothing specific to support the paternity attributed to James or his position as brother to Henry, William, and Thomas. For the ancient Paxton lineage, the only source given for the first few generations of the family in England is a secondary work, *History of the Bye Family and Some Allied Families,*[2] although Grundy states that the claimed relationships can be traced through several wills abstracted in the Bye genealogy.[3] The present author, as a descendant of James,[4] set out to confirm this information. James's position in the family can be solidified, but the investigation also leads to the conclusion that most of the claimed ancestry for this Pennsylvania Quaker family is unproved and cannot be accepted without further evidence.

The wills abstracted in Bye do give a good picture of several generations of English Paxsons (with variant spellings) in the sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries. The problem lies with James^{A} Paxton, the father of the immigrant brothers. No proof has been found that he was indeed the son of Henry^{B} Paston who wed Joan Clarke on 29 November 1596 in Marsh Gibbon, Buckinghamshire. Without proof of such a link, the chain breaks—not with James^{I} but with James^{A}—and the earlier will abstracts presented by Bye and accepted by Grundy provide only possible clues for further research.

REEXAMINATION OF THE EVIDENCE

England

The registers of Saint Mary's Church at Marsh Gibbon provide solid documentation to establish parentage for Henry^{1}, William^{1}, and Thomas^{1}—but not for James^{1}—and they offer no proof of ancestry beyond the father of these siblings. To summarize: James "Packston" (James^{A} Paxton and variants) married Jane Clerk on 16 August 1640 at Marsh Gibbon; the record does not cite parentage. Between 1641 and 1656, six of this couple's children were baptized in that parish—Ellen (1641), Alis (1644), *Henry* (1646/7), *William* (1648), *Thomas* (1651), and Jane (1655/6)—and a daughter Anne was buried.[5] However, there is no baptismal record for James^{A} himself, by which his father can be identified.

Except for James^{A}, his wife, and their children, the early Marsh Gibbon registers contain only two other entries for individuals with a surname of similar spelling. No relationships are stated between the individuals. (A third individual attributed to this family by Bye—one Richard whose wife Elizabeth bore him a child Richard, baptized 1636—is erroneously identified in Bye as a *Packton*. The record is more accurately read *Wackton*.) The pertinent records are

29 November 1596	marriage	Henry Paston and Joan Clarke
25 August 1633	marriage	Elizabeth Packson and William Marriate

The English probate records have also been misinterpreted. An examination of the microfilmed wills that are abstracted in Bye, the latest of which was proved in 1619, also yields no proof of parentage for James^{A}. In fact, none of these wills even mention a person named James Paxton (or variant).[6] Bye, in his efforts to attach James^{A} to Henry^{B}, states that no will exists for Henry^{B}, then proceeds to assert—without documentation—that Henry^{B} was father to the James Packston who married Jane Clerk in 1640 and to the misnamed Richard "Packton."[7]

Pennsylvania

Although the extant records of Marsh Gibbon do not include the baptism of James^{1} Paxton, his position in the family can be established by the will of his brother Henry.[8] Both Bye and Grundy mention this document, but neither quotes enough of it to make the sibling relationship clear.

Henry^{1} Paxson wrote his will on "23 second month" [April] 1723; it was proved 30 July 1723, in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. All of Henry's children had predeceased him, without issue. His brothers were also dead—William and James in Bucks County, Thomas at sea before reaching America. Thus, Henry left his estate to his nieces and nephews and their children—as well as to a stepson (John Plumley, son of Henry's second wife, Marjorie [Page] Plumley). The following provides an overview for the brothers and offspring assembled by Grundy with reasonable documentation of all points except for James's position as a brother:[9]

William^{1}, died 1709/10, leaving two surviving children:

A. William, who died 1733
B. Mary, wife of Thomas Walmsley

James^{1}, died 1722, having produced three children who survived to adulthood:

A. William, who married Abigail Pownall and died before 1723[10]
B. Henry, who died 1756
C. Sarah, who successively married John Burling and James Kirkham

Using the terminology of his era, Henry left legacies to all of these collateral lines. Proper interpretation of his bequests requires an understanding of several of those terms whose meanings are different today: i.e., *cousin* generically meant *relative; nephew* was applied to both males and females; and *son-in-law* commonly meant *stepson.* (In-law relationships of the modern sense often were not stated. Frequently a sister's or daughter's husband would simply be called "my brother" or "my son.") Thus, Henry's will left land and/or other valuables to the following:

- "my cousin James Paxon (my Nephew W^{m} Paxons Son)"
- "my Cousin Thomas Paxon another of my s^{d} Nephew W^{m} Paxons Son"
- "my Cousin Ruben Paxon another of my s^{d} Nephew W^{m} Paxons Son"
- "my nephew Mary Walmsleys Daughters Mary & Elizabeth"
- "my Nephew Henry Paxons daughter Elizth"
- "my Son in Law John Plumleys son John"
- "my Nephew W^{m} Paxons son Henry"
- "my Nephew James Kirkham"
- "my nephew Amey the said James's sister" [apparently a reference to James Kirkham]
- "Mary the wife of Samuel Jacobs"
- "Sarah the Wife of Thomas Knight Jun^{r}"
- "Abigail Widow of my Nephew W^{m} Paxon Af^{d} [aforesaid]"
- "my S^{d} Nephew W^{m} Paxons Daughter Esther"
- "my Cousin Abigail Paxon Afores^{d} . . . her two Sons James and Thomas"
- "my Son in Law John Plumley my Nephew William Paxon & my Nephew Henry Paxon"

Nowhere in the will does Henry identify his deceased brothers by name. Yet on the basis of this will, apparently, Grundy correctly places James^{1} as a brother of Henry^{1}. Her failure to explain the evidence has led some researchers to doubt her conclusion. The proof that supports the sibling relationship lies in the will's references to nephew Henry, nephew William (already deceased), "nephew" James Kirkham, and the children and widow (Abigail) of the deceased nephew William. Henry, William and his wife Abigail, and James Kirkham are conventionally proved to be the sons, the daughter-in-law, and the son-in-law of James^{1}; and the heirs cited above as children of William and Abigail are confirmed as such in Abigail's will.[11] In order for all of these individuals to hold the stated relationship to the testator above, one other relationship has to exist: the testator Henry^{1} had to be the brother of James^{1}.

FALLACIOUS REASONING

Also in Pennsylvania, evidence is found to explain the development of the unsupported English lineage. Although Bye fails to cite the source of his assumption that James[A] was the son of Henry[B], it is not difficult to determine its probable origin. The papers of the late and eminent genealogist Gilbert Cope (1840–1928)—the third inductee into the National Genealogy Hall of Fame, who has long been considered the father of genealogical research in Pennsylvania—contain several items on the Paxson family. Included is a chart, which makes Henry the father of Richard and James, and a letter from one Warren S. Ely to Henry D. Paxson, Esquire, of Philadelphia, dated 5 April 1915, which introduces the chart by saying, "Fred [last name unidentified] and I have worked out a chart from the Baptismal, Marriage, and Burials Entries from the parish records [of Marsh Gibbon]."[12] While Ely's letter also mentions the possibility of checking registers in some neighboring parishes, there is no evidence that he subsequently did so.

In short, Ely et al. combed the likeliest set of records. The results confronted them with two men of undocumented parentage (James[A] and the misnamed Richard) and only one obvious candidate for their father (Henry, who had wed Joan Clarke four decades earlier). From this, they conjectured a relationship; and Ely charted it without noting his speculation upon that chart. A copy of his rough sketch was sent to a genealogical contemporary who did research professionally; and the latter's papers, in late life, were deposited in a major library for public study. From there, apparently, the conjecture of Ely et al. was converted into "fact" in the Bye genealogy and subsequently reported as such by Grundy in her *NGSQ* study.

It is possible that future research will show some connection between the Paxsons of Pennsylvania and the earlier Paxsons, Paxtons, and variants that have been prematurely attached to them. In addition to the records of nearby parishes, suggested by Ely, the available probate indexes list several seventeenth-century Paxson wills from the Marsh Gibbon area that were not abstracted by Bye. Possibly relevant information may emerge from them, although the present writer's ongoing investigation in these records has not yet yielded connections.

In the meanwhile, researchers must remain satisfied with a pedigree that begins only with James[A] and Jane (Clerk) Packston, who married 16 August 1640 at Saint Mary's Church, Marsh Gibbon, Buckinghamshire.

A MORAL OF BROADER SCOPE

The conversion of conjecture into unqualified "fact," in this case, was apparently facilitated by its association with Cope. However, regardless of the location in which evidence is found, its provenance and nature must be judiciously weighed. The files maintained by most family historians contain much that is submitted to them by others—material of widely varying value. The papers of eminent researchers are no exception and should be combed with much caution and discernment.[13]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

*201 Kimberly Drive; Auburn, AL 36830. Dr. Baldwin is an associate professor of mathematics at Auburn University. His genealogical research heavily focuses upon America's early Quaker families.

1. Martha Jonet Paxson Grundy, "The Paxson Brothers of Colonial Pennsylvania: The First Three Generations," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 71 (September 1983): 193–216.

2. Arthur Edwin Bye, *History of the Bye Family and Some Allied Families* (Easton, Pa.: Correll Printing Co., 1956).

3. Grundy, "Paxson Brothers," 193.

4. The author's descendancy, more specifically, is from John^{4} Paxson (Reuben^{3}, William^{2}, James^{1}); the line appears in Grundy, "Paxson Brothers," at 209.

5. Parish registers of St. Mary's Church, Marsh Gibbon, Buckinghamshire, are available on microfilm from the Family History Library [hereinafter FHL] of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, as FHL 919239.

6. The wills abstracted in Bye (pp. 426–28) were all rechecked by the present writer, except for the 1588 will, which falls within an era too remote to bear upon the problem of James^{A}'s paternity. The relevant wills are from three jurisdictions—i.e., the archdeaconries of Buckingham and Oxford and the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. They are available as FHL 88496 (for Bye's first three wills), 88546, 91997, 95063, 96065, and 95064 (in the order abstracted by Bye).

7. Bye, *History of the Bye Family,* 412.

8. Bucks Co., Pa., Will Book 1: 73–75, available as FHL 172899.

9. Grundy, "Paxson Brothers," 196–98.

10. The exact date of death of William Paxson Jr. is uncertain. Grundy, "Paxson Brothers," 199, gives the date as July 1723; but this cannot be correct, as his wife Abigail was called his widow in the will of Henry^{1} Paxson, written earlier that year. Grundy (p. 196) reports that Henry^{1} posted £200 bond in 1719 to administer the estate of William Paxson Jr. and cites her source as "Will Book 1, File 177, Bucks Co." However, Will Book 1 contains no File 177; indeed, the cited will book includes transcripts of no documents from files treating *intestate* estates—a situation implied for William by Grundy's reference to the *administration* of his estate rather than to action by an *executor.*

A chart prepared by one Warren S. Ely, of Doylestown (Bucks Co.), Pa., in 1915 and deposited in the Gilbert Cope Collection at the Historical Society of Pa. (available as FHL 517051) states that William Paxson died "3 mo. 1716," without giving a source. A partially illegible marginal entry on another page in the same Cope file appears to state that letters of administration were granted to the widow Abigail Paxson on 18 May 1716. Bye, *History of the Bye Family,* 414, gives May 1719 as the date of death of William Paxson Jr. Until further research resolves the contradictions, this author will settle for the cautious "before 23 April 1723" date, which is proved by the will of Henry^{1}.

11. James's children William and Sarah were born in England; their baptisms appear in the previously cited Marsh Gibbon registers. William, Henry, and Sarah are also proved as children of James by the birth records of Middletown Monthly Meeting, Bucks Co., available as FHL 20403. Abigail, widow of James's son William, left a will identifying her children as James, Esther, Thomas, Reuben, and Abigail; the latter is not named in the will of her great-uncle Henry^{1}, as she was born after his death. See Bucks Co. Will Book 2: 147ff., available as FHL 172899. See also Grundy, "Paxson Brothers," 197–201.

One other problem involving James^{1} remains unresolved: his date of birth. A letter from Ely to Henry D. Paxson, Esq., of Philadelphia, attached to the 1915 chart, suggests a 1643 birth for James^{1}—that year falling into the largest gap (42 months) between the documented baptisms of children of James^{A}; see Gilbert Cope Collection, FHL 517051, unnumbered frames. Grundy, "Paxson Brothers," 197, attributes the birth to "ca. 1649"—a less-likely date, as that would make James^{1} seventeen years old at the birth of his first known child.

12. Gilbert Cope Collection, FHL 517051, unnumbered frames. The Ely chart contains one other error apparently picked up by Bye. The previously mentioned misreading of Richard Wackton's name as *Packton* was first made by the curate of Marsh Gibbon, who supplied the information to Ely. Trustingly (and speculatively), Ely then assigned Richard to Henry^{B}, as Bye subsequently did.

13. Not all published accounts have been so careless with this Paxson material. Clarence V. Roberts, in his *Ancestry of Clarence V. Roberts & Frances A. (Walton) Roberts* (Philadelphia: Privately printed, 1940), 209 ff., starts his account of the Paxson family with a more-cautious "James Paxson (supposed to have been son of Henry and Joan [Clarke] Paxson, of Marsh Gibbon, Buckinghamshire, England)." Roberts's characterization of the chart in the Cope Collection as being "experimental" is undoubtedly correct, as the chart was probably intended by Ely to be a working model and not a finished genealogy.

Notes and Documents

Maryland Land-Patent Records, 1671–80: Correlated Evidence Identifying Transported Convicts

Contributed by Peter Wilson Coldham, FASG*

The Patent Rolls held by the British Public Record Office[1] are a major source of information about felons reprieved from the gallows on condition of servitude in overseas plantations. The enrolled decrees customarily stipulated that they were to be sent to Barbados "or any other of His Majesty's plantations in America." That Virginia had been a frequent landing place for these men, women, and children is evident from an act of the Privy Council of 21 October 1670, which expressed concern over the danger and disrepute brought to that colony by the frequent dispatch there of felons. The act decreed that Virginia should no longer act as a host but that other plantations should be employed.

A close examination of Maryland land grants for the decade after 1670[2] reveals that many English felons were diverted there whose names are to be found among the servants for whom land rights were claimed. The first of these who can be clearly established as figuring in Maryland records are Frances Jobson, Margaret Hillman, and Rebecca Herbert—Newgate prisoners who, significantly, are listed as arriving in Maryland from Virginia in 1671.

Records of felons landed in Maryland and there claimed as headrights are dispersed throughout the Land-Office Patent Books. Short of a major and detailed examination—page by page of the many thousands of entries, comparing each name and date with those of pardoned felons listed in the Patent Rolls—it would not be possible to separate transported convicts from indentured servants. In fact, care appears to have been taken *not* to differentiate the two categories. However, many of the listings in the Maryland Patent Books bunch together the names of transported felons. The following abstracts, though selective and far from comprehensive, illustrate somewhat the extent to which emigration from England during the period from 1671 onward was permeated by convict labor.

The listings that follow are transcribed as exactly as possible from the original Maryland records, with only the addition of some punctuation. One editorial modification is made to help researchers correlate this data with prior publications offering lists of transportees. On the following pages, for those names that are

clearly or probably those of convicted felons, a bracketed note adds record information taken from this writer's 1988 work, *Complete Book of Emigrants in Bondage, 1614–1775*[3]—together with the date of the order for transportation (O.T.).

It will be apparent that, either through intent or negligence, many names of felons underwent a sea change between the time of their conviction and that of their arrival on the shores of Maryland. This circumstance poses additional questions about the accurate identification of many original emigrants, not only those with a criminal background. Within the listings there are also many names that can be unambiguously identified as plantation servants who registered their indentures in London, Bristol, or Liverpool. However, no attempt has been made in this article to point to their possible origins.

LAND-OFFICE PATENT SERIES, LIBER 16: 428

19th February 1671/2
Came James Ives, marriner, and proved the Right to five hundred and fifty acres of Land for Transporting in the years 1670 & 1671 these Eleven persons following into this Province to Inhabite (vizt.)

John Bloome [of East Dereham, Norfolk, O.T. 5 August 1671]
Daniell Egelden
Edward Goffe [London prisoner, O.T. 8 June 1670]
Aaron Fountaine [of Water Newton, Cambridgeshire, O.T. 5 August 1671]
Eliz. Jones
Elizabeth Bowden [London prisoner, O.T. 8 June 1671]
John Tilson [Roger Tilson, of Bury Saint Edmunds, Suffolk, O.T. 5 August 1671]
Thomas Powell [of Hackney, Middlesex, O.T. 8 June 1671]
Elinor Gray [Elianor Graves, spinster, alias wife of Thomas Graves of Whitechapel, Middlesex, O.T. 8 June 1671]
Samuell Hunton
George Barber [of Saint Giles in the Fields, Middlesex, O.T. 8 June 1671]

before me . . . [signed] Charles Calvert

I Doe Assigne over by these presents unto Henry Hazelwood of Baltemore County the Rights of Thomas Powell, George Barber, Edward Goffe, Eliz. Bouden and Elinor Gray Transported as abovesaid by me into this Province as wittness my hand and seale the 19th day of February 1671.
Testis Wm. Cowin, James Ives [sealed]

27th February 1671.
Warrant then Granted unto Henry Hazelwood of Baltr. County for Two hundred & fifty acres, it being due to him by Assignmt. from James Ives, due to the said Ives for Transporting the persons in the foregoing assignment mencioned, Cert. Returnd. 3 months.

Warrant then Granted unto James Ives for Three hundred acres of Land, it being due to him for Transporting John Bloom, Aaron Fountaine, John Tilson, Samuell Hunton, Daniell Egelden & Elizabeth Jones into this Province as aforesaid. Returnable the 27th of May next.

LAND-OFFICE PATENT SERIES, LIBER 16: 452

Servants Transported into this Province in the *Baltemore* of London, John Dunch Commander, for himself Anno 1671, vizt:

Ralph Barret [of Topcroft, Norfolk, O.T. 5 August 1671]
Henry Brady [of Necton, Norfolk, O.T. 5 August 1671]
Silvester Kee [Kay, of Paston, Norfolk, O.T. 5 August 1671]
William Gary [Jary, of Taverham, Norfolk, O.T. 5 August 1671]
William Elward [Elwood, of Dereham, Norfolk, O.T. 5 August 1671]
Robert Leaky [Lakey, of Bexwell, Norfolk, O.T. 5 August 1671]
John Wolston

and in the year 1670 by the said John Dunch was Transported
Jane Dowerson &
Mary North

19th February 1671[/2]
Proved before me and Rights for their Importation is due to the said John Dunch.
[signed] Charles Calvert.

I Doe by these presents assigne over my Right, Title & Interest of the above named nine Servants into this Country Transported by me unto Richard Hill of Ann Arundell County as wittness my hand & Seale this 20th February 1671.
[signed] John Dunch.

LAND-OFFICE PATENT SERIES, LIBER 16: 507

[no date] 1672.
[Samuel Groome's] Demand for Three Thousand two hundred and fifty acres of Land to him due for Transporting out of England at his own Cost and Charges on the Ship *William and Mary* of London and arrived in this Province the 10th day of March these sixty five persons following (vizt.)

Thomas Phillips
John Willafore
Mary Warner
Tho. Greene
Sam. Chamberlin
Wm. Porter [of Saint Saviour, Southwark, O.T. 9 June 1671]
Jane Reves
Roger Sherry
Wm. Bush

Anth. Cock
Symon Edward
Tho. Trymary
Tho. Bradshaw
John Alcock [of Willaston, Cheshire, O.T. 6 September 1671]
Richard Smith
Roger Kelly
John Goude
Ed. Benhall
Johanna Blake [or Blabe]
Garrt. Fitzgaret
Edwd. Creeke
John Cresob
Danll. Barnes
Ellen Hason
John Snook
Tho. Wallis
Sam. Fowler
John Wright
Wm. Gabby
Ann Marshall
Edw. Lacy
John Tanner
Lawrence Warren
George Bayly
Ellen Ware
Eliza. Godfrey
Sam. Finch
Mary Linington
John Davy
John Jones [Middlesex prisoner, O.T. December 1671]
Roger Medley [Middlesex prisoner, O.T. December 1671]
Richd. Whitehart [Middlesex prisoner, O.T. December 1671]
George Miles [Moles, Middlesex prisoner, O.T. December 1671]
Richard Burges
Elias Goddard
Wm. Tompson [Middlesex prisoner, O.T. December 1671]
Call Read [Calvin Read, Middlesex prisoner, O.T. December 1671]
Jane Pelligan [Pellingham, Middlesex prisoner, O.T. December 1671]
Mary Lyon [alias Darton alias Carleton, Middlesex prisoner, O.T. December 1671]
Ann Burbidge
Athia Ayry
Ailce Belford [Alice Benford, Middlesex prisoner, O.T. December 1671)
Mary Beard
John Phillips
John Cullier
Daniell Howell

Elizabeth Dazwell
Eli. Holm
Ri. Webb
Tho. Floyd
Sarah Allwood
John Griffen
Tho. Vahon
Wm. Wyatt
Henry Short

Warrant then granted unto the said Samuell Groome for Three Thousand two hundred and fifty acres of Land, it being due to him for Transporting the abovementioned persons into this Province to Inhabit. Cert. returnable the 15th of August next.

LAND-OFFICE PATENT SERIES, LIBER 17: 440

A List of Rights Transported into this Province by Edward Perrin in the year 1673:

John Wiseman [of Burton, Somerset, blacksmith, O.T. 15 February 1673]
James Morgan [of Brislington, Somerset, husbandman, O.T. 15 February 1673]
John Pritchard [of Kill, Somerset, O.T. 3 July 1672]
Leonard Coate [of North Petherton, Somerset, tailor, O.T. 3 July 1672]
Edward Baker [of Chard, Somerset, husbandman, O.T. 15 February 1673]
Samuell Perrin [of Axbridge, Somerset, O.T. 15 February 1673]
William Lloyd
Thomas Gullock [of Newton Saint Loe, Somerset, O.T. 3 July 1672]
Charles Jones
Henry West [of Beckington, Somerset, husbandman, O.T. 15 February 1673]
Charles Bailey [of Wells, Somerset, husbandman, O.T. 15 February 1673]
Elizabeth Brock
Joane Windsor
Thomas Bull

Warrt. then issued to Edward Perrin for Seven hundred acres of Land, it being due to him for Transporting the above named fourteen persons into this Province to Inhabit. Cert. ret. the 9th of August next.

LAND-OFFICE PATENT SERIES, LIBER 17: 463

June the 21st 1673.
Came James Ives of Baltemore County & proved rights to Six hundred acres of land, it being due to him for transporting:

Christofer Tousing [Townsend, London prisoner, O.T. 17 September 1672]
Anthony Maypowder
Elizabeth Devine
Lewis Devine
Elizab. Beare [of Saint Martin's in the Fields, Middlesex, spinster, O.T. 17 September 1672]
Ann Gibson [of Staines, Middlesex, spinster, O.T. 17 September 1672]
Thos. Linsey [of Saint Mary Savoy, Middlesex, O.T. 17 September 1672]

Wm. Holloway [London prisoner, O.T. 17 September 1672]
Andrew Hurst [London prisoner, O.T. 17 September 1672]
Robt. Castleton [London prisoner, O.T. 17 September 1672]
Robt. Abell
Elizab. Longman [spinster, alias wife of William Longman, London prisoner, O.T. 17 September 1672]

into this Province. Warrt. then issued to the said James Ives for Six hundred acres of Land, it being due to him for Transporting the above named Twelve persons into this province to Inhabit. Cert. ret. the 21st Sept. next.

LAND-OFFICE PATENT SERIES, LIBER 17: 551

November 15th 1673. Came Thomas Taylor of the County of Ann Arundell Esq. & proved Rights to five hundred and fifty acres of Land for Transporting:

John Pepper
John Bennett [London prisoner, O.T. 17 September 1672]
Lawrence Beedle [of Stepney, Middlesex, O.T. 17 September 1672]
Samuell Renolds [Samuel Reignold, London prisoner, O.T. 17 September 1672]
John Canton [Catton, of Stepney, Middlesex, O.T. 17 September 1672]
Charles Brown [of Saint Martin's in the Fields, Middlesex, O.T. 17 September 1672]
Christopher Randall [London prisoner, O.T. 17 September 1672]
Robert Harvey [London prisoner, O.T. 17 September 1672]
Ann Cornwall [spinster, London prisoner, O.T. 17 September 1672]
Elizabeth Bowdle [Bowdley, of Saint Andrew Holborn, spinster, O.T. 17 September 1672]
Alice Foster [of Saint Giles in the Fields, spinster, O.T. 17 September 1672]

into this province to Inhabit. Warrt. then issued to the said Thomas Taylor for five hundred and fifty acres of Land, it being due to him for Transporting the above named Eleven persons into this Province to Inhabit. Cert. ret. the 16th Feb. next.

LAND-OFFICE PATENT SERIES, LIBER 18: 84

22nd May 1674. Capt. Benony Eaton proved then his Right to Two thousand four hundred and fifty acres of Land for Transporting the forty nine following persons into this Province to Inhabit:

Thomas Mathews
Robert Devenish [London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Robert Thornhill
Jeremiah Sewell [Sowell, of Stepney, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Tho. Deadman [Denman, London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Charles Smith [London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
George Gee [of Enfield, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October 1673]
William Ridgway [of Marylebone, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Evan Dands
Willm. Briggs [John Briggs alias Boys, London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Stephen Sheppard [?Francis Sheppard, London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]

Tho. Harris [of Staines, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Tho. Bingham [of Saint Giles, Cripplegate, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Richd. Edell [Ewdall alias Evedall, London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Jno. Hawsworth [Hawksworth alias Green, of Saint Paul, Covent Garden, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Richd. Cooly [Cowley, of Saint Clement Danes, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October 1673]
John Ponder
John Slater [Slaughter, of Saint Giles in the Fields, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Richd. Evans [London prisoner, O.T. 26 Oct 1673]
Dorothy Moore [spinster, London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Mary Swinfeild [Shingfield, spinster, alias wife of Michael Shingfield, London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Eliza. Butler [spinster, alias wife of William Longman, London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Ann Loe [Lowe, spinster, alias wife of Thomas Lowe, mariner, London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Mary Elsemore [spinster, alias wife of Robert Elsmore, London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Mary Ishipp [?Mary Jolopp, spinster, London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Ann Smith [alias Twist, spinster, London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Eliz. Crafts [Croft, spinster, London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Martha Haughton [Houghton, spinster, London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Elinor Farmades [Helen Farmer, widow, London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Mary Bramly [Bromley, spinster, alias wife of Francis Griffith of Saint Margaret, Westminster, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Eliz. Richway
James Mathews [London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Jonathan Weight [John White alias Wayte, London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Thomas Towers [of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Willm. Kerton [Kirton, of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Thomas Leech [of Friern Barnet, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Willm. Brewer [Brewett, of Stepney, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Willm. Ireland [of Saint Giles in the Fields, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October 1673]
John Sevett [Joseph Syvett, London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Jno. Jackson [alias Coxe, London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Stephn. Eusby
Grace Tucker [wife of Richard Tucker, of Saint Giles in the Fields, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Jane Wedge [?Jane Watts, spinster, London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Margt. Watson [spinster, of Saint Giles in the Fields, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Joanna Stansby [Joan Stanley, wife of Thomas Stanley, of Saint Mary Savoy, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Sarah Ously [Onesby, of Saint Sepulchre, Middlesex, spinster, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Susanna Safegar [Susan Fostiker, of Saint Giles, Cripplegate, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October 1673]
John Smith [?Jasper Smith, of Islington, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Willm. Kemster

These Rights proved by Capt. Benony Eaton this 22nd May 1674 Before me
[signed] Charles Calvert.

Know all men by these presents that I Benony Eaton, master of the Good Ship *Charles* of London, doe assigne, sell and Set over from me, my heirs, Executors, Administrators and assigns all my Right, Title and Interest of forty nine Rights unto Baker Brookes Esq., his heirs, Executors, Administrators, (etc.)

LAND-OFFICE PATENT SERIES, LIBER 18: 174

9th February 1674 [/5]
Came Benjamin Cooper of London, marriner, and proved Rights unto three thousand and five hundred and fifty acres of Land due to him for Transporting the seventy one persons under mentioned into this province to Inhabite:

Eliz. Haver
Peter Price
James Bayly
Oliver Richards
David Lloyd
Willm. Allison
John Warde
Mary Wilson
James Nichols
Mary Byshop
Alice Nelson
Sarah Baxter
Mary Pell
John Bennet
Benja. Daring
Barbara Lowe
Sarah Ingram
Peter De Young
Robert Milton
John Moore
Eliz. Bartlet
Margaret Bowen
Eliz. Dummack
Eliz. Williams [London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Robert Taylor
John Bradshaw
Margaret Laycock
Eliz. Glover
John Mackerell [London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Nicho. Loyce [Cloyse, yeoman, London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Tho. Brown [London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]
William Groves [London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Robert Larret [London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]

Richard Terry [London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Michaell Bird [London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Wm. Brown [London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Henry Busby [London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Robert Williams [London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Edward Goddard [of Saint Giles in the Fields, Middlesex, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Jasper Smith [of Islington, Middlesex, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Thomas Watters [Walters of Stepney, Middlesex, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Robert Motley [of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex, O.T. 18 July 1674]
George Merchant [of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Willm. Burch [Birch, of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Roger Puliston [Pullison, of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Robert Johnson [of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Francis Ellet [Frances Ellett, of Whitechapel, Middlesex, O.T. 18 July 1674]
John Jones [of Saint Paul, Covent Garden, Middlesex, O.T. 18 July 1674]
John Harbridge [of Saint Mary Savoy, Middlesex, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Willm. Mitchell [of Saint Andrew, Holborn, Middlesex, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Walter Feild [of Stepney, Middlesex, O.T. 18 July 1674]
John Yorpe [Yarpe, of Stepney, Middlesex, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Thomas Barnes
Richard Owen
Grissell Hudson [spinster, alias wife of William Hudson, London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Priscilla Devenish [spinster, alias wife of Robert Devenish, London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Mary Davis [spinster, London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Jane Wapshot [spinster, London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Mary Ireland [spinster, London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Mary Packer [Parker, widow, London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Mary Fisher [spinster, alias wife of Thomas Fisher, London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Sarah Bayly [of Saint Margaret, Westminster, spinster, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Katherine Keeling [widow, London prisoner, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Mary Rugmore [Rugmar, of Hampstead, Middlesex, spinster, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Lucy Woolfry [of Saint Martin in the Fields, Middlesex, spinster, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Eliz. Harrison [alias Harris, of Saint Giles in the Fields, Middlesex, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Eliz. Williams [spinster, of Saint Andrew, Holborn, Middlesex, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Eliz. Ball [of Saint Andrew, Holborn, Middlesex, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Mary Nevell [Nevill, of Clerkenwell, Middlesex, O.T. 18 July 1674]
Elizabeth Mackarell
Clement Diton

The aforesaid Seventy one Rights proved before me by Capt. Benja. Cooper the day & year aforesaid.

[signed] John Blomfeild, Cl.

Know all men by these presents that I Benjamin Cooper of London, marriner, for a valuable consideracon to me in hand paid by Robert Ridgely of St. Mary's Citty,

have assigned, Sold and made over unto the said Robert Ridgely all my right, Title and Interest of, in and to the Seventy one Rights to Land within mentioned, To have and to hold in the said Seventy and one Rights to Land to him, the said Robert Ridgely, his heirs and Assigns for ever. In wittness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand and Seale the ninth day of February in the 43 year of the Dominion of Caecilius etc. Annoq. 1674. Sealed and Delivered in presence of us Jo. Rousby, Thomas Garrard.

Robert Ridgely assigns to Thomas Walker of [Somer]set County.

LAND-OFFICE PATENT SERIES, LIBER WC 2: 328

Augt. the 20th 1680.

Came before me these persons foll. (vizt.)

Francis Shepard [London prisoner, O.T. 26 October 1673]
Hannah Shepard his wife
Thomas Denman [London prisoner, O.T. 26 Oct ober 1673]
Thomas Bealey
Thomas Bingham [of Saint Giles, Cripplegate, Middlesex, O.T. 26 October1673]
Zacharias Cadell [servant bound in Bristol in September 1670 for 4 years]
Margarett Pander, wife of John Pander.

and took their corporal oaths that they had fully served their times in this Province and that they, nor none other for them, had made use of their rights, and proved in common for me. Before me

[signed] Vincent Lowe.

Know all men by these presents that I Thomas Denman doe hereby Assigne over unto Robert Smith of Talbott County all my right to land proved before Coll. Lowe the 20th of August 1680 to him, his heirs or Assignes for Ever, haveing recd. consideration already in hand for ye same. Witness my hand this 20th Day of August in ye yeare 1680.

[signed] Tho. (x) Denman.
Teste. Tho. Emarson, Tho. Broffe.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

* 16 Foxley Hill Road; Purley, Surrey CR8 2HB, England. Mr. Coldham, a Fellow of the American Society of Genealogists, is a leading authority on British immigrants to America.

1. British Public Records Office; Chancery Lane; London WC2A 1LR. For an overview of the PRO records, see Joy Wade Moulton, *Genealogical Resources in English Repositories* (Columbus, Ohio: Hampton House, 1988).

2. Identifying the Maryland felons amid the land records is greatly facilitated by Gust Skordas's index published as *The Early Settlers of Maryland, 1633–1680* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1986).

3. Peter Wilson Coldham, *Complete Book of Emigrants in Bondage, 1614–1775* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1988).

Bible Records

The Palmer Bible

Contributed by Leonard H. Smith Jr., CG*

The original of this Bible was in the possession of Roger I. Palmer of Savona, New York, in 1977, when he supplied the present contributor with a photocopy of the title and vital-records pages. The date of birth shown for Gershom Palmer agrees with the vital records of Stonington, Connecticut, as shown in the Barbour Index.[1]

H. & E. Phinney's Stereotype Edition, The Holy Bible . . . (Cooperstown, N.Y.: Phinney, 1837).

BIRTHS

Page 1,[2] *column 1:*

Gershom Palmer born Jany 5, 1772, in Stonington, Ct.
Ruth Randall (his wife) born Aug, 26th 1772 in Colchester, Ct.

Their Children

Love	born	Sept. 5, 1793
Deborah		June 11, 1795
Abel Rathbone		May 30, 1797
Rufus Randall		Sept. 29, 1799
Margaret		Sept. 21, 1802
Isaac Gardner		June 3, 1805
Eunice		May 30, 1807
Louis Angeline		Nov. 20, 1811
Daniel Wightman		Mar. 12, 1814
Erastus Stark		Jan. 14, 1818

Page 1, column 2:

James B. Palmer	born	April 2nd, 1834
Bradley G. Palmer		Sept. 21st 1838
Henry D. Palmer		May 22nd 1842

Page 2, column 1
Alice Smith Born in Richfield, Ontsego Co., N.Y., May the 7th 1803
Abigal Smith Born in Richfield, Ontsego Co., N.Y., Dec. 24th 1799

Page 3, column 1

Martha Mattoon	Aug. 11th, 1841
Sarah A. Mattoon	Jan. 5th, 1847
Mary J. Mattoon	March 18th 1853

Page 4, column 1

Ebenezer J. Mattoon	Jan. 12th 1814
Sarah M. Hoagland	Jan. 30th 1821

Page 4, column 2

Eben Palmer	November the 27th 1881

MARRIAGES

Page 5, column 1
Gershom Palmer and Ruth Randall married Nov. 7, 1791
Rufus R. Palmer married Alice Smith at West Winfield by Eld J. D. Newell Feb 26th 1833
Isaac G. Palmer married to Elvira Barr in Conn. Oct. 1830
Daniel W. Palmer married at Burlington Augt. 1834 to Esther Ball

Page 5, column 2
Justin and Margaret was married to each other by Elder Wm Burch at Exeter April 18 1822
P. F. Stark and Emma Palmer was married Aug. 13 1823 by Eld Wm. B. Curtis at [blank]
[illegible][3] was married [?] 15, 1830 at [blank] to Watson Hanks [Hawks?]
Erastus S. Palmer married to Anna Maria Fulton at Utica April [24?] 1837 by Rev. J. W. Fowler

Page 6, column 1
Ebenezer J. Mattoon to Sarah M. Hoagland Sept. 16th 1840

Page 6, column 2
Sarah A. Mattoon to [illegible][4] Feb. the 9th 1879

DEATHS

Page 8, column 1
Gershom Palmer Died Feb. 9th 1838 Aged 66 years 1 month

Ruth Palmer Died Augt. 23 1835 aged 83
Alice Palmer Died May the 3d 1873 Aged 69 years 11 months & 20 days
Clarissa Palmer wife of Abel R. Palmer died Dec. 1st 1886 in Iowa
Deborah Fairchild died at Georgetown, Cal. Dec. 27th 1875 age: 80 years 6 months and 16 days
Margaret Higgins died at Howard, Steuben Co., N.Y. Aug. 21st 1898 aged 95 years 11 months

Page 8, column 2
[One illegible entry][5]
Lucy Savage died Dec. 27, 1870 age [?] years 6 months 16 days
Abel R. Palmer died Feb. 16, 1854 aged 56
Rufus R. Palmer Died Dec. 30 1858 Aged 59 Howard, Steuben Co., N.Y.
Daniel W. Palmer died at Exter, Mich. Apl 18 1859
Justin Higgins died January 4th 1862
David Fairchild died Sept. 17th 1866 Aged 75 years in California
Eunice Stark died Apr. the 5th 1868 Aged 61
Isaac G. Palmer Died Nov. the 8th 1869 Aged 64 y 5 m and 5 d At Corning, Steuben Co., N.Y.
Jesse Savage Died May 18th 1871 At Utica, N.Y. Aged 79 years
James Stark Feb. 11 1892 Cortland 1892 [*sic*] age 89 & 2

Page 9, column 1
Martha M. Mattoon Oct. 8th 185[?]
E. J. Mattoon Feb. the 19th 18[?]
Sarah M. Matton Aug. 19, 1899

NOTES AND REFERENCES

*1660 Harmony Drive; Clearwater, FL 34616. Colonel Smith, a Certified Genealogist, was awarded the 1994 NGS Award for Achievement: Individual, for a lifetime of service to the field of genealogy. A photocopy of this set of records has been deposited in the Bible Records Collection of the National Genealogical Society Library; Arlington, Virginia. Supplemental notes have been added below by the *NGS Quarterly* editors.

1. Lucious B. Barbour, an early-twentieth-century Connecticut Examiner of Public Records, oversaw the transcription of town-level vital records throughout the state. The resulting bound volumes and an accompanying index on paper slips are housed at the Conn. State Library, Hartford. Microfilm copies exist in other major repositories.

2. The original record pages are not numbered. This transcription therefore assigns page 1 to the first sheet.

3. The first word of this barely decipherable name begins with *L* and appears to be *Louis*. There follows the initial *A*. Seemingly, this is the individual whose birth is recorded at p. 1, col. 1, as *Louis Angeline [born] Nov. 20, 1811*.

4. The surname in this case is *Palmer*. Two initials precede the surname. The first almost certainly is *G*. The second could be *W.* or *Hy.*

5. The first name almost certainly is *Nathan*. The date portion appears to contain the letters *Aug.*

The Barnes-Rizer Bible

Contributed by Carl B. Barnes*

The original of this Bible, in 1937, was in the possession of Mrs. Grace Barnes Starr of Richland Center, Wisconsin. Photostats of the record pages were made at that time by her nephew, Carl B. Barnes. Mrs. Starr died in 1960. The Bible is presently owned by her grandson, Dr. Robert Starr; 318 South Washington Street; Viroqua, WI 54665. The entries, which cover the period 1768–1931, were made in varied penmanship—even those relating to the original couple.

The union of the Barnes-Rizer families dates to 1815, when Rezin Barnes married Catharine Rizer in Allegany County, Maryland. About 1827–28 the couple migrated to Tippecanoe County, Indiana (with one child being born along the way in Ohio). The family finally settled in Richland County, Wisconsin, in 1849, where Rezin owned a sawmill and operated a mercantile business. About 1900 one grandson, Guy Barnes (father of the contributor), migrated to Mobile, Alabama, and pursued lumbering interests across the South before marrying and settling in South Carolina.

MARRIAGES

Page 677,[1] *column 1*
James T. Barnes & Mary Ann Potts were married Dec 29 1846
B. F. Barnes and Margret ann Kiericker Was Married March 8th 1854
William M. Barnes and Ada M. Fries were married November 1st 1863
Jacob A. Barnes and Sarah E. Simmons were married December 24th 1862.

Page 1, column 2
Rezin Barnes and Catharine Rizer was Maried on may th 21, 1815[2]

BIRTHS

Page 678, column 1
The Mother: Anna Barnes was bourn[3] in the year of our lord 1768 May the 28th
Rezin Barnes was born in The year of our lord 1794 Jun the 6th
Ateteway Barnes was bourn in the year of our lord 1796 July the 15th
Mary an Barnes was bourn in The year of our lord 1803 August the 8th
Catharine Barnes was bourn in the year of our lord 1795 March 17th[4]

Page 678, column 2
George Rizer Barnes was bourn in the year of our lord 1816 October the 20th
James Thomas Barnes was bourn in the year of our lord 1819 ~~October~~ [*sic*] September 24th.
Rebecca ann Barnes was bourn in the year of our lord 1823 february 11th

Sophia Frances Barnes was born in the year of our lord 1825 july the 16
Benjamin F. Barnes was born the 10th of September in the year of our lord 1828

Page 679, column 1

Rezin Liles Barnes was born in the year of our lord 1832 february the 27th at 8 o clock p.m.

William Marian Barnes was born in the year of our lord 1834 october the 2nd at 6 oclock 25 minuts AM

George Rizer was born April 23d 1767
Margaret Rizer was born March 30 1766
Anna Rizer was born october 12 1790
Jacob Rizer was born April 14 1793
Catharine Rizer born March 17 1795
Sophia Rizer born May 8, 1797
George Rizer born October 28 1799
William Rizer born february 23 1801
Benjamin Rizer born january 31 1805
Phillip Rizer was born October th 24 1807

Jacob Andrew Barnes was born the 2nd of September 1840 at 10 oclock PM

DEATHS

Page 679, column 2

Rebecka ann Barnes Daughter of Rezin and Catharine Barnes Departed this life the 29th of August 1831 Aged 8 years 5 months 18 days

Sophia Frances Barnes Daughter of Rezin and Catharine Barnes Departed this life the 18th of November 1842 in her 18th year aged 17 years 4 months 2 days and 4 hours

Rezin Liles Barnes Son of Rezin and Catharine Barnes Departed this life th 6 of August 1854 aged 21 year and 7 months

Page 680, column 1

Benjamin F. Barnes Died Oct 24 1904
Baby Storr [Starr?] Died Feb 3 1905
James T. Barnes Died Dec 24th 1911
William M Barnes Died April 16 1913 11:40 P.M.
Jacob Andrew Barnes Died July 3 1925 Aged 84 yrs 10 mo & 1 day
Ada M. Barnes, wife of Wm. M. Barnes died Jan 7, 1921
Sarah E. wife of Jacob A. Barnes, died Jan 16, 1931

Page 680, column 2

Phillip Rizer departed this life July th 29 1837 aged 29 years 9 months and 23 days

Benjamin F. Rizer departed this life the 6 of January 1853 aged 48 years and 6 days
George Rizer Departed this life January 7th 1853

NOTES AND REFERENCES

*1923 Martha's Road; Alexandria, VA 22307. The present transcription and notes have been made by the *NGS Quarterly* editors from the submitted photocopy, which has been deposited in the Bible Records Collection of the National Genealogical Society Library; Arlington, Virginia.

1. Although this page is the first one in the record, it does not appear to have been the first page on which entries were recorded. The oldest entries should be the births on p. 678 that begin with "The Mother: Anna Barnes. . . ."

2. This 1815 marriage entry for the central couple was entered in the same penmanship as the 1767–1805 Rizer entries on p. 679 (col. 1) and the 1854 death of Rezin Liles Barnes on p. 679 (col. 2). The hand is distinctly different from that discussed in n. 4 below (presumably Rezin) and is more likely to be that of Catherine (Rizer) Barnes.

3. Here and in other instances in which the word is spelled as *bourn*, there appears to be an attempt to erase the *u*. Among the pre-1825 Barnes births, in the one case in which the word is spelled in the customary American manner, it appears that the writer faltered and overwrote the word in order to spell it *born* rather than *bourn*. The penmanship is the same in the first six entries, and all appear to have been made at one sitting—which means that the Bible probably was begun after 1824. Considering that the entries begin with "The Mother: Anna Barnes," then continue through Rezin and his apparent siblings and on to Rezin's children—and considering that the handwriting is distinctly different from the Rizer entries discussed in n. 2 above—it is most probable that this set of entries was entered by Rezin.

4. This 1795 birth of "Catherine Barnes" should be that of Catherine Rizer, wife of Rezin Barnes. Note that it is out of sequence with the three Barnes births that follow the entry for mother Anna Barnes; and the date given here for "Catherine Barnes" duplicates that given for Catherine Rizer on p. 679.

Free Paper: Daniel Mann (Marr?)

[Kershaw County, South Carolina, Deed Book A: 242]

State of Maryland
Baltimore County
4 September 1794
Before me, George P. Kuports[?], Notary Public in Baltimore Town, Maryland, personally appeared Daniel Mann [Marr?] a free negroe who made oath that he was born in Prince George County, Maryland, that he's about thirty eight years of age and that he never was in any other than in the service of some person or persons residing in the United States of America. The Deponent hath subscribed his mark instead of his name, and I, the said Notary, have set my hand and affixed my seal Notarial.

[signed] Geo. P. Kuports[?], Noty. Pubc. of Balt. County

4 October 1797
Recorded, Kershaw Co.
To prevent any deception should the within Deposition fall into the hands of any other person whatsoever, here follows the description of the within named Daniel Mann [Marr?], aged about thirty eight years, Five foot Five and an half inches hight without shoes, a yellow Negro man, with short curly hair, a large scar on the right cheek and another small scar on the forehead near the edge of the hair.

—Contributed by GeLee Corley Hendrix, CG, FASG; 3 Acorn Court; Greenville, SC 29609-3111

Book Reviews

ETHNIC GUIDES

Your English Ancestry: A Guide for North Americans. By Sherry Irvine. Published by Ancestry; Post Office Box 476; Salt Lake City, UT 84110-0476; 1993. ix, 196 pp. Appendixes, illustrations, index, maps. Softback. $12.95 (shipping: $2.50).

Irvine has designed a guide for U.S. and Canadian researchers who seek ancestors in England after 1754. The period emphasis is influenced by four factors: Latin, by this time, was little used; manuscripts were mostly written in a modern hand; the Gregorian calendar had been adopted; and Lord Hardwicke's Act (effective 25 March 1754) standardized the recording of marriages.

The author's goal is to foster an understanding of the records available after that date and how they can be accessed either in North America or by correspondence with English repositories or searchers. The book begins with general advice on getting started and closes with a more-advanced methodological chapter labeled "Working It Out." In between, the chapters describe the major kinds of resources: civil registrations, censuses, lists and periodicals, church holdings, wills, other civil files, and occupational records.

The format seems to follow the author's stated nine years of experience in teaching genealogy—a noticeable strength of the guide. In addition to the description of the records, Irvine provides references to other texts dealing with her subjects. She suggests things to look for and discusses methods for using specific records. Each chapter, after the first, ends with a summarization of the steps or alternatives the searcher should follow or consider while pursuing ancestors in this type of record.

Five appendixes add to the value of the guide. Two treat the Family History Library Catalog and the International Genealogical Index, Mormon genealogical collections that represent perhaps the largest body of English records easily available to researchers in North America. A third describes Lord Hardwicke's Act, and the fourth lists all references cited. The fifth is a collection of addresses for English libraries, county and national record offices, archives, and museums—material that researchers will find useful for requesting help from the English side of the Atlantic.

As with many books, the index is not as comprehensive as it should be. For example, several directories or bibliographies are mentioned on pages 5 and 6 that do not appear in the index entries for "directories." A few books are included in the index by title, but most are not. The list of reference works is extensive, although many are British and Canadian publications not easily found in the United States. Including the addresses of such British publishers as Phillimore and Company of Chichester would have been helpful also.

Your English Ancestry is written in a clear, understandable style. Mrs. Irvine has successfully produced a genealogical course in print that fosters an understanding of

English records, advises how they may be obtained, and suggests how they may be used.

Glencoe, Illinois H. Clark Dean, CG

FAMILY HISTORIES

The Roberts-Orme Ancestry, volume 1: Roberts, Muir, and Allied Families. By John Franklin Vallentine, edited by John Douglas Roberts. Published by John D. Roberts; 1 Melrose Street; Dunedin, New Zealand; 1994. ix, 346 pp. Appendixes, charts, index. Softback. Price not available.

This family history is the first of a multivolume publication planned for the families united by the marriage of John Douglas Roberts and Peggy Marie Orme. Volume 1 covers the descendants and American ascendants of the author's grandparents: Harrison Simpson Roberts (1847–1933), Mary Elizabeth Brent (1853–1951), Samuel Boone Muir (1860–1906), and Elizabeth Josephine Cox (1863–1932). Notables include the Squire Boone family and the Kentucky author Elizabeth Madox Roberts, who wrote *Time of Man* and *The Great Meadow.*

The editor's foreword succinctly explains the organization of the book, methods of documenting and footnoting, and the numbering system used to present the family groups. The two ancestral charts, "Descendants of Simpson Roberts and Mary Brent" and "Pedigree of John Douglas Roberts," provide a good guide to the book—although they would have been even more helpful had they included the ahnentafel numbers used in the book. The narrative for each family presents an impressive amount of detailed data and concludes with a listing of sources used. Citations are easy to follow and greatly aid the reader. Family stories are often recounted in the text, making it much more interesting to the casual reader. Commendably, traditional accounts are always noted as such, thus allowing the reader to assess the probable validity of the deductions drawn.

Weaknesses in the research underlying this book are mentioned in the foreword and appendix—a testimonial to the editor's honesty if not judgment. For example, the book relies in part on unconfirmed information from contemporaries and compiled histories. A number of the manuscripts cited are unpublished works written by the editor himself. Roberts clearly notes this weakness, warning that when no source is given the reader should beware. Finally, he remarks that his efforts at including spousal names in the index "may not be accurate in every case" (p. 257).

The appendixes include short genealogies of allied families, along with biographies of several family members. One of the best accounts is "Memories of Life on a Farm in Hart County, Kentucky," by Mary Brent Roberts. Her recollection of "Simpson Roberts's [Civil] War Experiences," covering the man's unsuccessful attempt to remain neutral in the supposedly neutral state of Kentucky, is particularly interesting for the strong emotions that the events evoked in the narrator years after the fact and for the insight it gives to the times as remembered by a woman.

In summary, while the documentation for this book is not perfect, it contains a great deal of information about the family and the lives of its members—something that many genealogies neglect. It is a readable study of an interesting family.

Lexington, Kentucky Roseann R. Hogan, Ph.D.

IMMIGRATION STUDIES

Scottish Emigration to Colonial America. By David Dobson. Published by University of Georgia Press; 330 Research Drive; Athens, GA 30602-4901; 1994. 265 pp. Bibliography, index. Hardback. $35.00.

The work of David Dobson, in presenting sources relating to the emigration of Scottish men and women to the American colonies, is familiar to the readers of this journal and all others doing Scottish research. In the present effort, he attempts—and admirably succeeds with—an overview of the entire process of emigration in a concise form, discussing each period and geographic area in turn. Briefly, but in no way superficially, he explains the motives and circumstances that produced the various patterns of emigration. The generalities that he expresses seem to be based upon the evidence, rather than forcing or coloring the latter. His bibliography is extensive.

Dobson's account is topically arranged, within a chronology of major periods of Scottish emigration: the half-century before Restoration (1607–60); Restoration to the Union of England with Scotland (1661–1707); Union to the Peace of Paris, which ended the Seven Years' War (1707–63); and the Peace of Paris to the Treaty of Paris, which ended the American Revolution (1763–1783), with an extension through the two years following the close of the latter hostilities.

Scottish Emigration is a useful source of background information that will aid genealogists in interpreting their documents and placing the information they use in proper historical perspective. It is recommended for all who are interested in colonial-American immigration patterns.

Salt Lake City, Utah — Neil D. Thompson, Ph.D., CG, FASG

METHODOLOGICAL MANUALS

The Genealogist's Companion & Sourcebook. By Emily Anne Croom. Published by Betterway Books; 1507 Dana Avenue; Cincinnati, OH 45207; 1994. 175 pp. Appendixes, census forms, family group sheets, index. Softback. $16.95 (shipping: $3.50).

A genealogical guide that differentiates between instant gratification and genealogical research just has to be good. This one is in most respects. Croom's "not-so-basic guide" to sources and sites preaches patience, uses case studies and examples to reinforce this maxim, and is written at a level suitable for the intended audience: those who have exhausted private or home sources.

In clear, direct, and usually accurate discourse, the reader is guided through selected American research materials—common works such as newspapers, censuses, military files, and church records; and not-so-common resources such as *American State Papers,* manuscript collections, the National Reporter System, and the *U.S. Serial Set.* Libraries (public, university, and law) and courthouses have their own chapters, as do two ethnic groups: African Americans and Native Americans. The methodology of "cluster searches," investigating neighbors and collateral relatives in every generation for direct-line clues, is described and advocated.

An adept mingling of methodology, practical instruction, and unexpected topics sets *Companion* apart from many guides. Fire-insurance maps and records of schools and universities, area businesses, organizations, and local governments (town and city) supplement

such bread-and-butter sources as church registers and tombstone inscriptions. Illustrating the author's diversity are the materials covered under the topic *Library*—i.e., catalogs and indexes (including those computerized), government documents, public statutes at large, appellate-court cases, and legal data bases and directories. While topical treatment is not always comprehensive, the selection broadens research horizons for the intermediate researcher.

Beyond the usual number of inaccuracies, there are at least two noteworthy concerns: a confusing listing of "state" censuses and a superficial treatment of the research offerings of the Salt Lake City Family History Library.

Croom explains her "state" census coverage with an introductory remark (p. 38): "The list below concentrates only on state censuses that named heads of household or family members, not on substitutes or statistical censuses." Yet the advice seems misleading, as Connecticut's only reference is colonial (1669–70); and territorial censuses are included for Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, and Minnesota, among others. For accuracy and completeness, the reader would be better served by reference to Ann Lainhart's *State Census Records* (1992).

The Family History Library (FHL)'s rich collection of microformed county records goes noticeably unmentioned in the chapter on county-level and courthouse records. The omission is disappointing in a book that "tries to guide the reader to the record: where it is available for use, for purchase, or for rent" (p. 1). The author's coverage of FHL is virtually lost in the overall library discussion—one and one-half pages of text amid a nineteen-page chapter, offering but a few sentences on the FHL's loan program through the local Family History Centers of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The International Genealogical Index (IGI) is inaccurately defined as "an alphabetical list by surnames and region taken largely from group sheets processed through the Temple of the LDS Church" (p. 131). An added note that "other extracted vital records are included as well" does little to clarify the misleading generalization. Readers who consult one of Croom's recommended works (*The Library: A Guide to the LDS Family History Library*) will learn more specifically (p. 10) that the IGI consists of "entries . . . submitted by professional and amateur genealogists . . . taken from family and original records or by trained extractors who enter information from birth and marriage records, church registers, probate records, and census enumerations worldwide."

What is included in the *Companion* is valuable, clearly presented, and often unique. The author's obvious depth of hands-on experience with a variety of records raises this manual above the level of many guides.

Western Springs, Illinois — Sandra Hargreaves Luebking

REGIONAL WORKS

Tracing Your Mississippi Ancestors. By Anne S. Lipscomb and Kathleen S. Hutchison. Published by University Press of Mississippi; 3825 Ridgewood Road; Jackson, MS 39211–6492; 1994. x, 201 pp. Illustrations, index. Softback, $14.95; unjacketed library edition, $32.50.

Lipscomb and Hutchison have compiled a sound, basic, how-to book—as well as a guide to historical research in a state that has badly needed such a guide. Although the offering is slim and many users will wish for more, it is a major contribution to the present literature.

Ten initial chapters advise beginners how to plan their research, then introduces them to all the basic resources—principally censuses, vital records, military files, land documents, and church and cemetery records. Each discussion describes the nature of the materials and attempts to define those created by and within the state of Mississippi. Part 2 offers descriptive bibliographies in three categories: general sources, census and mortality schedules for the state, and county-level materials.

Most valuable, and often ignored in guides of this type, is the chapter devoted to special resources and methodology for "minority groups"—i.e., African Americana and Native Americana. Users are told of such valuable finding aids as the Labor Contract Index prepared by the Mississippi State Archives, which catalogs former slaves by name, county, and contract number within the difficult-to-use Freedmen's Bureau files. Succinctly outlined are the numerous Indian rolls dating, spasmodically, between 1831 and 1939—including the not-so-well-known federal censuses that record births on the Choctaw reservation at Philadelphia between 1924 and 1938. In other respects, the "minority-group" chapter is disappointing. No coverage is given to the Chinese, Italian, and Jewish groups that became substantial minority populations, in the Mississippi Delta especially, about the turn of the last century.

As might be expected, some glitches and misstatements exist. Page 57, for example, advises, "If you cannot locate an entry [in] the [county-level land] tract book, consider checking with the Alabama Archives . . . for if your ancestor completed his entry in the St. Stephens or Huntsville land offices, his file would be there." While it is true that Alabama was part of the Mississippi Territory between 1795 and 1817, that many settlers of present Mississippi came through Huntsville in North Alabama, and that the Saint Stephens land office in South Alabama did issue early warrants for settlement of some of South Mississippi's land, the files for these transactions are *not* housed at the Alabama State Archives. Rather, these federal documents should be sought in the U.S. General Land Office files at the National Archives and at the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) in Springfield, Virginia. Similarly, the discussion of BLM files might have helpfully mentioned the BLM District Office in Jackson, which makes available (for a fee) a computerized index to the federal disposition of all Mississippi land prior to the early twentieth century.

Copiously illustrated, this Mississippi guide tightly packs a lot of much-needed information and a high level of dependability into a physically lightweight volume.

Tuscaloosa, Alabama — Donna Rachal Mills, CGRS

Kingston, New Hampshire: Early Families, Patriots & Soldiers. By Kathleen E. Hosier. Published by Heritage Books; 1540-E Pointer Ridge Place, Suite 300; Bowie, MD 20716; 1993. xiv, 459 pp. Index. Softback. $32.00 (shipping $3.00).

Hosier approaches her subject in two parts. The first half attempts to present definitive, compiled genealogies, in a modification of the *Register* format, of all the early families living in the old town of Kingston. Originally part of the Hampton grant, its early settlers came from that town and Hampton's daughter towns, with new arrivals being primarily from Salisbury and Amesbury, Massachusetts. The second half of the book treats soldiers and sailors of Kingston as heads of households, giving data about their family units. The book is attractive and indexed; the typeface, unfortunately, is muddy and distracting.

While the sketches are consistently referenced, virtually all of the citations (and, consequently, the material presented) are to readily available secondary sources. As a result, misinformation that appears in the earlier works is reproduced. In the mind of the casual user, this repetition will seemingly validate the errors. Worse, the compiler has not kept abreast of modern periodical literature and does not report the published corrections—as, for example, the erroneous and incomplete discussion of Amasa (miscalled *Amassa*) Dow and his son of the same name (pp. 57–58), which ignores the correct treatment of them published in the *New Hampshire Genealogical Record* 7 (October 1990): 181–82 and 8 (October 1991): 183–92.

Although this book performs a function by bringing material from secondary sources together into one place, it offers nothing new; and its failure to incorporate published additions and corrections to old literature is a serious flaw. Original research would have made a real contribution to New Hampshire genealogy. Kingston is an important town. It badly needs a competently done town history with soundly compiled genealogies of the early families. The genealogical public should accept nothing less than the most-accurate and up-to-date research on Kingston's old families—something they will not find in this new volume.

Derry, New Hampshire — George Freeman Sanborn Jr., FASG

Virginia Genealogy: Sources and Resources. By Carol McGinnis. Published by Genealogical Publishing Co.; 1001 North Calvert Street; Baltimore, MD 21202-3897; 1993. xi, 494 pp. Bibliography, index. Hardback. $35.00 (shipping: $3.00).

Researchers welcome every new volume that promises to assist their investigation of Virginia ancestors. This one is especially deserving. While not claiming to be a comprehensive guide and bibliography to sources and resources relating to the Commonwealth, it comes close to being the book everyone would want to have close at hand. The author could not possibly have covered everything relating to the subject; but she has admirably pulled together the history, records, and sources to touch on the basics and, in many cases, delve a little deeper.

The first nine chapters cover topics relating to the entire Commonwealth, making the volume the closest one available for a "how to" book on Virginia. Chapters 10 through 13 focus on localities, their records, genealogical and historical organizations, and research centers. Chapter 14, which makes a serious effort to list the major printed sources on all of the previously discussed topics, comprises nearly a quarter of the entire book. It helpfully cross-references entries from one subject category to those of related interests. The index provides numerous access points for study. Overall, the guide is a useful introduction to Virginia research and a "jumping-off point" for more in-depth investigations.

Readers should be cautious, however, about some of the historical detail that appears in the early chapters of the book. For example, chapter 1's section on "Virginia's Land" offers a discussion of the major geographic subdivisions of the state. The Northern Neck is described correctly in its modern use of the term. Then a historical comment states that "the Fairfax (Northern Neck) Proprietary . . . extended *to the western boundary of present-day West Virginia* [italics added]." Readers may wonder whether this means the Ohio River or the modern Virginia–West Virginia border. Neither assumption would be accurate. The

original Northern Neck/Fairfax Proprietary covered all the land between the Potomac and the Rappahannock from the Chesapeake Bay to their headwaters, encompassing the entire eastern panhandle of modern West Virginia. Similarly, the use of the terms *North Peninsula* and *Upper Peninsula* to describe the lands between the Rappahannock and York Rivers is puzzling. Native Virginians call this area the *Middle Peninsula,* more often than not. The other terms are much less frequently heard.

As is common in works of this type, the author's choices regarding inclusions, exclusions, and time focus will leave some readers disappointed. Additional information on Virginia's many boundary disputes with her neighbors would have helped researchers deal with the abundant problems caused by uncertain jurisdictions. The "Historical Highlights" portion of the book is heavily weighted to events in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, leaving the nineteenth and twentieth centuries largely untouched. Use of the bibliography will, however, enable readers to identify sources and studies for all periods in the history of the colony and state.

Similarly, making structural decisions regarding a book's arrangement is not an easy task. McGinnis has chosen in chapters 10 through 14 to approach the records, societies, and research facilities from a subject standpoint: "Counties and Their Records," "Cities and Their Records," "Genealogical Collections," "Historical and Genealogical Societies," and "A Bibliography of Virginia Sources." The decision is acceptable and standard. Genealogical research is geographically focused, by nature; and researchers concentrate on the localities in which their families lived. However, this subject approach to Virginia's local governments forces the reader to check in at least four different chapters to locate information to begin or continue research in a county or city. For example, the records of Goochland County are examined on page 179, the Goochland County Branch of Pamunkey Regional Library is discussed on page 249, the Goochland County Historical Society is listed on pages 304–05, and printed sources for the county are itemized on pages 409–10. Such is the case for all counties. References to research in Virginia's independent cities will necessitate study not only of the four possible locations where these municipalities appear but also the four chapters that treat the counties from which these cities were formed. The result is much skipping back and forth from chapter to chapter. A consolidated listing of records, research facilities, societies, and bibliographic references for the counties and cities would have provided readers with a more-direct approach to their research interests.

All bibliographies are necessarily out of date by the time they come off the press. Unfortunately, McGinnis's valuable and extensive compilation still omits many books of abstracted county records that were in print prior to the publication of this guide and are widely available in many libraries and publishers' catalogs. For example, Amelia Gilreath's ten volumes of deed, will, and order-book abstracts for Shenandoah County, which were published between 1980 and 1993, are not listed. Her six volumes on Frederick County records are also absent. Similarly missing—although a few of their publications do appear—is the tremendous output of record abstracts produced in the late 1980s and early 1990s by Ruth and Sam Sparacio for counties in the northern third of Virginia. Readers will not learn of the Sparacios' sixteen titles each on Fairfax and Prince William Counties, or five of their seven works on Middlesex County, or nine of their twelve volumes on Stafford County, or twenty-six of their twenty-seven works on Loudoun County. Thus, users of *Virginia Genealogy* should be aware that a great deal more is in print than that which appears in this bibliography.

Despite the structural awkwardness suggested here and its unfortunate bibliographic omissions, *Virginia Genealogy* is an important book—one that researchers of families in the Old Dominion will want to own and use.

Fairfax, Virginia — Eric G. Grundset

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Tracing Your Family History in Australia. Second edition. By Nick Vine Hall. Published by Scriptorium Family History Centre; 386 Ferrars Street; Albert Park, Australia; 1994. 657 pp. Hardback. $55.00 (Australia); $65.00 (outside Australia); $85.00 (airmail).

Vine Hall's first edition, published in 1985, was considered the definitive work on the subject. This revised edition more than doubles the original offering. Following a format common in such volumes, the compiler opens with general methodological advice on how to begin family research in Australia, then focuses upon the country's nine major geographic regions (including island territories). Five appendixes cover a variety of material—the most valuable of which are a 38-page listing of repositories (with addresses and telephone numbers); and a 113-page bibliography of published works. It is difficult to imagine any attempt to conduct research in Australia without this tome at hand.

Black Women in America: An Historical Encyclopedia. Edited by Darlene Clark Hine, Elsa Barkley Brown, and Rosalyn Terborg-Penn. Published by Carlson Publishing; Post Office Box 023350; Brooklyn, NY 11202-0067; 1993. 2 vols. 1530 pp. 464 photographs. Hardback. $195.00.

Biographical dictionaries abound in America. Those that focus upon women or African-Americans of historical importance are comparatively few in number. Vignettes of Americans who were or are *both* black and female are commonly limited to the Harriet Tubmans and the Phyllis Wheatleys. Hine and her associates fill a noticeable void. In both biographical and topical entries, hundreds of contributors offer thumbnail sketches or lengthy treatments, reconstructing lives that range from obscure slave women to such notables as Oprah Winfrey.

Index to Divorce Cases of the Thirteenth Judicial Circuit Court of Alabama, 1816–1918. Compiled and edited by the University of South Alabama Archives. Available from the Archives; USA Springhill, Room 0722; Mobile, AL 36688; 1994. vii, 120 pp. Hardback. $18.00 (shipping: $2.00).

In 1985, the University of South Alabama Archives became, by court decree, a "courthouse storage facility." Among the materials transferred (principally from Mobile County) are 301 bound volumes of minutes, final records, and indexes from Alabama's Thirteenth Judicial Circuit. While processing and conserving the material, the staff cleaned, prepared, and indexed 4,773 divorce cases involving citizens of Mobile, Baldwin, and Washington counties. The published index discusses divorce in Alabama, analyzes the data, explains legal terminology, and provides citations to the original files.

Marriages and Divorce Records from Freewill Baptist Publications, 1819–1851. By David C. Young and Elizabeth Keene Young. Published by Heritage Books; 1540-E Pointer Ridge Place, Suite 300; Bowie, MD 20716; 1994. 2 vols., 726 pp. Softback. $46.00.

The Freewill Baptist denomination began in New Durham, New Hampshire, in 1780; in a relatively short time, it had spread throughout New England and the Midwest, reaching the Pacific West and both the eastern and western provinces of Canada prior to the Civil War. The present volume provides a collection of records that covers most of the states north of the Mason-Dixon Line, and Tennessee, California, and Oregon Territory—in addition to New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Quebec, and Ontario. Gleaned from contemporary religious newspapers, the entries typically include the names of bride and groom, places of residence, date and place of marriage, name of the elder or other official who performed the ceremony, and a citation to the published source.

Restored Hamilton County, Ohio, Marriages, 1870–1884. By Jeffrey G. Herbert. Published by Heritage Books; 1540–E Pointer Ridge Place, Suite 300; Bowie, MD 20716; 1994. 2 vols., 1038 pp. Index. Softback. $95.00.

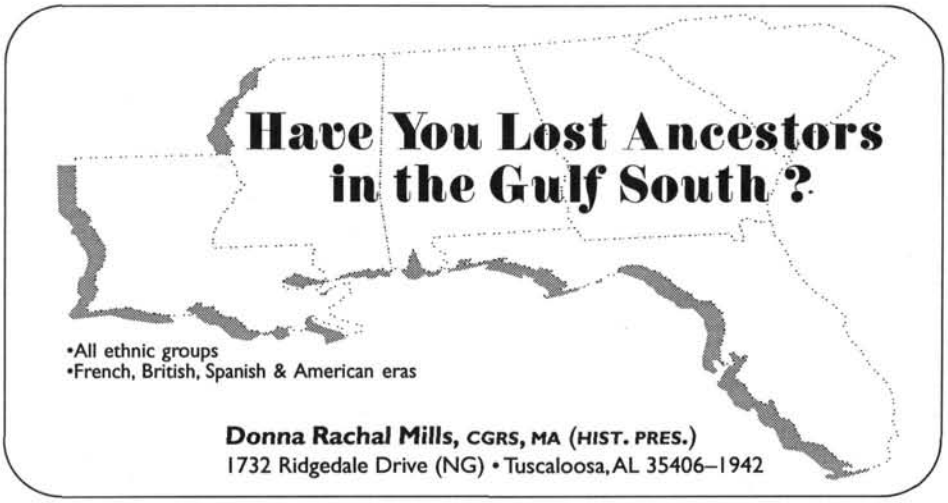
On March 24, 1884, the Hamilton County courthouse burned amid a riot. The fire destroyed many of the records. The reconstructed marriage licenses currently housed at the courthouse comprise less than 5 percent of the total applied for during the "lost" period. This index is an attempt to reassemble as much of the data as possible. It is estimated that 41,000 marriages occurred in the Cincinnati–Hamilton County area between January 1870 and December 1884; Herbert's index includes over 36,800 of them—close to 90 percent of the total. The primary base of information used by the compiler is the *Cincinnati Freie Presse,* a German-language newspaper of the era that published marriage-license notices. Other sources of information are the *Cincinnati Daily Times* and the *Cincinnati Volksfreund.* Each entry notes the date the notice appeared and the source in which it was found.

Catching Shadows: A Directory of Nineteenth-Century Texas Photographers. By David Haynes. Published by Texas State Historical Association; 2.306 Richardson Hall, University Station; Austin, TX 78712; 1994. 240 pp. Softback. $19.95.

Haynes has identified and cataloged some 2500 photographers working in the state of Texas during the period 1843–1900. In an alphabetical arrangement, he provides for each subject brief biographical information, known dates and locations, and the source(s) of his data. His introduction to the work discusses not only the history of photography but also the craft's development in Texas. Special indexes catalog photographers by location and decade. Others focus upon black, female, and foreign-born photographers.

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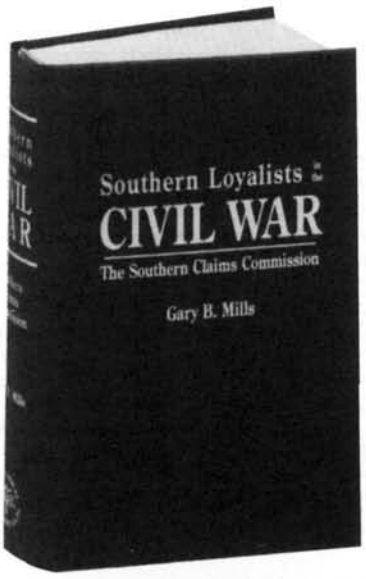
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CHAPTER I

The Ancestors of Darius Salem Clement (1834-1917)

GENERATION NO. 1

1. **Darius Salem CLEMENT** was born 24 Nov 1834 in Dryden, Tompkins, New York. He was the son of **2.Thomas CLEMENT** and **3.Elizabeth Betsey FOOTE**. Darius died 22 May 1917 in Mesa, Maricopa, Arizona, and was buried 26 May 1917 in Mesa, Maricopa, Arizona. He married Louisa KELSEY 27 Nov 1859 in Union Fort, Salt Lake, Utah. She was born 9 Aug 1844 in Nauvoo, Hancock, Illinois, the daughter of Easton KELSEY and Abigail FINCH. Louisa died 17 Nov 1919 in Fairview, Sanpete, Utah, and was buried 20 Nov 1919 in Fairview, Sanpete, Utah.

They had 3 children.

M	i.	Jesse Warren CLEMENT	b. 30 Mar 1866	d. 13 Mar 1933
M	ii.	William CLEMENT	b. 30 Dec 1805	d. 14 Apr 1890
M	iii.	Thomas Alma CLEMENT	b. 13 Mar 1879	d. 26 May 1962

GENERATION NO. 2

2. **Thomas CLEMENT** was christened 1793 in New York. He was the son of **4.Darius CLEMENT, Sr.** and **5.Mehitable GRISWOLD**. Thomas died 18 May in Dryden, , New York. He married **3.Elizabeth Betsey FOOTE** 15 Mar 1812 in Dryden, Tompkins, New York.

3. **Elizabeth Betsey FOOTE** was christened 8 Feb 1794 in East Windsor, Broome, New York, the daughter of **6.David FOOTE** and **7.Irene LANE**. Elizabeth died 8 Nov 1846 in Pigeon Hollet, Pottawattamie, Iowa.

They had 8 children.

F	i.	Nancy CLEMENT	c. 31 Oct 1813	d. 26 Mar 1847
M	ii.	Albert CLEMENT	c. 6 Feb 1820	d. 2 Nov 1844
M	iii.	Alva CLEMENT	c. 19 Dec 1822	d. after 1840
F	iv.	Laura Elizabeth CLEMENT	b. 23 Apr 1825	d. 15 Sep 1845
M	v.	Darius Salem CLEMENT	b. 24 Nov 1834	d. 22 May 1917
F	vi.	Mary Irene CLEMENT	b. 23 Jul 1837	d. 14 Aug 1851

GENERATION NO. 3

4. **Darius CLEMENT, Sr.** was born 21 Feb 1771/1775 in Warren County, New York. He was the son of **8.Thomas CLEMENT**. Darius, Sr. died 12 Feb 1856 in Dryden, , New York. He married **5.Mehitable GRISWOLD** 1791.

5. **Mehitable GRISWOLD** was born 28 Dec 1767 in Sharon, Litchfield, Connecticut, the daughter of **9.Asher GRISWOLD** and **10.Deborah PROUT**. Mehitable died before 1850 in Dryden, Tompkins, New York.

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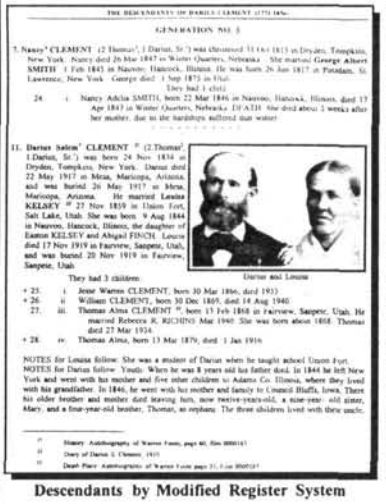
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THE DESCENDANTS OF DARIUS CLEMENT (1771-1856)

GENERATION NO. 5

7. **Nancy[5] CLEMENT** (2 Thomas[4], 1 Darius[3], Sr.[2]) was christened 31 Oct 1813 in Dryden, Tompkins, New York. Nancy died 26 Mar 1847 in Winter Quarters, Nebraska. She married **George Albert SMITH** 1 Feb 1843 in Nauvoo, Hancock, Illinois. He was born 26 Jun 1817 in Potsdam, St. Lawrence, New York. George died 1 Sep 1875 in Utah.

They had 1 child.

24. i. Nancy Adelia SMITH, born 22 Mar 1846 in Nauvoo, Hancock, Illinois, died 13 Apr 1847 in Winter Quarters, Nebraska TERATH. She died about 3 weeks after her mother, due to the hardships suffered that winter.

11. **Darius Salem[4] CLEMENT** [6] (2 Thomas[3], 1 Darius[2], Sr.[1]) was born 24 Nov 1834 in Dryden, Tompkins, New York. Darius died 22 May 1917 in Mesa, Maricopa, Arizona, and was buried 26 May 1917 in Mesa, Maricopa, Arizona. He married **Louisa KELSEY** [7] 27 Nov 1859 in Union Fort, Salt Lake, Utah. She was born 9 Aug 1844 in Nauvoo, Hancock, Illinois, the daughter of Easton KELSEY and Abigail FINCH. Louisa died 17 Nov 1919 in Fairview, Sanpete, Utah, and was buried 20 Nov 1919 in Fairview, Sanpete, Utah.

Darius and Louisa

They had 3 children.

+ 25.	i.	Jesse Warren CLEMENT, born 30 Mar 1866, died 1933	
+ 26.	ii.	William CLEMENT, born 30 Dec 1805, died 14 Aug 1940	
27.	iii.	Thomas Alma CLEMENT [8], born 13 Feb 1868 in Fairview, Sanpete, Utah. He married Rebecca R. RICHINS Mar 1940. She was born about 1868. Thomas died 27 Mar 1924.	
+ 28.	iv.	Thomas Alma, born 13 May 1879, died 1 Jan 1916	

NOTES for Louisa follow: She was a student of Darius when he taught school Union Fort.
NOTES for Darius follow: Youth: When he was 8 years old his father died. In 1844 he left New York and went with his mother and five other children to Adams Co. Illinois, where they lived with his grandfather. In 1846, he went with his mother and family to Council Bluffs, Iowa. There his older brother and mother died leaving him, now twelve-years-old, a nine-year- old sister, Mary, and a four-year-old brother, Thomas, as orphans. The three children lived with their uncle.

[6] History Autobiography of Warren Foote, page 60, film 0000161
[7] Diary of Darius S. Clement, 1919
[8] Death Place Autobiographies of Warren Foote page 31, Film 0507187

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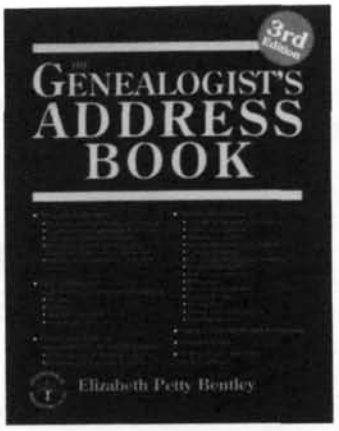
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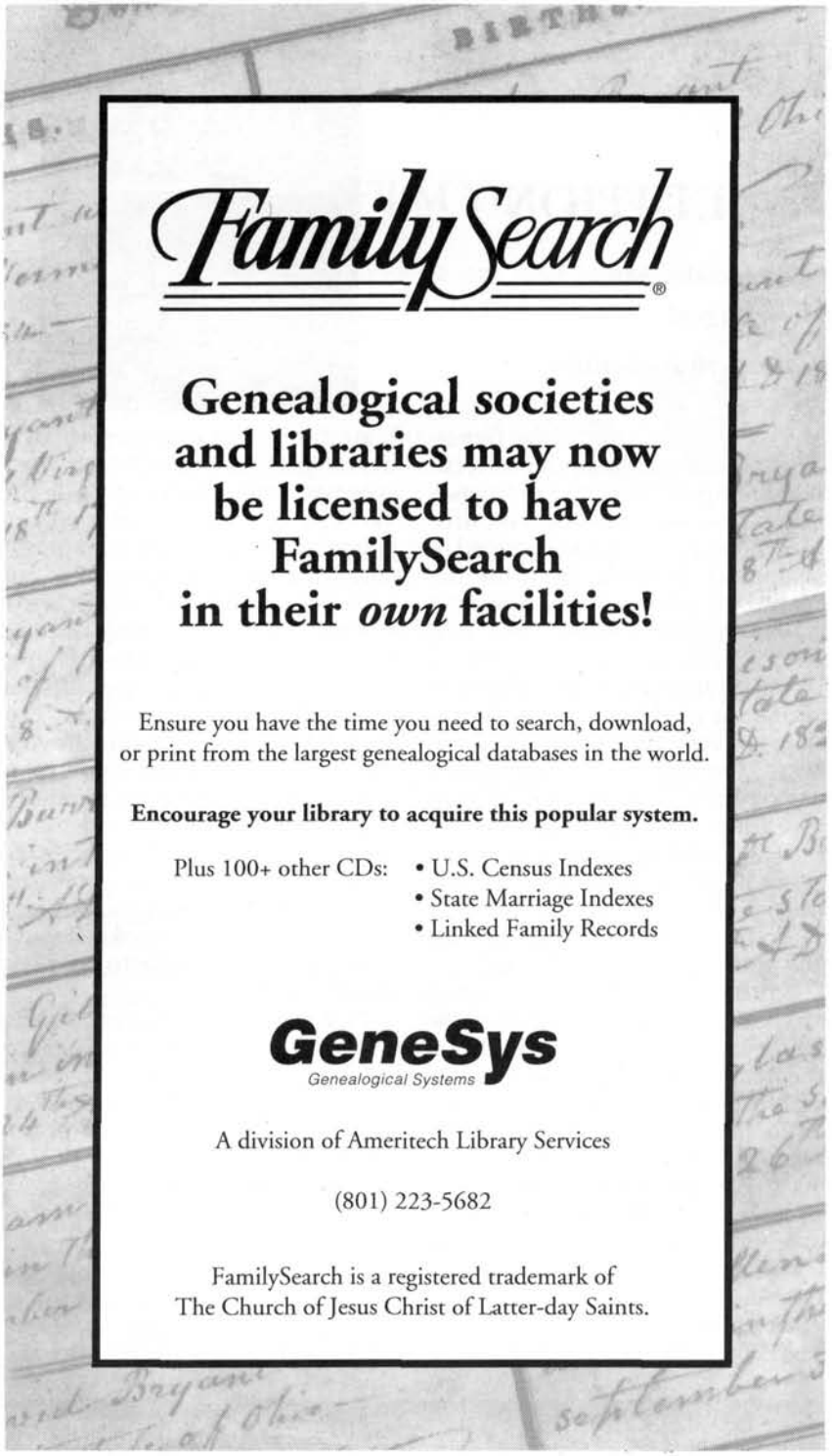
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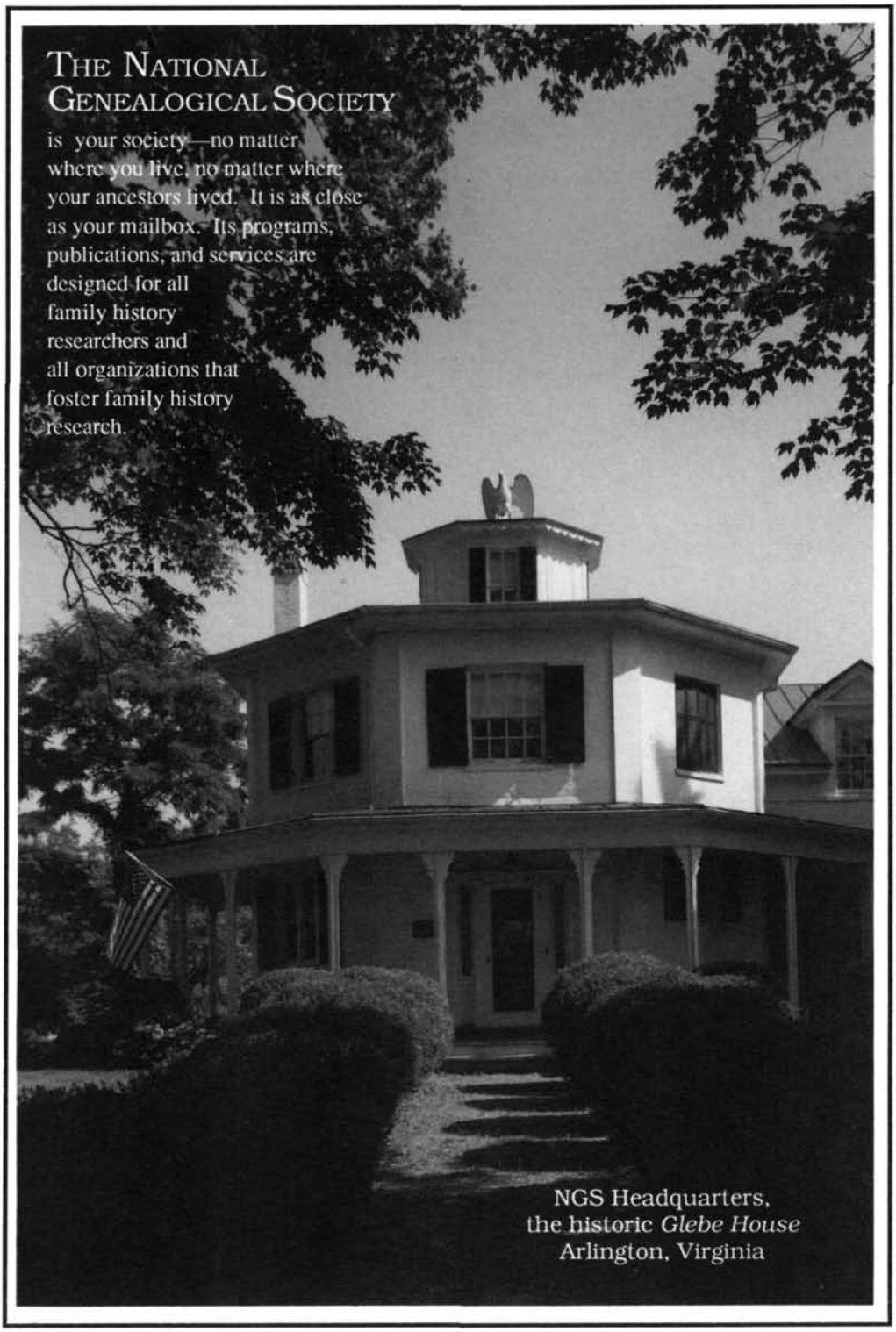
One is ROOTS. *The other is* WINGS.

National Genealogical Society Quarterly

Volume 83, Number 2
June 1995



A journal for today's family historian



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National Genealogical Society
Quarterly

A Journal for Today's Family Historian

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Editors' Corner

Why Genealogists Reinvent the Wheel

A university-based historian recently submitted to us a manuscript that went out for peer review, in keeping with *NGSQ* policy. The resulting critiques nonplussed him. "You genealogists are now overdoing things," he responded. "I know you've long been criticized for poor research and no standards; but you're overreacting. You don't have to reinvent the wheel!"

What prompted that remark? The manuscript readers had recommended its rejection because it was based on secondary sources. They had expected to see in his paper—but did not find—*original research.*

"Original research?" the writer countered. "Everyone else has already done the original research. Why redo it? Synthesizing published literature on a subject is a time-honored principle among historians. Others do the groundwork and someone with broader perspective prepares a comprehensive overview that says what it all means."

He is right. In the world of history, scholars with seminal degrees do build upon the groundwork laid by other scholars with seminal degrees—or upon the graduate students they are training. Genealogists don't. Aside from the fact that universities have not developed advanced academic programs in our field, another important difference exists. Historians study the *broad sweep* of things, reasoning that any error on one "small particular" is probably canceled out by another, leaving the overall pattern the same. To the genealogist, particulars are *crucial.* Genealogists use the broad sweep of history only as a stage upon which their particulars are posed. An error on one set of parents does not cancel out an error on another.

No, synthesizing other published articles is not good enough in genealogy. No conclusion can be more reliable than the research on which it's grounded. Genealogical scholars cannot validly reconstruct families on the basis of ideas published by others of who-knows-what experience. If a conflict exists in genealogical literature, it's not resolved by summarizing what everybody else says and reaching a conclusion based upon yet-another interpretation of everyone else's hypotheses. It is settled by going back to the original records and analyzing them with greater skill to find more clues. It's solved by broadening and deepening the research in original documents, until the conflicts are eliminated on the basis of primary evidence.

John Plummer, in the present issue, makes the point. Long-respected writers, whose works have generally withstood a century or more of testing, have published accounts of Plummer origins that drastically conflict. Synthesizing their opinions did nothing to clarify the matter. Analyzing the probable sources of their information pointed only to the advisability of throwing out the published opinions entirely. Then, by reinventing the wheel, John found the probable answer.

Why does *NGSQ* insist upon *original* research? The answer is evident in every breakthrough.

NGSQ, June 1995 —*The Millses*

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Numbering Your Genealogy—Special Cases: Surname Changes, Step Relationships, and Adoptions

By Madilyn Coen Crane*

Modern genealogies are commonly becoming family histories, *rather than mere recitals of begets within a bloodline. It is important to include all the individuals who shape the nature and personality of a family. It is equally important—given the health implications of genetics and inherited traits and diseases—that a clear identification of the biological line be maintained.*

Traditional numbering systems have one shortcoming that rarely has been addressed in genealogical literature. They attempt to force all families into a monolithic model, consisting of a man, a woman, and the children they produced together. When genealogists treat families of the past, the existence of multiple marriages and stepchildren are discussed, of course; but current literature offers little guidance as to *how* and *whether* to include family members not directly descended from the main line under study. Adopted children hover in an even more-nebulous limbo—primarily because their legal status during past centuries is so rarely documentable.[1]

As genealogists close out the present millenium, it is time to address this oversight. For nearly a century now, America has employed record-keeping systems unprecedented in the history of the world. There exist the resources, facts, and technology to be far more accurate than ever before. When family histories are written, their detail should be equally precise; and the chosen system should provide both the structure and the flexibility to document and distinguish all the varied relationships that compose a "family."

In the September 1991 issue of this journal, Joan Ferris Curran, CG, provided a thorough survey and explanation of the genealogical numbering systems that have become the standards of the field.[2] Subsequently released as a special publication of the National Genealogical Society (and its most-requested number), Curran's study is the foundation upon which the present guidelines are laid for treating surname changes, stepchildren, and adoptions in a family history.

As a preface to the discussion, one fundamental point should be clarified. Many sensitivities influence a decision whether adoption should be made known to a child or whether it should be recorded in the family chronicle, and most views have merit. When writing of the living, genealogical ethics dictate a respect for the wishes of

those involved. When studying past generations, more options are available. Because of the serious genetic issues at stake, as science continues to explore and treat inheritable medical conditions, this paper recommends that adoptions of past eras be treated as frankly as all other aspects of genealogical research.

THE BASICS

Genealogy's "standard" numbering systems are the NGSQ System and the Register System—named for the long-standing journals that developed them.[3] The NGSQ System, which is used as the basis for the present paper, is a modification of the Register System; thus, sometimes it has been called the Modified Register System. Differences are minimal and are well explained within Curran's work. Figure 1, reproduced from Curran, illustrates the NGSQ System. Only a brief summary should accompany it here.

Under both schemes:

- The earliest-known American progenitor is assigned the Arabic number *1.*
- Direct descendants of the progenitor are assigned two numbers: a Roman numeral and an Arabic number.
- Within each nuclear family (i.e., a family unit composed of the direct descendant, his or her spouse, and their offspring), each child receives a Roman numeral that denotes birth order within that nuclear family. In each familial unit, the Roman numerals always begin with *i.*
- Most direct descendants also receive Arabic numbers that reflect their positions in the whole family under study.
- Arabic numbers progress consecutively throughout the compiled genealogy, with no repetition. They are assigned to each child in birth order, by family group, within each generation.

Under the NGSQ System, but not the Register System:

- Arabic identification numbers are assigned to *all* children, whether or not they are known to have lived to adulthood or produced heirs. Thus, when later research reveals for them a life that merits a treatment separate from the parental household, that portion of the genealogy does not have to be renumbered to accommodate the new line.
- In each list of children, those who are carried forward with a full discussion appear on the nuclear-family list with a plus to the left of their Arabic number. This notation indicates that additional information will be given at a later point.

As shown by figure 1, the progenitor (Moses Moss, number 1) has four children; those children are identified by the Arabic numbers *2, 3, 4,* and *5.* When number 2 is discussed as a married adult, his four children become numbers *6, 7, 8,* and *9.* The discussion of number 2 is then followed by an account of the next sibling who grew to adulthood and left progeny. She produced one child, to whom the next consecutive number is assigned—i.e., *10.* Throughout, both the Roman numeral and the

Figure 1

NGS QUARTERLY SYSTEM

Generation number ↘ *Generation One* ↙ *Pre-American generation letter*

1. Moses[1] Moss (Morton[A], Malcolm[B], Mortimer[C]), born 1 July 1701 in Lyon, England; died 1736, Hartford, Connecticut. He married on 23 September 1728, at Boston, **Margaret Mullen,** daughter of Myron and Mary (née Smith) Mullen.

A tailor by profession, Moses appears to have emigrated . . . [*discussion continues through the completion of Moses's life*].

Known children of Moses[1] Moss and Margaret Mullen were as follows:

\+ 2 i. Matthew[2] Moss, born 1 May 1730, Boston.
3 ii. Mark Moss, born 3 January 1731/32, Boston. No further information.
4 iii. Mary Moss, born 24 April 1734, Boston; died 9 May 1744, Hartford.
\+ 5 iv. Martha Moss, born 26 September 1736, Hartford.

↗ *Identifying number*

Generation Two

2. Matthew[2] Moss (Moses[1], Morton[A], Malcolm[B], Mortimer[C]), born 1 May 1730, Boston; married (1) **Mildred Miller** . . . ; married (2) **Molly Malone**. . . .

Children of Matthew[2] Moss and Mildred Miller were as follows:

6 i. Morris Moses[3] Moss, born 2 May 1755 at Boston. No further information.
7 ii. Maynard Moss, born 31 July 1757 at Boston. No further information.

Children of Matthew[2] Moss and Molly Malone were as follows:

8 i. Mabel Moss. No further information.
9 ii. Matilda Moss. No further information.

5. Martha[2] Moss (Moses[1], Morton[A], Malcolm[B], Mortimer[C]) was born 26 September 1736 at Hartford, Connecticut; married **Manuel Mandell**. . . .

Only known child of Martha Moss and Manuel Mandell was

\+ 10 i. Margret[3] Mandell, born 1 April 1770, East Hartford.

↗ *Birth-order number*

Generation Three

10. Margret[3] Mandell (Martha[2] Moss, Moses[1], Morton[A], Malcolm[B], Mortimer[C]), born 1 April 1770 in East Hartford, Connecticut; married **Maynard Mercer**. . . .

Children of Margret[3] Mandell and Maynard Mercer were as follows:

\+ 11 i. Muriel[4] Mercer, born 11 August 1789, Albany, New York.
\+ 12 ii. Myrtle Mercer, born 20 July 1791, Albany.
13 iii. Mandrake, a probable son, born circa 1794, apparently in Albany.

Arabic number are placed to the left of a child's name in each list of offspring. When each person is discussed in detail as an adult, his or her name is again prefaced by the Arabic number that denotes placement in the family-at-large.

Both numbering systems contain three other important features:

- A generation number appears in *superscript* following a person's given name (the NGSQ System also italicizes that superscript generation number to avoid confusion with superscript reference-note numbers).
- Pre-American generations are identified with superscript *letters,* rather than numbers.
- A parenthetical summary appears at the start of each full discussion of a direct descendant—immediately following that person's name—to identify his or her line of descent back to the progenitor.

Thus, the full discussion of a fourth-generation direct descendant of the progenitor Moses[1] Moss (to expand upon Curran's model) would begin in this manner:

> **11. Muriel[4] Mercer** (Margret[3] Mandell, Martha[2] Moss, Moses[1], Morton[A], Malcolm[B] . . .), born 11 August 1789, Albany, New York; died 23 September 1845, Indianapolis, Indiana. On 1 January 1806, she married **Millard Mayberry**. . . .

BASIC GUIDELINES

The guidelines offered in the present paper amplify the general pattern in several ways:

- An adopted child or stepchild is carried forward with the nuclear family in which he or she was reared. The assigned identification number reflects the child's position in that household.
- When a direct descendant has multiple marriages, these are discussed in chronological order, as usual. But within each marital summary, biological children are listed first, then children adopted by the direct descendant, then stepchildren of the direct descendant.
- When an adopted child or stepchild is listed for the direct descendant and spouse, an Arabic number is assigned to the child, but not a Roman numeral, because the numeral traditionally denotes the chronological order of children *born* to a specific couple.
- The generation number that is assigned to the adopted child depends upon whether the child changes or retains the birth surname.
- If the adopted child uses the adoptive family's surname, that child will usually be *generation 1,* because he or she is the first in that biological line to use that surname.
- A stepchild or an adopted child who retains the birth surname will follow the generation number appropriate to the birth family whose name is preserved.
- In order to maintain a clear identification of biological ancestry, while including adoptions and stepchildren in the family structure, the phrases *adopted by* and *stepchild of* are added to the parenthetical summaries of descent.

DEFINING THE VARIABLES

SURNAME CHANGES

Variant surnames result from a variety of situations. Some are prompted by adoption (either formal by modern law or informal by past custom), some by legal name changes, others by ethnic naming patterns different from those currently practiced in America. French *dit* names,[4] Norwegian farm names,[5] and Dutch or Scandinavian patronymics[6] are but a few examples. A surname change can be handled easily in a genealogy by using *a.k.a.* (*also known as*) to cross-reference the variants by which a person is known. An a.k.a. statement, of course, should be followed by a citation of evidence that substantiates the alternate name(s).

STEP RELATIONSHIPS

When a direct descendant takes a spouse who has children of a prior union and that direct descendant does not adopt the children, the inclusion of a stepchild would follow these guidelines:

- If the new union produces its own biological children, those offspring are grouped together; the biological children of both husband and wife are listed first, followed by the biological children of the spouse (i.e., stepchildren of the direct descendant).
- The heading that introduces stepchildren should include the name of the direct descendant, the name of the spouse who is the biological parent, and the name of the spouse's partner who fathered or bore the children. To continue the example of Muriel[4] Mercer, number 11, whose first husband was a widower with a child, that child might be introduced into the Mercer-Mandell-Moss genealogy in the manner shown below and in figure 2:

  Stepchild of Muriel[4] Mercer (said child born to her first husband, Millard[1] Mayberry, and his first wife, Molly Mendenhall) was

  \+ 41 Mark[2] Mayberry, born 1 February 1800. . . .*

- The stepchild's generation number should follow the stated generation of the biological parent. In the above example, the stepchild of Muriel[4] would be generation 2, because he was not adopted into the family under study and his biological and legal father was the earliest-known generation of his family line.
- No Roman numeral is assigned to this stepchild, as previously discussed.
- A plus is assigned to this stepchild because he is carried forward for a full discussion.
- The stepchild's Arabic number should consecutively follow the Arabic numbers assigned to any biological children of his parent and stepparent.
- When carried forward, the parenthetical summary of descent would state the step relationship in the following manner:

---

* Here and in all subsequent examples, reference-note numbers are omitted in order to reduce the complexity of these fictional examples. It should be understood that an actual genealogy, to be credible, must cite a reference for each individual statement of fact.

41. Mark[2] Mayberry (stepchild of Muriel[4] Mercer, Margret[3] Mandell, Martha[2] Moss, Moses[1]), born 1 February 1800, Albany, New York, was the biological son of Muriel's husband Millard[1] Mayberry by his first wife, Molly Mendenhall.

ADOPTION—ANCESTRY UNKNOWN

The closing of adoption records to the public and/or the sealing of these records by court action usually means that ancestral data for an adopted child is not available to researchers. Thus, the treatment of a child of unknown parentage, adopted by a direct descendant of the family under study, would follow these guidelines:

- The child would be cited as the adopted child of the direct descendant and that person's spouse.
- The child would receive an Arabic number as an identification number within the whole family.
- If the nuclear family has both biological and adopted children, the biological children are first grouped together. The adopted child or children then follow in a second group. The two sets receive consecutive Arabic numbers within their groups, according to birth order.
- No Roman numeral is used for an adopted child, as previously discussed.
- The adopted child is assigned the generation number *1,* since he or she is the first of his or her biological line to belong to this family under study.

Again, let us follow Muriel[4] Mercer, number 11. After the death of Muriel's first husband, Mayberry, she wed Melvin Merrell. By Merrell, she produced a family of biological children; but Muriel[4] and Melvin also adopted one child of unknown biological parentage. The lists of Muriel's varied children by Merrell, and the headings that introduce them, would then read:

Biological children of Muriel[4] Mercer and her second husband, Melvin Merrell, were

\+ 42 i. Moses[5] Merrell, born 15 May 1808, Albany, New York.

43 ii. Maurice Merrell, born 3 June 1815, Albany; said to have moved west and left descendants. Nothing further known.

Adopted child of Muriel[4] and Melvin Merrell (said child born of unknown biological parentage) was

\+ 44 Maria[1] Merrell, born 23 December 1823, Albany; died 17 January 1847, Indianapolis, Indiana.

If Muriel's adopted child is given a full individual treatment at a later point—either because she became a head-of-family or because the compiler wishes to discuss her adult life in full detail, then the parenthetical statement of lineage that is used for this adopted child would be

44. Maria[1] Merrell (adopted by Muriel[4] Mercer, Margret[3] Mandell, Matthew[2] Moss, Moses[1]). . . .

Maria's offspring would thereafter be treated in the same manner as all descendants of the larger family—depending upon whether they were biological children, adopted children, or stepchildren. For example, a biological son of Maria would be presented as

> **49. Milton[2] Murdock** (Maria[1] Merrell, adopted by Muriel[4] Mercer, Margret[3] Mandell, Matthew[2] Moss, Moses[1]). . . .

The adopted child and his or her offspring are, at this point, full members of the direct line in this family structure.

ADOPTION—DIRECT DESCENDANT ADOPTED BY COUPLE UNRELATED TO FAMILY UNDER STUDY

The direct descendant who is adopted by an exogamous family (that is, an "out group" family that would not normally be included in the compiled genealogy) is relatively simple to treat. At birth, the child is listed with his or her parent(s), where he or she receives an Arabic identification number, a Roman numeral, and a superscript generation number—as would an unadopted child. For example, if Myrtle Mercer, number 12, had produced a child who was adopted by other parents, the initial entry might read:

> Myrtle[4] Mercer was the mother of a child (father unknown):
>
> \+ 45 i. Matilda[5] Mercer, born 14 June 1825, Albany, New York; adopted by Morgan Marshall and his wife, Mary Moody.

Matilda—who grew to adulthood, married, and produced progeny—would then be carried forward, as follows:

> **45. Matilda[5] Marshall a.k.a. Mercer** (Myrtle[4] Mercer, Margret[3] Mandell, Matthew[2] Moss, Moses[1]), born 14 June 1825, at Albany, New York; adopted shortly after birth by Morgan Marshall and his wife, Mary Moody, a prominent and childless couple of her town who were of no known relationship to the Moss family. . . .

ADOPTION—DIRECT DESCENDANT THROUGH ANOTHER BRANCH

The adopted child who is already of direct descent (for example, the nephew, niece, or grandchild of the adoptive parent) would be treated as any other adopted child—with three variations:

- A cross-reference would connect the child to the actual birth parent who is treated elsewhere in the genealogy.
- The superscript generation number and the parenthetical lineage would follow that of the known birth parent, because genetic characteristics follow the birth line.
- The Arabic identification number would follow that of the adoptive parents, in whose family the child was reared.

For example, if Moses[5] Merrell, number 42, had adopted a late-life child of his aunt, Myrtle[4], the entry might read:

> Adopted child of Moses[5] Merrell and wife Melinda Miner (said child born to Moses's aunt, Myrtle[4] Mercer, by a father unknown) was
>
> \+ 46 Mason[5] Merrell a.k.a. Mercer, born 1 July 1831. . . .

Since Mason's mother directly descends from the Moss family and is treated elsewhere in this Moss genealogy, Mason would also appear at that point in the family compilation. However, no Arabic identification number would be assigned there, although a Roman numeral would identify his birth order among the children his mother bore. To clearly establish his placement in both families, *a.k.a.* is used to cross-reference both surnames. For example:

> Myrtle[4] Mercer was the mother of two children (father or fathers unknown):
>
> \+ 45 i. Matilda[5] Mercer, born 14 June 1825, Albany, New York; adopted by Morgan Marshall and his wife Mary Moody.
>
> \+ ii. Mason Mercer a.k.a. Merrell, born 1 July 1831, Albany; adopted by his older first cousin, number 42, Moses[5] Merrell and wife Melinda Miner. Mason is carried forward as number 46 in Moses's household.

Finally, the subsequent full treatment of Mason would begin as follows:

> **46. Mason[5] Merrell a.k.a. Mercer** (Myrtle[4] Mercer, Margret[3] Mandell, Matthew[2] Moss, Moses[1]) was born 1 July 1831, Albany, New York, of an unknown father and adopted by his first cousin Moses[5] Merrell and his wife, Melinda Miner. . . .

ADOPTION—CHILD OF A SPOUSE

When a direct descendant adopts the child of his or her spouse, the format will vary slightly. In this case, the heading that introduces the direct descendant's children would include

- the name of the direct descendant;
- the name of the spouse who is the natural parent of the adopted child;
- the name of the prior spouse who fathered or bore the child.

For example:

> Adopted child of Moses[5] Merrell (said child born to his wife, Melinda Miner, by her first husband, Matthew McFall) was
>
> \+ 47 Malcolm[1] Merrell a.k.a. McFall, born 27 August 1826, who consistently used the surname of his adoptive father. . . .

As first noted under BASIC GUIDELINES:

- If this adopted child takes the surname of the adoptive parent, he is the first generation of his biological family to use the adopted surname. Therefore, he is generation number *1*.
- If the adopted child should retain his birth identity, however, the generation number

should reflect his known position in the biological family whose name he preserves. For example, if the biological father is known, but nothing more is known of that father's ancestry, then the following pattern would be used:

Adopted child of Moses[5] Merrell (said child born to his wife, Melinda Miner, by her first husband, Matthew[1] McFall) was

+ 48 Matthew[2] McFall Jr., born 30 December 1828, who retained and consistently used the name of his biological father. . . .

SUMMARY

Modern genealogies are, increasingly, *family histories* rather than mere recitals of begets within a bloodline. It is important to include all the individuals who shape the nature and personality of a family. It is equally important—given the health implications of genetics and inherited traits and diseases—that a clear identification of the biological line be maintained. Following the guidelines offered in this paper will enable modern Americans to compile genealogies that accurately portray family units in the context of their existence and to present authentic family structures through which the history of our nation can be correctly understood and chronicled.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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1. Not until the 1850s did America begin to see the emergence of adoption laws, generated primarily by society's need to define legal heirs in the settlement of estates. For the remainder of the nineteenth century, adoptions remained relatively rare. For a study of adoption laws, see Lawrence M. Friedman, *A History of American Law*, 2d. ed. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985); and Carole Shammas, *Inheritance in America* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1987).

2. Joan Ferris Curran, "Numbering Your Genealogy: Sound and Simple Systems," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 79 (September 1991): 181–93; also available as Curran, *Numbering Your Genealogy: Sound and Simple Systems* (1992; reprinted, Arlington, Va.: NGS special publication no. 59, 1995).

3. The Register System originated with the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* published since 1847 by the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston.

4. For a recent explanation of French *dits*, see Joy Reisinger, "When Original Evidence Disagrees: Is Mother Geneviève a Greslon or a Fontaine?", *NGS Quarterly* 83 (March 1995): 32–38.

5. For a discussion of Norwegian farm names, see Gerald M. Haslam, "Family Reconstitution as a Means of Individual Identification: Ole Andersen Kolvien of Voss, Norway," *NGS Quarterly* 81 (December 1993): 283–92.

6. For a discussion of patronymics as used by Scandinavian and Dutch families of past centuries, see Peter Stebbins Craig and Henry Wesley Yocom, "The Yocums of Aronameck in Philadelphia, 1648–1702," *NGS Quarterly* 71 (December 1983): 243–79.

Figure 2

SURNAME CHANGES, STEPCHILDREN, AND ADOPTIONS

Generation Four

11. Muriel[4] Mercer (Margret[3] Mandell, Martha[2] Moss, Moses[1]), born 11 August 1789, Albany, New York; died 23 September 1845, Indianapolis, Indiana. She married (1), on 1 January 1806, **Millard Mayberry** . . . ; married (2) 19 July 1807, **Melvin Merrell**. . . .

Stepchild of Muriel[4] Mercer (said child born to her first husband, Millard[1] Mayberry, and his first wife, Molly Mendenhall) was

\+ 41 Mark[2] Mayberry, born 1 February 1800. . . .

Biological children of Muriel[4] and her second husband, Melvin Merrell, were

\+ 42 i. Moses[5] Merrell, born 15 May 1808, Albany, New York.

43 ii. Maurice Merrell, born 3 June 1815, Albany; said to have moved west and left descendants. Nothing further known.

Adopted child of Muriel[4] and Melvin Merrell (said child born of unknown biological parentage) was

\+ 44 Maria[1] Merrell, born 23 December 1823, Albany; died 17 January 1847, Indianapolis, Indiana.

12. Myrtle[4] Mercer (Margret[3] Mandell, Martha[2] Moss, Moses[1]), born 20 July 1791, Albany, New York; died 2 July 1831, Albany. Myrtle is not known to have married. However, she was the mother of two children, as follows:

\+ 45 i. Matilda[5] Mercer, born 14 June 1825, Albany; adopted by Morgan Marshall and his wife, Mary Moody.

\+ ii. Mason Mercer a.k.a. Merrell, born 1 July 1831, Albany; adopted by his older first cousin, number 42, Moses[5] Merrell and wife Melinda Miner. Mason is carried forward as number 46 in Moses's household.

Generation Five

41. Mark[2] Mayberry (stepchild of Muriel[4] Mercer, Margret[3] Mandell, Matthew[2] Moss, Moses[1]), born 1 February 1800 to Muriel's first husband, Millard[1] Mayberry, and his first wife, Molly Mendenhall. . . .

42. Moses[5] Merrell (Muriel[4] Mercer, Margret[3] Mandell, Martha[2] Moss, Moses[1]), born 15 May 1808, Albany, New York. On 2 July 1829, also at Albany, he married **Melinda Miner**. . . .

Adopted child of Moses[5] Merrell and wife Melinda Miner (said child born to Moses's aunt, Myrtle[4] Mercer, by a father unknown) was

\+ 46 Mason[5] Merrell a.k.a. Mercer, born 1 July 1831. . . .

Adopted children of Moses[5] Merrell (said children born to his wife Melinda Miner by her first husband, Matthew[1] McFall) were

Figure 2
Generation Five [cont.]

\+ 47 Malcolm[1] Merrell a.k.a. McFall, born 27 August 1826, who consistently used the surname of his adoptive father.

\+ 48 Matthew[2] McFall Jr., born 30 December 1828, who retained and consistently used the name of his biological father.

44. Maria[1] Merrell (adopted by Muriel[4] Mercer, Margret[3] Mandell, Matthew[2] Moss, Moses[1]), born 23 December 1823, Albany; died 17 January 1847, Indianapolis, Indiana. On 17 September 1845, she married **Mack Murdock**. . . .

Child of Maria[1] Merrell and her husband, Mack Murdock, was

\+ 49 i. Milton[2] Murdock, born 15 May 1845, Albany, New York. . . .

45. Matilda[5] Marshall a.k.a. Mercer (Myrtle[4] Mercer, Margret[3] Mandell, Matthew[2] Moss, Moses[1]), born 14 June 1825, at Albany, New York; adopted shortly after birth by Morgan Marshall and his wife, Mary Moody, a prominent and childless couple of her town who were of no known relationship to the Moss family. . . .

Generation Six

46. Mason[5] Merrell a.k.a. Mercer (Myrtle[4] Mercer, Margret[3] Mandell, Martha[2] Moss, Moses[1]), born 1 July 1831, Albany, of an unknown father and adopted during infancy by his older first cousin, Moses[5] Merrell and wife Melinda Miner. . . .

47. Malcolm[1] Merrell a.k.a. McFall (adopted by Moses[5] Merrell, Muriel[4] Mercer, Margret[3] Mandell, Martha[2] Moss, Moses[1]), born 27 August 1826 to Moses's wife, Melinda Miner, by her first husband, Matthew McFall. Malcolm, who consistently used the surname of his adopted father. . . .

48. Matthew[2] McFall Jr. (adopted by Moses[5] Merrell, Muriel[4] Mercer, Margret[3] Mandell, Martha[2] Moss, Moses[1]), born 30 December 1828 to Moses's wife, Melinda Miner, by her first husband, Matthew[1] McFall. Matthew was never called by any name other than that of his biological father. . . .

49. Milton[2] Murdock (Maria[1] Merrell, adopted by Muriel[4] Mercer, Margret[3] Mandell, Matthew[2] Moss, Moses[1]). . . .

The inclusion of adopted children and stepchildren will create irregularities in the numbering of generations. To recapitulate:

41. Mark does not descend from the Mercer-Mandell-Moss family. He is a stepchild, whose birth father is the first-known generation in the Mayberry line. Thus Mark is in generation 2 of the Mayberry line.
44. Maria is the adopted child of Muriel in generation 4. However, Maria would not be generation 5, because she is the first generation in her biological line to belong to this Mercer-Mandell-Moss family.
46. Mason is a direct descendant of the Mercer-Mandell-Moss line, adopted by another branch of the family. Because his mother was a direct descendant, he follows her generation number and parenthetical lineage. Mason's mother was of the fourth generation; thus, he is of the fifth.
49. Milton is a second-generation in the Mercer-Mandell-Moss line, because his mother (an adoptee) was the first generation of her biological line to belong to this family.

Clarity is maintained in the parenthetical summary of generations, despite these irregularities, by including the terms *adopted by* and *stepchild of* at the point where the irregularities occur. The appearance of an irregular number itself serves as a flag to alert researchers that a break has occurred in the line of descent.

Using "People Finders" to Track Individuals *Not* Cited Therein: The Example of Georgia's Saunders Worthington

By Lee Hendrix Smoak, CGRS*

"People finders" exist in every region—name lists of sundry types. Guidebooks to every state cite a litany of them. Research projects should begin there. Successful ones do not stop there. Using these lists to prove genealogical essentials for an ancestor who is not *listed therein becomes an exercise in creativity and discipline.*

Born in Georgia. Or South Carolina. Or Maryland. Or Massachusetts. The problem is universal. Genealogists are pleased to find a record citing a state of ancestral birth; but they are often stymied by the resulting challenge. Where in that state did the ancestor live? Which unknown family, in what unknown county, spawned him? The odds of finding a marker or a monument along today's touted "information superhighway" are often a long shot. When the electronic data bases and the statewide census indexes fail to cite that elusive ancestor, what then?

"People finders" exist in every region—name lists of sundry types. Guidebooks to every state cite a litany of them. Research projects should begin there; successful ones do not stop there. Using these lists to prove genealogical essentials for an ancestor who is *not* listed therein becomes an exercise in creativity and discipline.

The colony and state of Georgia offers a case at point. It was founded in 1733. Its earliest extant census, on a colony/statewide basis, is that of 1820—itself incomplete. Marriage records prior to the mid-1800s are even more spotty, and a statewide registration of births and deaths was not effectively launched until 1919. Yet Georgia has preserved two excellent "people finders": its tax digests and its land-lottery lists. In a broader sense, Georgia is typical. It has lost some records, it retains some files common to many locales (assessment books), and it offers resources that are relatively unique (in this case, the lottery rolls).

As with similar records, Georgia's prime "people finders" are essentially lists of names, to which limited data are appended. Occasionally, but not usually, they state a kinship or other useful genealogical fact. As a general rule, however, using these lists to prove relationships and origins is a matter of *follow-up,* that is:

- following the lists, year by year, comparing minutiae from one roll to the other;
- following land descriptions and taxation figures when the trail of *names* runs cold;
- following this detail into other types of records that are, in essence, spin-offs of the lotteries and assessment lists;

- following the individuals who appear in the same records—or in close neighborhood proximity—through numerous counties and states, if need be;

and invariably

- toggling back and forth between these resources, as each discovery in one of them opens new possibilities in the other.

This follow-up process, as with research anywhere, also requires a basic understanding of the nature and limitations of the records. A brief synopsis follows.

GEORGIA'S "PEOPLE FINDERS"

Tax Digests

Legal acts of a state should always be consulted to identify the provisions in force during the period under study. Three points of Georgia law from the early nineteenth century are particularly relevant in the case at hand: *(a)* a poll tax or head tax was assessed on every white male over the age of twenty-one, unless exempt for certain special causes; *(b)* the assessment for land was entered on the roll of the county in which the owner resided, not the county in which the land was located; and *(c)* within each county, tax lists were compiled by *districts*—a point of genealogical significance often given too-short shrift.

Tax districts, in colonial and antebellum Georgia, paralleled the militia districts. They were political units, laid out originally to include the number of young males best suited to the operation of a military company. A district's tax receiver was the elected militia captain. Prior to 1807, districts were identified by the captain's name; with the election of new officers, the district's name would change, even though the bounds remained the same. After 1807, militia districts were numbered. However, many tax rolls (as well as the lotteries) continued to be called for the captain.[1] Maps depicting the militia district bounds are available from the State Archives.[2]

Thus, by using Georgia's tax digests (i.e., that state's term for the records commonly called tax *rolls* elsewhere), it is possible—among other things—to

- approximate a young man's age by noting when he first emerged on the tax roll (i.e., turned twenty-one), assuming the county of his adolescence is known;
- track intra-county migrations, as landowners in one county were taxed for holdings in another;
- pinpoint a general place of residence within a county.

Georgia is fortunate to have many of these extant digests—some on microfilm, others not—available for use at the State Archives.[3]

Land-Lottery Records

The first British titles to Georgia's land were held, in a trusteeship, by James Edward Oglethorpe and his followers, who settled coastal Georgia on 12 February 1733. The Crown of England assumed control on 4 July 1752, instituting a

headright process that would grant land in the eastern portion of the state from 1754 through 1909. That system created a variety of land disputes and tended to favor the rich. Subsequent frauds prompted a revamp of Georgia's land-distribution policy at the turn of the nineteenth century. Thus, as Native Americans were dispossessed, the last two-thirds of the state's present area was given to white settlers through a series of lotteries—1805, 1807, 1820, 1821, 1827, 1832, and 1833. The 1832 distribution was actually by two lotteries, dubbed the *Gold* and the *Cherokee:* the former encompassing Cherokee lands on which ore had been discovered, and the latter covering other territory newly seized from its tribal owner.[4]

Each lottery established its own requirements for participation. Summaries can be found in Farris Cadle's *Georgia Land Surveying: History and Law.*[5] All known lists resulting from these drawings have been published. The 1805 roll cites all participants, whether losers or winners, and serves as an invaluable census substitute for the state's missing 1800 and 1810 federal returns. The remaining statewide rosters cover only the fortunate winners,[6] but a number of genealogical quarterlies have published local lists of those entitled to draw. The state grants for the lucky drawers are available for study in the Microfilm Room of the State Archives.

THE PROBLEM: SAUNDERS WORTHINGTON

Saunders Worthington (a.k.a. Weathengton, Wellington, Withington, and Wethenton) illustrates the principle. He was a man special only to his family, as far as the records suggest—just one of millions of early Americans who followed a low-key lifestyle in a rural area prior to 1850, when censuses named no children and few records explicitly stated parent-child relationships. The enumerations of 1850–60 offer vague clues to his origins: they cite his own birth in South Carolina (in either 1797 or 1800) and a Georgia birth for a daughter born circa 1825–28.[7] Saunders was enumerated in Montgomery County, Alabama, in 1830. His whereabouts in 1840 remain unproved. Before 1850, he removed to Union Parish, Louisiana[8] and apparently died there after March 1868.[9]

The Alabama and Louisiana enumerations also offer another set of indirect clues to Saunders's origins—drawn from the identities of his close neighbors. In both locales, in all years, there appear Malone and Peeler families whose birthplaces denote the same South Carolina-to-Georgia migration pattern—families headed by the widows Ulsey Malone (born circa 1780; husband unidentified) and Sarah Peeler/Pealer (born circa 1810; widow of Randolph Peeler).[10]

Georgia's census indexes—the resource of first recourse for most genealogical problems—offer nothing for Saunders under any conceivable surname variant. Nor can he be found in the published indexes to the land lotteries or the random publications that extract tax-roll data. However, he would not have existed in a vacuum; human beings are social creatures. Hypothetically, he should be found in a county where Malones, Peelers, and Worthingtons clustered. Yet no such enclave can be pinpointed through published indexes of any type.

CORRELATION OF
CENSUS AND TAX DATA

As a young adult in Georgia, Saunders would have been assessed a poll tax. If he reached his legal seniority in that state, he should have emerged on those rolls the year after he turned twenty-one. Thus, sometime between 1819 and 1822, he or his father should have submitted to his militia captain a return declaring his liability for such a tax. If not, and his age was known within his neighborhood, he would be cited as a defaulter. However, reading all extant county tax digests for those years would be a monumental task. To narrow the tax-records search, all Worthingtons (and variant spellings) were extracted from the 1820 census and that data analyzed for a young male in the appropriate age range of Saunders, residing in a parental household. If the findings were positive, then that county's tax digests could be combed in search of Saunders Worthington's poll tax.

No exact fit could be found, agewise; only one likely prospect appeared. A young male of the approximate age (i.e., born 1797–1810, but more likely 1802–04) was found in the household of a Levi Weathengton in Greene County:

1820 Greene County, Georgia
Page 252

1 male	45+	[born before 1775]	
1 male	16–26	[born 1794–1804]	* *possibly Saunders*
1 male	16–18	[born 1802–04]	* *possibly Saunders*
2 males	10–16	[born 1804–10]	
3 males	0–10	[born 1810–20]	
1 female	45+	[born before 1775]	
1 female	16–26	[born 1794–1804]	
1 female	10–16	[born 1804–10]	
1 female	0–10	[born 1810–20]	
Total in household		11	
Total engaged in agriculture		4	

The 1820 census, as experienced users know, contains a pair of overlapping categories—one for males 16–26 and another for those within this group who were still under the age for obligatory militia duty—i.e., 16–18). The age of the youth flagged above would be at least two years younger than Saunders's actual age—if the Louisiana enumerations of 1850 and 1860 are correct. However, this margin of error is not unusual in the censuses of the era, particularly when one considers the circumstances involved. In this pre–birth-registration society, when ages were considerably more difficult to verify, parents and young men of boyish appearance had opportunity as well as incentive for delaying the date at which taxes and military service would be imposed.

If Saunders was indeed the son of Levi, and if they remained in Greene after 1820, then Saunders should eventually surface in the poll column of that county's tax digests. He did. A year-by-year, page-by-page search of the subsequent rolls places his only appearance in 1824, cited as "Sanders" Worthington, in Captain Thomas Colquett's District [163] of Greene County.[11] The year of his first taxation (1824—but possibly 1823, a year for which the roll is lost) suggests a birth in 1802 or 1801, bridging the discrepancy between the 1797/1800 dates implied for him on late-life censuses and the 1802–03 date that is extrapolated from Levi's 1820 household data.

The inclusion of Saunders/Sanders on this 1824 return marks his only appearance in the Greene County digests, illustrating another important point in the study of tax rolls. The search must be thorough; every year must be examined. A skipped year might be the only one in which an individual appears; thus, a skipped year would be a missed connection. Researchers working with Georgia families are fortunate to have at their disposal a published series of early tax rolls that can be easily consulted at many libraries. However, those lists cover only random yearss for the various counties.[12] In the omitted intervals, thousands of entries were added, deleted, or altered.

SURVEY OF LAND-LOTTERY RECORDS

Although a young Saunders/Sanders Worthington was positively placed in Greene County in 1824 and later censuses cite the birth of a child in Georgia about 1825–28, the lottery lists of 1820, 1821, and 1827 offer no evidence of his existence there. He was definitely eligible in the latter year, according to age and residence requirements, and probably participated but simply did not win. Nor is he mentioned in the extant list of 1827 "eligibles" in Greene County (eligibles being Georgia citizens who participated in the lottery but drew blanks).[13] Yet this negative evidence serves a useful purpose: it reinforces the tax data, which suggest that Saunders left Greene County circa 1824–25.

Does this also mean that the state lottery records are now irrelevant? Absolutely not! Lottery land—if followed—can establish relationships, such as when a parent conveys the winnings to a child. Since both Levi and Saunders lived in Greene County, it is appropriate to ask further:

- Was Levi Worthington (possible father of Saunders) still living in Greene after 1820? If so, did he pay property tax?
- Did Levi Worthington win land in the state lotteries? If so, what happened to the land?

"Levy" Worthington was indeed a winner—a double winner—in the 1821 drawing, acquiring Lot 47 in District 9 of Houston County and Lot 49 in Houston's District 3.[14] The two draws allotted to him, under the governing statute, meant that he was a white, married, male citizen with a family—both statements supported by the 1820 census.[15]

LOTTERY-LAND FOLLOW-UP IN THE COUNTY COURT FILES

Land that comes into a man's possession will eventually be disposed of—if not by sale, then by judicial seizure or death and inheritance. Yet neither the deeds nor the inferior- or superior-court records of Greene or Houston counties offer a document by which Levi sold or forfeited either tract.

LOTTERY-LAND FOLLOW-UP IN THE TAX DIGESTS

Extant tax rolls proved far more informative when studied for Levi and his newly acquired land. The data supply a geographic link between him and Saunders, as well as an associational link between the Worthingtons of Greene and the Saunders Worthington of Alabama and Louisiana. They prove Levi's migration to another county and suggest the identity of a daughter there. They bracket the period of his death, and they ultimately identify at least some of his heirs. To summarize:

1822

Greene County. Levi Worthington, resident of Captain Garrett Woodham's District [161],[16] paid tax on both tracts of lottery land in Houston County. As noted earlier, Saunders lived in District 163 in 1824. The different district labels would suggest distance between residences, rather than proximity, until the militia-district map is consulted. (See figure 1.) The two adjoined each other, in a county many times their size. Levi and Saunders can be said to have lived at least in the same general "neighborhood," if not in very close proximity along the district line.

The 1822 tax roll also offers a further clue to the site of Levi's and Saunders's residence, a clue usable in other ways to support the thesis that Saunders of Greene is indeed the Saunders of Alabama and Louisiana. The roll is semi-alphabetized by first letter of surname, making it impossible to determine the exact next-door neighbor for a man who owned no land. However, the "W" listing adjacent to Levi represents a man who resided along the Oconee River. In that same district, also along the Oconee, was Anthony Peeler—whose offspring would appear in both Montgomery County, Alabama, and Union Parish, Louisiana, as near neighbors of Saunders Worthington.[17]

1824

Greene County. Saunders makes his first appearance on this unalphabetized roll—a propertyless male, assessed one poll in Colquett's District [163] and listed between several individuals who owned land along adjacent Beaverdam and Richland creeks. In short, his residence lay in the western portion of 163, near the District 161 land of Levi and the Peelers.

Levi is not cited in any Greene County district this year. However, his *land* has been found by making a page-by-page search for its legal description. In 1824, one Archibald Gray of Woodham's District [161] paid the tax on Lot 49, District 3, Houston County—a tract described on the tax roll as a grant to "Worthington [no first name]."[18] No taxpayer in

Greene was assessed that year for Levi's Lot 47 of Houston, implying that the land was held by and taxed to someone—possibly Levi—who lived in Houston or elsewhere.

No tax digests are known to be extant for Houston in that period, however; and no available data suggest another specific county. As a starter, the tax-roll search spread to include the surrounding counties. Two of these, Putnam and Morgan, abutted not just Greene County in general but District 161 in particular. (See figure 1.)

Putnam County. Levi was found residing here, where he was taxed this year (1824) on the remaining Houston County lot he had won in 1821, as well as an on additional 60 acres lying along Putnam's Crooked Creek.[19] No county-level deed documents his purchase.

A concurrent survey of other Putnam records suggests another potential family member. On 12 February that same year, one "Polly [Mary] Weatherington" married Isaac Aldridge in Putnam, a resident of the same tax district in which Levi was then living.[20]

Morgan County. No Worthingtons (or variant spellings) were taxed in this county. However, Morgan's rolls do provide the data needed to establish the Worthington-Malone-Peeler cluster that had been sought in Georgia. The widow Ulsey Malone—who resided next door to Saunders Worthington in Montgomery County, Alabama, in 1830 and migrated with him and a cluster of related families to Union Parish, Louisiana, shortly before the census of 1850[21]—was taxed in Georgia's Morgan County on lottery land granted in 1820 to the widow and orphans of Jamison Malone.[22]

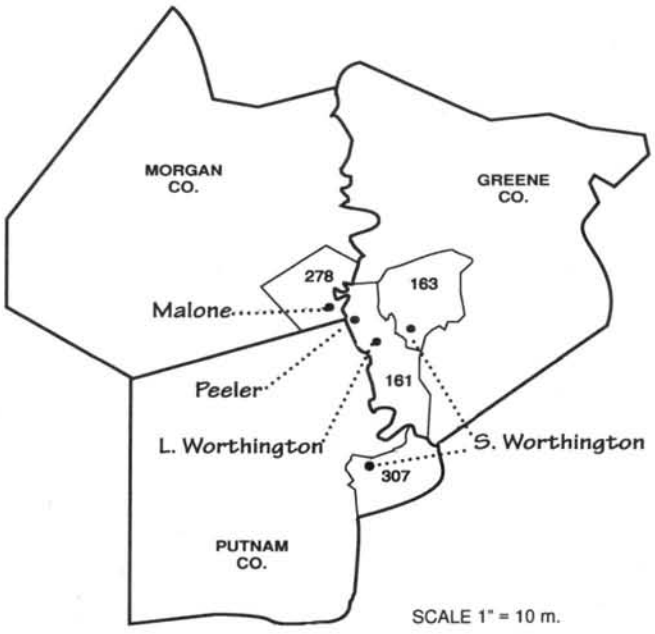
As shown on figure 1, Ulsey's military district in Morgan County was 278—directly abutting Putnam County (where Levi resided this year) and Greene County's District 161, where Levi Worthington and Anthony Peeler had been taxed in 1822. Not surprisingly, Ulsey's daughter Sarah Malone married Anthony's apparent son Randolph (or Anthony R.) Peeler in Morgan County in 1823.[23] They, too, joined the Worthington migration from central Georgia to Alabama and Louisiana. As late as twenty-seven years later, in Union Parish, Louisiana, the widow Sarah Peeler was Saunders Worthington's next-door census neighbor[24] (as her mother, Ulsey, had been at the time of the 1830 enumeration of Montgomery County, Alabama).

1825

Putnam County. This roll strongly reinforced the family links already welded. Levi appears again, taxed for his lottery land in Houston County and for his Crooked Creek (Putnam) tract in Captain Harvey Stinson's district. New to Putnam, and added to the end of Stinson's unalphabetized roll, is "Sanders Witherengton"—also taxed for land on Crooked Creek.[25] As in Greene County the prior year, the 1825 Putnam roll marks the only documentable appearance of Saunders in that county. No known conveyance relates his purchase or sale of the tract on which he was taxed. His 67 acres represent one-third of an original land lot. Levi's 60 acres represent almost another third. Whether or not the two tracts had a common origin has not been proved. No other resident of the district was taxed on a similar one-third lot.

Immense is the value of this 1825 roll to the argument that Saunders is the son of Levi. The 1824 Greene County roll establishes Saunders's emergence in the county where Levi had resided for several years. The 1825 Putnam roll shows that Saunders followed Levi across the Oconee River to Putnam, making his home on the same creek. To assume mere coincidence strains credibility.

Figure 1
Greene-Morgan-Putnam Counties, Georgia
Showing Militia Bounds and Residential Cluster of
Worthington, Malone, and Peeler Families



1826 and following

Putnam County. Neither Levi nor Saunders is cited thereafter as a taxpayer in Putnam. (Saunders next appears on record in the 1830 census of Montgomery County, Alabama, whose tax rolls are no longer extant.)

Meanwhile, new Worthington/Wetherington names appear in Putnam, in the same militia district in which Levi and Saunders formerly lived. One Julius "Wetherington" was reported by Captain Nahor Marshall in 1826 and by Captain William E. Marcus in 1827. Marcus also cited Julius, along with one Toliver "Wellington," as defaulters in 1827, suggesting a possible move by these men to another county or state.[26]

In both years, Julius of Putnam paid tax on Levi's 60 acres and his lottery Lot 47, District 9, Houston County—although the tax rolls do not cite Levi as a grantee or former owner. By implication, Levi had died or turned over to a son the management of his affairs.

REEXAMINATION OF LAND-LOTTERY LISTS

Georgia's next lottery roll provided the needed evidence to close out the life of Levi Worthington—the award of Lee County land to the *widow* Rebecca Worthington,

of Captain Marcus's District, Putnam.[27] The emergence of the never-before-named widow, concurrently with the transmittal of Levi's land to a new generation—in a district where no other individuals of that uncommon surname had previously been found—might be considered prima facie evidence that Levi had died, that Rebecca was his widow, and that Julius (if not Toliver as well) was son and heir of the deceased. Research continued in an effort to prove or to disprove these hypotheses.

EXTENSION OF CENSUS WORK

The previously surveyed censuses of Georgia were examined for the individuals now considered potential kinsmen of Saunders—i.e., the widow Rebecca, Julius, and Toliver Worthington, as well Isaac and Mary (Worthington) Aldridge. Each headed his or her own household in 1830, and all were in Houston County, the site of Levi Worthington's 1821 lottery land.[28] To summarize:

- *Rebecca Worthington,* born 1780–90. By comparison, Levi's 1820 household had consisted of one female born before 1775 and one female born 1794–1804. Rebecca's age data of 1830 do not correlate to that of 1820. However, in her 1830 household there resided a young female (born 1815–20) and two males (born 1810–15 and 1815–20), whose ages do parallel Levi's 1820 family. The final resident of Rebecca's 1830 home was a female, whose 1820–25 birth falls comfortably into the last years of Levi's life. A researcher might reasonably pose two hypotheses: either Rebecca's 1820 or 1830 age was cited in error, or Rebecca may have been a second wife.

- *Julius Worthington,* born circa 1804, lived next door to Rebecca in Houston, 1830. He apparently married in the mid-1820s in either Putnam or Houston. His 1830 household consisted of two females: one born 1800–10; the other, 1825–30. Julius moved with Rebecca and Toliver to Upson County, where he remained.[29]

- *Toliver Worthington,* born either 1804 or 1810, according to later censuses. He, too, appears to have wed in the mid-1820s. His 1830 Houston County household consisted of two females: one born 1800–10, the other 1825–30. Between 1830 and 1840, Toliver lived briefly in Upson, then joined the family migration to Central Alabama, settling in Macon County near the Montgomery County line. Many of the individuals who neighbored Saunders "Weatherington" in Montgomery, 1830, are found as Toliver's neighbors in Macon, 1840.[30]

- *Isaac Aldridge,* born 1800–10. The household of Isaac included a female born 1800–10 who should be Mary "Polly," along with two male and two female children, all assigned to the birth period 1825–30.[31]

REEXAMINATION OF TAX DIGESTS

This set of Worthingtons did not remain in Houston long after the 1830 enumeration. Even so, the meager data they created in that county and their subsequent migration and residential patterns strongly reinforce the developing hypothesis of a nuclear-family relationship.

1829

Houston County. As a resident of Moon's District, Julius paid not only the tax on Levi's land but also that of Rebecca for her 1827 lottery winnings. Toliver paid his poll tax in the same district.[32]

1831

Houston County. Julius again was assessed for Levi's lottery land and Toliver paid his poll, although Rebecca covered her own assessment for the Lee County lot. All were in the same district.[33]

In 1822, a portion of Houston County was cut away to form the new county of Crawford, which split again in 1824 for the creation of Upson County. There, in the 1830s, the Worthington chronicle continues.

1832

Upson County. Toliver "Wethenton" paid his poll in Ross's District.[34]

1834

Upson County. Julius and Rebecca again appear in the same county and tax district—that of Captain Cabeen. As before, Julius continued to pay for both Levi's and Rebecca's lottery lands; but the family's holdings had expanded considerably. Additional taxes were paid by Toliver for 160 acres (identified as Lot 157, Section 4, District 14) and by Julius and Rebecca for 40 acres each.[35]

While the tax roll does not specify the origins of these tracts, they are easily located in the 1832 Cherokee and gold-land lottery rolls. Toliver, as a resident of Upson, had registered for and won a tract of the Cherokee non-gold lands,[36] while Julius and the widow Rebecca, still of Houston at the time, had won tracts in the gold-bearing district (Lot 59, District 2, Section 3; and Lot 437, District 4, Section 1, respectively).[37]

1836

Upson County. Julius "Wethenton" remained an Upson resident; but, for the first time since 1826, he did not pay tax on Levi's Houston land.[38] A page-by-page, line-by-line reading of the digest for the legal description of the land did not yield a trace of it. The fate of Levi's lottery winnings now had to be tracked through other records.

REEXAMINATION OF COUNTY DEEDS

Houston County's conveyances do chronicle the disposition of Levi's Lot 47—but not under Levi's name. These records also introduce another Worthington who was clearly an heir and assuredly a son. On 17 December 1835, twelve years after the Worthingtons began paying annual taxes on Levi's 1821 lottery land, final grant papers were issued.[39] No mention is made of Levi's death in the interval. One month later, on 28 January 1836, Robert "Weatherton" of Upson County sold to one Moses Giles, in Houston, 136 acres of Levi's original 202.5-acre lot.[40] The disposition of the remaining 66.5 acres has not been determined.

Levi's Houston County land-lottery winning had remained technically unclaimed by him and his family for fourteen years. Yet the tax digests of four counties confirm

a continuous chain of ownership. One authority estimates that a fourth of Georgia's lottery winners did not claim the grants to which they were entitled. Some felt the cheap land was not worth the cost of finalizing the paperwork. Some sold their lucky draws before taking out the grant, making the transferees responsible for legally claiming the land. In the mid-1830s, to induce settlement of outstanding titles, Georgia reduced the processing fee—with the 1821 grant fee of nineteen dollars falling as low as two.[41] The Worthingtons apparently took advantage of the bargain.

REVIEW OF ALL RESOURCES FOR IDENTIFICATION OF ROBERT

What of this Robert who disposed of Levi's land? He is first found on record in 1832, as Robert "Worthington," drawing gold land (Lot 106, District 2) as a resident of McCoy's District of Houston County (the same district in which Julius made his successful draw that year).[42] In 1838, Robert "Withengton" again appears with Julius—and with Rebecca—as an Upson County resident taxed for the gold-lottery tract.[43] His failure to appear on the poll rolls of the early 1830s is apparently due to his age. While a poll was not assessed until a young man turned twenty-one, the lottery had been open to unmarried males as young as eighteen.[44] Robert's 1840 Upson County census entry, as Robert "Worthington," places his birth between 1810 and 1820. Sharing his household was a woman born 1820–25 (probably Elizabeth Cook, whom he married on 1 January 1839), a child (born 1835–40), and an elderly female (born 1780–90)—most likely Rebecca. Next door resided Mary "Aldrige," with household data to parallel "Polly Weatherington," who had wed Isaac Aldridge of Putnam in 1824.[45] In the 1840s, Robert also moved to Alabama; but from there his migration parted from that of his proposed siblings. The 1850–70 federal censuses place him in Lowndes County, Mississippi.[46]

SUMMARY ANALYSIS

No record has been found that specifically names the parents or siblings of Saunders Worthington. Yet a substantial case can be built through the correlation of tax, land-lottery, and census records. The tax digests reconstruct the family's migration from Greene (1820–22), to Putnam (1824), to Houston (1829), and to Upson (1832). They place Saunders, in 1824, in the same Greene County neighborhood that Levi had just vacated; and they track Saunders as he followed Levi, in 1825, to the same creek in adjacent Putnam. The tax assessments and final grant papers for the 1821 lottery land reflect the transfer of Levi's property to at least two male heirs of the same surname. They set forth a widow and document the responsibility that Levi's sons felt toward that widow. Residential patterns link these sons not only with each other but also with the widowed Rebecca, the young Mary who married Isaac Aldridge, and—in both Greene and Putnam—with Saunders himself.

Upon the basis of these records, the following identities can be reasonably proposed for the individuals enumerated in Levi Worthington's 1820 household in Greene County, Georgia:

1 male	45+	[born before 1775]	[Levi]
1 male	16–26	[born 1794–1804	[Saunders]
1 male	16–18	[born 1802–04	
2 males	10–16	[born 1804–10]	[Julius and Toliver]
3 males	0–10	[born 1810–20]	[Robert and the two males of Rebecca's 1830 household, born 1810–15 and 1815–20]
1 female	45+	[born before 1775]	[probably Rebecca]
1 female	16–26	[born 1794–1804]	
1 female	10–16	[born 1804–10]	[Mary, who married I. Aldridge]
1 female	0–10	[born 1810–20]	[female in Rebecca's 1830 household, born 1815–20]

PRE-GEORGIA ORIGINS

One final element remained to be verified, regarding this hypothesis that Saunders Worthington is the son of Levi and possibly Rebecca: what of the 1797 or 1800 South Carolina birthplace attributed to Saunders by the 1850 and 1860 censuses? Are Levi's origins traceable? If so, does the trail lead eastward across the Savannah River to the alleged state of Saunders's birth?

The 1800 census indexes place Levi in Edgefield County, South Carolina, where sundry courthouse records extend the family line (using the same wide variety of spellings as in Georgia). They also chronicle a neighborhood association with Ulsey (Mrs. Jamison) Malone, far earlier than the 1830 Alabama and 1850 Louisiana situations previously noted.[47] The 1800 South Carolina enumeration of Levi's household is consistent with the Georgia census data, as shown below:

1800 Edgefield County, South Carolina
Page 164
Levi Wellingten

1 male	16–26	[born 1774–84]	[Levi, born 1774–75]
1 male	10–16	[born 1784–90]	[a brother?]
2 males	0–10	[born 1790–1800]	[—?— and Saunders]
1 female	45+	[born before 1755]	[apparently his widowed mother]
2 females	16–26	[born 1774–84]	[Rebecca, born 1780–90 and —?—]
1 female	0–10	[born 1790–1800]	[female in Levi's household in 1820, born 1794–1804]

CONCLUSION

Every genealogist has been perplexed by the question *where did an individual live in a certain state during a particular time period?* When no record seems to provide the answer, the links can still be made by the researcher who methodically applies sound principles of whole-family study, data linkage, and evidence analysis. Every state offers both ordinary and unique records to achieve this. The Worthingtons of Georgia illustrate how resources can be correlated and why the whole-family approach often has to extend across several states and multiple generations.

Thorough study and intense integration of Georgia's tax digests and land-lottery records permit a reasonable identification of Saunders Worthington's father. Going beyond the censuses, which merely show that one Levi Worthington had a son of possibly the same age group, tax digests of both Greene and Putnam counties put Saunders and Levi in the same militia districts and along the same creeks. Tax and land lottery records combine to reconstruct a family for Levi and to track their migration through two additional places of residence. These resources also permit a neighborhood reconstruction that is impossible to make from census data. As shown in figure 1, they prove that three families (Worthingtons, Malones, and Peelers), appearing simultaneously in three separate counties, were actually near neighbors clustered at a corner where those three counties meet—neighbors who would, after Levi Worthington's death, move with Saunders to Alabama and Louisiana.

It has been said frequently that Georgia families did not migrate in clusters because the lottery system assigned them lands in widely diverse areas. The Worthington case argues otherwise; and, in the experience of the present researcher, this family was not unique among Georgians. Extended-family migration did occur in spite of the seeming divisiveness of the lotteries. Lucky draws in scattered areas did not oblige the winners to move onto the assigned tracts. The Worthingtons, as did others, chose to pay taxes on much of their lottery land without physically claiming or occupying it—apparently holding it for an eventual sale. In the interim, the pattern of extended-family migration continued to be followed. On Georgia's frontier, as elsewhere, support from the kinship network was crucial to survival.

The tax digests and land lotteries are important pillars of Georgia research, shoring up many conclusions that researchers make from other records. But, when exploited to the extent they deserve, they can also provide the very foundation upon which families are reconstructed in the absence of any definitive record; and they can correct erroneous assumptions that stem from less-thorough work.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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1. Alex M. Hitz, *Georgia Militia Districts: Reprint from Georgia Bar Journal, February, 1956—Vol. 18, No. 3* (Atlanta: Ben W. Fortson Jr., Secy. of State, n.d.), 1–4.

2. Georgia Minor Civil Divisions–Militia Districts Map, available (for a nominal fee) from Ga. Dept. of Archives and History [State Archives]; 330 Capitol Avenue, SE; Atlanta, GA 30334.

3. For a listing of the tax digests available on microfilm (but not those in manuscript) at the State Archives, see Robert Scott Davis Jr., *Research in Georgia* (Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1981), 173–81.

Publications with partial or full abstracts of tax rolls for random counties, random years, include

• R. J. Taylor Jr. Foundation, *An Index to Georgia Tax Digests*, 5 vols. (Spartanburg, S.C.: Reprint Co., 1976). These volumes, spanning the years 1789–99, 1800–02, 1804–06, 1809–11, and 1812–14 respectively, include the counties of Baldwin, Burke, Chatham, Clarke, Columbia, Elbert, Franklin, Greene, Hancock, Jackson, Jefferson, Jones, Liberty, Lincoln, Madison, Montgomery, Morgan, Oglethorpe, Pulaski, Putnam, Richmond, Tattnall, Warren, and Wilkes.

• Frank Parker Hudson, comp., *A 1790 Census of Wilkes County, Georgia, with Abstracts of the 1790 Tax Returns* (Spartanburg, S.C.: Reprint Co., 1988). According to the compiler, p. 1, this publication represents over 45 percent of the free white residents in Ga. in 1790.

• Ruth Blair, comp., *Some Early Tax Digests of Georgia* (1926; reprinted, Vidalia, Ga.: Georgia Genealogical Reprints, 1971), which includes Camden (1794, 1809), Chatham (1806), Glynn (1790, 1794), Hancock (1812), Lincoln (1818), Montgomery (1797, 1798, 1805, 1806), Pulaski (1818), Richmond (1818), Warren (1794, 1805, 1818), and Wilkes (1792, 1793, 1794).

4. Richard B. Morris, *Encyclopedia of American History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 64; Faris W. Cadle, *Georgia Land Surveying: History and Law* (Athens: Univ. of Ga. Press, 1991), 169–70, 173–75, 196–97, 207–09, 235–36, 248–49, 268–70, 272–74, 278–79.

5. Cadle, ibid.

6. Monographs that reprint the various lottery lists are as follows: Virginia S. and Ralph V. Wood, comps., *1805 Georgia Land Lottery* (Cambridge, Mass.: Greenewood Press, 1964); Silas Emmett Lucas Jr., comp., *The Second or 1807 Land Lottery of Georgia;* Lucas, comp., *The Third or 1820 Land Lottery of Georgia;* Lucas, comp., *The Fourth or 1821 Land Lottery of Georgia;* and Martha Lou Houston, comp., *Reprint of Official Register of Land Lottery of Georgia, 1827* (all published, Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1986). Also Lucas, comp., *The 1832 Gold Lottery of Georgia* (Easley: Southern Historical Press, 1988); Lucas, comp., *The 1832 Cherokee Land Lottery of Georgia* (Greenville, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1991); and Robert Scott Davis Jr., comp., *The 1833 Land Lottery of Georgia* (Greenville: Southern Historical Press, 1991).

Researchers should also be aware that "loose papers" exist for many of the lottery grants and are housed in the office of the Ga. Surveyor General Dept., Atlanta. The papers are not presently available to the public, pending organization, but abstracts from some of them have been published through the years. One volume, which gathers randomly published abstracts from Emmett Lucas's *Georgia Genealogical Magazine,* is available as Robert S. Davis Jr. and Silas Emmett Lucas Jr., comps., *The Georgia Land Lottery Papers, 1805–1914* (1979; reprinted, Easley: Southern Historical Press, 1988).

7. 1850 U.S. census, population schedule, Union Parish, La., p. 359, dwelling 146, family 146 ("Samuel" Worthington) and p. 355, dwell. 101, fam. 101 (Cornelia Noland); 1850 U.S. cens., agricultural sch., p. 803 ("Samuel" Worthington); and 1860 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Union Ph., La., p. 120, dwell. 768, fam. 768 (S. Worthington) and p. 121, dwell. 775, fam. 775 (C. Nolan). Saunders's daughter Catherine Cornelia married David Noland 29 December 1845 in Macon Co., Ala., at which time Nolan lived across the county line and not far removed from Saunders's residence in Montgomery Co.

The name *Samuel,* applied to Saunders only on the two simultaneously taken schedules of the 1850 census, is an error. His correct identity has been established through the Ala. and La. research of Elizabeth Shown Mills, CG. FASG, FNGS, and Sharon Sholars Brown, CG, and reported (with documentation) by Mills in her paper "The Identity Crisis: Right Name, Wrong Man? Wrong Name, Right Man?" presented at the 1994 national conference of the Federation of Genealogical Societies, Richmond, Va. The lecture is available as Cassette S-144 from the conference taper, Repeat Performance; 2911 Crabapple Lane; Hobart, IN 46342.

8. 1830 U.S. cens., Montgomery Co., Ala., p. 213 (Saunders Wetherington); 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Union Ph., La., p. 359, dwell. 146, fam. 146 ("Samuel" Worthington); and 1860 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Union Ph., La., p. 120, dwell. 768, fam. 768 (S. Worthington). Saunders has not been found on the 1840 census. Portions of his neighborhood, along the Montgomery-Macon cos. line, appear to have been missed on more than one census of the mid-1800s; see Mills, "Identity Crisis," Worthington case.

9. The last-known record for Saunders appears to be the 21 March 1868 marriage of Saunders "Wellington" to Eliza Sollomon, recorded in Union Ph., La., Marr. Book 3: 51.

10. For Ulsey, see 1830 U.S. cens., Montgomery Co., Ala., p. 213 (Ulsey Malone, adjacent to Saunders Wetherington); 1840 U.S. cens., Montgomery Co., Ala., p. 168 (Drury Malone, with female aged 60–70); 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Union Ph., La., p. 356, dwell. 113, fam. 113 (household of Johnson Malone, for U. Malone, female, aged 70). The 1830 census age appears to be one category "off," citing her as aged 30–40, with 6 children still at home

under the age of 30. For Sarah, see 1840 U.S. cens., Montgomery Co., Ala., p. 166 (Sarah Pealer); 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Union Ph., La., p. 358, dwell. 145, fam. 145 (widow Sarah Peeler, adjacent to "Samuel" Worthington).

Johnson Malone, with whom Ulsey lived in 1850, appears in court records of Union Ph. as "under tutor" (assistant guardian) of the children of Sarah by the late Randolph "Pealer." Johnson Malone and Sarah (née Malone) Peeler were assuredly the children of Ulsey, who lived next door to Saunders Worthington in 1830 Montgomery Co., Ala. For Johnson's tutorship of Sarah's children, see Union Ph. Succession [Estate] Records, vol. A–2: 571–72, and C: 363–65.

Other families from Saunders's 1830 Montgomery Co. neighborhood are subsequently found with him in Union Ph., including James Malone, John R. and Uriah Parker, Andrew Arons (who wed Angeline Peeler in Montgomery Co., 1842, with Uriah Parker, officiating; see Montgomery Co. Marr. Book B: 210), and David Nolan (who wed Saunders's daughter Catherine Cornelia Worthington in adjacent Macon Co., Ala., in 1845; see Macon Co. Marr. Book 2: 64).

11. 1824 Tax Digest, Greene Co., Ga., Drawer 230, Box 12, Microfilm Room, State Archives. The 1823 digest is not extant, leaving open the possibility that Saunders may have paid a poll that year. If taxed in 1823, Saunders would have turned 21 in 1822, which would backdate his birth to 1801.

12. See the lengthy list supplied under n. 3.

13. Ray M. Stephens, "Fifth or 1827 Land Lottery, Georgia," *Georgia Genealogical Society Quarterly* 13 (Fall 1977): 177–84.

14. Lucas, *The Fourth or 1821 Land Lottery of Georgia,* 251. At that time, Levi resided in Capt. Woodham's District of Greene Co.

15. Cadle, *Georgia Land Surveying,* 236; 1820 U.S. cens., Greene Co., Ga., p. 252.

16. 1822 Tax Digest, Greene Co., Ga., Capt. Garrett Woodham's Dist. [161], Drawer 230, Box 11, Microfilm Room, State Archives.

17. Ibid.; 1830 U.S. cens., Montgomery Co., Ala., p. 213 (Anthony R. Pealer as neighbor of Ulsey Malone and Saunders "Wetherington"); 1840 U.S. cens., Montgomery Co., Ala., p. 166 (Sarah Pealer); 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Union Ph., La., p. 358, dwell. 145, fam. 145 (Mrs. Sarah Peeler), and p. 359, dwell. 146, fam. 146 ("Samuel" Worthington).

18. 1824 Tax Digest, Greene Co., Ga., Capt. Garrett Woodham's Dist. [161], Drawer 230, Box 12, Microfilm Room, State Archives.

19. 1824 Tax Digest, Putnam Co., Ga., Capt. Jesse T. Reaves's Dist. [307], Drawer 125, Box 66, Microfilm Room, State Archives.

20. Ibid.; Joseph T. Maddox, *37,000 Early Georgia Marriages* (N.p.: n.p., 1975), 215—for Polly Weatherington to Isaac Aldridge.

21. 1830 U.S. cens., Montgomery Co., Ala., p. 213 (for Ulsey Malone, adjacent to Saunders Wetherington); 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Union Ph., La., p. 356, dwell. 113, fam. 113 (household of Johnson Malone, for U. Malone); and p. 358, dwell. 145, fam. 145 (for Sarah [Malone] Peeler), and p. 359, dwell. 146, fam. 146 (for "Samuel" Worthington).

22. 1824 Tax Digest, Morgan Co., Ga., Capt. Coppedge's Dist., Drawer 42, Box 62, Microfilm Room, State Archives. The 1822 and 1823 rolls had similarly taxed "Alsey" on the lottery land granted to her, as a widow, and to the orphans of "Jermerson" Malone; see Boxes 61 and 62. Lucas, *The Third or 1820 Land Lottery of Georgia,* 208, shows "Usla Malone (wid.)" winning Lot 120, Dist. 26, Early Co., and "Jemeroon Malone (orps.)" with Lot 82, Dist. 7, Gwinnett Co.

23. Marriages (1821–1834), Morgan Co., Ga., p. 6, Drawer 41, Box 50, Microfilm Room, State Archives; Peeler's name is given on the marriage record as Randolph, but he has not been found under that name on the 1830 censuses of either Ga. or Ala. Household data on his widow Sarah in 1840 Montgomery Co., Ala., show two children born 1835–40, suggesting that Randolph was indeed alive in 1830. The 1830 enumeration of Montgomery includes one Anthony R. Pealer, in the Worthington-Malone-Peeler neighborhood, whose household data are compatible with that of Sarah in 1840. See 1830 U.S. cens., Montgomery Co., Ala., p. 213; and 1840 U.S. cens., Montgomery Co., p. 166.

24. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Union Ph., La., p. 358, dwell. 145, fam. 145 (Mrs. Sarah Peeler); 1830 U.S. cens., Montgomery Co., Ala., p. 213 (Ulsey Malone).

25. 1825 Tax Digest, Putnam Co., Ga., Capt. Harvey Stinson's Dist., Drawer 125, Box 66, Microfilm Room, State Archives. Levi's 60 acres on Crooked Creek is said to adjoin one "Marshall"; Saunders's 67 acres is said to adjoin one "Ellis." The 1826 Tax Digest, on which neither Levi nor Saunders appears, taxes Julius "Wetherington" for 60 acres adjoining "Hargrove & others." Julius is said to be responsible for the tax "as agent for Woodson Roberts." A study of records created by Woodson Roberts and various Marshalls and Ellises has not yet led to an identification of the origin of the Worthington tracts that were taxed to them without benefit of

a recorded deed.

26. 1826 Tax Digest, Putnam Co., Ga., Capt. Nahor Marshall's Dist.; and 1827 Tax Digest, Capt. William E. Marcus's Dist.—both in Drawer 125, Box 66, Microfilm Room, State Archives. The list of defaulters appears at the end of the roll.

27. Houston, *Reprint of Official Register of Land Lottery of Georgia, 1827,* 119. Rebecca won Lot 94, Dist. 15, Lee Co. However, her name is omitted from the index.

28. 1830 U.S. cens., Houston Co., Ga., p. 269 (Toliver Worthington); p. 295 (Julius Worthington and Rebecca Worthington); and p. 296 (Isaac Aldridge).

29. Julius has been last found on the 1860 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Upson Co., Ga., p. 570, dist. 537, dwell. 251, fam. 227.

30. The 1830 Montgomery Co. neighbors of Saunders who appear as 1840 Macon Co. neighbors of Toliver include Michael Connell (1830 Montgomery, p. 211; 1840 Macon, p. 8); William Smith (1830 Montgomery, p. 212; 1840 Macon, p. 8); and William Nix and Thomas Davis (1830 Montgomery, p. 213; 1840 Macon, p. 8). Toliver also appears on Macon's p. 8. He did not join the family migration to Louisiana; rather, between 1850 and 1860, he moved slightly south into Alabama's Pike Co. See 1860 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Pike Co., Ala., p. 91, dwell. 610, fam. 610.

31. No further track of Isaac Aldridge has been found.

32. 1829 Tax Digest, Houston Co., Ga., Capt. Moon's Dist., Drawer 156, Box 1, Microfilm Room, State Archives.

33. 1831 Tax Digest, Houston Co., Ga., Capt. Walker's Dist., Drawer 156, Roll 1, Microfilm Room, State Archives.

34. 1832 Tax Digest, Upson Co., Ga., Capt. Ross's Dist., Drawer 148, Box 4, Microfilm Room, State Archives.

35. 1834 Tax Digest, Upson Co., Ga., Capt. Cabeen's Dist., Drawer 148, Box 4, Microfilm Room, State Archives.

36. Lucas, *1832 Cherokee Land Lottery of Georgia,* 399.

37. Lucas, *1832 Gold Lottery of Georgia,* 552.

38. 1836 Tax Digest, Upson Co., Ga., Capt. Brown's Dist., Drawer 148, Box 4, Microfilm Room, State Archives. The 1835 tax roll for Upson is missing.

39. 1821 Ga. Land Lottery Grant, Houston Co., Ga., Dist. 9, p. 230, Surveyor General's Office, Atlanta.

40. Houston Co., Ga., Deed Book F: 703–04.

41. Cadle, *Georgia Land Surveying,* 236, 314.

42. Lucas, *1832 Gold Lottery of Georgia,* 552.

43. 1838 Tax Digest, Upson Co., Ga., Capt. Brown's Dist., Drawer 148, Box 5, Microfilm Room, State Archives.

44. Cadle, *Georgia Land Surveying,* 274.

45. 1840 U.S. cens., Upson Co., Ga., p. 44 (Robert Worthington and Mary Aldrige); Maddox, *37,000 Early Georgia Marriages,* 288.

46. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Lowndes Co., Miss., p. 55, dwell. 92, fam. 92; 1860 U.S. Cens., pop. sch., Lowndes Co., p. 37, dwell. 250, fam. 260; 1870 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Lowndes Co., p. 183, dwell. 338, fam. 365. The cited censuses attribute an Ala. birthplace to the children born ca. 1841–44.

47. 1800 U.S. cens., Edgefield Co., S.C., p. 164 (Jameson and Drury Malone), p. 164 (Levi Wellingten; Manoah and James Withington), and p. 185 (Jimmerson and Drury Malone). Regarding the two entries each for the names Jameson/Jimmerson and Drury Malone, the data bear marked similarity; however, it has not been proved whether they represent a double listing for each man or whether there were two men of each name.

A Nifty Idea!

National Archives, Washington, D.C.
Record Group 109; Captured Confederate Records
Register of Memorials and Petitions,
Legislative and Executive, p. 177
5 February 1864
"Memorial to the CSA Congress, pleading an exemption from combat duty for *editors.*"

New Light on Francis[1] Plummer of Massachusetts: A Test of Tradition and Conventional Wisdom

By John Plummer*

One hundred sixty-six years have passed since the first-known effort to provide a Plummer genealogy. Comparison of the data that have since evolved reveals a pattern prevalent in many families—the development of unsupported speculation as to origins by those who wrote in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Perpetuation of these speculations has obscured more-substantial clues to the true provenance of the family..

New England genealogists face a challenge often unfound in other corners of America. The compactness of the region, the existence of vital records dating back almost to the origins of the colony, and the exceptionally long conduct there of genealogical inquiry mean that many lineages have already been reconstructed. For that, family historians are usually grateful. Conversely, the extent to which the soil has been tilled around family trees means that fewer opportunities exist for uncovering new roots. It can also mean the entanglement of immigrant roots by prior researchers with more-limited historical perspective and less-sophisticated tools for conducting expeditions into the past. Such is the case with the Francis[1] Plummer who settled in Newbury, Massachusetts, in the 1630s.

As early as 1829, New England genealogists had begun to reconstruct the life and origins of Plummer. After several subsequent attempts,[1] the now-standard work on the family was published in 1917. Its author, Sidney Perley, did a creditable job of compiling descendant data from extant records—treating the first few generations in much more detail than the later ones.[2] However, in discussing Francis's origin and immigration, Perley repeats several unsound traditions and adds still more. This paper demonstrates the unreliability of that lore, corrects the date and ship of his immigration, adds a likely daughter to the list of his children, and pinpoints the most-probable English origin.

FRANCIS PLUMMER: THE CONVENTIONAL BIOGRAPHY

According to prior writers, Plummer was born about 1594[3] or 1596[4] and died 17 January 1672/73 in Newbury, Massachusetts.[5] He married first in England, about 1618, **Ruth [—?—],**[6] who died July or August 1647 in Newbury.[7] He married second, also in Newbury, on 31 March 1649, **Ann [—?—] Palmer,** widow of William Palmer;[8] Ann died there on 18 October 1665.[9] Francis then wed third (and last) in Newbury on 29 November 1665, **Beatrix (née Burt) Canterbury,**[10] widow of

William Canterbury.[11] A linen weaver and tavern keeper,[12] Plummer was a freeman of the colony.[13] He is said to have come from London; from Norfolk or Woolwich in Kent, England; or from Wales.[14] Writers also disagree in their recitation of his children. John Farmer, in 1829, listed two: Joseph and Samuel.[15] James Savage, in the 1860s, added Mary.[16] Charles Pope, in 1900, repeated the three.[17] Perley, in 1917, added Hannah to the roster.[18] Only Perley cites support for some of his conclusions—although Farmer, Savage, and Pope are accepted as classic works on the region.

This paper focuses its analysis upon one aspect of the traditional account—provenance of the Plummer family. It explores the apparent base of the contradictory theories and uses four principles of "conventional wisdom" in genealogy to assimilate indirect evidence pointing to Plummer's probable birthplace and family.

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM: NAME DERIVATION SUGGESTS FAMILY ORIGINS

Laymen expound copiously on the history of their surnames, although experts are more likely to express uncertainty as to the derivation of both words and names. Folk etymologies pervade Victorian and early-twentieth-century genealogies and are frequently held in high esteem by modern researchers—even though they are not genuine traditions. They are merely simplistic attempts, long after the fact, to add meaning to one's personal past; and they frequently err. Such is the case with *Plummer*.

Popular name books have cited *Plummer* as French Huguenot, while genealogists have set forth a perplexing array of options, each labeled *tradition.* As those "traditions" are tracked through the various genealogical writings of the prior century, an interesting pattern emerges. Farmer, in 1829 (nearly two centuries after the immigration), reported a "tradition" that the immigrant came from Wales about 1633.[19] Savage, in 1860, repeated the year of immigration but elaborated upon the origins—reporting "traditions" that Plummer was *either* from Wales or *London.*[20] Pope, in 1900, refrained from adding to the confusion;[21] but Perley, in 1917, complicated the matter. Without citing evidence, Perley ignored the London "tradition" entirely, repeated Wales as a possibility, then added opinions of his own—that Francis[1] hailed from Norfolk or Woolwich in Kent, England.[22]

What might be the bases of these propositions? Regarding Wales, the two centuries that elapsed between the emigration and Farmer's writing are overlong to warrant serious faith in the Welsh account. However, that suggestion was put forth in an era when educated men were well versed in Latin; the Plummer name would seem to have a Latin derivation and Wales was the last Roman holdout on the British Isles. Regarding London, traditions of descent from England's capital are so widespread and so frequently in error that only Savage—among all the writers—gave that "tradition" any credibility.

Perley's introduction of Kent is a twist even more common to his era, when folk etymology was burgeoning. The name *Plummer,* to many, suggests French origins;

and both areas of Kent that Perley cites—Norfolk and Woolrich—had attracted large numbers of immigrants from the Continent. Moreover, both areas were textile centers; and Francis was a linen weaver by trade. In retrospect, it appears entirely possible that Perley's newly reported "tradition" was rooted in assumptions generated by local and family historians with a smattering of historical knowledge. In any event, all the disparate claims cannot be accurate. As this paper will show, none appear to be.

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM: IMMIGRANTS WERE OFTEN IN THE COLONY YEARS BEFORE APPEARING ON RECORD

Seasoned researchers grow tired of the claim "our ancestor was here for years before he was picked up by the meager records of the time." Genealogists often do go to great lengths to push back as far as possible an ancestor's immigration. Plummer historians have done the opposite. In spite of the early assertions that he came in 1633, Perley moves that date forward to spring 1634 and places him aboard the *Hector* with Newbury's prominent minister Thomas Parker. That claim has been repeated more recently in the genealogical directory of Meredith Colket, who credits the details to "tradition" and cites only Perley.[23]

Not only did Perley force Plummer onto the wrong boat, he also ignored other associational clues that point to more-probable origins. Francis, almost certainly, was in the colony for more than two years prior to his first known appearance on record and a year or more before the 1633 date first attributed to him by Farmer and Savage. As claimed, Reverend Parker and his flock did form the nucleus of early Newbury. However, neither Parker nor Plummer arrived aboard the *Hector*.[24] The reverend is actually found on the *Mary and John* of London, which sailed from Southampton about the same time as the *Hector*'s alleged departure—i.e., on or shortly after 26 March 1634. The *Mary and John*'s list also omits Francis.[25]

The earliest-known record of Plummer is not a ship roll but a court record, and this document places him in the New World *before* the first main body of Newbury settlers. Francis was made a freeman of the Massachusetts Bay Colony on 14 May 1634,[26] at which time Parker and the *Mary and John* were probably still at sea. Not until 3 September 1634 were any passengers of the *Mary and John* (Parker being one) made freemen of the colony.[27]

Closer scrutiny of the early settlers of Newbury reveals five men who, like Plummer, preceded the Parker party: the Reverend Stephen Bachiler, Christopher Hussey (Bachiler's son-in-law), Richard Dummer, James Rawlins, and John Pemberton.[28] Nothing is known about the arrival of the last two, but the first three were part of the early "communistic" settlement known as Bachiler's Plough Company[29] and should have arrived aboard one of the Plough Company's ships—the *Whale* or the *William and Francis.* These vessels are believed to have left London together on 9 March 1631/32, detouring by Southampton.[30] An extant

journal, kept by the colony's contemporary governor, John Winthrop, reports the departure of the Plough Company ships from Southampton on 8 April 1632, as well as their separate arrivals in the colony. Making exceptionally good time, the *Whale* landed on 26 May; the *William and Francis,* Bachiler's vessel, followed on 5 June.[31]

Having disproved Plummer's alleged arrival with Reverend Parker, a counter-proposal might be made that he more likely emigrated with Reverend Bachiler's company. This paper builds upon that premise, establishing not only ties between Bachiler and Parker but also geographic and associational links between Bachiler and English Plummers prior to the emigration of Francis.

When introducing this theory, however, a germane question has to be addressed: *can an argument be supported that Plummer arrived over two years before he first appears on record?* It is, admittedly, very unusual for a married man with children to escape entirely an appearance in town records during that era. However, Plummer's first-known record, his admittance to the colony, did not specifically cite his town of residence. While he has not been found in the files of any settlement during that era, not all town records are extant. More to the point, by custom of their society, admittance to "freeman" status did not commonly come until an immigrant had been in the colony for some period of time. As one modern authority explains, "The fact that a man . . . was physically present in a town over a period of months or years did not automatically make that person an inhabitant. Legal accepance within a town was a dogmatic matter based upon a number of factors."[32]

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM: ONE SHOULD PROCEED FROM THE KNOWN BACK TO THE UNKNOWN

This common teaching unfortunately prompts a restrictive, direct-antecedent approach to genealogical research. The most-successful problem solvers are those who can think both forward and backward, as well as laterally. Logic in all fields requires both a posteriori and a priori reasoning—that is, *inductive reasoning* (proceeding backward from effects, consequences, or facts, to arrive at the cause) and *deductive reasoning* (proceeding forward from cause to effect). To express the reasoning in simple genealogical terms: when relatives are known, it is common to spot them in land and probate records. The real challenge is to arrive at relationships from a broad field of random mentions within extant evidence. Attempting this approach with Francis Plummer produces matches that circumstantially but significantly enhance the body of evidence pointing to his origins.

Stephen Bachiler

While Plummer's pre-Newbury years are obscure, Reverend Bachiler's prominence renders him more visible. Bachiler's trail leads backward from Newbury to Lynn, Massachusetts—a town whose early records are basically nonexistent. That fact could easily explain the failure to find Plummer in town records of the period in which he was admitted to the colony. The Reverend Bachiler was Lynn's minister

during those years of Plummer's obscurity.[33] Bachiler's biographers report his point of origin as Wherwell in Hampshire, England[34]—the same county from which hailed Richard Dummer, another early settler of Newbury, Massachusetts, introduced herein on page 117.[35] After attending Oxford, Bachiler preached in the Berkshire town of Newbury before removing to the Netherlands and then to the New World at age seventy-one.[36] Both Hampshire and Berkshire loom more important to the Plummer case as additional evidence is developed.

Other Lynn Associations

At Lynn, other potential connections are found for Francis.[37] Nicholas Batt, who shared Plummer's occupation (linen weaver) and who subsequently lived next door to Plummer in Newbury, was an early landowner in Lynn.[38] Also in Lynn were Edward and Hugh Burt, apparent relatives of Plummer's last wife, Beatrice Burt.[39] That family hailed from "Darkin" (Dorking) in Surrey,[40] a town just twenty miles to the east of Berkshire; this was the same town in which Bachiler's son-in-law, Hussey, originated.[41]

William and Ruth Sawyer

The Newbury, Massachusetts, settler William Sawyer appears several times, over several decades, in records relating to Francis Plummer. Francis deeded him property as early as 1649.[42] At Plummer's death in January 1672/73, Sawyer was listed as a debtor of the estate, owing the considerable sum of 4£.[43] More telling, Sawyer served as surety in the administration of that estate—a role suggestive of a very close relationship. No hint of kinship has been uncovered between him and any of Plummer's three wives. Nor can Sawyer's one wife, Ruth, be posited as a sister of Francis or of one of his spouses. Newbury's records identify twelve children born to Ruth between 1645 and 1670,[44] suggesting that her own birth occurred about 1625.

Might Ruth have been Plummer's daughter by his first wife—also named Ruth? Francis died without a will, and no other record cites all daughters who survived him. However, there is a significant gap between the births of his two oldest known children—Samuel (circa 1619) and Joseph (circa 1630).[45] Ruth Sawyer's birth about 1625 would fit into this interval. Moreover, she had children named Samuel, Mary, and Hannah—corresponding to three of the four previously identified children of Francis—as well as daughters Ruth and Frances.[46] Significantly, all three records in which Sawyer is associated with Plummer date from after the mid-1640s marriage of William and Ruth Sawyer.

William Stevens and Samuel Bitfield

Even more intriguing is the relationship between Francis Plummer, William Stevens (also of Newbury), and one Samuel Bitfield of Boston. In 1653, both Francis and Samuel served as appraisers of William's estate.[47] Further investigation

reveals that both William and a son of Francis had married daughters of Bitfield,[48] a significant fact considering the distance between Boston and Newbury. Pursuing the origins of both Stevens and Bitfield led to possibilities that seem contradictory. The Newbury Stevenses were from Caversham in Oxfordshire[49] —just across the Thames River from Reading in Berkshire, where one Plummer family used the forename *Francis*.[50] (Berkshire, it will be recalled, was a station for the Reverend Bachiler prior to his emigration.) Bitfield, however, was from Bristol in Gloucestershire (now Avon) and vicinity[51]—very close to another Plummer family that also used the first name *Francis*. The two areas stretch some sixty or so miles apart, as the proverbial crow flies. Francis Plummer of Massachusetts seemingly could not have come from both sets of Plummers—unless a connection can be established between the families in these disparate locales.

The Parkers

The Stevenses of Newbury were related to yet another Newbury family, the Parkers; and the relationship seems to antedate their arrival in the colony. Moreover, one Bitfield record suggests either a coincidental intermarriage with a family of the same name or else a previous relationship with the Stevenses into which the Bitfield daughter married. The several records that reveal these facts also point to origins in the mother country. Consider the following:

- William Stevens arrived in the colony in 1638 aboard the *Confidence,* for which an extant passenger roll cites places of origin. With William came his brother John, and John's wife Elizabeth. All were said to be of Caversham, as previously noted.[52]
- Elizabeth Stevens, in a deposition of 1673, refers to one Joseph Parker of Newbury, Massachusetts, as her "brother."[53]
- Joseph Parker is also registered aboard the *Confidence,* coming from Newbury in Berkshire,[54] although his will leaves property in Romsey, Hampshire, England.[55](The Reverend Bachiler, it will be recalled, was from the Hampshire town of Wherwell, only nine or so miles away; and he subsequently served at Newbury in Berkshire.)
- Elizabeth Bitfield, wife of Samuel, died testate in 1669, naming a sister Margaret *Parker*—spouse and residence not mentioned.[56]
- Reverend Thomas Parker of Newbury, Massachusetts—with whom Plummer's emigration was tied by Perley—had taught, circa 1620, at Southampton, about two miles from Romsey (the site of Joseph's property). More telling, after Southampton, Reverend Parker can be found in the mid-1620s at Newbury in Berkshire (Joseph's cited town of residence), where he both taught and served as assistant curate.[57]

All these facts suggest either group migration or stage migration to Newbury, Massachusetts, from three adjacent counties in England—Berkshire, Gloucestershire, and Oxfordshire. They also document movement between those counties by the families that would become early Newbury, Massachusetts, settlers. Notably, in both Berkshire and Gloucestershire, there existed Plummer families using the forename *Francis.*

Thornbury Parkers and Skidmores

On 28 March 1626, one John Parker of Thornbury, England—about six miles from Bristol in Gloucestershire—drafted a will that forges an even-stronger link between that county and Berkshire.[58] Two of this Parker's bequests are important to the case at hand—i.e.:

- "unto my daughter Elizabeths two children... John and Elizabeth Skidmore$_{[?]}$ unto each of them a pewter platter." [In both England and New England, the Skidmores and Samuel Bitfield were both associates and adversaries.[59]]
- "unto my daughter Hannah Parker xx^{L} [20£] and a great keetle which is in the possession of William Laryhther sone *in Newbury* [Berkshire] to be paid at the age of Twenty one years or at her daie of marriage."

The Thornbury-Newbury connection above is not mere happenstance. Seventeen years earlier, another will had been drafted by Richard Skidmore, grandfather of the John Skidmore who married Elizabeth Parker, wherein he mentions debts due him at Newbury and Hungerford, both in Berkshire.[60] By implication, the Skidmores and Parkers may have been engaged in trade—probably of cloth, as that was the leading commerce of the area—between Gloucestershire and Berkshire.[61]

Badgers of Newbury

One final Plummer associate reinforces the circumstantial links forged above—Giles Badger, who resided next door to Francis Plummer in Newbury, Massachusetts. As previously set forth in print by genealogist Roger Joslyn, the Newbury Badgers also hailed from Gloucestershire.[62]

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM: FOR A SHORTCUT TO BRITISH ORIGINS USE THE IGI

The computerized International Genealogical Index, created by the Family History Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints at Salt Lake, is commonly considered to be the surest shortcut to finding British origins. Certainly, it incorporates data extracted from numerous parishes and shires across the isles, although innumerable records remain unextracted and some areas are entirely unrepresented. Despite its lack of comprehensiveness, the IGI is a valuable demographic tool to locate clusters of surnames. More important, it directs users to the original records that should always be examined—not only to verify the correctness of the extracted data but also to glean auxiliary detail omitted from the IGI entries and to gain a proper perspective of the community involved.

In the case at hand, the IGI offers no entries for Francis Plummer's pre-American marriage to Ruth [—?—], or for the baptisms of their three known children, or for a likely Francis Plummer in Kent or Wales. It does reveal three Francis Plummers (including variant spellings) whose children were baptized in England contemporaneously with those of the emigrant—at Tring in Hertfordshire; West Harptree in Somersetshire; and Saint Katherine by the Tower, London.

However, all three had children baptized in 1636 or later, when the emigrant Francis was definitely in New England. There also appears a Francis Plummer whose children were baptized at Reading in Berkshire (probably the man of the same name whose children had been baptized shortly before at Hurley in Berkshire); but he was too old to be the emigrant, and no Francis appears among his cited offspring.

Only in one locale does there appear a likely Francis. Again, there exists only indirect evidence to build the case. At Wotton-under-Edge in Gloucestershire—just one and a half miles from Thornbury, where John Parker of the 1626 will resided—there lived a Plummer alias Seaborn family of compatible data. A detailed muster list of Gloucestershire, dated 1608, reveals a tight cluster of individuals bearing these names around Wotton-under-Edge. As tradesmen, the family included weavers and innkeepers—both occupations followed by Francis in Massachusetts.[63] Three area records very possibly pertain to him.

- On 5 February 1626/27 at Wotton-under-Edge, there was baptized one Mary, daughter of Francis "Seaburne."[64]
- On the Gloucestershire subsidy roll for the prior half-decade (1620–25) at Simonshall et Combe (a hamlet of Wotton-under-Edge), there is listed one Francis Plommer.[65]
- On 5 April 1612, Francis Seaborne, alias Plomer, "the older," of Wotton's Combe drafted a will with a bequest to "ffrauncis Plomr Junior my godsonne."[66]

The parallels are again striking. According to the reconstructed data of prior writers, Francis[1] of Massachusetts would have been aged sixteen or eighteen at the time of the 1612 will. The first two of his previously identified children were born between 1619 and 1630, and they were followed by another Mary, whose birth Perley places at about 1634.[67] It was, of course, common—when children died young—to give that name to another infant.

SUMMARY

One hundred sixty-six years have passed since the first-known effort to provide a Plummer genealogy. Comparison of the data that have since evolved reveals a pattern prevalent in many families—the development of unsupported speculation as to origins by those who wrote in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Circumstances suggest that this elaboration stemmed from the growing popularity of folk etymology and the limited understanding of history in an era that lacked modern access to far-flung archives and sophisticated means of digesting great quantities of data. Perpetuation of these speculations has obscured more-substantial clues to the true provenance of the family.

Although the vast improvements in resources and technology have not yielded direct evidence of Francis Plummer's place of birth, they have made it possible to conduct a comprehensive study of all known associates of this elusive immigrant. They have also facilitated a general canvass of key records for parishes and shires across the British Isles. In the process, they have proved unreliable one tenet of

conventional wisdom: the traditional infatuation with name derivation; and the unreliability of using this to make geographic assumptions for seventeenth-century and later England, where internal migration had advanced to the point of mixing the evidence quite thorough. Modern research has upheld one other proposition: the possibility that immigrants were in the colonies for significant periods before first appearing on record. It has reinforced the value of the IGI as a demographic pointer for English genealogy, despite its incompleteness. However, another tenet has again been challenged: the advice that research should always proceed backward from the known to the unknown, rather than laterally across the breadth of associates or forward from earlier individuals of potential connection—both techniques used beneficially in this paper.

Out of these explorations through time and space, a pattern has emerged that goes beyond sheer circumstance to suggest origins of this early settler of the Bay Colony. Clearly, Francis[1] Plummer of Newbury, Massachusetts, did not arrive in the spring of 1634 with Reverend Thomas Parker—either on the *Hector* or on Parker's ship, the *Mary and John.* In the interpretation of the present writer, this Francis[1] Plummer of Massachusetts was the same as Francis Plummer (Plomer) alias Seaburne (Seaborne) Junior, of Wotton-under-Edge in Gloucestershire, England. Finally the evidence points, circumstantially but substantially, to Francis as the father of the previously unidentified wife and mother of Newbury, Massachusetts, Ruth (Mrs. William) Sawyer.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

*148 Grand Street, Apartment 34; Waterbury, CT 06702. Mr. Plummer, a graduate student in history at Columbia University, has published several studies in the *NGS Quarterly,* the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, the *New Hampshire Genealogical Record,* and *The American Genealogist,* all treating early-seventeenth-century immigrants. Appreciation is due to Robert C. Anderson, CG, FASG, for his suggestions upon an earlier draft.

1. Among the significant writings on Plummer (in chronological order) are those by John Farmer, *A Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New England*... (1829; reprinted, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1989), 231; James Savage, *A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England,* 4 vols. (1860–62; reprinted, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1990), 3: 446; Charles Henry Pope, *The Pioneers of Massachusetts* . . . (1900; reprinted, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1981), 364; and Meredith B. Colket Jr., *Founders of Early American Families: Emigrants from Europe, 1607–1657,* rev. ed. (Cleveland, Ohio: Founders and Patriots of America, 1985), 244.

Of these writers, only Colket offers support for his assertions. He generally cites other secondary sources, but it was his purpose to create a compendium of existing data. Farmer, Savage, and Pope, in the manner expected of their era, provide no citation of sources by which the reliability of their information might be judged. In many cases, it is evident that the data was taken from vital records of the referenced town or from other easily discerned sources. While the general reliability of these works have been proved through a century or more of use, rsearchers need to be aware that data in any compendiums should be verified through examination of original source materials.

2. Sidney Perley, *The Plumer Genealogy* (Salem, Mass.: The Essex Institute, 1917). Generally, Perley provides references for his statements of fact, but his assertions on the critical issue of Francis's origin are unsupported. Some additional data on Francis[1], omitted by Perley, can be found in *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1636–1685,* 9 vols. (Salem, Mass.: 1911–75), 5: 96–97, 159–60.

Perley renders the immigrant's name consistently as *Plumer*. However, the more-common spelling seems to be *Plummer*. Original records commonly use the single letter, with a tilde or short line above that *m* to indicate the omission of a doubled letter. Perley apparently was not familiar with that handwriting convention when he settled upon the single *m*.

For useful guidance in studying the original records of the era, see Andrew Wright, *Court-Hand Restored or,*

the Student's Assistant in Reading Old Deeds, Charters, Records, etc. . . . Describing the Old Law Hands, with Their Contractions and Abbreviations. With an Appendix Containing the Ancient Names of Places in Great Britain and Ireland: An Alphabetical Table of Ancient Surnames; and a Glossography of Latin Words Found in the Works of the Most Eminent Lawyers, and Other Ancient Writings but Not in Any Modern Dictionaries (1867; reprinted, Ashland, Ore.: Gareth L. Mark, 1989).

3. Perley, *Plumer Genealogy,* 1.

4. Colket, *Founders of Early American Families,* 244. Colket's birthdate for Francis differs from that of Perley, although Perley is Colket's only cited source for Plummer data.

5. Perley, *Plumer Genealogy,* 10. Perley's date agrees with the published vital records; see *Vital Records of Newbury, Massachusetts, to the End of the Year 1849,* 2 vols. (Salem, Mass.: The Essex Institute, 1911), 2: 401. However, Colket, *Founders of Early American Families,* 244, cites the death date as 20 February 1672/73. Colket's date is actually the one on which Plummer's sons were appointed his estate administrators; see *Records and Files of the Quarterly Court of Essex,* 5: 96.

6. Clarence Almon Torrey, *New England Marriages prior to 1700* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1985), 590. Although published fairly recently, Torrey's material was generated between 1927 and his death in 1962; it includes every New England marriage for which he could find reasonable evidence. The original manuscript is housed at the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, and is available from that society in a microfilm edition. The published work, unfortunately, omits the source citations found in Torrey's manuscript.

7. Torrey, *New England Marriages,* 590. This published edition of Torrey transmutes "July or Aug" to "Tulyor, Eng." For corrective data, see Perley, *Plumer Genealogy,* 7, which cites the date as 18 July 1647. The published vital records of Newbury show "Aug. 17 or 18, 164_(July, 1647. S. dup.)"; see *Vital Records of Newbury,* 2: 699.

8. Perley, *Plumer Genealogy,* 7; *Vital Records of Newbury,* 401, cites date as 21 March 1649.

9. Perley, *Plumer Genealogy,* 9; Perley's date agrees with *Vital Records of Newbury,* 2: 697.

10. Perley, *Plumer Genealogy,* 9; Perley's date agrees with *Vital Records of Newbury,* 2: 401.

11. Torrey, *New England Marriages,* 590.

12. Colket, *Founders of Early American Families,* 244; Perley, *Plumer Genealogy,* 5–6.

13. Lucius R. Paige, *List of Freemen of Massachusetts, 1630–1691* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1988), 12.

14. Farmer, *Genealogical Register of the First Settlers,* 231; Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers,* 3: 446; Perley, *Plumer Genealogy,* 1.

15. Farmer, *Genealogical Register of the First Settlers,* 231.

16. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers,* 3: 446.

17. Pope, *Pioneers of Massachusetts,* 364.

18. Perley, *Plumer Genealogy,* 15.

19. Farmer, *Genealogical Register of the First Settlers,* 231.

20. Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers,* 3: 446.

21. Pope, *Pioneers of Massachusetts,* 364.

22. Perley, *Plumer Genealogy,* 1.

23. Ibid; Colket, *Founders of Early American Families,* 244. For Parker, also see Frederick Lewis Weis, *The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Churches of New England* (1936; reprinted, Baltimore: Clearfield Co., 1991), 158; this classic work also omits its documentation.

24. No full passenger list is known to exist for the *Hector,* but it did not sail until 1637, by which time Plummer was already on record in the colony. The journal of Governor John Winthrop, published as *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649* [hereinafter *Winthrop's Journal*], James Savage, ed., 2 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1853), 1: 271–76 (Savage's pagination), lists a few notable passengers. Thomas Hale, who is also credited with being one of the first settlers of Newbury, Massachusetts, is also said to have sailed in 1635 on the *Hector* with Reverend Davenport and another, unnamed minister; yet Hale is not found at Newbury until 1638. See Robert S. Hale, "Thomas Hale of Newbury, Mass., 1637: His English Origins and Connections," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 35 (October 1881): 367–76.

25. Nathan Hagar Daniels, *Descendants of Henry Travers of London, England, and Newbury, Massachusetts, U.S.A.* (Boston, Mass: Privately printed, 1903), 19–20.

26. Paige, *List of Freemen of Massachusetts,* 12.

27. Ibid., 13.

28. Ibid., 11–12; Sybil Noyes, Charles Thornton Libby, and Walter Goodwin Davis, *Genealogical Dictionary*

of Maine and New Hampshire (1928–39; reprinted, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983), 81–82, 364. In the manner of similar compendiums, this one does not cite the sources of the facts it reports.

29. Robert Charles Anderson, ed., *Great Migration Newsletter* 2 (April–June 1991): 16; see also V. C. Sanborn, "Stephen Bachiler and the Plough Company of 1630," *The Genealogist,* New Series, 19 (London, 1903): 270–84.

30. Charles Edward Banks, *The Planters of the Commonwealth* (1930; reprinted, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1991), 95–97. Various considerations, including the presence of London passengers on each ship, suggest the two ships sailed together from London.

31. Ibid.; Savage, *Winthrop's Journal,* 1: 92-94.

32. Ann S. Lainhart, "Records of the Poor in Pre-Twentieth-Century New England," *NGS Quarterly* 81 (December 1993), 257–58.

33. Robert Charles Anderson, ed., *Great Migration Newsletter* 1 (July–September 1990): 19–22, 24.

34. Weis, *Colonial Clergy,* 23. See also the Bachiler note appearing as Victor Channing Sanborn, "Rev. Stephen Bachiler," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 74 (October 1920): 319–20. Actually, Wherwell was not necessarily Bachiler's "point of origin." He served there as minister from 1587–1605, but his actual place of birth is apparently unknown.

35. Charles Edward Banks, *Topographical Dictionary of 2885 English Emigrants to New England, 1620–1650* (1937; reprinted, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1981), 5–6, 55–58, 60–63, 177–83. The *Topographical Dictionary* is a collection, made after Banks's death, from a wide range of sources of varying value; it is a highly secondary source. Many references were merely possibilities or hints that Banks picked up in his researches.

36. Weis, *Colonial Clergy,* 23; Sanborn, "Rev. Stephen Bachiler [Note]," 319–20; Sanborn, "Stephen Bachiler and the Plough Company of 1630," 272–84.

37. One apparent connection between Francis' Plummer and other Lynn residents seems to be deceiving. Robert Bond of Lynn (later of Long Island and of New York) is said to have married one Jan/Hannah Plomer. The marriage is listed in Torrey, *New England Marriages,* 82, with a question mark beside the wife's name. While Torrey's original manuscript normally cites its sources, it offers no reference for this alleged union. The International Genealogical Index [IGI] of the Family History Library, Salt Lake, shows one Robt. Bonde marrying a Jane Plumer 9 June 1628 at Frostenden, Suffolk. Torrey's work, of course, considerably antedates the IGI; but the existence of the Frostenden record suggests the possibility that he may have seen the original or notes thereof. A consideration of Frostenden would skew the argument set forth in this paper, since it is in an entirely different section of England. However, the chronological evidence—the fact that she would have been born too early to be his daughter—weighs against serious consideration of that possibility.

38. Alonzo Lewis and James R. Newhall, *History of Lynn, Essex County, Massachusetts* . . . (Boston: John L. Shorey Pub., 1865), 171–72.

39. *Vital Records of Newbury,* 2: 401, cites the Plummer-Burt marriage. For the presence of the Burts in Lynn, see Charles Henry Pope, *The Pioneers of Maine and New Hampshire* (1900; reprinted, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1981), 82, 88, 364; undocumented.

40. Pope, Pioneers of Maine and New Hampshire, 82, 88, 364.

41. Noyes, Libby, and Davis, *Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire,* 364.

42. Essex Co. Land Record, Book 1: 191; Perley, *Plumer Genealogy,* 5.

43. Essex Co. Probate File 2213; Perley, *Plumer Genealogy,* 10, 12.

44. *Vital Records of Newbury,* 1: 463–67; see also Mary Lovering Holman, *Ancestry of Charles Stinson Pillsbury and John Sargent Pillsbury,* 2 vols. (Concord, N.H.: Privately printed, 1938), 1: 66.

45. Perley, *Plumer Genealogy,* 15.

46. Holman, *Ancestry of Charles Stinson Pillsbury,* 1: 66.

47. *Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex,* 1: 288.

48. John Plummer, "The English Origin of Samuel Bitfield of Boston, Massachusetts," *The American Genealogist* 67 (October 1992): 242.

49. George Andrews Moriarty, "Stevens of Newbury and Andover, Mass.," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 85 (October 1931): 396–401.

50. Information on the Plummers of Reading in Berkshire is accessed through the IGI.

51. Plummer, "English Origin of Samuel Bitfield," 236–42.

52. Moriarity, "Stevens of Newbury and Andover," 396–401.

53. Ibid., 399.

54. Ibid., 399.

55. Pope, *Pioneers of Massachusetts*, 344.

56. Suffolk Co., Mass., Probate Records, 6: 29.

57. Walter Money, *The History of the Ancient Town and Borough of Newbury, in the County of Berks* (Oxford and London: Parker and Co., 1887), 564.

58. Will of John Parker, Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of the Bishop of Gloucester, FHL microfilm 91401, folio 102.

59. Plummer, "English Origin of Samuel Bitfield," 236–42.

60. Warren Skidmore, *Thomas Skidmore (Scudamore), 1605–1684, of Westerleigh, Gloucestershire, and Fairfield, Connecticut* (N.p.: Privately printed, 1985).

61. As the present article was sent to press, a related essay appeared that supports the connection of Reverend Thomas Parker with this part of Gloucestershire. See Dean Crawford Smith and Paul C. Reed, "Four Generations of English Ancestry for the Noyes Families of New England," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 149 (April 1995): 117–18, n. 45.

62. Roger D. Joslyn, "The English Ancestry of the Newbury Badgers," *The American Genealogist* 58 (January, 1982): 1–11, (April 1982): 91–98, and (July 1982): 167.

63. John Smith, *Men & Armour for Gloucestershire in 1608* (N.p. [England]: Alan Sutton, 1980), 169.

64. Parish Register Printouts, Wotton-under-Edge, FHL microfilm 893777, item 1.

65. *Gloucestershire Subsidy Rolls, 1620–1625* (MS., bound, FHL #942.41R4gs).

66. *Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of the Bishop of Gloucester,* FHL microfilm 991426.

67. Perley, *Plumer Genealogy,* 15.

Irregular Marriages

"A girl in Braden, Vermont, not yet thirteen years of age, has become a mother. She was married before she was eleven years old."

—Clarksville, Texas, NORTHERN STANDARD, 11 February 1854.

"In Mountsville, Alabama, Col. Darius Hobson of the United States Army, to Miss Choc P. Muckawis, or the Jumping Rabbit, a belle of the Chickasaw Tribe."

—Worcester, MASSACHUSETTS SPY, 16 December1829

—Submitted by Gordon Remington, P.O. Box 11685, Salt Lake City, UT 84147-0685

"WITH FORCE AND ARMS . . . DID MARRY. . . At a Superior Court of Justice begun and held at the Court house in the Town of Salisbury, within and for the District of Salisbury on the Fifth day of September in the Tenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the third [1770] . . . the Jurors . . . present: That Thomas Pritchard late of the County of Rowan$_{[?]}$ Labourer$_{[?]}$ on the Nineteenth day of June in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred and forty two in the County of Bucks in the province of Pennsylvania did Marry one Mary Phipps . . . and that the said Thomas Pritchard . . . on the first day of January in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred and Sixty Seven with force and arms at the County of Rowan in the province of North Carolina feloniously did Marry and to wife did take one Jane Williams$_{[?]}$ Spinster . . . the said Mary$_{[?]}$ his former wife$_{[?]}$ being then living and in Full Life."

(File C.R.X. Salisbury District, *King* v. *Thomas Pritchard,* Bigamy, 1742–1767, Box 6 of Granville, Guilford, Perquimans, Randolph, and Rowan Counties of Morgan and Salisbury Districts, Deeds, Estates, Wills, and Miscellaneous Records, 1742–1893, North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh.)

—Submitted by Julia M. Case; 7829 Candlewood Drive; Alexandria, VA 22306

Bible Records

The Hickman-Brown Bible

Contributed by Anne Scaberry Anderson*

Between 1896 and 1902, Sarah Jane (née Hickman) Brown of Fernwood Station, Madison County, Mississippi, widow of Jesse Brown, maintained a daily journal that is now in the possession of the great-granddaughter who contributes this data. As the year 1899 drew to a close and the impact of a new century struck her, Mrs. Brown recorded several dozen births, marriages, and deaths for her parents, her siblings, and other Hickman-Brown descendants. She did not identify the source of any of her information. Some of the dates are verifiable through public records. All of the dates antedate the civil recording of births and deaths. A moderately educated but plain and forthright woman of simple life—with no interest in the lineage societies that were already asking applicants for Bible records to prove genealogical facts—Mrs. Brown's purpose in creating this record appears to have been simple: to preserve the memory of those who came before her. Copying errors on her part remain possible, but the integrity of the overall document appears acceptable, even though no entries were created at the time the events occurred.

Prelude:
[Book B: p. 170]

. . . If they will only trust Him and if it be so that I see them No more on Earth$_{[?]}$ My prayer to God is that we May all meet around the Great White Throne with our loved one's gone before$_{[?]}$ where there is No More parting and trouble$_{[?]}$ and Sorrow never come. Farewell old year with all your Joys and Sorrow. Fare well for ever.

Entries:
[p. 171]

Jesse Hickman and Martha A. B. Temple was Married May 4th 1828 in Autauga Co Alabama

*P.O. Box 1647; Gulfport, MS 39501. Ms. Anderson, a former councilor of the National Genealogical Society and current member of the NGS Library Committee, is founder of the L. W. Anderson Genealogical Library, a privately funded research facility open to the public at Bay St. Louis, Mississippi.

Marriages of their Children:

Jesse Brown and Sarah J. Hickman was Married November 28th 1850 in Madison Co Mississippi
James Brown and Nancy A. Hickman was Married 23rd of December 1853 in Madison Co
William A. Jordan and Susan C. Hickman was Married October 8th 1868 in Madison Co
Joseph H. Hickman and Sarah J. Coleman was Married February 28th 1872 in Madison Co
John P. Hickman and Bettie A. Wilhoit was Married December 19th 1876 in Madison Co

[Page 172]

Jesse Hickman was born December the 14th 1802 in Clark Co State of Georgia
Martha A. B. Hickman (nee Temple) was born November 23rd 1806 in Hancock Co Geo.

Ages and Names of their Children:

William S. Hickman was born August 3 1829 in Autauga Co Alabama
Sarah J. Hickman was born March 20th 1831 in Autauga Co Alabama
Nancy A. Hickman was born October 14th 1833 Autauga Co Alabama
Mary F Hickman was born February the 5th 1836 in Autauga Co Alabama
Joseph H. Hickman was born July 27th 1838 in Coosa Co Alabama
Benjamin F. Hickman was born [*day omitted*] December 1840 in Coosa Co Alabama
Susan C. Hickman was born September 3rd 1843 in Autauga Co Alabama
John P. Hickman was born June 6 1846 in Madison Co Mississippi

[Page 173]

Jesse Hickman Died November 28th 1881 in Madison Co Miss.
Martha AB Hickman Died July 16th 1880 in Madison Co Mississippi
Wililiam [*sic*] D. S. Hickman Died December 11th 1847 in Madison Co Mississippi
Mary F. Hickman Died June 11th 1879 in Madison Co Mississipi
Benjamin F. Hickman Died August 1842 in Autauga Co Alabama
Joseph H. Hickman Died March 9th 1889 in Madison Co Mississipi

[Page 174]

Ages of the children [of] James P. and Ada W. Brown

Charlie Walton was Born January 26th 1889 in Natchez Adam[s] Co Missi[ssi]ppi
Jessie May was born August 1st 1892 in Vidalia La.
Bessie was Born July 17th 1896 in Vidalia La.
James Henry was Born December 12th 1897 in Vidalia La.

Ages of the children of W.R. and M.B. Hickman

Lila May was Born Nov. 13th 1875 in Madison Co Miss.
Joseph Henry was Born December 2nd 1877 in Madison Co Miss.
Charlie Elmo was Born October 7th 1879 in Madison Co Miss.
Sarah Jane Elizabeth was Born March 13th 1883 in Madison Co Miss.
Jessie Brown was Born October 7th 1885 in Madison Co Miss.
William Rebecca was Born June 13th 1888 in Madison Co Miss.

Ages of the children of William Henry and M E Brown

Elinor Wales was Born July 5th 1892 in Catahoula Parish La.
Henry was Born December 28th 1894 in Catahoula Parish La.

Ages of the children of James T. and Julia C. B. Hagler

Eva Belle was Born in Vicksburg October 8th 1884 in Warren Co Miss.
William Wroten was Born June 17th 1887 in Pike Co Miss
Blanch Beatrice was Born December 2nd 1889 in Pike Co Miss
Heuy [Henry?] Hickman was Born June 20th 1892 in Pike Co Miss
James Brown was Born May 16th 1895 in Tangipaho Parish La
George Thomas was Born September 4th 1898 in Tangipaho Par La

Ages of the children of William J and Lola B Lenoir

Ruth was Born October 16th 1892 in Pike Co Miss
William Henry Vaught was Born May 10th 1895 in Pike Co Miss
Wilbur Brown was Born March 15, 1899 in Pike Co Miss

California Emigrants

(*The Frontier Guardian,* Kanesville [later Council Bluffs], Iowa, 3 April 1850)

LIST OF CALIFORNIA EMIGRANTS THAT HAVE ARRIVED ON THIS FRONTIER. They are all apparently in good health and spirits, and eager for the mines. Persons receiving this number who are not regular subscribers to the paper, will please run over this list of names, and they will probably find their husband's name, the name of a son or brother, cousin, friend, or old acquaintance. There are many emigrants who have arrived here whose names are not in this list. They can all have their names registered in the next number of the *Guardian* if they wish, and a copy sent back to any friend, for one dime each.

From Illinois—Dr. James Cameron, C. N. Notware, Dr. John Crim, Samuel Ewing, Reuben E. Lemoin, M. W. Robinson, James H. Breese, George W. Hodgins, Charles P. McNamara, G. W. Gale, S. B. Shumway, E. H. King, J. W. G. Ferris, Samuel Swift, Benj. Despain, Benj. Despian, Jr., W. Allingham, D. D. Colton, W. B. Skinner, Sebastin Adams, G. W. Bell, Thos. G. Richmond, John L. Smith, Harrison Presson.

From Deseret—Robert Pierce

From Indiana—Valentine Bennett, Samuel M. Weed.

From Pennsylvania—Wm. W. Stillwagon, M. D.

From Ohio—H. J. B. Seymour.

From Iowa—James Blake, Augustus Jones, Jr., H. C. Ross, S. P. Woodman

From Wisconsin—Pain Stillwell

From Michigan—Lauren F. Fox

—Contributed by Myrtle Stevens Hyde, FASG; 3628 Iowa Avenue; Ogden, UT 84403

Notes and Documents

Free African Americans in Pre–Civil War "Anglo" Alabama: Slave Manumissions Gleaned from County-Court Records

Contributed by Gary B. Mills, CG, Ph.D.*

The Forgotten People[1] . . . *Black Masters*[2] . . . *Slaves without Masters*[3] . . . *Neither Slave nor Free.*[4] Over the past quarter-century, dozens of scholarly works have been written on a subject that most Americans still know little about—all with titles chosen to convey the anomaly they treat: African Americans who lived and worked as *free* in the midst of slavery.

How did they live? This issue lies at the heart of the questions historians are trying to answer. How did these individuals *become* free? By self-purchase? By faithful service? By sexual liaisons? Beyond the traditional, stereotypical suppositions, what do the *statistics* show? How did they live *after* they were freed? Were they set loose in poverty? Were there viable economic opportunities? Were they driven from their homeland in search of a state that would accept them? Did they eagerly abandon the South for alleged opportunities north of the Mason-Dixon line? All these questions have genealogical implications as modern African Americans search for their "roots." Increasingly, though still on a very modest scale, the questions are important to Caucasian American genealogists who discover that their forebears left progeny of both races and who now seek descendants of their family's "other branch."

As a historian and genealogist, I also have sought answers to these questions for a quarter-century. Since 1978, I have focused most intently on the state of Alabama, in an effort to identify and reconstruct the life of every free person of color who lived in this state, however briefly, prior to the Civil War. Because the settlement of Alabama fell a century after that of the seaboard colonies, the numbers are drastically smaller—a fact that makes the study far more practical than it would be elsewhere. To date, nearly six thousand have been cataloged. Every page of every extant antebellum register in every pre-1865 county has been turned. Almost every antebellum newspaper in the state has been read. Church minutes and sacramental entries, land grants, federal and state military rolls, legislative acts, appeals-court files, war-damage claims, and private papers are all adding immeasurably to the emerging picture of free African American life in a slave state.

This article presents part of that raw data: in-state manumissions recorded in the courthouses of fifty antebellum counties. Beyond this, other manumissions are to be found in a host of public and private records that must be arbitrarily excluded here to meet space limitations.

Manumissions in Alabama were accomplished in various ways. In the Mobile District from the colonial era through 1812, numerous masters—whites and free blacks—declared slave infants free at the time of their baptisms; the priest thereby became the clerk who recorded the emancipation. Commonly, the master was the father, the father's kin, or the father's friend. (Civil manumissions for colonial Alabama are lost, along with most records of the local government.) In the American regime, legal freedom was accomplished by deed, by will, and by petition to the local court or state legislature. The ease or difficulty with which it could be secured went through cycles that corresponded directly to fears of slave revolts (for example, the 1830s wake of the Nat Turner Insurrection) and inversely to outside pressure (e.g., the 1850s, when escalating efforts of Northern abolitionists piqued the fierce resistance of Southern whites—whose Eleventh Commandment has always been *Thou shalt not permit "outsiders" to run your community!*). Not surprisingly, extralegal means of manumission were devised in those stricter periods. Commonly, favored slaves were simply given free passes authorizing them to live independently and work on their own behalf. Others, of course, were sent North—at least long enough to make the emancipation legal—until Northern states began forbidding their entry.

Stereotypically, it is believed that Southern manumissions usually resulted from sexual liaisons. That generalization does not hold in Alabama. As reported elsewhere in a study of antebellum miscegenation, all recorded manumissions in this state account for only 11 percent of the free-Negro population. Miscegenation accounted for only 32 percent of the total manumissions. The remaining 68 percent resulted from self-purchase, from free-Negro purchase and manumission of relatives, and from white benevolence that stemmed from nonsexual circumstances.[5] Industrious slaves with willing masters raised funds to buy themselves by working at large in the community during their personal hours. Others found white or free-black friends willing to advance the purchase price and permit them to pay the debt in installments. In the strictest of times, some bought themselves and gave the titles to trusted whites who served as de facto "owners." Of those who bought family members, some promptly manumitted them—if the laws then in force permitted it. Some neglected to make those manumissions even when the law allowed; and others proceeded to buy and hold slaves for economic profit.

The manumissions that have been found on record in Alabama courthouses include all these approaches and circumstances. Albeit the texts of the records say much about the intents of masters, it says far more about the dreams, fears, and frustrations of those who struggled to earn freedom for themselves and their loved ones. The entries also reflect societal attitudes, although the arrangement used here—the alphabetizing of entries statewide—obscures the political and social patterns that would be more evident by chronological or county-wide arrangements. For other perspectives, the genealogist should turn to the growing body of literature that treats this class of early Americans.

From an investigative standpoint, two caveats are important:

- Just because the terms of a particular manumission "required" a freed slave to leave the state, one should not assume that he or she did. Many remained in their home communities without challenge or molestation. Indeed, many felt safer at home amid influential whites who had long known and respected them. Others who left came back after the briefest interlude elsewhere. Ipso facto, the situation was akin to the "warnings out" that prevailed in early New England. Newcomers to the society of

freemen were warned that they could not expect public assistance, nor would uncivil conduct be tolerated from them—if they chose to stay. But as long as they were worthy, contributing members of their community, they were often welcome in spite of laws to the contrary.

- Just because a manumission record was filed in the courthouse, one should not assume that freedom actually was achieved prior to the Civil War. Some acts set a future date of manumission, by which time the war had intervened or a more-restrictive state law had negated the original terms of manumission. In several noteworthy cases, in which wealthy masters were extremely generous to their slaves, the greed of legal relatives often prevailed over the sacredness of a man's last trust. Appeals-court literature of Alabama, like all Southern states, is filled with the resulting lawsuits. When property was conveyed along with freedom, potential litigation should be sought.[6]

The raw material presented here—representing 398 individuals who were given or promised freedom between 1805 and 1865—is governed by the following parameters:

- The extracts cover only manumissions that occurred within Alabama itself and are are documented only through local court records. Free papers brought from other states and filed in Alabama's courthouses to prove the fact of a manumission elsewhere are not included. Manumissions accomplished through the legislature or church, without a local record, are also excluded.

- The extracts cover all Alabama counties except one—Mobile. Two different societies developed in Alabama in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, insofar as the treatment of free people of color is concerned. The French and Spanish settlers who clustered primarily around Mobile recognized a third caste between free white and enslaved black. The privileges accorded by them to free people of color were preserved in the agreement whereby the Mobile District was attached to the United States during the War of 1812. The remainder of Alabama, as it developed, matured along much the same lines as the older "Anglo" American states; and the treatment of free nonwhites was generally more restrictive outside Mobile.

  Because of the improved status that existed in the Mobile District (as well as the innate attraction of city life for many people), 46 percent of Alabama's identifiable free people of color clustered there. Unless a record of their manumission exists in another Alabama county, they are not included in the present material. This society has been and is being studied separately.[7]

- The heading for each entry cites first the surname or surnames associated with the freed slaves. That name is the master's name if *(a)* they used the master's surname as during freedom; or *(b)* there is no surname at all on record for them. When freed men or women are known to have used other surnames, their preferred names appear in the header, rather than the master's name. In any case, the text of the extract clearly indicates whether the original record attributes a surname to the slave. If the known name for a freed slave is drawn from a source other than the manumission, supporting documentation is given in an appended note.

ABERCROMBIE: BONAPARTE, ELLEN, JACK, LOUISA, NANCY, NICK, SUSAN
Montgomery Co. Will of Albert G. Abercrombie. 1849. For $1 he conveys to Robert J. Ware the negro woman Nancy and her six children: Jack, Ellen, Nick, Bonaparte, Susan, and Louisa. Ware is "to take care to protect, govern and control [the children] until they arrive at age, according to the Laws of this State, treating them with humanity, according to the position they occupy in society, and see that they are not imposed upon by others." When each child reaches 21, Ware should secure his freedom by the laws of Alabama "if it can be done, so they may remain in the State." If this is not possible, Ware should send each to some free state. In exchange for this, the rest of Abercrombie's estate goes to Ware. (Montgomery Co., Record of Wills 3: 111–13.)

AIKEN: BENJAMIN "BEN," WILL
Tuscaloosa Co. Will of James L. G. Aitken. Drawn 15 July 1843. Recorded 10 April 1848. "It is also my express wish and injunction that the two old negroes Ben & Will shall in their old days be treated with all possible kindness for the services they have rendered hereto and not be required to do any labor whatever." (Tuscaloosa Co., Will Book 2: 258–59.)

N.B. Although this document does not specifically mention manumission and does not assign a surname to either slave, Ben appears on the 1860 census as "Benjamin *Aiken,* 101, free, male, black, laborer, b. S.C." (1860 U.S. census, population schedule, Tuscaloosa Co., p. 439, city of Tusca-loosa, dwelling/household 36.)

AIKEN: NELL
Tuscaloosa Co. Will of Esther Aiken. Will and codicil drawn 31 March 1836. Filed 31 March 1838. "If after my death my negro woman Nell should desire her freedom, my son John G. Aiken shall have the privilege [of] paying to the said James L. G. Aiken her full value in cash to cause her to be emancipated according to law." (Tuscaloosa Co., Will Book 2: 134.)

ANDRY: ANASTASIE, EUPHROSINE, FELIX, JEANNE (JANE),
LUCIE, MAXIMILIAN, ROMAINE, SILVESTRE
Washington Co. Manumission by Simon Andry. Drawn 3 May 1805. "For . . . natural love and affection," Andry manumits Jean[ne], negro woman, aged 50; Lucie, yellow girl, aged 22; Romain, yellow man, aged 20; Euphrosine, yellow girl, aged 18; Maximilian, yellow boy, aged 16; Silvestre, yellow boy, aged 14; Felix, yellow boy, aged 10; Anastasie, yellow girl, aged 8. (Washington Co., Deed Record A [Original]: 128.)

N.B. A clerk's copy of this volume, also labeled Deed Record A (p. 95), garbles the names as Jane, Lucy, Aroma, Eufrazile, Maxamilian, Sylvert, Phaley, and Anna Sloges.

ARMISTEAD (HAWKINS): ELIZA
HAWKINS: CAROLINE
Lauderdale Co. Will of Thomas Hawkins Jr. Drawn 18 November 1829. Filed 20 January 1830. "The husband of my said Daughter [Eleanor], Capt. John Smoot, shall within a convenient time after my demise manumit and set free in due form of law, Caroline, the daughter of Eliza, the property of the said Smoot and now in my possession, to which I add the request of Capt. Smoot that he will not refuse . . . this provision of my will. . . . He will as soon as it may conveniently be done, manumit the above named Eliza in which case to remunerate him for the same I hereby direct that all my stock of horses, hogs, cattle, and sheep, my plantation utensils, my household and kitchen furniture . . . be sold . . . to be paid over to him." If the resulting sum does not amount to $450, then the balance should be made up from sale of the testator's cotton crop. If Capt. Smoot does not live up to "confident expectations," then the inheritance left to Smoot's wife is to be voided and divided between his other two daughters, Elizabeth and Ann. (Lauderdale Co., Will Book 6: 173.)

N.B. Caroline married in 1844 as Caroline *Hawkins;* see Lauderdale Co., Marr. Records 5: 117. Eliza primarily used the surname Hawkins prior to the Civil War (e.g., 1860 U.S. cens., pop.

sch., Lauderdale Co., p. 72, dwell./fam. 486; and Deed Record 16: 750. All of her children except Caroline (all born after her manumission) used the surname Armistead and Eliza eventually married the freed slave Woodson Armistead (1870 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Lauderdale Co., p. 615, Florence, dwell. 1269, fam. 1207; and *Armistead* v. *U.S.,* Southern Claims Commission File 3957, Record Group 56, National Archives.)

ASHURST: ABRAHAM and PRISCY

Montgomery Co. Will of Francis Ashurst. Drawn 14 April 1831. Proved 1 May 1837. Legacies to siblings. "I want Abraham and Priscy set free and further I want R. J. W. Crockett to be sole executor & I want him to take care of Abram & Priscy." (Montgomery Co., Will Book 2: 161–62.)

ATWOOD: ALEXANDER, ANN, BETSY, CANDIS, CEBORN, DANIEL, JOHN, JULIUS, LUCY (of CANDIS), LUCY (of CEBORN), MARY, NANCY, WILLIAM, and WYATT

Wilcox Co. Will of Henry S. Atwood. Drawn 7 August 1843. Filed 20 October 1850. "I give and bequeath to a mullato boy named Alexander, aged about fifteen years, also to his sister, a mullato girl named Ann, about twelve years, who are now in Ohio in charge of Lemuel Bowin near Aberdeen in Adams County, also to her brother named Julius, aged about eight years, also to his brother named John, aged about four years, the three *[sic]* latter named children being on my plantation near Prairie Bluff, [all] being the children of a female slave belonging to me [named] Candis, I also give and bequeath to a mulatto boy named William, aged about six years and to his brother named Daniel, aged less than one year, both being the children of a slave of mine named Mary who resides on my plantation at Chalacha, six miles from Prairie Bluff, to [said children] I give and bequeath the sum of [$8,000] each, to be appropriated and invested in such manner as hereafter described. [My executors shall remove] the said children . . . to a free state . . . Alexander and Ann, being already in a free state."

Atwood also bequeaths freedom to nine other servants whom his executors should take to a free state within a year: i.e., Candis, about 36, mother of the children earlier mentioned; her two black children [first one's name omitted], aged about 18, and Lucy, her daughter, aged about 15; Ceborn, aged 27; four children of Ceborn by Nelly—to wit, Lucy, Betsy, Nancy, and Wyatt. [The ninth is apparently Nelly.] Candis, Ceborn, and Mary will receive $2,000 each to be invested for them—one half in land in one of the free states and a cash balance to be loaned out and secured well by bond and mortgage on real estate in the vicinity where they locate, with interest to be paid to them annually. Expenses of their removal are to come out of his estate; and they shall be furnished with six months' supply of provisions after they arrive, as well as with beds and clothing from his own effects. $4,000 of the bequest to each child should be invested in land in Indiana, Illinois, or Michigan—the rest to be lent out and secured well. All titles to land and bonds for loaned money are to be delivered to them for them to control themselves. Mothers of the children are to be removed to the North also. All the mulatto children should be well schooled. Another $5,000 to sister Sally C. Northrop, wife of Hanson Northrop, residing in Lafayette, Onondaga County, New York; and $100 annually to stepmother Mary Atwood. $2,000 for the benefit of the "boy child some 6 or 7 months old, the son [of] Emeline Warren." (Wilcox Co., Will Book 3, Jan. 1850–Sept. 1858: 120–24.)

N.B. Sept. Term 1860. Final account is filed for the administration of goods of *James H. Warren alias Atwood,* apparently Emeline's child. (Wilcox Co., Probate Minutes 12: 356.)

BEAMON(S): NANCY

Pike Co. Will of Abraham Beamons. Drawn 29 August 1844. Proved [n.d.]. If "Nancy, a House servant, should outlive me and my beloved [wife and] Companion Rody Beamon, after each of our decease [I want] her to be free from slavery and servitude of my heirs, and shall have privilege of choosing which one of my descents she will live with And shall have privileges of working for herself and procuring her maintenance . . . [with] the privileges that other free people of couler has in law." (Pike Co., Will Record A: 17–18.)

BELL: JOHN
BLOUNT: HANNAH
JACKSON: ANDREW
KING: ASHEN
Dallas Co. Will of William R. King [U.S. vice-president.]. Drawn 1 January 1853, Washington, D.C. Recorded 12 May 1853, Dallas Co. "My servant John Bell is permitted to select his residence either in Liberia or any one of the free states, or in the District of Columbia, and my Executor will pay over to him [$2,000], and my nephew will take measures to insure his safe arrival at the place selected by him. If my sister Kennegal will sell Hannah Blount, I wish my executor to purchase her and together with her husband, Andrew Jackson, deliver them to the agent of the Colonization Society. . . . My executor will advance to the agent [$500] to be handed them after paying their expenses. I wish also my executor to purchase from my sister the Negro boy Ashen, my nephew to take charge of him and either send him to Liberia or to one of the free states as he may prefer when leaving Alabama. My executor will pay him [$500]." (Dallas Co., Record of Wills, B: 83.)

BERRY: NED
Tuscaloosa Co. Self-purchase. 11 January 1831. Recorded 28 September 1833. Gideon Berry attests he has "Recd. . . . of Solomon Perteet a coloured man of Tuskaloosa County, Alabama, [$750] in full consideration for a negro man named Ned, aged about 34 years." Perteet acknowledges that the purchase was made "with this understanding and agreement that whenever said sum of [$750] is refunded to me . . . by said negro man Ned, I am to liberate him." Annotations record payments of $300 (11 January 1831), $88 (3 March 1831), $82 (23 April 1831), $50 (7 June 1831), $60 (8 December 1831), $20 (18 May 1832), and $100 (23 February 1832). (Tuscaloosa, Deed Record J: 211–12.)

BLOUNT: PENELOPE, RICHARD "DICK"
Montgomery Co. Manumission. Drawn 21 January. Recorded 27 January 1831. For $650, Edward Hanrick sells to James Pritchard "Dick, commonly called Dick Blount and lately owned by Jacob Blount, the said Dick being about thirty four years of age of a yellow complexion, stout built and inclined to be corpulent. . . . At the solicitation of the said freed man Dick and in consideration of the good opinion I have of his orderly and good conduct . . . I will join the said James Prichard in acting as the guardian for the said Dick, using our endeavors to procure for him an act of the Legislature of said state confirming this manumission." Should Dick later choose for himself another guardian, they will step aside and allow it. (Montgomery Co., Conveyances [Old Series], P: 3–4.)
Also
Montgomery Co. Power of attorney. 1837. Richard Blount [signed with *X*] authorizes Edward Hanrick and John A. Campbell to take to New England and manumit a certain mulatto girl named Penelope, called Penny, the daughter of Richard Blount and by him purchased from her late master. (Montgomery Co., Conveyances [Old Series], X: 654.)

BOLING: NELLY
Tuscaloosa Co. Self-purchase. Drawn 20 January. Recorded 5 March 1838. For $150, James Abbott [free man of color] sells to James Hullum "a certain woman slave named Nelly of dark complection," aged about forty-five, "in trust . . . that [Hullum] will allow the said Nelly and such increase as she may have to enjoy the benefit, profit, and advantage of her own labour and to go free and unrestrained in her person wheresoever she may deem proper. . . . The money paid as above specified was the money of said Nelly paid for her use." (Tuscaloosa Co., Deed Record N: 378.)

N.B. The document does not identify Nelly's surname. However, her relationship to Hullum allows a distinction between her and other free Nellies in antebellum Tuscaloosa. Particularly see the letter of Hullum to an unnamed party, 25 March 1846, in which he reports placing into Nelly *Boling*'s care a quasi-free woman named Hagar. ("Tuscaloosa: Slavery, Original Wills, Estate Inventories, Receipts/Title for Sale of Slaves," William H. Brantley Jr. Manuscripts, Roll 2 MFS 815, Samford University Library, Birmingham.)

BREWTON: DAVIE

Madison Co. Deed of manumission by David Brewton. Drawn 20 April 1830. In accordance with legislative act of 3 November 1829, Brewton frees "a certain Negro man named Davie, about five feet nine or ten inches in highth [*sic*] of dark complexion, about forty-five years of age, his left eye out, slow in speaking when spoken to, an obedient, humble man and very mile [*sic*] and amiable in his disposition." Brewton posts bond for $500 that Davie will never become a public charge. (Madison Co., Deed Record M: 696.)

BREWTON: FANNY, SAM

Madison Co. Will of James Brewton. Drawn 26 April1816. Proved 8 July 1816. Slave woman Fanny bequeathed to wife, with understanding that Fanny is to have her freedom if Mrs. Brewton moved away from the homeplace or if she died. Negro man Sam bequeathed to son Samuel Brewton, with understanding that Sam is to be freed at son Samuel's death. (Madison Co., Will Book 1: 219ff.)

BURCH: DORSEY, FRANCES, JANUARY, PATRICK

Montgomery Co. Will of John Burch. Drawn 11 January 1833. Proved 3 July 1837. All property to wife Elizabeth "except the two Negroes January and his wife Frances, which are to be set at liberty." (Montgomery Co., Will Book 2: 164–72.)

S. A. Murdach to January, a free man of color. Drawn 12 January 1838. "Received of January, a free man of color, Eleven Hundred Dollars for a negro boy slave named Dorsey." (Montgomery Co., Conveyances F [Old Series]: 674.)

Elizabeth Burch to January and Frances. Drawn 9 March 1839. Recorded 2 February 1841. "In consideration of the faithful services of January and his wife Frances and the sum of one dollar to me . . . paid by the said January," she relinquishes her title to them and promises to "forever . . . defend them in their freedom." (Montgomery Co., Conveyances R [Old Series]: 371.)

E. W. Burch and Elizabeth Burch to January Burch, a free man of color. Drawn 3 May 1842. For $800, they convey a negro man slave, age about thirty-six years, named Patrick. "This is to certify that the slave man Patrick, which is this day sold by Elizabeth and E. W. Burch to January Burch was received by way of Exchange of Joe T. Burch for a slave boy named Claiborne by the special request and full consent of Jos. T. Burch." (Montgomery Co., Conveyances T [Old Series]: 144–45.)

N.B. Although the records do not specifically call for the manumission of Dorsey and Patrick, they are included in this study because their purchase fits the pattern of freed slaves buying other family members for the purpose of manumission.

BURCH: LUCY

Monroe Co. Estate of John B. Burch. March 1834. Petition to sell numerous slaves of estate, with the exception of "the negro wench Lucy directed by the will of J. B. Burch to be emancipated." (Monroe Co., Inventory Record A: 12.)

BURGESS: ADALINE

Tuscaloosa Co. Sale by Mary Beall. Drawn 19 October 1847. "Recd. this day of Celia (a free colored woman) [$500] in full payment for a negro slave, a female named Adaline, of yellow complexion, about forty-five years of age." . . . 3 January 1848. "Rec'd this day of Adaline in full for her services for the ballance of her life [$500], the said Adeline I Bot of Mrs. Mary Beall as by Bill of sale." [Signed] Celia Burgess *X* her mark. (Tuscaloosa Co., Deed Record W: 585.)

BURGESS: CELIA, LYDIA, MARY, SHADRACH
GAY: GREEN, JERRY, MARY

Tuscaloosa Co. Will of Celia Burgess. Drawn 18 March 1852. Filed 16 April 1853. $600 to be divided between two surviving children of her deceased daughter Fanny Abbott; if either should die before inheriting it, the other will get all the money. If both should die before Celia, the money goes to her son-in-law Jerry Gay in trust for his wife and children. "I have heretofore relinquished to my son-in-

law Jerry all claim and title to his [still enslaved] wife, and all his [still enslaved] children except Green [free], with the understanding that they shall be placed in a situation in which they may enjoy freedom. My grandson Green is to support by the proceeds of his labor, my sister Lydia during her lifetime." After her death, Green is to "[in]vest in my son-in-law Jerry that he may enjoy freedom with his mother and sisters. . . . For my son Shadrach I have done as much as he has any right to expect; he is free and able to support himself." All real and personal property is to be sold and given to Jerry, her son-in-law, for equal distribution among "his wife and her children, except their daughter Mary, whom I exclude from all participation in my estate for Reasons which need not be here stated. . . . If my daughter Mary and her children, and my son Shadrack cannot otherwise enjoy this freedom I bequeath them to whoever may be President of the American Colonization Society at the time of my death . . . in full confidence that they will be placed in a country where they can be free." . . . Codicil, 21 March 1853. One of the two children of daughter Fanny Abbot has died since the above. The survivor shall receive $300. Other $300 is to be invested by her executor and the interest expended annually for the benefit of "this Abbott Grand*son* [*sic*] that survived, until he reaches 21"; then he gets other $300. If this grandchild dies before 21, the legacy reverts to the estate. "In no event is any part of it to be paid to his father, James Abbott or any brother or sister of the half blood." Son-in-law Jerry has died since will was made. Legacy left to him is bequeathed to her executor "Provided that my estate is not intended to embrace my children, grandchildren, or their descendants." Executor is to hold this legacy in trust for Jerry's wife and children; however, Jerry's daughter Mary is eligible now to share in the estate. Codicil, 16 April 1853. "The grandchildren of my daughter Mary, being children of her daughter, were intended to be embraced . . . in all the clauses and provisions which relate to . . . my said daughter and her female children." (Tuscaloosa Co., Will Book 1821–1855: 320ff.)
Also
Tuscaloosa Co. Sale by David Moore of Halifax Co., N.C. 2 March 1827. Recorded 7 November 1831. Filed in Tuscaloosa Co., 24 August 1833. For $500 cash to Celia Burgess of said county, a certain Negro man named Shadrak. (Tuscaloosa Co., Deed Record J: 194.)

BURGESS: FANNY
Tuscaloosa Co. Manumission. Drawn 19 May 1830. Recorded 12 September 1831. Celia Burgess, in accordance with act of legislature passed 20 December 1828, which authorized Celia to emancipate her daughter Fanny, now does so. (Tuscaloosa Co., Deed Record H: 299–300.)

BURGESS: NELLY
Mobile and Tuscaloosa cos. Manumission by Celia Burgess of Tuscaloosa. 8 January 1845. Whereas Celia purchased of James I. Foster of Tuscaloosa, a negro woman named Nelly, about 55 years old, for $275, and "whereas the said Nelly has paid back to me the said sum . . . I . . . do hereby quit all right and claim to the said woman Nelly as a slave and to the proceeds of her labor, giving her full liberty to act and to [do] for herself as free as the laws and ordinances of the State of Alabama will authorize." (Mobile Co., Misc. Book E: 99–100.)

CARR: EAVY, NERO
Russell Co. Manumission by Paddy Carr [Creek]. 3 August 1835. Carr sells to Nero, a black man, the latter's wife Eavy, for $450. (Russell Co., Record Book A: 1833–34.)

CARR: JOSEPH, SARAH
Russell Co. Sale by Thomas Carr. 17 August 1835. To Negro Joseph, a free man, his mother Sarah, a Negro woman of about 60 years, for $200. (Russell Co., Record Book A: 227.)

CATLIN: LUCY, ROBERT
Marengo Co. Will of John D. Catlin. Drawn 5 May, filed 27 July, probated 14 September, 1857. "8th [provision]: To my executor . . . I give and bequeath Robert the child of my house servant Lucy and the sum of [$4,000]. . . . My said Executors, as soon after my death as they can conveniently, shall

remove said Robert to some non slave holding state, where he can enjoy his freedom and then emancipate him, and place him in a comfortable condition, and give him a good English education, and the means to defray the expense of removing him to such non slaveholding state as my Executor may convey him to, are to be paid out or supplied from the funds of my Estate." The $4,000 should be put at interest to care for Robert, then be given to Robert when he reaches 21. If Robert died before that age, and without children, then the money would go to Catlin's daughter Elizabeth. 9th: Houseservant Lucy may select a master from Catlin's children and be allowed to change later if she desires. "My object is to secure her a comfortable home in her old age. I leave this as a dying request to my children, which I trust and believe they will not disregard." (Marengo Co., Will Book A: 391.)

CHILDRESS: PIN___
Lauderdale Co. Will of Thomas Childress. Drawn 20 September 1844. Proved 21 December 1844. "It is my will and desire that my Negro woman Pin___ [torn], now hired to Willis Pope, in consideration of valuable services rendered to me, be held by my wife with full power and authority and liberty in her, to give the said negro girl the full a____ [torn] of her own labour, and if she prosper, to send her to a non slaveholding state . . . and that my executors pay to the said negro, or to my wife for her benefit, one hundred dollars." (Lauderdale Co., Will Record A: 1835–58.)

CLARK: AGNES, HARRY
Perry Co. Will of Nathaniel Clark. Filed 13 March 183*3?* Slave Juda and other property to be sold, except "my negro woman Agnes and my negro boy Harry be placed under the patronage of the American Colonizing Society and under their direction to be sent to Liberia. After expenses, the balance of money from sale of Juda and property shall be given to Agnes and Harry for their use." (Perry Co., Will Book 1: page "0.")

CLARKE: RYAL
CROWELL: ANN, CLOE ANN, JOHN, LEM, NELLY, PRISCILLA
Russell Co. Will of Thomas Crowell. 12 January 1834. Leaves everything to brother John except $1,000 to cousin Nathaniel Bradford. After death of John, "my negroe man Lem & his wife Nelly shall have their freedom." (Russell Co., Record Book 1: 207.)
Also
Will of John Crowell [colonel, former Creek agent]. Circa 1840 [date torn]. "I hereby emancipate and set free from slavery the following Negroes (viz.) Cloe Ann and her daughter Priscilla, a mulatto Girl about Sixteen years old; John, my house servant, and his wife Ann, and her three children, together with all future increase; also Lem and his wife Nelly; also my [black]smith Ryal." (Russell Co., Will Book 1, 1836–1849: 134–38.)

> *N.B.* The freedman Ryal was enumerated in 1850 as Ryal *Clarke,* male, black, mechanic, b. S.C. (1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Russell Co., p. 53, dwell./fam. 131.)

COLLINS: NANCY, SINDY, WILEY
Dallas Co. Will of William Collins. Drawn ca.1860. "If my servants Nancy and Sindy shall have had ten children each, which shall have lived to the age of one month, . . . they shall remain under the control and guardianship of my sons James and Marion . . . as free persons and . . . shall have the use of the house and lot that Sarah Stewart now lives in and all negro patches in the swamp [during] their life time, but if the above contingency does not occur then this bequest is void." Nancy and Sindy, if they fill the contingency clause, should also have $100 each. "It is my further will and desire that Wiley, the child of Rachel, be free and under the control and guardianship of my executor." At age 15, Wiley is to have $50. (Dallas Co., Record of Wills, B: 206–07.)

COMMONS (COMANS): JOSEPH
Madison Co. Self-purchase and free pass. 24 March 1835. Harry J. Thornton, Judge, Supreme Court of Alabama, attests: "The bearer of this [paper] is named Joe Commons, a black man about 34 years

of age. Having had for many years an opportunity of observing the honesty, humility, and other praiseworthy traits in the character of a slave, which this boy possessed, I was induced to aid, as far as I could, in effectuating the kind intentions of his owner to sell him his freedom. He paid to his master all the price demanded for him except one hundred dollars, for which sum I executed my note & took a bill of sale to myself. Joe has since paid me this hundred dollars, and is fully entitled to his freedom. By the laws of Alabama, as they now stand, the only mode of securing him in his just right, is by act of the legislature which I will endeavor to procure passage of. In the meantime, he has my fullest permission to go where he may please, and I do hereby request all persons not to molest him, but to give him such treatment and countenance [*sic*] as a continuance of his past good behavior will entitle him to from all humane and generous people." (Madison Co., Deed Record Q: 581.)

CONROW: NANCY
Tuscaloosa Co. Conveyance by James S. Lynn. Drawn and recorded 11 June 1849. For $400 to Newton L. Whitfield, "as the friend and trustee of my Negro woman Nancy, commonly called Nancy Conrow, to hold as trustee. Nancy is to be allowed "the sole use, benefit and profit of her own labor and the proceeds thereof to be used, appropriated, and distributed by her . . . as to her may seem fit." (Tuscaloosa Co., Deed Book X: 109–10.)

CUNNINGHAM: EDWARD
Perry Co. Petition of Anthony P. Walker. 1 February 1846. Walker desires to free his slave Edward Cunningham, a bright mulatto, aged about 30 years. Special bill has been passed in legislature of Alabama (no year given), granting Cunningham permission to remain in Alabama, "provided he be limited to the counties of Perry and Marengo." (Perry Co., County Court Minutes, Spring Term 1843–1850: 255.)

CURETON: STEPHEN, SUCKEY
Henry Co. Will of William Cureton. Drawn 28 May 1832. Filed 1 October 1832. "I hereby emancipate and set free to all intents and purposes my negro man old Stephen and my old negro woman Suckey, and I do hereby exonerate and discharge the same negroes Stephen and Suckey from any servitude to any person whatsoever." (Henry Co., Deed Record A-B: 61.)

DARBY: QUILLER
Lauderdale Co. Manumission and free pass. 29 December 1828. Richard Darby, for "faithful services rendered," frees a black man about 47, named Quiller, whom he bought from Mr. Prater[?]. "I do give him his freedom, and hope and request the free state where he may go, to carry the same into full effect, and that his freedom may there be obtained, by virtue hereof. I do hereby request all good people to aid, assist, him the said Quiller in travelling to any of the free states or otherwise, and not to hinder or stop him in any manner from pursuing his own business, as it is my wish and desire that he obtain his freedom." (Lauderdale Co., Deed Record 4: 279.)

DEMERY: AMANDA VICTORIA, ELIZA, FRANCIS ELIZABETH, JOHN
Montgomery Co. Manumission by Jack DeMery, free man of color. 8 February 1845. "I . . . emancipate and set free a female slave named Eliza and also three other slaves (viz), Francis Elizabeth, about five years of age; John, about three years of age; and Amanda Victoria, about two years of age . . . according to the provisions of an act of the Legislature of Alabama . . . approved 27th day of January A. D. 1845." No bond posted. (Montgomery Co., Conveyances U [Old Series]: 345.)

DODSON (MORTON): BOB, CHARLES, ELIZA, HARRIET, LOUISA, NEAL, POLLY
Autauga Co. Will of John Morton. Drawn 20 January 1838. Proved 22 February 1838. Manumits Charles, who is to have $300; Neal, who is to have $300; Bob Dodson, who is to have $300; and "Polly and her three children," Louisa, Harriet, and Eliza, who are to have $1,000, equally divided between them. "If the above Negroes should see cause to move to any other state, the expense of their removal

shall be paid by my executors out of my estate." (Autauga Co., Report C, Vol. 3: 567–68.)

N.B.: Bob, Eliza, and other family members appear as "Dodson (Morton)" on the 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Autauga Co., page 78, dwell. 1114; fam.1113.

DUNCAN: WILLIAM
HARRIS (JONES): MARGARET, MARY, THOMAS
HARRIS (LUMPKIN): WILLIAM
Montgomery Co. Will of Nathan Harris. Drawn 27 September 1855. Filed 21 November 1855. Property to wife and children "except my boy William Duncan whom I bequeath to my wife and three negroes purchased by me from Cannon Jones and except also a negro now in charge of my friend E. G. Cabaniss of Forsyth, Monroe Co., Ga., purchased of H. H. Lumpkin, said boy being named William." Those purchased from Cannon Jones are Margaret (15), Thomas (14), and Mary (12). All should be "placed under the care of some kind and humane person. . . . Margaret and Mary [should] be taught the trade of sewing and dressmaking and Thomas be taught some mechanical trade for a term of five years." They should then be hired out by the month to "some kind and humane persons" until they reach 21. His administrators have the right to terminate the hire at any time in order to guarantee the kind treatment of the children. At 21 they should be sent to a free state, paying expense out of their previous hire, and receive $900, divided equally. Executors are also to go to Georgia, get William, take him to a free state, emancipate him, and give him $100. (Montgomery Co., Wills 4: 71–75.)

DURANT: JUBA (JUBER), MARY
Macon Co. Self-purchase. 28 April 1805. John Durant had previously bought Juber from his father, Benjamin Durant. He now sells Juber to himself for $150 and declares him free. 1 January 1809. John Durant sells to Juba his wife named [blank] and child Mary. (Macon Co., Orphan's Book 1: 33–34.)

ERSKINE: ALFRED
Madison Co. Self-purchase and free pass. 10 August 1838. Dr. Alex Erskine attests: "I formerly owned the bearer, boy Alfred, who is thirty-nine years of age at this time, five feet four & a half inches, of a light copper colour, generally termed a mulatto, hair bushy and straight, knock-kneed, quick of speech and brisk in his actions, has a scar on the under corner of his right eye, running up on the side of the nose, a scar in the palm of the right hand and one on the right elbow, both produced by burns; a scar on the left arm near the elbow joint and a slight contract of said joint and also the mark of a burn in the inner side of the left leg near the knee. By his great industry & saving said Boy Alfred accumulated a sum of money sufficient to purchase his freedom which was given him some five or six years since, during which time he has been living in Alabama & Mississippi with out having been emancipated by the laws of the state. The great difficulty in procuring an act of emancipation in the State of Alabama in cases of this sort is the reason why he is not now furnished with regular free papers, and is also the reason assigned by him for emigrating to a non slave holding state. A paper of this description is deemed necessary to prevent him being arrested as a runaway on his journey to Ohio, Indiana, or any other free state." (Madison Co., Deed Record Q: 617.)

FOSTER
Greene Co. Will of James H. Foster. Drawn 18 December 1840. Proved 1 February 1841. Owner of 800 acres and 13 slaves. "Every slave who shall have arrived at the age of fifty years now owned by me or descending from a slave now owned by me shall have his or her liberty at the age of fifty years, if by the law of the land" such is permissible. (Greene Co., Will Record B: 271.)

GARDNER: HARRIET, MARTHA, MARY
Dallas Co. Will of Garland T. Gardner. Drawn 29 July 1856; codicil drawn 29 July 1856. Filed 11 December 1856. Proviso 1: leaves in trust to "my brother Virgil H. Gardner" $1,000 cash and "my Negro woman Harriet and her children, a girl named Mary and a girl named Martha, as well as those

hereafter to be born." Brother is to send or convey them to a state where they can be freed. $1,000 is to be used for benefit of the three manumitted slaves. Any expenses incurred in moving them is to come from his estate. Codicil: $2,000 is to be left to Harriet and her children, instead of $1,000, "if the child she is now supposed to be [pregnant] with shall be born. (Dallas Co., Record of Wills, B, 2-15-1850 to 4-26-1871: 142–44.)

GARRISON: MOLLY
Montgomery Co. Manumission by Robert Garrison. Drawn 17 July 1822. Recorded 1833 [1844?] "I the undersigned citizen of Sakfuska[?], Creek nation, have this day taken into consideration the many very important and valuable services rendered me in my very old age and extraordinary infirmities by my particular and worthy servant woman Molly, the daughter of Dicy[?] and Dix. I do by these presents emancipate . . . the said Molly." (Montgomery Co., Conveyances W [Old Series]: 604.)

GOLDTHWAITE: DARBY
Montgomery Co. Self-purchcase. Drawn 26 December 1837. Ann Goldthwaite attests: "In consideration of the sum of Seven Hundred and Fifty Dollars to me in hand paid by my negro man slave Darby, about fifty-seven years of age, [I] have set free the said Darby during his life time." (Montgomery Co. Conveyances, F [Old Series]: 673.)

GRAHAM: ZACHARIAH alias COON
Montgomery Co. Will of William Graham. Drawn 26 August 1854. Filed 27 September 1854. Legacies to sister Eliza in Ireland, brother John, and Sister Sarah who married William Watson. "My executors shall remove my mulatto slave boy named Zachariah (sometimes called Coon) aged about three years," to some non-slave state. Executor is to have letters of guardianship for Zachariah issued to "some suitable person." (Montgomery Co., Wills 4: 11–14.)

GRAY, CELIA
Greene Co. Will of John Gray. Drawn 1 September 1826, Abbeville Dist., S.C. Filed 13 October 1828, Greene Co., Ala. "Wishes Negro woman Celia" to be bound out yearly until 1834, after which she is to be set free." (Greene Co., Will Record A: 68–71.)

GREER: ALFRED, BOLIN (ROLIN?)
CYNTHIA, GRACE, MARY, MATHEW
Wilcox Co. Sale of slaves. James Taylor to Ned Greer. 2 October 1835. For $1,000, a Negro boy named Bolin [Rolin?], about 25 years. 20 May 1835. For $1,600, the negro woman Mary, 24, and her children, Grace, 9, Alfred 7, Cynthia, 4, and Mathew, 9 months. (Wilcox Co., Deed Book D: 114.)

N.B. Neither document mentions manumission. However, the pattern of the purchase above, by a free man of color, suggests that at least the latter purchase was that of his wife and children. If so, then under manumission laws then in effect, Greer's chances of freeing them were slim.

GRIGSBY
MCNAIR (MITCHELL): CLARISSA, PARALEE
Dallas Co. Trust deed. Drawn 15 June 1839, Dallas Co. Filed 26 July 1839, Montgomery Co. Laticia A. Grigsby attests that Clarissa and child Paralee, aged about one year and nine months, belonged to the estate of the late Dr. Uriah Grigsby, who expressed the desire that Paralee be freed. She now conveys them to Wood "expressly in trust and on the condition . . . that [Wood and his heirs shall] at all times permit the said Paralee and offspring if she should have [any] to possess and enjoy in all respects as much freedom as may be permitted by the Laws of this state and to select such home . . . as she . . . may ch[o]ose. . . . If after arriving at the age of twenty-one years, the said Paralee should desire to remove from this state into any state or territory in which Slavery does or may not exist . . . she shall

. . . be permitted to do so." (Montgomery Co., Conveyances, O[ld] S[eries] P: 188–89.)

N.B.: The deed cites no surname for the slave females. In 1860, Clarissa (aged 39, mulatto, washerwoman, b. Ala.) and child Paralee (aged 21, mulatto, washerwoman, b. Ala.) appear as *McNairs* in the home of Lucy McNair (53, mulatto, midwife, b. Ga.); see 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Dallas Co., p. 815, Selma. In 1868, Lucy McNair sold a Selma lot to Clarissa as Clarissa *Mitchell,* wife of Lewis Mitchell. (Dallas Co., Deeds & Mortgages Z: 55–56.)

HARRISON: FERNANDES, HARRIETT, JIM, MARGARET, SALY, SEALY

Dallas Co. Will of Richard B. Harrison. Drawn 27 March 1843. Filed 3 May 1843. "First, I hereby emancipate and set free the following Slaves, to wit: Harriett, Saly, Margaret, Jim, Sealy, and Fernandes and Wish that they Should remain in the State of Alabama, provided that there can be a *Special Act of the Legislature obtained for that purpose and if not that it is my will and desire that they* be removed to Some free State and be supplied out of the trust property hereinafter mentioned with Suitable means for a Comfortable Location in the States to which they may be removed." Second, Harrison bequeaths to Ephraim Pool, "as trustee for the sole and exclusive use, benefit, and behoof of the said Negroes above," 28 slaves and the following land: south ½ of south ½ of section 16, southeast ¼ of section17, south ½ of southwest ¼ of section 15, north ½ of section 21, and northwest ¼ of southeast ¼ of section 21; all in township 16, range 12. (Dallas Co., Will Book A: 213–14.)

HASSELL: ADALINE, ANN (OLD), ANN (of ADALINE), BRINKLEY, CHARLOTTE, LOUIS, MARY RUTH, SARAH ANN, VICTORIA, WILLIAM

Montgomery Co. Will of Benjamin D. Hassell. Drawn 11 July 1853. Filed 11 August 1853. The negro Charlotte and her daughter Mary Ruth and the latter's son Louis; Sarah Ann and her son William and her daughter Victoria; Adaline and her daughter Ann; also "old woman Ann, the mother of Sarah & Adaline, and old man Brinkley" are to be carried to New York or some other state where they can be free. $500 is left to defray the expenses. $9,000 is left to buy them land and houses wherever they are relocated. $750 more is to go to Charlotte and Mary; $750 to Ruth and her son Louis; $2,000 to Sarah and her daughter Victoria and son William; $100 to old woman Ann; $100 to old man Brinkley; $600 to Adaline and daughter Ann. If there is any difficulty in making immediate removal, they are to be hired to someone who would treat them humanely and who is agreeable to these slaves. They shall receive "proper pecuniary and other arrangements." During this period, doctor bills will be paid out of his estate. If any slave refuses to go to a free state, then he or she will be sold and money divided among other freed slaves. (Montgomery Co., Wills 4: 54–59.)

HEWETT (CAMPBELL): GEORGE, HENRY, LUCINDA

Lauderdale Co. Suit appealed to Alabama Supreme Court, June Term 1853. *Union Bank of Tennessee* v. *V. M. Benham, Sheriff of Lauderdale Co.* Donald Campbell took his slave Lucinda and son Henry "to the State of Ohio, where they remained about three weeks, being there on the 20th September 1847 and from there went to Indiana, where they remained seven months, and where George, the child of Lucinda, was born." Campbell moved to California in Spring 1848. In November or December, 1848, Lucinda returned to Alabama, with Henry, George, and a paper executed by Campbell, which reads: "I, D. Campbell of Florence, Alabama, from motives of benevolence and humanity, have manumitted and set free from slavery my negro woman Lucinda Hewett, aged about seventeen years, and her son Henry, aged about twelve months, both of whom are now in this city [site not specified] . . . this 20 September 1847." Because Ohio and Indiana were free states, Sheriff Benham offered a deed of manumission to Lucinda and Henry on their return to Ala. On 17 October 1849, they were seized for debts which Campbell had made prior to the manumission; and on 20 October the coroner released them because the deed was presented as evidence of their freedom.

Court decrees in favor of bank. Debt was due 27 May 1847. Emancipation was dated 20 September 1847. Thus the act of emancipation was void, because the owner was in debt at the time

and could not dispose of property prejudicial to his creditors. However, the seizure of the child George was illegal, since he was born in a free state. (Lauderdale Co., Deed Record 13: 148; also *Union Bank of Tennessee* v. *Benham,* 23 Ala. 143.)

HEYDENFELDT: ELISA
Tallapoosa Co. Petition by Solomon Heydenfeldt [later county judge]. Seeks to manumit his mulatto slave, Elisa, aged 25–30. He has given public notice by publishing in the county newspaper for 60 days. Granted. (Tallapoosa Co., Minutes, County Court, Nov. Term 1834–Feb. Term 1842: 28.)

HINTON: RICE
Marengo Co. Deed of manumission. Drawn 13 January 1830. Recorded 4 September 1843. "I, Hartwell Tucker, make and convey to my boy named Hinton all right, title, and interest which I have to him and by these presents doth hereby emancipate him the [said] Hinton after the [blank] day of April 1838." (Marengo Co., Deed Record K: 63.)

> N.B. Although the deed of manumission uses just the name *Hinton,* the manumitted slave appears on the 1850 census as Rice Hinton, 36, male, mulatto, shoemaker, b. Va.; see 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Marengo Co., p. 21, dwelling/fam. 283.

HOLBERT: HANNAH, SIDNEY
Tuscaloosa Co. Will of Joshua Holbert. Drawn 16 October 1842. Proved 5 November 1842. Places his Negro woman slave, Sidney, under guardianship of his son Lucius. Sidney is to be free and Lucius is to see that "she is not hired out for money or any other improper motive or abused in any manner whatsoever, her labor to be for the clothing of herself and her children." Slave Hannah is to be free and live with any of Holbert's children that she chooses; said guardian is to see to it that she is taken care of and not be shuttled from one place to another. (Tuscaloosa Co., Will Book 2: 233.)

HOLLINGER: JACK
Washington Co. Self-purchase. 21 September 1806. Recorded 21 September 1807. Re-recorded 16 January 1808. Adam Hollinger [formerly of Creek nation] allows "Old Jack" to purchase himself. While in Hollinger's service, he "behaved himself honestly and soberly . . . [and] deserves to possess all the right, liberties, and privileges in the cultivation of land, raising of cattle, horses, hogs, as is by the legislature of this territory allowed to free . . . negroes." Hollinger will also provide Jack "with land to cultivate for his maintenance and for all other lawful purposes for and during his natural life." (Washington Co., Deed Record A: 181–82.)

HOOPER: ELEN, ELIZA ANN, HARRIET, JOSEPH, MARY JANE, WILLIAM, ZACHARIAH
Dallas Co. Will of John Hooper. Drawn 8 May 1848. Filed 10 July 1848. "It is my will that my Executor in the first place after administering on my estate . . . take Harriet, a yellow woman and her six children, namely Elen, William, Mary Jane, Zachariah, Eliza Ann, Joseph, to the State of Ohio and Free them there, settle them comfortably in the County not in the City . . . to place in some solvent Bank in Ohio . . . $10,000 to support Harriet and her children." They are also to have all his bed and bedclothes, and his set of knives and forks. Executor is to pay all expenses of transporting the Negroes out of his estate. (Dallas Co., Will Book A: 336–37.)

Also

Suit. *Harriet, Ellen, Wm., Mary Jane, Zachariah, Eliza Ann, and Joseph Hooper* v. *Zachariah L. Hooper (Ex. of Jno. Hooper, decd.), James Hall, Stephen Frederick & Henry Minter.* "Oratrix Harriet, otherwise called Harriet Hooper, a free woman of color, & Ellen, otherwise called Ellen Hooper, a minor under the age of twenty-one years . . . William Hooper, a minor . . . [and all other children, also minors and also called Hooper] suing by their next friend & Guardian Harriet Hooper, the complainant . . . are resident citizens & free persons of color in the State of Ohio. The minors are children of Harriet, and they were all born in Dallas County. . . . John Hooper, late of said county was

the father of said children." When they were born, she and the children were slaves of John Hooper. Hooper died in 1848, with considerable estate and left a will which was duly probated.

Zachariah L. Hooper, a resident of N.C. and brother of testator was made executor by the will and posted bond for $40,000. Legatees were the brothers and sisters of John Hooper, and Harriet and her six children. Will required Zachariah "as soon as he could do so" to take Harriet and her children to Ohio to set them free, settle them comfortably with $10,000 deposited in a solvent bank, etc. As compensation for his trouble, executor was to have a double interest in the estate if he carried out the terms of the will. He removed Harriet and her children immediately, then proceeded to settle the estate. Harriet is informed that all debts of the estate are paid and that on 18 February 1850, the executor made a final settlement of estate among his five brothers and sisters, paying each $3,716.69. He then took his share and his administrator's fees and left only $1,800 to Harriet and her six children. Out of this $1,800, he deducted expenses of removing them from Alabama to Ohio. Now, instead of having $10,000 deposited for them in a solvent bank they are "reduced to utter poverty & destitution by the bad faith, improper & fraudulent conduct" of the executor.

Reply of Zachariah Hooper of Yanceville, Caswell Co., N.C. 11 June 1853. Denies that Harriet and her children were "legally heirs or legatees because they were Negroes slaves [*sic*] and remained slaves & property of the estate until they were voluntarily set at liberty by the said distributees." Executor reminds court that since Harriet and children were slaves of the estate, he could have sold them. Yet he took them to Ohio [Ripley], found a house and lot for them, advanced them $100 more to help pay on lot and another $100 for them to purchase necessities, and by the time he deducted expenses of taking them there, his return passage home, and his fee for the trouble, that used all the $1,800. "In this munificent bounty or gratuity," he was not acting as executor of the estate but as representative of the *legal* distributees of the estate.

Court decree. Dallas Co. November Term 1853. $10,000 was *not* left to the residuary legatees (the testator's siblings), except in trust for Harriet and children, and the residuary legatees had no claim to anything until the trusts were executed. Executor had no right to appropriate their money. "It would have been far better for them to have continued in slavery than to have been left destitute in a distant and uncongenial land and climate." Verdict appealed.

Court decree. Dallas Co. 13 October 1855. The directions of Hooper to free Harriet and her children were "mandatory," not "discretionary," despite the testator's use of the term *request*. "A trustee can never be allowed to bargain with a . . . trust to purchase his interest at a discount. Much less ought this to be allowed when the [beneficiaries] are slaves & all infants . . . absolutely incapable of making any binding contract." Complainants are given several options as to how they might proceed, since they live in Ohio, the defendants live in N.C., and they are suing in an Alabama court.

Court decree. Dallas Co. December Term 1856. Court ruled that it can render no decree against any nonresident distributee except those who had entered bills or responses in Alabama courts—in this case, namely Zachariah L. Hooper and Francis M. Hooper. Court orders both to pay to the rightful heirs in Ohio their respective shares, totaling $3,716.59 with 8 percent interest from February 1850 until paid. Francis M. Hooper appealed to Alabama Supreme Court.

Supreme Court decree. 3 August 1858. Judgment of the Dallas County chancery court is overturned. Appellant [Francis M. Hooper] should recover of Harriet Hooper and her sureties the costs of the suit. (Dallas Co., Records N, Court of Chancery, Cahaba, 1858: 17–64.)

HOPONNY: TOM
Russell Co. Manumission by John Hoponny, a Creek. 2 May 1835. Freedom to "my negroe man Tom." (Russell Co., Record Book 1: 230–31.)

IRONS: MAHALA, MARTHA, SILVA
Marengo Co. Manumission bond. 16 February 1831. Recorded 3 July 1833. Posted by James H. Irons,

Rolla Hightower, Alfred W. Johnson, and Lewis Garrett. An act of the legislature dated 20 January 1830 authorized Irons to emancipate Silva, female, light complexion, negro, aged 60 years and upwards; Mahala, dark negro complexion, born in Georgia, about 21 years; Martha, light mulatto complexion, born in Marengo County on 24 February 1828. (Marengo Co., Deed Record C: 9–10; also Sumter Co., Deed Book F-1: 408.)

IVEY: HARRIET
Sumter Co. Will of Benjamin Ivey. Drawn 12 January 1858; codocil 21 September 1858. Proved 18 October 1858. Not being willing to wait or depend upon the Alabama legislature to emancipate his slaves, Ivey directs his executors to convey Harriet and her four children to Indiana, Illinois, or Ohio, where they are to be set free. $5,000 is set aside to defray the expenses of moving them, with remainder of the money to be invested for their support. (Sumter Co., Wills, Book 2: 1850–72: 153.)

JONES: ELIZA, LEWIS, LOLLUCE[?], SEHOY, VIRGINIA
Dallas Co. Will of Edward Starkie Jones. Drawn 27 March 1858. Filed 9 May 1859. Eliza, together with the mulatto Lolluce[?] and "her child" Sehoy, are to be taken by Jones's executor to a state where they can be freed. Two other mulatto slaves, Virginia and Lewis, were left to Jones's wife "during her natural life or untill the youngst [*sic*] of said slaves shall reach the age of twenty years." At that time, son Richard is to take these two slaves to a state where they will be free and given $200 each. (Dallas Co., Will Record B: 180–81.)

[*To be continued*]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

* 1732 Ridgedale Drive; Tuscaloosa, AL 35406-1942. Dr. Mills is a Certified Genealogist, a professor of history at the University of Alabama, and (since 1987) coeditor of the *NGS Quarterly.* His books and articles on antebellum ethnic issues have been published by numerous professional, academic, commercial, and governmental presses. Particuarly germane to the present paper are "Tracing Free People of Color in the Antebellum South: Methods, Sources, and Perspectives," *NGS Quarterly* 78 (December 1990): 262–78; and "Miscegenation and the Free Negro in Antebellum 'Anglo' Alabama: A Reexamination of Southern Race Relations," *Journal of American History* 68 (June 1981): 16–34.

1. Gary B. Mills, *The Forgotten People: Cane River's Creoles of Color* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976).

2. Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark, *Black Masters: A Free Family of Color in the Old South* (New York: Norton, 1984).

3. Ira Berlin, *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974).

4. David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene, eds., *Neither Slave nor Free: The Freedmen of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972).

5. Mills, "Miscegenation and the Free Negro," 21.

6. State-supreme-court records treating such cases throughout the South have been abstracted and published as Helen Tunncliff Catterall, ed., *Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro,* 5 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institute, 1932). Students of this subject will also want to study the series *Laws of Alabama, 1819–1865* for the manumission laws in effect in various years.

7. The comparable study of the Mobile District has been conducted both jointly with and individually by Christopher Nordmann, CGRS, of St. Louis, Mo. Much of Dr. Nordmann's work to date is available as "Free Negroes in Mobile County, Alabama" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alabama, 1990).

Book and Media Reviews

FAMILY HISTORIES

Family. By Ian Frazier. Published by Farrar, Straus, and Giroux; New York; 1994. 386 pp. Charts, drawings, maps, photographs. Hardback, $23.00.

Stunned by the deaths of his parents (David Frazier and Margaret Kathryn Hursh) in 1987 and 1988, Ian Frazier literally took stock of his heritage. They had left an immense quantity of family papers and heirlooms, and he was intrigued by the clues they provided about ten generations of ancestors. Surely a family that had made and kept so many records had something to say. "I believed bigger meanings hid behind little ones," Frazier mused. "I wanted to pursue them. I hoped I could find a meaning that would defeat death" (p. 39).

As a journalist, he asked the reporter's questions: *who, what, where, when, how,* and—most of all—*why!* After six years of research, he produced an unconventional family history. Transcending the confines of begats, personal but neither parochial nor pedestrian, *Family* is an attempt to illuminate American history by recounting the lives of individual Americans who happened to be the author's forebears. For the most part, his effort succeeds. It is true that his ancestry is not a model for every American's background. Few families will have had so many ancestors who sent, received, and saved thousands of letters—or who kept and identified hundreds of family photographs. Fewer still will be those with forebears so uniformly Protestant or so thoroughly associated with small-town middle America.

Frazier strives for a broad view—analyzing ancestors by generation and placing them firmly in their time and place. Whether they came from New England, Pennsylvania, Virginia, or North Carolina, they all moved to the frontier—settling mostly in Ohio. The roles they and their contemporaries played in this vast migration and in the developing drama of the nineteenth century are reasonable facsimiles of the history of many Americans. Frazier follows their lives throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, telling a narrower and more individualized tale with each passing generation.

Religion was central to the lives of his forebears, many of whom were ministers. Their letters and diaries are replete with religious thoughts, feelings, and experiences. Frazier imagines an encounter with them and guesses they would disdainfully dismiss him and his contemporaries as nothingarians. To bridge the gap between his philosophies and theirs, he read widely in American religious history. Ultimately, he concluded that to know our ancestors and ourselves, it is essential to know both what *they* believed and what *we* believe.

Frazier provides informative endnotes about his sources; but he made a critical error in omitting personal-name, place-name, and subject indexes for a book that explores broad sweeps of the country and introduces a wide range of individuals within and outside his family. A good editor would also have pruned the book by about one-quarter.

Salt Spring Island, British Columbia, Canada Helen Hinchliff, Ph.D.

Frontier Farmer: Autobiography and Family History of Aaron A. Boylan, 1827–1923. Edited by Katherine L. Sharp. Published by Gateway Press; 1993. Available from the author; 2008 Forest Dale Drive; Silver Spring, MD 20903-1529. ix, 264 pp. Illustrations, index. $22.00 (shipping: $3.00).

Boylan's autobiography is the stuff on which social history is based, recounting firsthand what it was like to come of age and live in the mid-nineteenth century. Attitudes toward romance, courtship, marriage, and death; educational experiences in the one-room schoolhouse; grueling toil and hazards of small-scale farming; health problems and medical treatments; habits of speech; and personal sagas of migration—all weave in and out of this provocative manuscript. Anyone with ancestors in the swath of states between Pennsylvania and Iowa during the mid-nineteenth century would be remiss in not reading Boylan's account of daily life.

Editing a historical text is not without problems. Unfamiliar and archaic terms, unclear relationships, and an unfamiliar writing style all require editorial judgments that Sharp tackles reasonably well. However, had she studied Mary-Jo Klines's *Guide for Documentary Editing* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987) before launching the project, she might have produced a more-professional volume. Her introduction commendably states her methods: spelling errors are left as written, quotation marks and paragraphing are added for clarity and visual comfort; but, she writes, "Mostly we have left out the punctuation as [Boylan] did." Yet Sharp does not seem to follow her own guidelines closely. Two pages from Boylan's original text are reproduced with excellent clarity. In comparing the transcription with the original, it is evident that much punctuation was added by the editor. Transcription errors are numerous, and some are drastic. Mention is made of a typed copy that Sharp says she acquired from a relative. What is unclear is whether the published transcription was made from the original or from this other version.

Sharp also attempts to augment Boylan's account with genealogical research—using censuses and military files; but she neglects to obtain such obvious records as the deeds for the farms he writes of purchasing. The few documents she does add are identified by such virtually useless citations as "excerpts from Pa. records." A social history of this type also cries for an index that goes beyond mere names. Readers who consult the work for contemporary attitudes would appreciate index categories for *education/schooling,* or *illness/health,* or *farming,* or *labor/wages,* or *romance/kissing/premarital sex*—all of which are major themes in Boylan's manuscript.

The principal lessons offered by this work are valuable to today's genealogist who finds a manuscript left by an ancestor. First, one person's life story can be of interest to more than just descendants. It can illustrate the typical daily activities, thoughts, and feelings of someone like our own ancestors, who lived in the same geographic area and time period. Second, historical documentary editing is not as easy as it looks. For the published transcription to be regarded as a primary source, it must resemble the original down to the minutest part. Documentary editors must possess a keen sense of detail. They must make choices regarding how much or how little to interfere with the original text. They must be able to discern the points that need annotation and know how to research all pertinent records. Several proofreaders should compare the transcript against the original; and the indexer should realize that today's genealogists need more than names in order to create a worthwhile family history of their own.

Simla, Colorado — Sharon DeBartolo Carmack, CGRS

Dr. John Perley Ford (1794–1869): His Life, Times, Ancestors, Descendants, and Allied Families (1635–1994). By Robert W. Ford. Published by Gateway Press; 1994. Available from the author; 2844 Hogan Court; Falls Church, VA 22043-3534. xxii, 605 pp. Index, maps, photographs. Hardback, no price stated.

Three generations of descendants of Dr. John Perley Ford (called Perley Ford throughout) have worked for over seventy years in an effort to prove his origins. This book is the culmination of their studies. Its first section presents Perley's story, his ancestors, and his descendants. The second part supplies information on allied families—offered as material of general interest and as a guide to additional research by others.

The author's evidence, documented at the end of each chapter, is mostly secondary but is well discussed. It leads him to conclude that the Perley Ford who married Cynthia Moore in Ulster County, New York, about 1810—and produced "the Northern family" by her—is the same man as the Perley Ford who married Susannah Gallman in Mississippi in 1825 and produced "the Southern family."

Ford successfully demonstrates that Perley of New York moved to Ohio with his in-laws and was last seen when he boarded an Ohio River boat in 1825. He offers in evidence an 1836 will written by Perley's father, who believed his son had perished. Ford also establishes the existence of a Perley Ford in Mississippi by September 1825—who, about 1828, removed to Georgia with Gallman in-laws and associates. Family archives (including a cane, the family Bible of the Southern family, and a letter written 22 June 1918 by a great-grandson of the Mississippi-Georgia Perley) are among the evidence used to link the Northern and Southern Perleys. The author backs up his case with personal arguments and some original documents that appear to make the facts fit. He also makes it clear that, except for unproved family tradition, there is no evidence of Perley's having studied medicine; only a few Georgia documents from about 1842 to 1860 refer to him as "Dr." John Perley Ford.

An attractive volume with eleven chapters, the Ford genealogy offers over one hundred photographs and an every-name index. Unfortunately, its effectiveness is diluted by poor editing. In addition to spelling and grammatical errors, there are annoying problems caused by using a word-processing or text-writing program. Repetitive sentences and paragraphs, sometimes fragmented and totally out of context with surrounding material, are found throughout. Although each of the biographical sketches of Perley's six Confederate-soldier sons stands alone, it can be disconcerting to read the same wartime adventure stories (undocumented) several times. In the chapters relating to descendants, the author uses a numbering system that resembles the Register format; but the numbering for children discussed later in fuller details is not consecutive and is somewhat confusing.

Although this reader is not entirely convinced that the Northern Perley is the same as the Southern one, the story remains intriguing—woven from interesting family traditions and sprinkled with primary records. The work will be of particular interest to family members.

Jasper, Georgia — Linda Woodward Geiger, CGRS

From Knights to Pioneers: One German Family in Westphalia and Missouri. By Anita M. Mallinckrodt. Published by Southern Illinois University Press; Post Office Box 3697; Carbondale, IL 62902-3697; 1994. 539 pp. Charts, index, maps, photographs. Hardback, $45.00 (shipping: $3.00).

A retired journalist and former adjunct professor at American University in Washington, D.C., the author presents a 750-year history of the Mallinckrodt family in Europe and America. Demonstrating exceptional talent for narrating a family's history in a very readable style, her absorbing chronicle skillfully uses immigrant letters, well-documented research, and able analysis of primary and secondary evidence. The result is not only a definitive biography of eight German immigrants and their families, but a useful study of medieval and early-modern German history and the forces that caused emigration.

This in-depth family biography is arranged in three parts. First, the European segment traces the family from its earliest documented evidence during the Middle Ages through the early-nineteenth century. Each chapter is introduced by story overviews set in a charming scene, with a nineteenth-century descendant recounting tales of family history to the children in the evening. Second, the author unfolds the events that led to emigration. Finally, the story focuses upon the cousins Julius and Emil Mallinckrodt and their decision to leave Dortmund, Prussia, for the Missouri frontier in 1831.

Central to the work are 208 letters written to relatives in Germany—letters located in American and European archives. Personal views regarding German immigration were given by Emil in editorials for the Saint Louis, Missouri, *Westliche Post* in the 1870s. Such records recount their fifty-nine-day voyage from Le Havre, France, to New Orleans; their adventure by foot to Natchez; and their steamboat journey up the Mississippi River to Saint Louis—from where they trekked, probably overland by wagon trail, to Saint Charles County, Missouri. They recount Julius and Emil's inspection of the countryside for the best land to purchase, their delight in soil so fertile that it needed no fertilizer for the first fifty years, and their elation at owning "a place that we could hardly have imagined." Within a few years, the two men married, began families, and were joined by European kinsmen—Conrad, Hermann, August, Helene, Sophie, and Louise Mallinckrodt—in 1838. The story follows the newcomers' immediate families and descendants in Missouri, ending in the 1890s with the deaths of the immigrants.

Observing that women in history are often excluded from genealogical tables or public information, Mallinckrodt adds laudable depth to her story with attention to the female perspective of everyday pioneer life. All aspects of her study, from medieval Europe to the Missouri frontier, will be of interest to others with German immigrant forebears or a trans-Mississippi heritage.

Wytheville, Virginia — Beverly Repass Hoch, CGRS

Ancestors and Descendants of Jesse Clyde Nichols and Jessie (Miller) Nichols. Compiled by Joan Ferris Curran, CG. Published by Gateway Press; 1991. Available from Miller Nichols, J. C. Nichols Co.; 310 Ward Parkway; Kansas City, MO 64112. vii. 252 pp. Charts, index, maps, photographs. Hardback, no price stated.

Well planned and logically organized, this volume is an unpretentious story of a well-known Kansas City, Missouri, family whose achievements should be a matter of pride for even the most ambitious. Curran's account of their lives matches their enviable accomplishments. As the title indicates, the volume follows a multi-surname ("all my ancestors") format, rather than tracing all descendants of one progenitor. Thirteen families are treated in

separate chapters: Allen, Collins, Heimbach (Himebaugh), Hoge, Jackson, Kane, Lazarus, Miller, Mitchell, Nichols, Oslin, Phenicle, and Smith.

Abundant endnotes in the ancestor section show a liberal use of primary sources as well as secondary ones—all impeccably cited. The writer's style is concise and easy flowing; the narrative is enjoyable reading, especially the treatment of Jesse and Jessie's descendants. Many excellently reproduced photographs depict early family members as well as modern ones. Simple line maps of the areas in which the families resided enhance the reader's understanding of ancestral migrations and travel.

One problem is inherent in planning a genealogy of this type—providing the reader with a clear sense of how the disparate families interconnect. Curran has handled the challenge masterfully with clearly drawn pedigrees. The inside front cover charts the ancestors of the central couple for four generations on each side. The inside back diagrams their descendants to the present. Between the covers, the individual chapters begin with a chart of the progenitors under discussion. While each family study follows the direct line of ancestry for Jessie and Jesse, siblings are included for those direct ancestors in each generation—with vital data. Abundant cross-references link maternal and collateral lines throughout the book.

From its first-class binding through its well-planned and carefully documented contents, this genealogy is of the highest quality. It more than adequately serves as a model for anyone who wishes to compile a single-line family history.

Littleton, Colorado — Barbara J. Brown, CGRS, CALS

INSTRUCTIONAL AIDS

The Genealogist's Video Research Guide. By Gordon and Carolyn Casper. Produced by Video Knowledge; 32 North 200 East, Suite 1; Spanish Fork, UT 84660; 1994. 3 cassettes, no accompanying literature. $59.95 (shipping: $7.95).

Instructional *manuals* are expected to provide correct information and sound advice in a well-organized and attractively presented manner. Instructive *videos* have to meet the same basic standards, but the medium introduces other criteria as well. The two most-viable reasons to produce a "how to" as a video (rather than a book) are that the audience cannot or does not want to read or that the information is better demonstrated visually. Given that the concept of a nonreading genealogist would be an oxymoron, a video that teaches genealogy should be evaluated on how well it serves the second raison d'être. While the content of this series is generally correct and the Caspers' advice is good, the presentation falls short in the other areas by which video education is judged.

From the beginning, the lectures violate two basic principles of instruction: do not use unfamiliar terms without defining them; and always work from the general to the specific. Particularly for nonwritten instruction, it is important to establish a framework before presenting details—to aid the student in organizing and assimilating the material that unfolds. The initial lecture, "Home Sources," begins with no introduction or scene setting—as if, originally, it was not the first session. There is no explanation of genealogy or of family history (which are different), no description of the research process in general (where most of the fun is), no advice to work from the known to the unknown (from present to past), no caution to record where you find what you learn (documentation), and no description or explanation of family group sheets and pedigree charts (organizational tools). Typical is the

third sentence in this first lecture: "Tips that will help you determine on whether it [a family Bible] is a primary source or a secondary, is look at the ink." While the advice is valid (if ungrammatical), it is considerably premature as one's introduction to genealogy. The terms *primary source* and *secondary source,* which are not defined in that discussion, are foreign to most beginning students of family history.

The second lecture fares no better. Its subject is FamilySearch®, an electronic data base of the Family History Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. A beginning genealogist needs (but does not get) a background explanation of the library, its family-history centers, and the worldwide microfilming project of the Genealogical Society of Utah, from which part of the FamilySearch data is drawn. Nor is there a basic overview of the FamilySearch program and its several primary components. Instead, for example, the lectures jumps immediately into "200 million surnames [*sic*] of the IGI"—with no verbal explanation of what the acronym *IGI* stands for, much less what this tool actually is. (The International Genealogical Index® is one of the three components of FamilySearch.) Viewers are told that the various sources for IGI entries are "very good, reliable sources," instead of being given a proper explanation of the origins of the entries, the widely varying reliability of the data from which the entries are extracted, and the crucially important means of verifying the reliability of each entry. The term *extracts* is mentioned in the context of the IGI without definition—although few beginning researchers understand what an extract actually covers. Much emphasis is put upon finding *surnames* (the term is not defined), rather than finding one's own family, and the only "caution" given is that the IGI is geographically arranged. The IGI lecture is immediately followed by a demonstration of Ancestral File™ using a CD-ROM system at a family history center—which will likely cause watchers to confuse the two data bases. Again, there is no explanation of Ancestral File's place in FamilySearch, nor of the sources of the information therein.

The presentation is largely of the "talking heads" variety, intercut with stills and several trips to the Family History Library. More enthusiasm from the presenters would have better conveyed the enormous sense of adventure and challenge that makes genealogy an obsession for so many people. Inadequate use is made of close-up techniques when specific types of documents are discussed. In still-life shots, the objects are often positioned too far away to read; and the lack of call outs, pointers, or focusing devices reduces their usefulness considerably.

The Caspers' contribution to genealogy is recognized as a pioneering effort; video instruction is still rare in our field. However, standards for video instruction are well established elsewhere; and those who lead genealogy into this more-technical arena must learn and apply not only the existing standards of genealogical research, but also those of educational instruction and video production—if they are to meet the expectations that viewers now demand of the video industry.

Dallas, Texas — Patricia Law Hatcher, CG

REFERENCE WORKS

Genealogical Dates: A User-Friendly Guide. By Kenneth L. Smith. Published by Picton Press; Post Office Box 1111; Camden, ME 04843–1111; 1994. ii, 196 pp. Hardback, with computer diskette, $19.50.

Smith provides a useful tool in both paper and electronic media. As expected, his guide to dating systems and conventions fills a particular niche for English-speaking users of German and Scandinavian records. It is also useful in such widely varied areas as the French Republican calendar and the calculation of a birthdate from a known age at death. The discussion of "Quaker dating" should be taken to heart by all who use seventeenth- and eighteenth-century records. For English documents, particularly medieval ones, the "old reliable" C. R. Cheney's *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978)—which is curiously omitted from Smith's bibliography—will be more useful. Conversely, Smith's work covers continental saints' days and holidays that are different from the English and Scottish ones set forth by Cheney.

The bonus software provides simple programs for several genealogical functions. It calculates birthdate from the year-month-day age-at-death frequently found on record. It converts Julian dates to Gregorian, and vice versa. It finds the day of week for particular dates and the month and day of specific religious holidays. It will also add, subtract, multiply, and divide English and early-American currency—pounds, shillings, and pence.

This short, well-written, and well-produced text and software will ease many of the problems faced every day by researchers. Paper and printing quality conform to the usual Picton Press standards. The work deserves recommendation for both personal libraries and public ones that deal with genealogy and history.

Salt Lake City, Utah — Neil D. Thompson, Ph.D., CG, FASG

REGIONAL WORKS

1790 Census of Maine, Annotated Edition. Edited by Lois Thurston Ware, CG, and Joseph C. Anderson II. Published by the Maine Genealogical Society; 1995. Available from Picton Press; P.O. Box 1111; Camden, ME 04843-1111. 124 pp. Index. Hardback, $21.00.

This Special Publication No. 20 of the Maine Genealogical Society deserves accolades for its format, organization, and ingenuity. Basically, it is a reprint of the U.S. census taken of Maine in 1790. Beyond this, added pointers designate those heads of households whose families have been researched and documented in the first four volumes of *Maine Families in 1790.* Remarkably, it is also a free, special edition for members of the society.

Of particular note are several features. In addition to the original population summaries from the 1907 Government Printing Office edition of this work, there is added a two-page 1795 map of the province of Maine, which shows the settlements of the time. Along with the original index is a new consolidated name index to heads of households covered by the first four volumes of *Maine Families in 1790.* The place index not only highlights families already known and researched but provides a clue to names that may have an associative relationship in the early settlement of Maine towns.

The editors of this publication are very familiar to Maine genealogists for their previous collaborations and for the outstanding contribution they have made overall to the collection and publication of Maine vital records and genealogy. Their new work, printed by Picton Press on acid-free paper, is another fine example of the quality they exemplify.

Springvale, Maine — Frederick R. Boyle, CG

Guide to Civil War Records: A Guide to the Records in the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. By Patrick McCawley. Produced by the Public Programs Division, South Carolina Department of Archives and History; 1430 Senate Street; Columbia, SC 29211; 1994. 81 pp. Illustrations, index. Softback, $5.00 (shipping: $1.75).

Guides to state and county records have long been valuable finding aids for researchers. This excellent introduction to South Carolina's Civil War records is important to historians and genealogists alike. The described holdings are arranged under the various state offices and include the historical background leading up to the creation of the records.

Beginning with the Office of the Confederate Historian, a detailed listing of state military-service records is set forth. The section on Confederate Pension Department records provides historical background on each of the state pension acts, showing the gradual changes in qualification requirements and amounts paid. Cataloged are pension files and lists, artificial-limb applications, claims for disabilities, and related materials. Records under the State Auditor cover the Ordnance Bureau, Quartermaster Department, Commissary Department, and a wide assortment of other pertinent materials. A full description is given of the administrative records located within the purview of the Adjutant General. Among others, they contain Letters Sent, 1862; Letterbooks, Confederate Rolls, 1882–1887; Petitions for Exemption, 1864–1865; Draft Substitutes, 1862; Hospital Records; and a Register of Burials. Special coverage is given to Executive Councils of 1861 and 1862; Constitutional Papers—Convention of 1860–62; the Commission for the Removal of Negro[e]s and other Noncombatants from the City of Charleston; and the Confederate Home and Infirmary. Many county-level records concerning veterans, in original form and on microfilm, are covered, as well as microfilm copies of materials located in other repositories. Noted particularly are the National Archive's Compiled Service Records; the Index to Confederate Pension Applications at Florida's and Kentucky's state archives; and private papers.

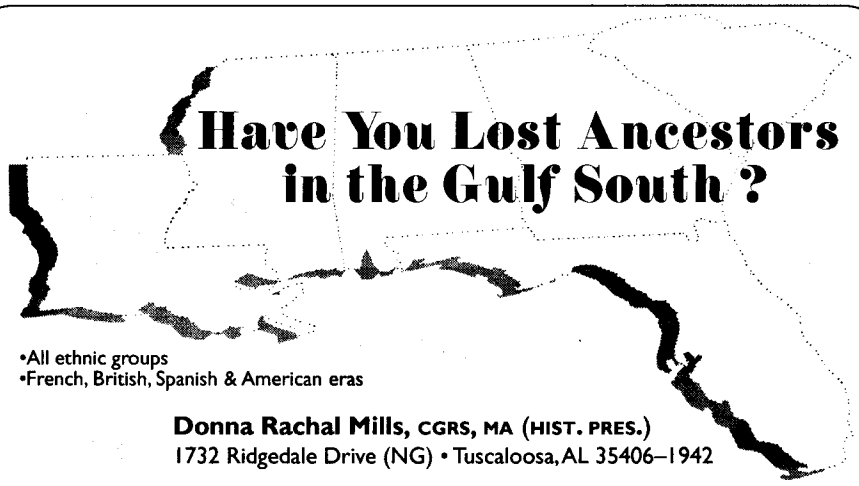
As an enhancement, the guide is illustrated throughout with pictorial copies of famous Civil War personages and historic events and scenes of the conflict. This is the guide of choice for South Carolina Civil War researchers.

Bethesda, Maryland — Vivian Luther-Schafer

Papers of the St. Louis Fur Trade. Published by University Publications of America; 4520 East-West Highway; Bethesda, MD 20814-3389. 93 reels to date.

Although this ongoing series is priced far beyond the budget of most individual researchers, all genealogists with roots in the Mississippi Valley should become familiar with it. Part 1, The Chouteau Collection, 1752–1925, offers 40 reels of financial, legal, and personal papers of a family that traded regularly with Native American tribes and engaged the services of countless employees who are also illuminated in these materials. Part 2, Fur Company Ledgers and Account Books, 1802–1871, comprises 23 reels filmed from holdings of the Missouri Historical Society (with many, but not all, of the ledgers and accounts books fully name-indexed in the last reel. Part 3, Robert Campbell Family Collection, reproduces 30 reels from the Saint Louis Mercantile Library Association. No research on anyone engaged in Missouri-based western trade in the late 1700s and 1800s is complete without study of these materials now available at major libraries.

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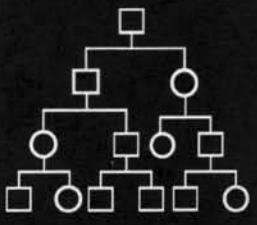
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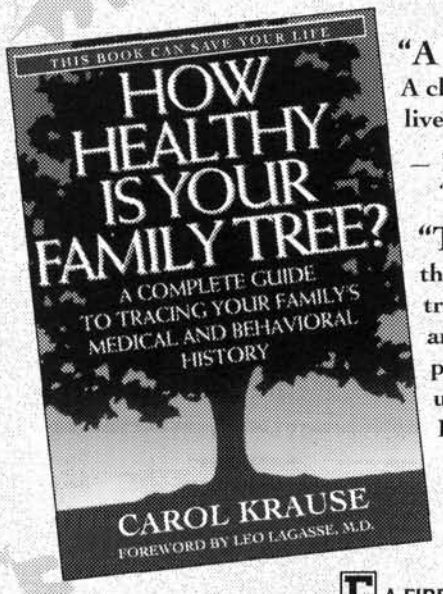
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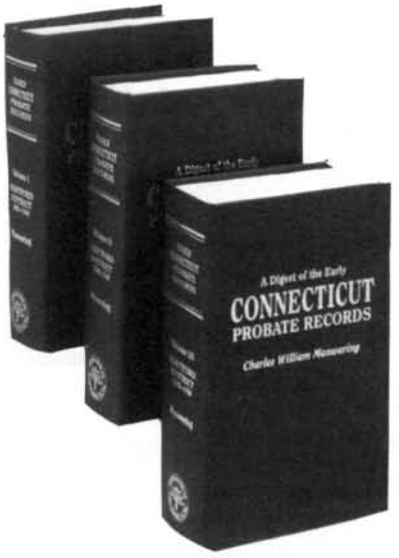
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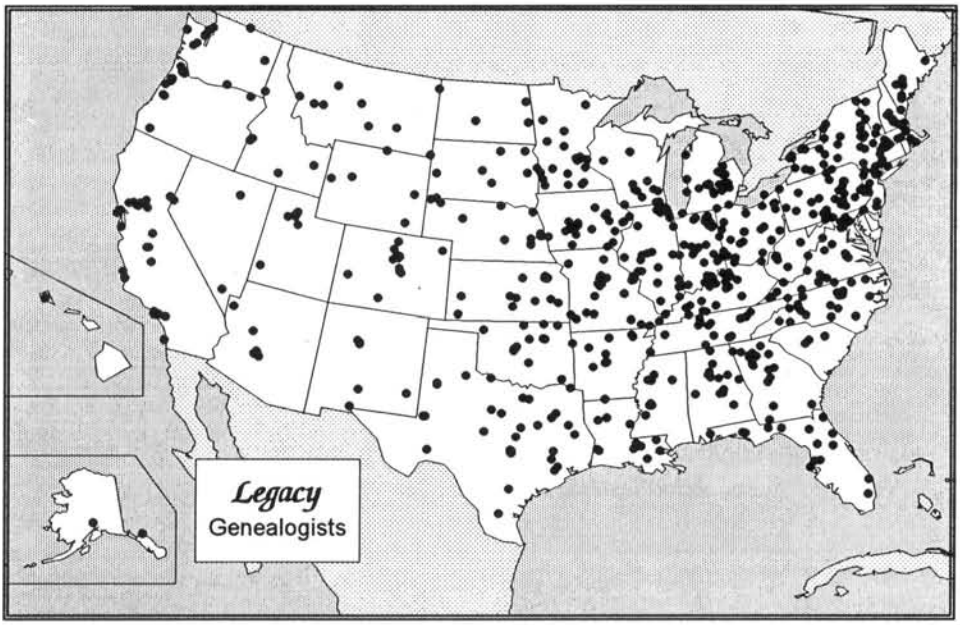
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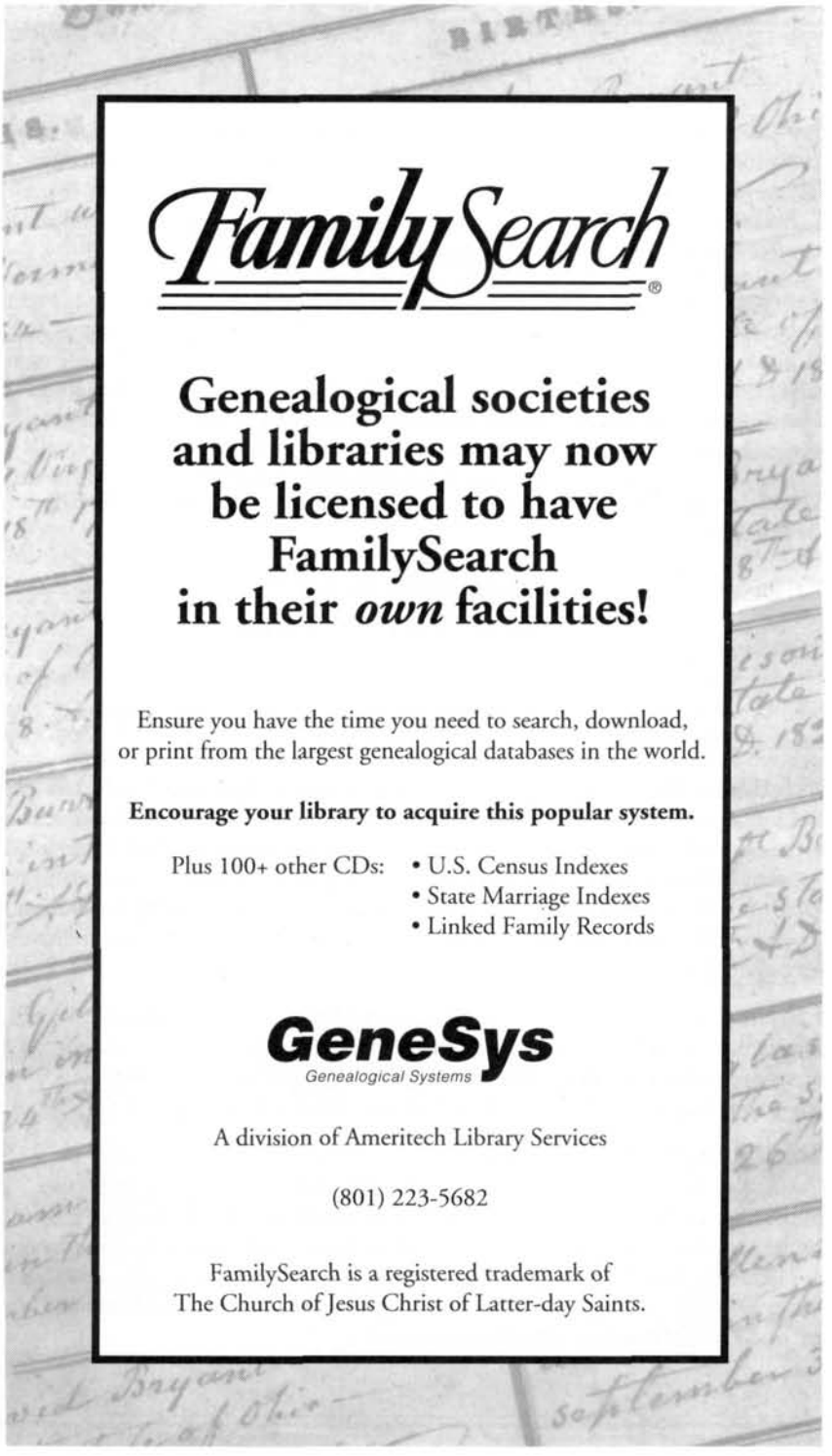
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Headquarters: The society is headquartered in an architectural treasure across the Potomac from our nation's capital city. Its home, the historic Glebe House of Arlington, Virginia, with its distinctive octagonal wing, was built in the 1850s on the site of the 500-acre glebe (parsonage land) of colonial Fairfax Parish. In 1972, Glebe House was accepted on the National Register of Historic Places. Society members and library patrons are graciously welcomed.

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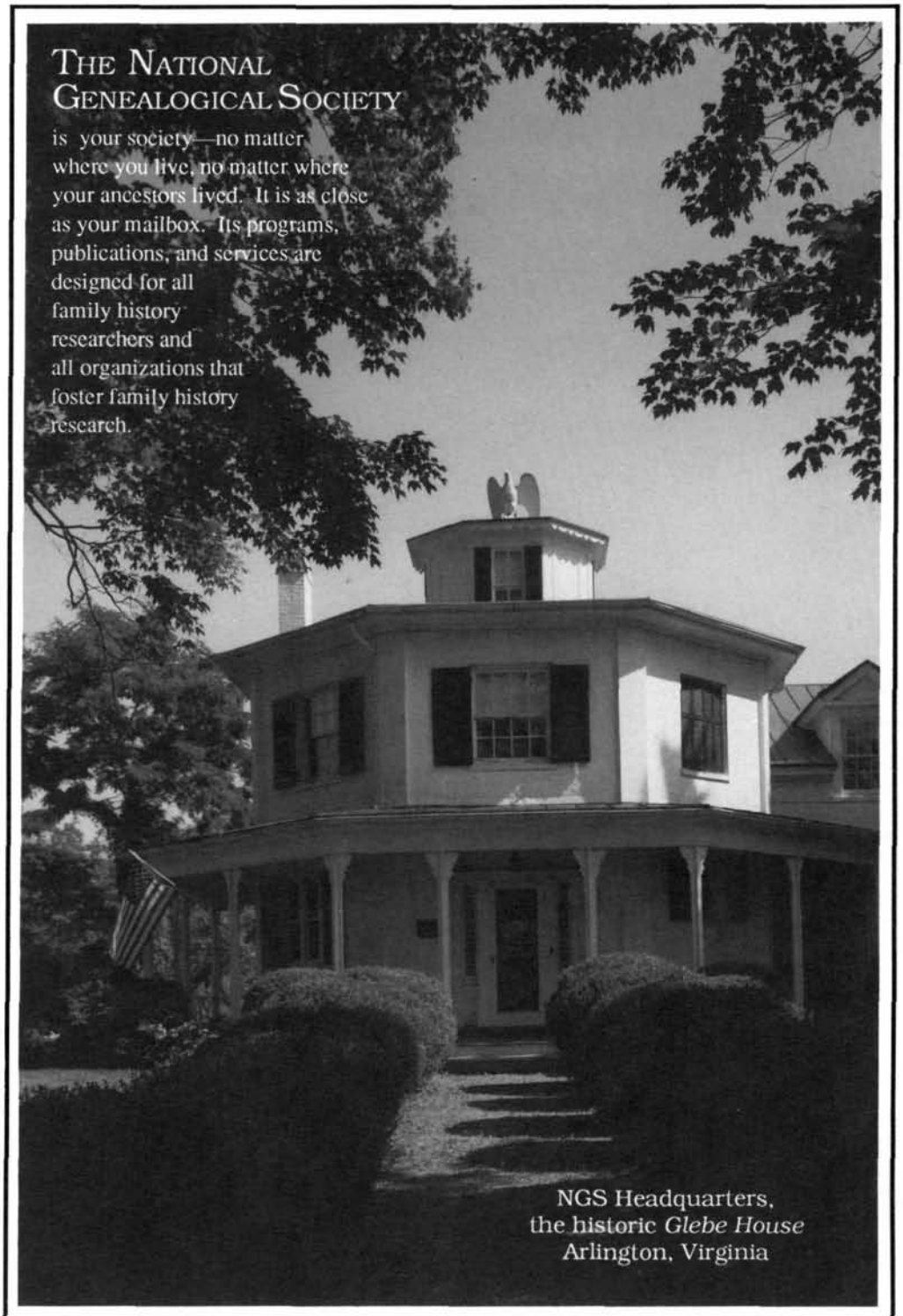
One is ROOTS. The other is WINGS.

National Genealogical Society Quarterly

Volume 83, Number 3
September 1995



A journal for today's family historian



Photograph by Hugh B. Johnson

National Genealogical Society
Quarterly

A Journal for Today's Family Historian

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Editors' Corner

Responsible book reviewing

Last month we read a "review" in a regional genealogical magazine. It treated a family from which we descend. We were told how many people were indexed in the book and how many pictures there were. We were told about the author's computer data base on everyone of that surname. We were given a short biography of the progenitor. We were told that the author had corrected numerous mistakes made by prior writers. We were told the page count, the price, and where to order our own personal copy. Seventy dollars for six hundred pages seemed reasonable enough. We ordered it.

This week it arrived. There were the promised six hundred pages—quick-copied, with quite a few of them running off the paper's edge so that a part of each line of text was lost. There were the hundred-plus pictures, positioned vertically, horizontally, and diagonally on the same pages—however they could be pieced together so that not one sliver of white space would inflate the author's printing budget. There were the promised "corrections" of others—presented in a quite straightforward style: "So-and-so wrote such-and-such. He was wrong. John was actually the son of. . . ." But where was the evidence to support the "correction"? *Evidence?* What evidence is needed? We have the author's *word* for it that others are wrong and he is right. In fact, we now have "his word" for every statement in his book. If we had needed documentation, he would have given us some. As he explains, the book was already so large that it cost a fortune to reproduce. That obviously is why he decided to have his work Velo-bound—in total confidence that the thin plastic binding strip and toothpick pegs holding together his three-inch tome would not come off before we reached page 207. He was wrong.

In 1962, Milton Rubincam, FASG, FNGS (and soon-to-be CG), became the *NGS Quarterly's* designated book reviewer. His first act was to inform the society that, henceforth, this journal would print *real* book reviews—critical analyses—not pabulum drawn from a book's publicity flyer. The NGS librarian was aghast. Milton was adamant. So she glumly predicted. "Nobody will donate books to the library any more."

Obviously, a lot of society personnel and review editors still harbor that fear. How else could the one who misled us justify encouraging her readers to order a seventy-dollar book that became trash the day it was received (if, indeed, it did not deserve that label before it prematurely disintegrated)? Did not that review editor have the responsibility to caution her readers as to the defects they should expect?

Responsible book reviewing does, indeed, place the burden of commercial honesty and unbiased scholarship upon both reviewers and their editors. Readers expect it. Writers who strive for quality expect it. Analytical reviews are an important educational forum in all research fields. Genealogy deserves no less.

Oh . . . for the record, donations to the NGS library never slacked.

NGSQ, September 1995 —*The Millses*

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Fundamental Common-Law Concepts for the Genealogist: Marriage, Divorce, and Coverture

By George R. Ryskamp, J.D., AG*

America's family historians primarily use records originating within the common-law tradition as Blackstone expounded it. Therefore, an understanding of the common law's fundamental concepts will give meaning to portions of records often dismissed as legalese—providing additional research clues and a richer knowledge of ancestral lives and society.

Imagine the picture of a "Blackstone barrister." The place is the frontier state of Illinois; the time, the late 1830s. Riding circuit from a court session in the saloon of one frontier town to the newly built wood-frame courthouse of the next county seat is a tall, lanky figure dressed in a black suit, a white shirt, and a tie. At first glance, he might be mistaken for a Methodist or Baptist minister, who also rides circuit regularly through these same towns; but this man's profession is revealed by the contents of his saddlebags: *The Statutes of the State of Illinois* and William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England.*[1]

The tall, lanky lawyer could have been the future president Abraham Lincoln; or he could have been Serranus C. Hastings, who would become the first chief justice of the California State Supreme Court and founder, in San Francisco, of the first law school west of the Mississippi.[2] Both men received their legal training in the same two ways—by working in the law office of another attorney and by reading Blackstone's *Commentaries*. In fact, Lincoln reportedly said that his legal career began as a struggling shopkeeper, when he bought a barrel of odds and ends and found in it a copy of Blackstone. There began his love affair with the law.[3] On at least two occasions, when questioned about how a young man might start a legal career, Lincoln responded that one should read through the *Commentaries* at least twice—once to learn law and procedure, and the second time to appreciate the beauty and coherence of the English common law.[4]

COMMON-LAW ORIGINS

In medieval England, a variety of legal systems developed concurrently: county courts, king's courts, and equity courts—all of which were impacted in varying degrees by royal decrees and acts of Parliament. The king's courts, or *law courts* as they were known, relied on an ever-growing body of judicial precedents that came

to be known as the common law.[5] It was this body of legal precedents, combined with modifications made by acts of Parliament, that Blackstone synthesized and eulogized.

Blackstone (1723–80) was a member of Parliament, a distinguished jurist, and the first professor of English law at Oxford. *Commentaries on the Laws of England* originated as the outline of his law lectures. Laid out in a logical format, his treatise describes not only the English common-law tradition but also his view of what it should become. The diverse strains of case law within British jurisprudence—from the county courts to the king's courts—and the statutes of Parliament were worked into a coherent system of concepts based on "Natural Law emanating from God" as it had been interpreted, developed, and applied through centuries of rational application by common-law judges.

For Blackstone, the common law was a marvelous medieval castle with ornate balustrades and strong, tall towers. Occasionally, certain rooms had to be reworked to make them compatible with evolving times, but the basic structure was solid and venerable.[6] In England, these reworkings often took the form of statutory changes made by Parliament; in the United States, they would be made by colonial and state legislatures.

The foundation of Blackstone's common-law castle was the then-popular philosophy (neoclassicism) that the world was intended to be an ordered place. Nature as well as man could be organized in accordance with natural laws from God; and man could express this order as he arranged the physical and intellectual world around him. In the legal realm, natural law was expressed in the centuries-old tenets of the common law. In the social and physical realms, order was manifested by state constitutions, local ordinances, rectangular surveys, scientific principles, classical-style architecture, etc.[7] Thus, neoclassicism provided not only the basis of modern American law but also the philosophical background of the revolutionary and early-national periods of United States history.

COMMON LAW IN THE U.S.

Ironically, Blackstone's greatest legacy was not in England but in the United States,[8] where four generations of lawyers were trained on the *Commentaries*. However, that influence has been neither universal nor uniform. As genealogists labor to place ancestral documents, situations, and events into context with prevailing law, they must understand the diversity that has existed within the adoption and implementation of legal precepts.

England's Atlantic Colonies

Colonial legislation was a veritable mosaic of traditional beliefs and local concerns. Yet the common law was a theme throughout the whole. In New England, no early statute formally adopted the English legal tradition, but many local acts were based on the concepts Blackstone would later summarize. The mid-Atlantic

colonies were even more diverse. Pennsylvania and Delaware, like New England, had adopted by 1720 their own regulations for the intestate distribution of real property, while New York and New Jersey followed English jurisprudence in this regard. The Southern colonies—Maryland through the Carolinas—adopted common law in a format more similar to that which would become standard in nineteenth-century states. In sum, the areas settled by the English prior to Blackstone's treatise naturally reflected (and still do) the variety of the legal customs that were brought to the colonies.[9]

The Gulf Coast and Southwest

Originally settled by the French and Spanish, these areas developed legal systems based upon the civil-law traditions that prevailed in continental Europe. However, each purchase or conquest made by the United States generally resulted in the creation of a new jurisprudence based on common law. Minor borrowings from civil law mostly dealt with marital property rights and formed the basis of modern community-property rules. Of all the states in the Gulf South, only Louisiana has retained a legal structure based on civil law.[10]

Trans-Appalachia

During the crucial, formative century that followed the American Revolution, the most complete and consistent exposure to the law that was had by legal apprentices west of the Appalachians was the reading of Blackstone. As they became legislators and jurists, these "Blackstone barristers" exerted immense impact. The new states carved from the wilderness—and the courts established under their constitutions—were created and presided over by these same men. Thus, the legal systems[11] of thirty-three of the thirty-four states west of the Appalachians are based on Blackstone. The point is made by the example of California, where the state legislature first codified its law in 1873. The following excerpt is still found in California's civil code:

> The common law of England so far as it is not repugnant to or inconsistent with the Constitution of the United States or the constitution or laws of this state, is the rule of decision in all courts of this state.[12]

While each new nineteenth-century legal system showed some variation in law and practice, their underpinnings have been the same: the fundamental principles and theories derived from Blackstone's *Commentaries*.[13] Their similarities are more numerous and significant than their diversities. Together, they have created a New World tradition that forms the foundation of federal and state law throughout most of the United States.

It follows that America's family historians primarily use records originating within the common-law tradition as Blackstone expounded it. Therefore, an understanding of the common law's fundamental concepts will give meaning to portions of records often dismissed as legalese—providing additional research clues and a

richer knowledge of ancestral lives and society. The present essay treats those provisions relating to marriage, divorce, and coverture; a sequel will examine those relating to real-property transactions.

THE COMMON LAW AND FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

Understanding the traditional concept of *rights* is crucial to understanding the principles of American common law. Historically, the term *rights* does not refer to its better-known but limited twentieth-century definition—i.e., guarantees made by society. Rather, the original broad definition included the associated *relationships* and *responsibilities,* as well as privileges, that stem from the interdependency of society and its members.[14] Blackstone first lays out the rights of political and public persons—the king, parliament, magistrates, and clergy—then focuses upon those of private people. According to Blackstone:

> The three great relations in private life are
>
> 1. That of *master and servant;* which is founded in convenience, whereby a man is directed to call in the assistance of others, where his own skill and labour will not be sufficient to answer the cares incumbent upon him.
>
> 2. That of *husband and wife;* which is founded in nature, but modified by civil society: the one prescribing the manner in which that natural impulse must be confined and regulated.
>
> 3. That of *parent and child,* which is consequential to that of marriage, being it's [*sic*] principal end and design: and it is by virtue of this relation that infants are protected, maintained, and educated.
>
> But, since the parents, on whom this care is primarily incumbent, may be snatched away by death or otherwise, before they have completed their duty, the law has therefore provided a fourth relation;
>
> 4. That of *guardian and ward,* which is a kind of artificial parentage, in order to supply the deficiency, whenever it happens, of the natural.[15]

The family historian who works with contracts relating to indentured servants, domestic servants, and other hired hands should review Blackstone's first point in greater detail. This paper will focus upon the second relationship and, to some extent, the concomitant third and fourth.

MARRIAGE

On the husband-wife (*baron* and *feme*) relationship, Blackstone reports:

> Law considers marriage in no other light than as a civil contract. The *holiness* of the matrimonial state is left entirely to the ecclesiastical law: the temporal courts not having jurisdiction to consider unlawful marriages as a sin, but merely as a civil inconvenience. The punishment therefore, or annulling, of incestuous or other unscriptural marriages, is the province of the spiritual courts; which act *pro salute animae* [for the good of the soul]. And taking it in this civil light, the law treats it as it does all other contracts; allowing it to be good and valid in all cases, where the

parties at the time of making it were, in the first place, *willing* to contract; secondly, *able* to contract; and lastly, actually *did* contract, in the proper forms and solemnities required by law.[16]

Two points are important for the genealogist to note:

- Blackstone's reference to *baron* (lord) and *feme* (woman). These traditional terms for husband and wife are often found in colonial America's legal texts and documents.
- The law's view of marriage as nothing more than a civil contract—the religious nature of matrimony being left to churches and ecclesiastical law. This division is still observed. States regulate the *contractual* function of marriage by licensing it but allow the *ceremonial* function to be administered by the church. This distinction has genealogical implications. When a marriage license is found, if it bears the signature of an officiating priest or minister, there may be elsewhere an additional, more-complete record of the marriage.

LEGAL REQUIREMENTS

The extent to which Blackstone is preserved in modern marriage regulations is evident in many contemporary family-law manuals. Typically, they set forth three requirements for a valid marriage: (1) a willingness to contract; (2) an ability to contract; and (3) a completion of the formalities necessary to contract.[17] Even the fine distinctions—for example, prior marriage, impotence, insufficient age, or a blood relationship between the bride and groom as incapacities for contracting marriage—hark back to Blackstone.[18] The modern state's procedural preoccupation with meeting these three basics is evident in every marriage record. The process of applying for a marriage license responds to the first two requirements; the return of the license, signed by the person who performed the formal ceremony, responds to the third.

LEGAL PROCEDURES

Prior to the adoption of the modern application and license procedures, colonies and states in the early-national period exhibited a variety of laws concerning marriage. All reflect local culture, frontier necessity, and the panoply of traditions brought from England and elsewhere.[19] These approaches to insuring the validity of marriages can be summarized as follows:

Traditional English common-law process. Blackstone outlined five steps for a legal and valid marriage: espousal, publication of banns, marital ceremony in accordance with the liturgy of the Church of England, celebration, and sexual consummation.[20] Of the thirteen English colonies that became states immediately after the Revolution, only Maryland maintained this system into the national period—adding the requirement that county clerks provide ministers with a certificate, before the marriage ceremony, affirming that the banns had been published.[21]

Publication of banns, followed by a ceremony before a civil magistrate or church minister and witnesses. This procedure required a record to be maintained by the town or county

clerk or minister. It was the most-common colonial form of validating the marriage contract and was adopted, at least as an alternative, in every English-colonial jurisdiction except Maryland.[22]

Publication of banns (or marriage intentions *in New England) in a public place and at some public meeting, followed by a ceremony performed by the local civil magistrate.* In the early New England colonies, where both Puritan theologians and civil officials viewed marriage as a civil contract , this form of marriage prevailed.[23] It was the only one valid in Massachusetts until the 1686 adoption of the alternative use of a minister.[24]

Posting of bond by the groom (with surety) and issuance of license by the county clerk, followed by a ceremony performed by a minister or magistrate. The bond was posted to guarantee that there was "no lawful cause to obstruct the marriage for which a license [was] desired."[25] In the Gulf South and Texas, prior to territorial status or statehood, some American settlers used the bond procedure not only in this manner but also as an interim substitute for a marriage ceremony where Catholicism was the only recognized religion and no priests were available or the parties eschewed Catholicism. This ad hoc procedure was subsequently legitimized by both the state legislatures and the state supreme courts.[26]

Compliance with requirements of the Society of Friends (Quakers). Although this denomination is a small minority today, in 1775 it was the fifth-largest religious body in the English colonies. While heavily concentrated in the Delaware River Valley, Friends settled throughout British America; and all colonies eventually recognized Quaker unions as an exception to their marital regulations.[27] Denominational rules went well beyond the concepts of common law—requiring not only the consent of parents but also that of the local congregation (*meeting*) and the community of Friends in general. Considering the variances in local customs among Quakers, marriage might involve as many as sixteen steps, from consulting parents to a simple ceremony in which the agreement to wed was declared and promises exchanged. The marriage certificates had to be signed by twelve or more witnesses, and many had considerably more.[28] A direct reflection of the influence of Quaker thought in Pennsylvania is seen in that colony's 1700 law that all marriages be performed before twelve witnesses.[29]

Cohabitation and reputation. The practice of living together and representing themselves to the community as husband and wife, without the benefit of a ceremony, has been wrongly labeled *common-law marriage.* Unlike the other wedding forms discussed above, this characterization fails to deal with any of the legal issues concerning a valid marriage.

English common-law courts did not recognize such unions in disputes over property and inheritance rights—although some ecclesiastical courts did[30]—and England banned these unions with its Marriage Act of 1753.[31] In British America, cohabitation had a different legal history. The practical difficulties of finding a minister or even a magistrate on the frontier, the influence of dissenting religious and political traditions, the diverging of legal traditions from those of the British Isles, and even Blackstone's emphasis on the civil-contract nature of marriage, spurred cohabitation. Some colonies (such as Massachusetts) tried to prohibit the practice, but with little efficacy.[32] Some state legislatures acted to recognize informal marriage; but in the early years of the nineteenth century, it was the courts, in most jurisdictions, that gave these unions legal recognition.[33]

Banns, used in processes one through three above, originated with the traditional ecclesiastical requirement that a planned marriage be announced from the pulpit on three consecutive Sundays or religious holidays. Anyone in the community who was aware of an impediment to the union then had the opportunity and responsibility to object. Colonial marriage laws employed banns in a variety of ways. Some called for announcements from the local pulpit on three consecutive Sundays.[34] Others specified the posting, in a public place, of a written notice of the intention to marry. Elsewhere, announcements of marital intents were made in a public meeting prior to the ceremony (eight days before in Connecticut and fourteen days before in Massachusetts).[35]

Licenses have been an option in most American societies. Early colonies authorized the governor to grant licenses that exempted parties from publishing banns. That concept was expanded to a general alternative: in lieu of banns, a colonial license could be had from the local county clerk, who issued it in the name of the governor.[36] Frequently, this option required the payment of a fee and the posting of a bond, often substantial—five hundred pounds in North Carolina, for example.[37] In such jurisdictions, the fee-book entries or bonds may be the only existing records of the marriages. During the nineteenth century, license laws were enacted in all states except New York and South Carolina; and by 1900 banns were a legal alternative only in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Georgia.[38]

LEGAL PROHIBITIONS

English common law, like canon (church) law, has traditionally prohibited unions between near relatives. Most American jurisdictions have similar statutes—usually amid acts defining incest rather than marriage—although none extend the proscription as far as the fourth degree of relationship decreed by canon law.[39] In some jurisdictions, the list of prohibited relations was short; and marriages were permitted not only with first cousins but even nieces and nephews. Elsewhere, more restrictive laws included many affinal relationships (those by marriage) as well as consanguineal (blood) relationships. (Table 1 offers comparative lists for colonial Massachusetts and Pennsylvania.) Marriages of whites with Negroes or mulattoes were variously treated in the colonies—both within the South and the North; and at least one jurisdiction fined officials who conducted Indian-white marriages.[40]

LEGAL REGISTRATION

The recording of marriages was required by some governments at an early date: e.g., Massachusetts in 1693, Maryland in 1701, and Pennsylvania in 1705.[41] In others, such as North Carolina, obligatory registration of marriages did not become a reality until long after the colonial period.[42] In states without such statutes, only bonds and some church records exist as direct evidence of marriages.

Jurisdiction for the performance and recording of marriages also has varied widely. Following common law, colonies initially required ceremonies before a

Table 1

Marital unions prohibited on the basis of consanguinal or affinal relationships: sample colonies

1695 MASSACHUSETTS	1700 PENNSYLVANIA
CONSANGUINEAL KINSHIP	
No party could contract marriage with his or her . . .	
mother/father	mother/father
brother/sister	brother/sister
son/daughter	son/daughter
father's sister	father's sister
mother's sister	mother's sister
grandson/granddaughter	grandson/granddaughter
	niece/nephew
AFFINAL KINSHIP	
No party could contract marriage with his or her . . .	
father/mother's spouse	father/mother's spouse
son/daughter's spouse	son/daughter's spouse
spouse's son/daughter	sister/brother's spouse
spouse's grandchild	grandparent's spouse
	grandchild's spouse
	uncle/aunt's spouse
	niece/nephew's spouse
	spouse's son/daughter
	spouse's grandchild
	spouse's grandparent
	spouse's aunt/uncle
	spouse's niece/nephew
	spouse's brother/sister

Extracted from *A Collection of All the Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania: Now in Force* (Philadelphia: B. Franklin, 1742), 47–48, and *Acts and Laws of His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England* (Boston: Samuel Kneeland and Timothy Green, 1742), 67.

magistrate or minister of the bride's town or parish. This left open two issues: (1) the need for an alternative, if there was no proper person in the area; and (2) the right of non-Anglican clergy to perform wedding ceremonies. Solutions varied. Some statutes allowed marriage in a neighboring town or parish, others by any "settled" minister or magistrate. Some empowered any cleric or judge; elsewhere, ministers could officiate only within their town of residence.[43] The legislation in effect in a particular locality and time period may help determine where to look for the marriage record. The sources cited in this paper—and their numerous counterparts available in law libraries—should be consulted for the era and area under study.

DIVORCE

Common law, as interpreted by Blackstone, sets forth three important concepts regarding divorce.[44] First, the state can grant divorces. Second, a divorce is grantable only on the finding of a good reason (i.e., a breach of the civil contract of marriage). Third, the dissolution of the marriage contract is an action to be handled by the courts of the state—not only because there has been a breach of the contract's terms but also because of the fundamental importance of the civil contract of marriage in society. The first two of these reflect legal policy transferred early to colonial America. The latter, a development advocated by Blackstone, became a reality in most jurisdictions in the early-nineteenth century.

TYPES OF DIVORCES

Marital dissolutions of two types were recognized in the common law and in most of the American colonies. Divorce *a vinculo matrimonii* dissolved the bonds of matrimony and freed the parties to wed again. Divorce *a mensa et thoro* (literally, from bed and board only) paralleled legal separation in today's terminology; after this action, there was no longer an obligation to live together or to maintain the spouse beyond the alimony or separate property granted in the divorce decree.[45]

The New England view of marriage as only a civil contract resulted in liberal divorce laws. The colonies granted divorce *a vinculo matrimonii* for grounds that included adultery, abuse, neglect, and desertion by the husband. In other colonies, if divorce was allowed at all, it was *a mensa et thoro.* There, divorce *a vinculo matrimonii* was limited to grounds that would today constitute annulment—e.g., a marriage within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity or affinity. Outside New England, even bigamy was grounds for a divorce only *a mensa et thoro.* Some border states had less clear-cut laws, for example:

- New York, prior to 1675, followed the New England approach of allowing absolute divorce; thereafter, it conformed to the Southern pattern of allowing only *a mensa et thoro* divorces.[46]
- Pennsylvania in 1705 allowed the outright dissolution of marriages only for limited cases of consanguinity and affinity violations. Divorces "from bed and board" were specified for cases of adultery, bigamy, sodomy, and buggery.[47]

All these grounds were set out in criminal statutes rather than divorce statutes. Those for divorce from bed and board required conviction of the offending spouse and a petition for divorce by the non-offender within one year of that conviction.

LEGAL JURISDICTION

In England, only ecclesiastical courts of the Church of England could grant divorces.[48] As there were no such courts in the Americas, colonial innovation came into play. Among the major regulatory patterns, genealogists should be familiar with the following:

- Pennsylvania, under its 1705 statutes, granted authority to the governor or lieutenant governor to decree divorces.[49]
- New York and the Southern colonies developed courts of chancery (*equity*), that granted separations for limited causes—mostly cruelty and desertion but occasionally adultery, homosexuality, or bigamy.
- New England permitted the various courts of law to grant divorces.[50]

Following the Revolution, all states except South Carolina reformed their divorce laws (South Carolina did not do so until the twentieth century). Primary alterations were as follows:

- Northern states generally permitted the courts, law or equity, to grant absolute divorce on grounds similar to those of colonial New England.
- Southern states, except for South Carolina, authorized the legislatures to grant divorces upon petition of the parties.
- Trans-Appalachian and Deep South states admitted to the union after the Revolution generally followed the New England pattern, as endorsed by Blackstone—giving the authority to their supreme courts and, later, to their county courts.[51] The few newer states that initially adopted legislative divorce proceedings (as, for example, Tennessee andAlabama) had generally converted to the local-court model by the time of the Civil War.[52]

The genealogist seeking divorce records prior to the twentieth-century innovation of separate divorce or family-law courts may or may not find details as to how the marriage contract was violated. In states permitting court-decreed divorces, both "loose" and bound records at the local or county level, when preserved, should contain testimony or, at least, a summary thereof. For legislative divorces, three options may exist. (1) The passage of the law is generally found in the published laws or acts adopted within that state, although these publications usually provide only minimum identification of the parties. (2) Reference to the law may also be found in contemporary newspaper accounts of legislative actions; again, personal data are rare or nonexistent. (3) At best, the researcher may find a collection of legislative files maintained in the state archives, offering the original petition for divorce and sometimes other relevant documents.[53]

Extralegal means were also used to deal with the need for divorce. In some cases, private agreements were drafted providing for separation.[54] These might have been enforced in the equity courts of some states. An effective solution in frontier societies was desertion—followed later by a second marriage, for which the bigamy was never prosecuted and perhaps never discovered.[55]

COVERTURE

Common-law concepts of the husband-wife relationship have a third aspect that impacts greatly upon genealogical research—*coverture*. Blackstone explains:

> By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage, or at least is incorporated and consolidated into that of the husband: under whose wing, protection, and *cover*, she performs every thing; and is therefore called in our law-French a *feme-covert;* is said to be *covert-baron*, or under the protection and influence of her husband, her *baron,* or lord; and her condition during her marriage is called her *coverture.*
>
> Upon this principle, of an union of person in husband and wife, depend almost all the legal rights, duties, and disabilities, that either of them acquire by the marriage. I speak not at present of the rights of property, but of such as are merely *personal.* For this reason, a man cannot grant any thing to his wife, or enter into covenant with her: for the grant would be to suppose her separate existence; and to covenant with her, would be only to covenant with himself: and therefore it is also generally true, that all compacts made between husband and wife, when single, are voided by the intermarriage. A woman indeed may be attorney for her husband; for that implies no separation from, but is rather a representation of, her lord. And a husband may also bequeath any thing to his wife by will; for that cannot take effect till the coverture is determined by his death.[56]

Under the common law, the wife ceased to exist as a separate person. This doctrine of coverture is a key concept for understanding why women do and do not appear in certain court and land records—although it should be noted that, except in Connecticut prior to 1723, it was more of a legal ideal than an enforced regulation. Under coverture, the husband handled all transactions for the married unity. An eighteenth- or nineteenth-century married woman, subsumed into her husband and legally nonexistent, still appears often in the records of land conveyances and other legal transactions. The common law provided a woman with dower and inheritance rights, under which she would have a claim—upon her husband's death or upon divorce, where allowed—to a portion of any property held by her husband during the marriage, whether he had sold it or not. These rights could be in most instances signed off by the wife's consent at the time of sale.

In the South, there developed early an awareness that husbands too often abused their position. As protection, most seventeenth-century legislatures of the lower colonies passed laws stipulating that conveyances of real property by a married man were not legal unless his wife signed a document expressing her knowledge of and

acquiescence to the transaction. Also required was a private interview of the wife by a judicial officer before he witnessed her signature.[57] Northern colonies were much slower to adopt similar protections for women (for example: Connecticut, 1723; Pennsylvania, 1770; New York, 1771; and Massachusetts late in the nineteenth century).[58]

Law and society in seventeenth-to-nineteenth-century America placed restrictions on women that were deemed to be for their good. In the world view of that era, the "place" of women was part of the "God-given natural order." Blackstone's paternalistic comments in the last paragraph of the chapter "Rights of Husband and Wife" illustrate this idea:

> These are the chief legal effects of marriage during the coverture; upon which we may observe, that even the disabilities, which the wife lies under, are for the most part intended for her protection and benefit. So great a favourite is the female sex of the laws of England.[59]

Actual court cases—principally divorce actions that involved abuse or desertion—show that this paternalistic policy was evident in practice as well.[60] Such concepts and customs offend some twentieth-century ideals. However, a true understanding of both ancestral lives and national history requires the researcher to suspend personal and current ideology and accept the view of the place and time in which each ancestor lived.

Nowhere is this point more evident than in the laws governing family relationships. American legal concepts, born of a millennium-old system of common law, still reflect Blackstonian principles. As a crucial stronghold of society, grounded in the medieval world, modern common law strives to guard and protect society. Its architectural details have been continually updated; its facade is somewhat different from that Blackstone painted in the eighteenth century; but its continual buttressing has enabled it both to survive and to serve the vicissitudes of an ever-evolving world.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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1. *The Public and General Statute Laws of the State of Illinois* (Chicago: Stephen F. Gale, 1839); and William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England,* 4 vols. (1765–69; reprinted, Birmingham, Ala.: Legal Classics Library, 1983).Within the latter source, under "Notes from the Editors," the introduction to vol. 4 of the reprint edition, Thomas G. Barnes treats the importance of the "Blackstone barrister" to the American frontier, using Lincoln and Hastings as examples.

2. Thomas G. Barnes, *Hastings College of Law: The First Century* (San Francisco: Hastings College of Law, 1978), 25–42.

3. Albert A. Woldman, *Lawyer Lincoln* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1936), 7–15. The barrel story is related by John P. Frank, *Lincoln as Lawyer* (Urbana: Univ. of Ill. Press, 1961), 10–12. Frank expresses doubts about the tale. Barnes's introduction to Blackstone's *Commentaries* (4: 20) is inclined to accept it.

4. R. P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln,* 9 vols. (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1953–55), 3: 344 and 4: 121.

5. This reliance on previous judicial decisions as precedent for future decisions is a key characteristic of the common-law tradition. It contrasts with the civil-law practice of continental Europe, in which judges interpret legislative codes on the basis of scholarly writings about those codes.

6. This analogy is not the author's. It came from law-class lectures by Stephen Richardson that the author attended as a student at the J. Reuben Clark Law School, Brigham Young Univ., Provo, Utah.

7. Blackstone, *Commentaries,* 1: 38–63.

8. William Searle Holdsworth, *A History of English Law,* 17 vols. (London: Methuen, 1936–72), vol. 12 (1938), 702–37. Within ten years of the publication of the *Commentaries,* Blackstone's ideas, based on natural law and time-honored precedent, fell from favor in England under the attack of critics led by Jeremy Bentham, one of his former students. Bentham, a social philosopher, was the father of Utilitarianism, a philosophy that called for laws doing the greatest good for the greatest number, rather than those based upon ethereal ideas of natural law or archaic cases and concepts.

9. A search of early New England colonial statutes reveals none adopting English common law, although some used similar language. See, for example, *Laws of the State of Vermont* (Randolph: Sereno Wright, 1808), 51. For the transplanting of English common law to the colonies and various views among legal historians concerning it, see Richard B. Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law* (N.Y.: Octagon Books, 1974), 9–67; and Carole Shammas, Marylynn Salmon, and Michel Dahlin, *Inheritance in America From Colonial Times to the Present* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1987), 30–39.

10. Texas adopted common law by legislative act of 20 January 1840; see Ford W. Hall, "An Account of the Adoption of the Common Law by Texas," *Texas Law Review* 28 (June 1950): 80; and Edward Markham Jr., "The Reception of the Common Law of England in Texas and the Judicial Attitude toward That Reception, 1840–1859," *Texas Law Review* 29 (October 1951): 904. For Louisiana's legal tradition, see Moreau L. Lislet and Henry Carleton, trans., *The Laws of Las Siete Partidas Which Are Still in Force in the State of Louisiana,* 2 vols. (New Orleans: James M'Karaher, printer, 1820).

11. A legal *system* is a functioning sociopolitical unit with its own courts, laws, and procedural rules. A legal *tradition* is the composite of concepts and approaches to legal problems that form the conceptual foundation for legal systems.

12. *California Civil Code* (San Francisco: Matthew Bender, 1993), sec. 22.2, adopted 21 March 1872.

13. This diversity is discussed by Marylynn Salmon in the preface and first chapter of *Women and the Law of Property in Colonial America* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of N.C. Press, 1986), xi–xvii and 1–13.

14. Blackstone, *Commentaries,* 1: 119.

15. Ibid., 1: 410.

16. Ibid., 1: 421.

17. For example, see Brigham Young University Journal of Legal Studies, *Summary of Utah Family Law* (Provo: BYU Press, 1980), 3–17.

18. Blackstone, *Commentaries,* 1: 422–29.

19. For an extensive and enlightening discussion of cultural diversity among English immigrants, see David Hackett Fisher, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (N.Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), particularly 75–82, 281–86, 485–90, and 669–75.

20. Michael Grossberg, *Governing the Hearth: Law and Family in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of N.C. Press, 1985), 65–67.

21. William Kilty, *The Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis: Frederick Green, 1799), unpaginated (sess. of May 1717, chap. 15, sec. I).

22. For example, see John Haywood, *A Manual of the Laws of North Carolina,* 2 vols. (Raleigh: J. Gales, 1814), 1: 2–4 (acts of 1741, 1778); *Acts and Laws of His Majesty's Province of The Massachusetts-Bay in New England* (Boston: Samuel Kneeland and Timothy Green, 1742), 17 (acts of 1693); *A Collection of All the Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania: Now in Force* (Philadelphia: B. Franklin, 1742), 37 (acts of 1700); and *Laws of the State of Vermont,* 263–65 (acts of 1797).

23. For example, see *The Code of 1650: Being a Compilation of the Earliest Laws and Orders of the General Court of Connecticut* (Hartford: S. Andrus and Son, 1822), 67.

24. Fischer, *Albion's Seed,* 81.

25. Haywood, *Laws of North Carolina,* 2: 4 (acts of 1778).

26. Hans W. Baade, "The Form of Marriage in Spanish North America," *Cornell Law Review* 61 (November 1975): 1 and 5–19. For a contrasting view of French Louisiana, see Baade's informative essay in Alice Daly

Forsyth and Ghislaine Pleasonton, *Louisiana Marriage Contracts: A Compilation of Abstracts from Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana during the French Regime, 1725–1758* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1980), v–xvii. In Spanish La., British Americans tended to use marriage contracts as a substitute for the mandated marriage in the Catholic church.

27. For example, see Kilty, *Laws of Maryland* (May 1717 sess., chap. XV, sec. I); Haywood, *Laws of North Carolina,* 3 (acts of 1778); Isaiah Thomas, *The Perpetual Laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts* (Worcester: Isaiah Thomas, 1788), 255; *Laws of Pennsylvania,* 38 (acts of 1700); and *Laws of the State of Vermont,* 265 (laws of 1797).

28. Fischer, *Albion's Seed,* 485–90; Gordon L. Remington, "Quaker Marriage Evidences: Rhode Island Monthly Meeting, Newport, 1690–1743," *The American Genealogist* 67 (January 1992), 15–26.

29. *Laws of Pennsylvania,* 38 (acts of 1700).

30. Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I,* 2d ed., 2 vols. (1911; reprinted, Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1968), 2: 364–85.

31. Grossberg, *Governing the Hearth,* 66.

32. Sumner Chilton Powell, "Marriage in Early New England," *New England Quarterly* 1 (July 1928): 331.

33. Grossberg, *Governing the Hearth,* 67–75.

34. Kilty, *Laws of Maryland* (May 1717 sess., chap. XV, sec. I).

35. *Connecticut Code of 1650,* 67; *Acts and Laws of Massachusetts-Bay,* 17.

36. Grossberg, *Governing the Hearth,* 77.

37. Haywood, *Laws of North Carolina,* 2: 2. For a brief study of the laxity that attended the creation of N.C.'s colonial marriage bonds, see Helen F. M. Leary, "Bridal Names and Other 'Inconsequential' Details: A Statistical Glimpse of Legal Laxity in North Carolina," *National Genealogical Society [NGS] Quarterly* 81 (September 1993): 213–15.

38. Grossberg, *Governing the Hearth,* 93.

39. Under Catholic canon law, the prohibition of marriage between near relatives has extended to persons related by consanguinity within the fourth degree. This was determined by counting generations back to the common ancestor(s). Thus, if the groom and bride were the great-great-grandchildren (or any lesser-degree relationship) of a common ancestor, the marriage was prohibited, unless a dispensation (permission) was obtained from the bishop.

40. For example, see Thomas, *Perpetual Laws of Massachusetts,* 255; and Kilty, *Laws of Maryland* (acts of May 1717, chap. XIII, sec. V).

The common view that interracial marriages were illegal throughout the South is an assumption that needs correction, lest it lead genealogists astray. No colony proscribed these unions in the 17th century. Va. legislated against intermarriage in 1705, and La. followed in 1724; but Tenn. did not until the 1830s. S.C. passed no such act prior to the Civil War. N.C., from 1715, passed several acts imposing penalties upon officials who conducted interracial marriages but did not declare these unions null and void until 1830. Ala., in 1852, finally imposed penalties upon officials who performed interracial marriages—but not upon the parties who contracted these marriages; and it did not declare interracial unions null and void until after the post–Civil War period. See Gary B. Mills, CG, "Miscegenation and the Free Negro in Antebellum 'Anglo' Alabama: A Reexamination of Southern Race Relations," *Journal of American History* 68 (June 1981): 18–19; John Codman Hurd, *The Law of Freedom and Bondage in the United States,* 2 vols. (1858–62; reprint, N.Y.: Negro Universities Press, 1968), 1: 242; Eugene D. Genovese, "The Slave States of North America," in *Neither Slave Nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1972); Marina Wikramanayake, *A World in Shadow: The Free Black in Antebellum South Carolina* (Columbia: Univ. of S.C. Press), 13, 166; and John Hope Franklin, *The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790–1860* (1943; reprint, N.Y.: W. W. Norton, 1971).

For an example of legislative efforts to discourage Indian-white unions, see Haywood, *Laws of North Carolina,* 2: 4 (acts of 1741), which imposed fines upon officiating parties or spouses when an interracial marriage involved an Indian, Negro, mustee, or mulatto to the third generation (i.e., one-fourth blood degree).

Even when interracial marriages were legally prohibited or penalized, the laws were not necessarily enforced. See Virginia Easley DeMarce, "'Verry Slitly Mixt': Tri-Racial Isolate Families of the Upper South—A Genealogical Study," *NGS Quarterly* 80 (March 1992): 5–35; and DeMarce, "Looking at Legends—Lumbee and Melungeon: Applied Genealogy and the Origins of Tri-racial Isolate Settlements," *NGS Quarterly* 81 (March 1993): 24–45.

41. *Acts of Massachusetts-Bay,* 37 (acts of 1693) and 68 (acts of 1695); James Bisset, *Abridgement and Collection of the Acts of the Province of Maryland at Present in Force* (Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1759), 14; and *Laws of Pennsylvania,* 37 (acts of 1701).

42. Grossberg, *Governing the Hearth,* 77.

43. For example, see Bisset, *Acts of Maryland,* 19; Kilty, *Laws of Maryland* (acts of May 1717, chap. XV, secs. I and III); *Laws of Vermont,* 264, 268, 272; Charles Williams, *The Compiled Statutes of the State of Ver-mont* (Burlington: Chauncey Goodrich, 1851), 393; and *Laws of Pennsylvania,* 37, 401.

44. Blackstone, *Commentaries,* 1: 428–29.

45. Matthew Bacon, *A New Abridgement of the Law, First American Edition from Sixth London Edition, with Additions of English and American Decisions by Henry Gwillim and Bird Wilson* (Philadelphia: Farrand and Nicolas, 1813), 554–56.

46. Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property,* 58–63.

47. *Laws of Pennsylvania,* 47–51 (acts of 1705).

48. Bacon, *A New Abridgement of the Law,* 554–56.

49. *Acts and Laws of Massachusetts-Bay,* 67.

50. Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property,* 61–63.

51. See, for example, *Laws of Vermont,* 266–67, 270.

52. In Tenn., for example, the same 1799 legislation that authorized judicial divorces granted three private bills of divorce. See *Laws of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville: George Roulstone, 1803), 195–97.

53. For a sampling of the type of material to be found in these legislative papers, see Gale Williams Bamman, CG, and Debbie W. Spero, *Tennessee Divorces, 1797–1858* (Nashville: Privately printed, 1985).

54. An example of a self-executed divorce in an area where the law provided for none is found in Elizabeth Shown Mills, "*Teal* vs. *Brown:* The Do-It-Yourself Divorce," *Louisiana Genealogical Register* 25 (March 1978): 92.

55. Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property,* 59. Bamman and Spero, *Tennessee Divorces,* offer illustrative cases of bigamy.

56. Blackstone, *Commentaries,* 1: 430; see also 431.

57. Ibid., 1: 430–31. N.C. was an exception. Tenn., which was cut from N.C., initially permitted husbands to sell real property without the wife's consent.

58. Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property,* 14–57, provides an excellent discussion of the impact of this legal doctrine on the rights of women in colonial America, as well as subsequent changes to assist and protect women.

59. Blackstone, *Commentaries,* 1: 433.

60. Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property,* 62–63.

Thwarting the Laws That Part "True Lovers"

Delilah Revel v. *Nicholas Lewis, Samuel W. W. Vick and Sparling B. Lewis,*
Nash Co., N.C., Equity Court, 1834

Petition of Delilah Revel "a free woman of color . . . within the fourth degree." About November 1831, her husband, Humphrey Revel, a free man of color, died leaving her with a dower interest in land and personal property (slaves and money) valued at $2,600. Soon after, a white man named "Nicholas Lewis, being an unprincipled adventurer after property, and somewhat embarrassed in his circumstances, and designing to get the absolute possession and ownership" of her inheritance "paid his addresses as a suitor . . . using every act calculated to captivate and allure a woman whose condition in life society had assigned so much beneath his own; he won her regard and offered to marry her. Your oratrix objected against the proposal, [citing] the inequality of their respective grades, but the defendant most strenuously protested against that as sufficient cause to part true lovers; and with . . . deceit and hypocrisy . . . affirmed from time to time that they might be lawfully married, notwithstanding some rumors to the contrary. . . . About 8 or 10 months after the death of her husband, the defendant and your oratrix left the county of Nash and proceeded to the town of Tarboro to be married . . . the defendant having procured a license for that purpose, the marriage ceremony was duly performed by one Henry Austin, a justice of the peace."

—Contributed by Joanna McDaniel

Law of the Land *v.* Copycat Genealogies: What Proves Asahel Drake's Parentage?

By Gordon L. Remington*

Once genealogical waters have been muddied by erroneous information, how can genealogists clarify them? Establishing a clear and convincing argument for one published account over another usually means that further evidence must be brought to bear on the problem. In New England, arguably, great potential exists in the land records—which genealogists have long neglected in favor of the more-convenient vital records—and in the interpretation of laws.

Genealogists often confront conflicting versions of their ancestry, particularly when the family lived in an area where printed genealogical material abounds. The problem is acute for northeastern-American families, because that region has led the country in compiling and publishing genealogies. Unfortunately, the trend began when access to original records was limited and standards of proof were minimal—or deemed unnecessary. Corrective efforts are common among modern genealogists who insist on sound evidence, and many lineage societies now require new research to verify formerly accepted lines.

Yet despite the best efforts of today's family historians, erroneous information survives. Earlier mistakes have been repeated in new publications or revived in reprints until they have become widely accepted. Even when specific errors are challenged in print, the corrective work is often overlooked by those who do not review the literature thoroughly, or it is ignored by those who judge the validity of assertions by the number of times they appear in print.

Once genealogical waters have been muddied by erroneous information, how can genealogists clarify them? Establishing a clear and convincing argument for one published account over another usually means that further evidence must be brought to bear on the problem. In New England, arguably, great potential exists in the land records—which genealogists have long neglected in favor of the more-convenient vital records—and in the interpretation of laws affecting those records.

THE PROBLEM

Asahel Drake, who was born 24 June 1722 in Windsor, Connecticut, and died 1813 in Bedford County, Pennsylvania,[1] provides a classic example of how an error, once published, continues to be duplicated—even though correct information has long been in print.

Seven different versions of the family exist, variously making Asahel the son of either Jacob[5] (Jacob[4], Job[3,2], John[1]), whose vital dates are 1705–71, or of Jacob[5]'s father, Jacob[4], 1685–1762. In chronological sequence, from the most recent to the earliest, these accounts can be summarized as follows:

1. The Family History Library's Ancestral File (August 1992 and February 1994 versions) lists Asahel as a son of Jacob[5] and his first wife, Hannah Loomis (parents not given). The second wife of Jacob[5] is then presented as his first cousin, Catharine Porter (Mary[4] Drake, Job[3,2], John[1]), whom Jacob[5] married 10 January 1727.[2]
2. The Fyler-Filer genealogy (published 1992) assigns Asahel to Jacob[5] and a first wife Hannah (surname unknown), who is said to have died 6 July 1722, shortly after Asahel's birth.[3]
3. The Drake genealogy (published 1933) makes Asahel the son of Jacob[4] and his wife Hannah[4] Loomis (Thomas[3,2], Joseph[1]) of Windsor, Connecticut. This Hannah's date of death is also given as 6 July 1722.[4]
4. The Kelsey genealogy (published 1928) cites Asahel as son of Jacob[5] Drake and Catharine Porter, who is listed as Jacob's only wife.[5]
5. The Porter genealogy (published 1893) assigns Asahel to Jacob[5] Drake and Catharine Porter and gives Asahel's date of birth as 24 June 1727, instead of 1722.[6]
6. Stiles's history of Windsor (published 1892, reprinted 1976) makes Asahel the son of Jacob[5] by first wife Hannah (surname unknown), who is said to have died 6 July 1722.[7]
7. The Loomis genealogy (published 1880) also gives Asahel as the son of Jacob[5] by first wife Hannah (surname unknown), who died 6 July 1722.[8]

Of these seven representations, six assert that Asahel was the son of Jacob[5] Drake. Only the Drake genealogy assigns him to Jacob[4]. While all versions render Asahel's surname line the same, the conflicting data create the following variations on his maternity and maternal ancestry:

- son of Hannah[4] Loomis, wife of Jacob[4] Drake (Drake genealogy)
- son of Hannah Loomis (unknown parents), the first wife of Jacob[5] Drake and a different woman from Hannah[4] Loomis (LDS Ancestral File)
- son of Hannah [—?—], first wife of Jacob[5] Drake (Loomis, Fyler, and Windsor books)
- son of Catharine Porter, only wife of Jacob[5] Drake (Porter and Kelsey genealogies)

The published confusion is compounded by differences in the children assigned to Jacob[4] and Hannah (Loomis) Drake. The seven sources assign them the following offspring:[9]

CHILD	BIRTHDATE	DRAKE GENEALOGY	OTHER ACCOUNTS
Jacob	27 May 1705	x	x
Hannah	3 January 1706/07	x	x
Aaron	25 November 1710	x	x
Job	6 November 1714	x	–
Asahel	24 June 1722	x	–

Again, the Drake genealogy differs from the rest in citing five children. In all other accounts, Jacob[4] fathered only three. Asahel is assigned by them to Jacob[5]. Job, born 1714, is nowhere mentioned.

Two problems are immediately obvious with the theory that Asahel was the son of Jacob[5]—one chronological, one relational.

- If the agreed-upon birthdate of Jacob[5] is correct, he was barely seventeen years old when Asahel was born on 24 June 1722 and no older than sixteen when he wed Hannah. While not impossible, marriage at sixteen would have been *highly* unusual for a male in eighteenth-century New England.
- Asahel Drake's daughter Rhoda, born 15 August 1747, is identified in the Drake genealogy as the wife of her cousin, Jacob[6] Drake, born 23 March 1732/3, son of Jacob[5] and Catharine Porter.[10] If, as the other versions of the family allege, Asahel were the son of Jacob[5], then his daughter Rhoda married her *half-uncle,* not her cousin. First-cousin marriage seems to have been tolerated in eighteenth-century Connecticut; but a marriage between a niece and her uncle, even a half-uncle, has long been proscribed.[11]

ANALYSIS OF THE PUBLISHED MATERIAL

The specific dates of birth, death, and marriage given in all versions of the Jacob[4] and Jacob[5] families suggest that the information was compiled from Windsor's vital records. However, the fact that this core data gave birth to such conflicting interpretations emphasizes the importance of weighing New England's immensely popular vital records against all other available resources. That point is considered in the following analysis of the various accounts.

Loomis Genealogy (1880)

This work, which cites no origins for its data, appears to be the source of all versions of the family that assign Asahel Drake to Jacob[5]. Therefore, a scrutiny of its reconstructed family for Jacob[4] is critical to understanding how the error developed.[12]

NO. 155 DRAKE FAMILY

Hannah Loomis, b. Oct. 9, 1685, m. Jacob Drake June 28, 1704. He d. Jan 20, 1762. Windsor, Ct.

1. Jacob, b. May 27, 1705, m. 1st, Hannah—, who d. July 6, 1722; m. 2d, Catharine Porter Jan. 10, 1727. He d. Sept. 11, 1771.
2. Hannah, b. Jan. 3, 1706 [1706/07], m. Benjamin Case Nov. 10, 1743. She d. July 9, 1760.
3. Aaron, b. Nov. 25, 1710, d. Aug. 30, 1735.

FIFTH GENERATION

Children of JACOB DRAKE (1), *Windsor, Ct.*

4. Asahel, b. June 24, 1722, m. Damaris Kelly Feb. 7, 1744–5. Troy, N.Y.[13]
5. Catharine, b. July 5, 1729.

6. Jacob, b. March 23, 1732–3.
7. Aaron, b. Aug. 30, 1735, m. Clotilda Gillett July 21, 1757.
8. John, b. Oct. 27, 1739.
9. Sarah, b. Dec. 12, 1741.
10. Hepzibah, b. Jan. 27, 1744–5.
11. Hannah, b. Nov. 13, 1746.

Child of HANNAH (DRAKE) CASE (2), *Windsor*

12. Zenas, b. June 5, 1748, m. Mary Loomis March 2, 1769.

Porter Genealogy (1893)

The author of the Porter work, following Loomis by thirteen years, resolves the problem of Jacob[5]'s precocious fatherhood by giving Asahel a birthdate of 24 June 1727. Thus, he became the son of Catharine Porter. This "solution" created its own problem, making Asahel himself not quite seventeen years old when he married Damaris Kelsey in February 1744/5.[14]

Kelsey Genealogy (1928)

A generation later, the Kelsey compilers further confused the issue. Citing their "authorities" for Asahel's information as "Hartford, Conn. Town Records," "Loomis Genealogy, female lines," "Porter Genealogy," and "Stiles' Ancient Windsor,"[15] they apparently took various elements of each and attempted to reconcile them. They repeat the assertion that Asahel was the son of Jacob[5] Drake by wife Catharine Porter. They correct Asahel's birthdate, moving it back to 24 June 1722. But they do not date the parental marriage—an event the other printed sources attribute to 10 January 1727/8, five years after Asahel's birth.

Drake Genealogy (1933)

As the lone dissenter to the general conclusion that Asahel was the son of Jacob[5], this work cites not only the vital records but also other materials—chiefly probate records and a few deeds. In the case of Asahel, it includes the will of Jacob[4]. Dated 1 August 1754 and proved 23 February 1762, that record mentions, among others, "my son Asahel Drake" and "Asahel . . . Minor & Son to my Son Asahel."[16] Balanced against the conflicting views, Drake's combination of vital records and will evidence does lend weight to its presentation of Asahel's parentage.

To his detriment, however, the Drake author errs otherwise. Echoing the prevailing theory on another major matter, he reports the family's English ancestry as the Drakes of Devon—a link modern scholarship refutes.[17]

Fyler-Filer Genealogy (1992)

The preface to this recent study states that it "contains information from many sources. Stiles History of Ancient Windsor, . . . many Family Genealogies . . . etc."[18] It then offers no reference citations within the individual genealogical sections, nor any endnotes or bibliography to indicate specific sources for the Drake family

information. The similarity of presentation implies that most of the information was drawn from Stiles's *Ancient Windsor.*

The Fyler author evidently did *not* consult the 1933 Drake genealogy. More curiously, the 1992 Fyler work also overlooks the corrections of this family's English origins that appeared in major sources within the prior four years.

REEXAMINING THE ORIGINAL SOURCES

To appraise the relative reliability of the varied versions, one must reexamine the records from which these accounts were drawn and weigh the degree to which they accurately reflect and correctly interpret the evidence. The original vital records of Windsor present the evidence in a quite straightforward manner:[19]

FIRST BOOK WINDSOR BIRTHS MARRIAGES & DEATHS

p. 55 Jacob Drake, son of Job Drake, and Hannah Loomis Daughter of Thomas Loomis were Married June 28th 1704[20]

WINDSOR TOWN BOOK FOR THE RECORDING OF BIRTHS MARRIAGES & DEATHS IN JULY THE 14TH: ANNOQE DOM: 1704 DATED SEPT: 7TH: 1720 . . . Timothy Loomis Regist[r]

p. 8 [Note: The following entries are abstracted from the registrar's list of children whose surnames begin with the letter *D*. The original is not formatted in whole-family groups or in strict chronological sequence.]

Jacob son of Jacob Drake was Born May 27 1705
Hannah Daughter of Jacob Drake was Born January th[e] 3[d] 1706/07
Aaron Son of Jacob Drake was Born November 25 1710
Job son of Jacob Drake was Born November th[e] 6th 1714
Asahel, Son of Jacob Drake was born June the 24th A Dom 1722

p. 87 Hannah, wife of Jacob Drake Dyed July the 6th Anno: Dom: 1722

The registers include no other Hannah who married a Jacob Drake and no other Hannah Drake who died in 1722. By comparison, the Loomis genealogy of 1880 and the Fyler genealogy of 1992 aver

- two marriages of women named Hannah to males named Jacob Drake—Hannah Loomis to Jacob[4] and Hannah [—?—] to Jacob[5]. (Loomis and Fyler)
- two Hannahs who died in 1722—although the specific date of 6 July is assigned only to the wife of Jacob[5]. (Fyler.)

The erroneous cloning of Hannah Loomis is obvious—first by the Loomis author and then by all who copied him. Why Loomis did so is a matter of conjecture. Perhaps he felt the gap between the births of Aaron in 1710 and Asahel in 1722 (he made no mention of the Job born in 1714) was too great for Aaron and Asahel to have been children of the same parents.

Clearly, only one of the seven published accounts of this family—the Drake genealogy—accurately identifies the parents of Asahel. The situation is common: the first author made an error; and those who copied from his work perpetuated the

error, without making independent assessments of the evidence. Unfortunately, at least three of the perpetuations are recent issues—the 1992 Fyler book and the reprints of the 1892 Windsor history and 1908 Loomis genealogy—and are probably more accessible and more widely available than the correct Drake account.

SOUNDER EVIDENCE

Today's stringent standards of proof require genealogists to go beyond the vital records that contradict the Loomis work and support the Drake book. Even Drake, which offers the Jacob[4] will, gives short shrift to probate records. Missing from all accounts are the principles of colonial intestacy laws and particulars of the existing land evidence—both of which clearly make the case for Asahel's parentage.

Probates

Three family members are prime candidates for wills and estate records that might include Asahel. The Drake genealogy cites one, the 1754 will of Jacob[4] (proved 1762), which reads in part:

> Item 2 I give to my son Asahel Drake one Shilling Lawfull money and the reason why I Give to my son Asahel no more is because my son Job Drake hath already Paid him his Portion.... [Also 12 shillings to] my grandson Asahel Drake Minor & Son to my Son Asahel Drake . . . when s[d] Asahel shall arive to th[e] full age of Twenty One years.[21]

A second candidate is the father of Jacob[4]'s wife, Hannah. That man, Thomas Loomis, died in 1746,[22] but he left no will or other known record that names his Drake grandchildren. Similarly, when Jacob[5] Drake died on 11 September 1771, he left no will; but a distribution of his estate on 26 December 1771 mentions the following heirs:[23]

widow	Katherine Drake
son	Jacob Drake
son	Aron Drake
daughter	Katherine, wife of Silas Fyler
daughter	Sarah, wife of Benjamin Newberry
daughter	Hephziba Drake
daughter	Hannah Drake

If Asahel Drake were the son of Jacob[5] Drake, he should have been mentioned in this distribution. His omission is further evidence that he was not the son of Jacob[5].

Conveyances

Eight Windsor deeds, when their details are properly compared, indisputably establish Asahel as the son and heir of Jacob[4].

(1)
On 16 June 1730, Thomas Loomis and Gershom Loomis, both of Windsor, sold to "Sergt Jacob Drake of Windsor" the following tract for 42£:[24]

a certain lot of land lying in said Windsor which was laid out to the said Thomas Loomis in the devision of the mile and half mile of said Windsor Town Commons being the Lott Number 257 . . . in quantity [36.75] acres . . . and in bredth [36.75] rods . . . and in Length East and west half a mile as it is bounded

North on land of Jedediah Watson
East on a highway
South on land laid out to Isaac Pinneys heirs
West on Simsbury

(2)
On 1 August 1732, the identity of this "Sergt Jacob Drake" is clarified. Having held the land just two years, he reconveyed it to "Aaron Drake of said Windsor" whom he called "my son"—for and in consideration of labor done by Aaron "since he hath arived to the age of Twenty one years."[25] As previously shown from the vital records, Aaron, son of Jacob[4] Drake and Hannah Loomis, was born 25 November 1710. He turned twenty-one scarcely nine months before "Sergt Jacob's" 1732 deed.

(3)
On 19 January 1732/33, young Aaron expanded this tract of 36.75 acres, adding to the north end another piece of 23.5 acres, which he purchased from Jedediah Watson.[26]

(4)
By 14 June 1738, Aaron had died. On that day, "Jacob Drake, Junior" purchased for 112£ from Cornelius Phelps and wife Sarah a tract of land in Windsor that they described as "the Lott Laid out to our Honour[d] father John Mansfield, Dec[d]," bounded on the south by "the Lott Laid out to Jed: Watson & *now belonging to the Heirs of Aaron Drake Dec[d]*."[27]

At Aaron's death, the land passed to his heirs—but who were they? The last two groups of relevant deeds provide the answer:

(5, 6)
On 20 September 1743, Jacob Drake and "Job Drake, Junior," sold to Asahel Drake and Hannah Drake (all of Windsor) for 270£ in "old tenor bills" a parcel of 8.5 acres in Windsor at a place called Plymouth Meadows.[28] On the same day and for the same sum, Asahel Drake and Hannah Drake [who is not called *wife*] sold to "Job Drake, Junior," one half of "a Certain piece or percel of Land lying in Windsor in th[e] parish of Wintonbury as it lieth *in Common & undivided with* Jacob Drake Jun[r] & th[e] said Job Drake Jun[r]," bounded as follows:[29]

North: Jacob Drake Jun[r]
South: Isaac Pinney's heirs
East: on a highway
West: on Deacon Samuel Case's Land in Part & part on Benjamin Case

(7, 8)
On 11 November 1743, Hannah Drake, daughter of Jacob[4] and Hannah Loomis, married Benjamin Case at neighboring Simsbury.[30] In separate deeds dated 6 December 1746 and 4 April 1747, Asahel Drake and Benjamin and Hannah Case sold this 8.5-acre parcel at Plymouth Meadows to Caleb Phelps.[31]

The land sold by Thomas Loomis to "Sergt Jacob Drake" in 1730—then conveyed by Jacob to his son Aaron in 1732, enlarged by Aaron in 1733, and subsequently inherited by Aaron's heirs in 1738—is clearly identical to that sold in 1743 by Asahel Drake and Hannah Drake to Jacob Drake Junior and Job Drake Junior. Only the north boundary changed in the interval, as the following table shows:

	1730 AND 1732	1733	1738 AND 1743
North	Jedediah Watson	John Mansfield	Jacob Drake Jr.
East	Highway	Highway	Highway
South	Isaac Pinney's heirs	Isaac Pinney's heirs	Isaac Pinney's heirs
West	Simsbury	Simsbury	Samuel & Benjamin Case (residents of Simsbury)

Probate Law

This land, through its descent, defines a number of relationships. The four owners of 1743 were siblings and the "forced heirs" of a landowner who died unmarried, childless, and intestate (i.e., the heirs designated by law for this class of intestate person). The deceased was clearly Aaron[5] Drake (died 20 May 1734).[32] Thus all were the children of Jacob[4] and Hannah (Loomis) Drake and the grandchildren of Thomas Loomis, the 1730 owner. Confirmation of these relationships exists within Connecticut's colonial inheritance laws.[33] Two points of the laws particularly need to be considered: *(a) what inheritance rights did married women have?* and *(b) who is entitled to inherit from a childless, unmarried, intestate landowner?*

A. MARRIED WOMEN. Prior to 1723, property brought by a woman into marriage or inherited by her after marriage became the husband's, for him to sell without his wife's consent or dower release. After that date, a wife had to acknowledge the sale of inherited property. Property owned by the husband at marriage or acquired by him during the marriage did not require dower release either before or after 1723.[34]

The application of law to the above land transactions immediately clarifies one potentially debatable relationship. Although Hannah is coupled with Asahel in the 1743 document, the fact that she was not his wife is established by the manner in which the land is divided. The 1743 land exchange states that Asahel and Hannah owned *half* of a tract held "in Common & undivided" with Jacob and Job Drake. Had Hannah been Asahel's wife, the two would have been one legal entity. Thus, there would have been *three* common owners of the property (Asahel, Jacob, and Job), not four, and Asahel would have owned just one third. The fact that Asahel and Hannah held *half,* while Job and Jacob held half, signifies that Hannah was an equal heir with Asahel, Job, and Jacob—possessed of property in her own right.

Consideration of Connecticut's legal code regarding women and property also explains seeming disparities between the structures of the 1746 and 1747 deeds, wherein Hannah signed with her husband but Asahel did not sign with his wife. Because Hannah brought the 8.5 acres at Plymouth Meadows into her marriage with Benjamin Case, she was required to sign and acknowledge the 1747 deed with him. On the other hand, Asahel's wife was not required to sign or acknowledge the 1746 deed for land that Asahel owned at the time of their 1744/45 marriage.

B. HEIRS OF A CHILDLESS AND UNMARRIED INTESTATE. At the time of Aaron's death, Connecticut's intestacy law was under challenge in England. Written in 1699, it stipulated: "If there be no wife all shall be distributed among the children, and if no child to the next of kin to the intestate in equall degrees."[35]

It is evident that Aaron's four siblings—Jacob, Hannah, Job, and Asahel—inherited his land when he died; but what about his father Jacob[4], who was still alive? The legal language of the 1699 law as to "next of kin" does not define them. The answer is found in English common law, whereby the exclusion of parents from inheriting real property of a deceased child was a well-established principle. According to one leading English legal scholar: "The rule is clear enough as early as Glanvil's day [pre-1190]; but neither he nor Bracton [pre-1268] attempt to explain it. They can only say that an inheritance, like a heavy body, cannot fall upwards."[36] The application of this legal principle in colonial Connecticut may have been implicit in the 1699 statute.

The last of the suits contesting Connecticut's inheritance laws was dismissed in 1745 under a legal technicality, and Connecticut took this as confirmation of its statutes. Thus, its code of 1750 specifies:[37]

> The Lands and Real Estates of Persons Dying Intestate in this Colony, by Ancient, and Immemorial Custom, and Common Consent of the People have Descended to, and among the Children, or next of Kin of such Intestate, as heirs of such Intestate.

The 1750 law also neglects to define "next of kin." Recent scholarship on the practice of that law, however, reveals that in the absence of a widow or children, the decedent's siblings shared equally in the estate. Living parents generally were excluded from heirship.[38] The 1750 law also states that its provisions for intestacies were based on "immemorial custom," implying that—regardless of the contention over the earlier act—common-law principles applied in Connecticut between 1699 and 1750.

Thus, as the deeds imply, when Aaron[5] Drake died in 1734, his real property descended to his siblings Jacob, Hannah, Job, and Asahel—even though his father, Jacob[4] Drake, was still alive.

CONCLUSION

Seven versions of Asahel's parentage are already available to researchers. Six agree on the father; one disagrees. Collectively, they propose four different theories

for his mother and assign him two different birthdates. On all these major points, the 1933 Drake genealogy is correct. The dissenters err. Given the fact that Asahel's birth family has been correctly in print for more than sixty years, why has the present Draconian exercise been necessary? Because modern genealogists still disbelieve, or ignore, the correct account.

Error, no matter how often repeated, remains an error. The weight of evidence must be determined by the *worth* of the evidence, not by the number of times a given statement appears in print. When truth seems outweighed by the force of repetition, then additional evidence often must be found to properly balance the scales.

The problem is one faced by numerous genealogists. The methods and sources used in this paper can be applied by many of them with equally effective results—i.e.: (1) evaluate the bases of the previously published claims; (2) track each back to the sources it used; (3) reexamine whatever original material was previously used, to verify that it was correctly and fully interpreted; (4) identify any extant primary records that have been overlooked; and (5) analyze the body of evidence in terms of contemporary law.[39]

NOTES

*Post Office Box 11685; Salt Lake City, UT 84147. Mr. Remington, a fellow of the Utah Genealogical Association and past editor of its journal, is a professional genealogist and an eighth-generation descendant of Asahel[5] Drake.

1. Frank B. Gay, *The Descendants of John Drake of Windsor, Connecticut* (Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle Co., 1933), 67. Asahel Drake married Damaris Kelsey on 7 February 1744/45 at Hartford. He moved to Canaan, Columbia Co., N.Y., by 1790, thence to Plymouth, Luzerne Co., Pa. He died on 8 April 1813 at Bedford, Bedford Co., Pa.

2. The February 1994 version of the Ancestral File was released briefly and then withdrawn.

3. Jean Fyler Arnold, *The Fyler-Filer Family Genealogy and History with Over 900 Related Founding Families,* 2 vols. (Franklin, N.C.: Genealogy Publishing Service, 1992), 1: 421, 424.

4. Gay, *Descendants of John Drake,* 42–43.

5. Edward A. Claypool, Azalea Clizbee, and Earl Leland Kelsey, *A Genealogy of the Descendants of William Kelsey,* 3 vols. (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse, and Taylor Co., 1928–47), 1: 208–9.

6. Henry Porter Andrews, *The Descendants of John Porter of Windsor, Conn., 1635–39* (Saratoga Springs, N.Y.: G.W. Ball, 1893), 120–21. Catharine Porter was Jacob[5] Drake's first cousin, being a daughter of John Porter and Mary[4] Drake (Job[2-3], John[1]).

7. Henry R. Stiles, *The History and Genealogies of Ancient Windsor, Connecticut; Including East Windsor, South Windsor, Bloomfield, Windsor Locks, and Ellington, 1635–1891,* 2 vols. (Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Brainard, 1892), 2: 179, 180.

8. Elias Loomis, *The Descendants [By the Female Branches] of Joseph Loomis* (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse and Taylor, 1880), 390. This work is a companion volume to the author's first work, *Descendants of Joseph Loomis* (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor, 1875). Elisha Scott Loomis issued a revision of the original under the title *Descendants of Joseph Loomis in America and His Antecedents in the Old World* (Berea, Ohio: Privately printed, 1908), for which a modern reprint exists (Fresno, Calif.: John E. Loomis, 1981).

9. The 1908 revision of the Loomis genealogy also gives Jacob and Hannah only the first three children; see particularly p. 137.

10. Gay, *Descendants of John Drake,* 67.

11. New Englanders generally adhered to biblical law in forbidding marriage between persons within "three degrees" of relationship—basing this calculation on the proscriptions implied in Leviticus 18 and 20. The same calculation allowed for first-cousin marriage. See Michael Grossberg, *Governing the Hearth: Law and the Family in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ. of N.C. Press, 1985), 110–13, for a general discussion of kinship restrictions on marriage. See also Tapping Reeve, *The Law of Baron and Femme* (1862; reprinted, N.Y.:

Source Book Press, 1970), 316–19, for an explanation of how degrees of relationship are calculated, with a specific example of an uncle-niece marriage versus a first-cousin marriage.

12. Loomis, *Descendants [By the Female Branches] of Joseph Loomis*, 390.

13. Loomis's statement that Asahel Drake lived at Troy, N.Y., might be explained by Troy's relative proximity (about 35 miles) to Canaan, Columbia Co., where Asahel actually lived.

14. Ironically, if the *Porter Genealogy* was trying to cover up a perceived illegitimacy by moving Asahel's birth to 24 June *1727*—five and a half months after the stated marriage date of his alleged parents (10 January 1727), the compilers should have examined the original marriage record. The entry states: "Jacob Drake & Kathrien Porter, both of Windsor, were married January 10th A Dom: *1727/8*" [italics added]—i.e., six and a half months *after* Asahel's "adjusted" birthdate. See Windsor Vital Records, 2:51.

15. Claypool et al., *Descendants of William Kelsey*, 1: 209.

16. Gay, *Descendants of John Drake*, 43. The others mentioned in the will were sons Jacob and Job; daughter Hannah, wife of Benjamin Case; grandson Zenas Case, minor son of Benjamin Case; and Abi Fyler, minor daughter of Silas and Catharine Fyler.

17. For many years, John[1] Drake of Windsor was thought to be the son of William Drake of Wiscombe Parke, Devon; through him the family claimed descent from a number of Magna Carta sureties as well as a royal descent from Edward I. Robert Charles Anderson challenged this ancestry in "Some Doubts About the Parentage of John[1] Drake of Windsor, Connecticut," *The American Genealogist* 63 (July 1988): 193–206, and "Drake Re-dux," *TAG* 65 (April 1990): 87–88. The first article gives a thorough review of the history of the problem. John[1] Drake's true origin in Warwickshire, as discovered by Douglas Richardson in 1991, is given in Frederick Lewis Weis and Walter Lee Sheppard Jr., FASG, *Ancestral Roots of Certain American Colonists Who Came to America before 1700*, 7th ed. rev. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1992), 196–97.

18. Arnold, *Fyler-Filer Family*, 1: xiii.

19. Windsor Vital Records, 1: 55; 2: 8, 87, microfilm 1316427, Family History Library, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

20. There is no other marriage of a Jacob Drake to a Hannah prior to 1722 in Windsor or in Lucius Barnes Barbour's "Index of Connecticut Vital Records Prior to 1850" [a.k.a., the "Barbour Collection"] (microfilmed MS., Conn. State Library, Hartford).

21. Hartford Probate Dist., packet no. 1749, Conn. State Library, Hartford; this record is also available on microfilm1020579 of the Family History Library.

22. At the marriage of Hannah Loomis to Jacob Drake, she is called "Daughter of Thomas Loomis"; see Windsor Vital Records, 1: 55. The Barbour Index shows two births of a Hannah Loomis, with a father Thomas Loomis, in Conn.; the first, born 8 February 1657/58, would have been forty-six years old in June 1704. The other Hannah, born 9 October 1685, is a more-likely candidate for the mother of five children born between 1705 and 1722. Given these age factors and the associations in the 1727 deed discussed in the text, it is obvious that the second Hannah is the wife of Jacob Drake. See also Loomis, *Descendants of Joseph Loomis in America*, 137, for the family of Thomas[3] Loomis.

23. Hartford Probate Dist., bound records, 21: 149–50 (reverse).

24. Windsor Deeds, 6: 34, acknowledged and recorded on the same day. This Thomas Loomis was probably Thomas[3] Loomis, the father-in-law of Jacob[4] Drake. Thomas[4] Loomis, brother-in-law of Jacob[4] Drake, was married and living in Bolton, Tolland Co., by 1727 and was still living in that town at the time of this deed. See Loomis, *Descendants of Joseph Loomis*, 35. Gershom Loomis was Thomas[3] Loomis's youngest son.

25. Windsor Deeds, 6: 111, acknowledged and recorded same day.

26. Windsor Deeds, 6: 124, acknowledged and recorded same day.

27. Windsor Deeds, 7: 104, acknowledged and recorded same day. Italics added.

28. Windsor Deeds, 7: 261, acknowledged and recorded same day.

29. Windsor Deeds, 8: 210, acknowledged and recorded same day. The parish of Wintonbury is now the town of Bloomfield. Italics added.

"Job Drake, Junior," was Job[5], born 1714 to Jacob[4] and Hannah Loomis; he was called *Junior* to distinguish him from his elder first cousin, Job[5] (Job[4,3,2], John[1]), born 1703/04. "Jacob Drake, Junior" was undoubtedly Jacob[5] Drake, born 1705, son of Jacob[4] and Hannah Loomis.

30. Simsbury Town Records, 3: 198.

31. Windsor Deeds, 7: 349 (acknowledged 6 December 1746, recorded 4 February 1746/47), and 8: 272 (acknowledged 4 April 1747, recorded 8 June 1749).

32. Windsor Vital Records, 2: 87.

33. These deeds also make clear that Jacob[4] and Hannah (Loomis) Drake were the parents of the Job[5] Drake, born 1714, who is entirely left out of all Loomis genealogies, as well as Stiles's *Ancient Windsor* and *Fyler-Filer Family*. According to Gay's Drake genealogy (pp. 66–67), Job[5] (Jacob[4]) married Hannah Goodrich in 1749 and left descendants. Both *Ancient Windsor* (2: 181) and *Fyler-Filer Family* (p. 422) present Hannah Goodrich as the wife of Job's third cousin—also a Job[5] (Jeremiah[4], Job[3], John[2,1]), born 1725. This error is made even though Gay (p. 47) demonstrates by probate records that the younger Job[5] died in the French and Indian War in 1756, intestate and unmarried.

34. See Marsha Hoffman Rising, "Researching Women in Land Conveyances: Groton, Connecticut, Deeds, Volume 5, 1743–1760," *The American Genealogist* 69 (January 1994): 15–21.

35. Charles J. Hoadly, *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, From August 1689, to May, 1706* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood and Brainard, 1868), 308. See also Charles M. Andrews, *The Connecticut Intestacy Law,* Tercentary Series no. 2 (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1933), 6, 27–28.

36. Sir William Holdsworth, *A History of English Law,* 17 vols. (London: Methuen and Co., 1936–72); see particularly vol. 3 (1971), 175–77. Ranulf de Glanvil (died 1190) and Henry de Bracton (died 1268) were two English judges whose collections of English customs and laws are considered the foundations of English legal scholarship.

37. *Acts and Laws of His Majesty's English Colony of Connecticut in New England in America* (New London, 1750), as cited in John Frederick Dorman, "Colonial Laws of Primogeniture," 1980 World Conference on Records, Salt Lake City, published as a leaflet (Salt Lake: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1980), I–12: 3.

38. Toby L. Ditz, *Property and Kinship: Inheritance in Early Connecticut 1750–1820* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1986), 49, 53.

39. Ironically, the compiler of *Fyler-Filer Family* states on the copyright page, "Any part of this book may be copied by family researchers and genealogists *provided the source is notified and given due recognition.*" If only *she* had cited her sources—and checked them against all available literature (in this case the 1933 Drake genealogy and the 1988–90 corrections of the alleged Devon Drake ancestry)—these and possibly other errors would not have been repeated.

Another Genealogical Opportunity to Identify Heirs via Analysis of the Law and Tracking of the Land

[Marshall County, Alabama, Probate Minutes, March 1836–December 1839: 3–4]

"NONCUPATIVE WILL OF JACK LAR__ [ILLEGIBLE] IN FOLLOWING MANNER: The oldest child to have Milla, the second child to have Jeremiah, the third child to have Elizabeth, the fourth child to have Ann & Katharine. My wife to have the land during her life or widowhood. Also all my other property & effects of whatsoever kind after paying my debts. In the event of the Death or Marriage, as follows—If she dies I want my property to all go to my children. If she should marry, I wish her to have such a part of Property as the Laws of my County will allow her, not Touching the Negroes allotted to each of my children as above given to each.

I wish all my real and Personal Property to remain with my Wife Till each of my children arrives at the Age of twenty one, then they are to receive their respective part. If one should prove Refractary to the Instruction of my Wife or Bazil Starnes, whom I appoint as Guardians of my children, then all the damages, expenses or other costs shall be taken out of such refractary childs part. The Education of my children I wish to come out of the labor of themselves, Negroes and other property and the proceeds of the land, since my Wife is to keep all the Negroes and children together and cultivate my farm, School my Children, Support them in the manner she thinks Right & Best till her death or her remarriage.

[Drawn] in our presence this 24th September 1835 By Mr. Jacob [*sic*] Lara as his last will. [Signed, though actual signature is not in record book, as follows:] And[rew] Moor. Proven Bazzel R. Starnes; Proven William Larue [*sic*]. Filed for Record 19th March 1836."

The Taliaferro-French Connection: Using Deeds to Prove Marriages and Parentage

By Margaret R. Amundson*

The evidence needed to prove correctly the identity of Margaret French's husband and Robert Taliaferro's wife has long existed. It is found in records used by countless students of both families. Its full value was finally realized by focusing upon data that casual researchers consider to be irrelevant and by properly correlating those details.

A deed, to a lawyer, is a conveyance of realty, signed by a grantor, whereby title to that property is transferred from the grantor to another owner.[1] To a genealogist, a deed is far more than just a conveyance. It can yield critical data that establish relationships, its proof carrying the same weight as wills. In order to garner the most from a deed, a researcher must thoroughly scrutinize *all* instruments created by the individuals under study and by close associates. Often the family historian must comb surrounding counties, as well as the primary area of interest, for all these same people. The resulting body of evidence, when carefully evaluated, can lead to entirely different conclusions than those based upon a less-comprehensive search and analysis of records created by the problem ancestor alone.

The Taliaferro-French connection, explored in this paper, is a case in point. Hundreds of genealogists have studied the family for more than a century. Yet spouses have been misidentified and parentage erroneously assigned through virtual speculation—all because researchers did not use thoroughly the land-deed evidence that exists.

DISCOUNTING PAST ASSUMPTIONS

Robert Taliaferro (1688–1736) of Essex County, Virginia, and Margaret French (ca. 1690–1724) of adjacent Richmond County have been assigned spouses other than each other by researchers working on the French and Taliaferro families. Robert is said to have married Margaret Buckner.[2] Meanwhile, Margaret French supposedly was the wife, consecutively, of Samuel Mathews, William Skrine, and Robert Richards. The theory that the three men married the same Margaret seems to be correct,[3] but their wife was not Margaret *French.* That point is manifested by a more-thorough investigation of two contemporary deeds recorded in Richmond County.[4]

Hugh[1] French, who is traditionally identified as the father of Margaret, died in Richmond County in 1701. His will bequeaths "one hundred and thirty acres" to his daughter "Margaret French."[5] No record has been found of a Margaret French subsequently disposing of that land, either by deed or by will. However, on 1 March 1705—as Margaret French, spinster—she appeared as the grantee in the following instrument, presumably drafted to clarify the perimeters of her land:

> Indenture . . . between John Fossaker, . . . Gentleman of Richmond County, Virginia and Elizabeth his wife . . . and Margaret French, Spinster, Daughter of Hugh French, late of County of Richmond decd . . . [for conveyance of] thirty six acres . . . binding upon one hundred acres formerly sold by John Fossaker and Elizabeth unto David Darnall decd by parole [i.e., *parol*—oral] agreement [which land] . . . David Darnall . . . sold unto Hugh French by the like agreement . . . one hundred acres aforesaid adjoyning upon the thirty six acres contained in this Deed . . . which One hundred acres [*sic*] of land said Hugh French by his last Will and Testament in writing . . . bequeathed same unto Margarett French.[6]

Evidently this land was not surveyed when Hugh bought it from Darnall; and the metes, bounds, and exact acreage were not clear when the inheritance occurred. Margaret's land subsequently was surveyed on 28 November 1705, at which time the metes and bounds were defined and appended to the deed, as follows:

> Bounds of the One hundred and thirty six acres[:] Beginning att a marked white Oake standing in the back line of the said tract of land and corner to a parcell of land formerly sold by said Fossaker unto Coll. Mason$_{[?]}$ thence with the said line N.W. 60 poles to a stake standing in the center of two Hickorys & two white Oakes$_{[?]}$ thence with a line of marked trees which divideth this from the land of Mr. Glandennings S. 6d E 347 poles to a red Oake standing between a white Oake and Hickory$_{[?]}$ thence N. 84d E. 80 poles to a Gumm standing in the maine Westermost branch of Lambs Creeke and in a line which divideth this from the aforesd land of Masons$_{[?]}$ then with the N. 10d to the place it began.[7]

Because no evidence shows the spinster Margaret French disposing of the land, it is logical to conclude that it followed her into a marriage, after which her husband was legally empowered to manage it or dispose of it. Research on all three men alleged to be her successive husbands yielded no relevant records. None executed documents for land that matched the metes and bounds of Margaret's tract or bore other details in common. While the absence of evidence could mean that Margaret still owned the land—neither proving nor disproving the marriages—other deed evidence does prove that Margaret French was not their wife.

PROVING THE TALIAFERRO-FRENCH CONNECTION

A concurrent search for a probable first wife of Mason[2] French, Margaret's brother, ultimately led to the identification of Margaret's husband. It also underscores the need to comb *all documents* created by *all family members*. Mason had one known wife, Catherine (née Ellis) Bennett, whose first husband had died in

1718.[8] When Mason died intestate, in adjacent Westmoreland County sometime before 25 March 1746, Catherine was appointed administratrix of his estate.[9] His children by Catherine—Daniel, Mason, John, and Margaret—are not named in the probate proceedings but are identified in various other ways through documents created by many members of the French family.[10]

When all branches of the Frenches are sorted (a task aided by the wills of Mason's brothers),[11] it is evident that the intestate Mason also had two older sons:

- Hugh^3, who married Margaret Gervise by 1736.[12] Hugh made oath on 11 July 1737 that he was aged "about twenty two."[13] This placement of his birth at circa 1715 rules out the possibility that he was born of Mason's wife Catherine; she was, at that time, still wed to Cossum Bennett.

- Robert^3, who married the widow of Thomas Reynolds after the latter's death in 1735.[14] Given the conventions of their society, in which males commonly wed in their early-to-mid-twenties, it may be deduced that Robert was born in the mid-1710s. If his birth *preceded* that of Hugh by the typical two years, it would fall well before the marriage of Mason to Catherine. If his birth *followed* that of Hugh by two years, then it fell shortly before or shortly after the marriage of Mason to Catherine. The likelihood that Robert was Catherine's child is minimized by the will that Robert left at his death in 1743. He named a brother Hugh and a sister Margaret, who he said was under the age of fifteen. He made no reference to Catherine or to any of the sons that Mason had by Catherine.[15]

It is logical to conclude from these facts that Hugh—and probably Robert—stemmed from an earlier union of Mason French.

No direct evidence identifies this first wife. However, a clue might exist in the names borne by these two older sons. A common, though not universal, convention of their society was to name the first son for the husband's father and the second son for the wife's father. In this case, one of Mason's two older sons was definitely named for the *paternal* grandfather, Hugh^1 French. On the theory that the other might be named for the *maternal* grandfather, all French documents of the era were combed for references to associates named *Robert.* One possibility echoes through three separate records:

1689, 3 July	Hugh French [Hugh^1] held a claim against the estate of one *Robert Taliaferro.*[16]
1717, 23 May	Mason French [son of Hugh^1] acted as security for one *Robert Taliaferro* in a court action.[17]
1724, 19 January	Daniel French [son of Hugh^1] witnessed a deed of gift for slaves from one *Robert Taliaferro* to his daughters.[18]

The 1717 record appears to be the most significant because of the serious risk that it entailed. If Taliaferro defaulted in this court action, then Mason would have been obligated to pay the debt. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that this Robert Taliaferro was more likely to be Mason's kinsman than a mere neighbor or friend.

A search for all records created by contemporary Robert Taliaferros has proved a kinship conclusively. Mason, in 1717, entered into a financial obligation for Robert Taliaferro because Robert's wife was Mason's sister, the heiress Margaret. Again, land records provide the evidence. In 1710, this Robert Taliaferro and wife "Margrett" executed the following deed of sale:

> Robert Taliaferro of St. Mary's Parish . . . and Margrett his wife . . . [to] Sem Coxe . . . One hundred thirty six acres of land[,] being bounded [as follows:] Beginning at marked white Oake standing in the back line of said tract of land and corner to a parcell of land formerly sold by John Fossaker and Elizabeth his Wife unto Coll° George Mason[,] thence with said land West North West sixty poles to a Stake standing in the center of two Hiccorys and two white oakes[,] thence with a line of marked trees which divides this from the land of John Glendening South six degrees East three hundred forty seven poles to a red Oak standing between a white Oake and a Hiccory[,] thence North eighty four degrees East eight poles to a Gum standing in the Maine Wester most branch of Lambs Creeke and in a line which divides this from the aforesaid land of Masons[,] thence with said line North ten degrees to the place it began.[19]

Although this document does not mention Hugh French or identify Margrett Taliaferro as Margaret French, the matching land descriptions prove that relationship beyond doubt. This Robert Taliaferro wed Margaret French, heiress of Hugh[1] and sister of Mason.

IDENTIFYING TALIAFERRO'S PARENTAGE

Other deeds executed by Robert and Margaret point to his parentage. Two of them explicitly refer to his father but do not adequately distinguish that father from others of the same name.

> 8–9 August 1711
> Robert Taliaferro of Essex County, planter, to Samuel Short of same, planter . . . 100 Acres, part of a tract of 739 acres granted . . . 17 March 1672/73 . . . to Robert Taliaferro, deceased, father of the within named Robert Taliaferro.[20]

> 11 August 1717
> Robert Taliaferro of St. Mary's Parish, Essex County, only son and heir apparent of Robert Taliaferro, late of same, deceased, to Thomas Catlett . . . 200 acres in St. Mary's Parish . . . part of 600 acres granted unto Mr. Charles Grimes 4 Sept. 1654 . . . and by Charles Grimes given in his last will and testament to Katherine Dedman, grandmother to the said Robert Taliaferro.[21]

However, a third deed—this one executed by the cited grandmother—clarifies her identity. In part, it reads:

> 6 November 1672
> These rights due to [me] Mrs. Katherine Taliaferro for 600 acres of land for the transportation of Eight Negroes—and five English . . . which Rights I doe hereby assigne over to my Sonne Robert Taliaferro.[22]

Thus, three generations of Robert Taliaferros make up this ancestral line: Robert[1], who wed Katherine Dedman; Robert[2], wife not yet cited; and Robert[3], husband of Margaret French. The identity of the unnamed wife is provided in yet another deed executed by Robert[3] and Margaret:

> 7–8 May 1723
> Robert Taliaferro to James Neelle . . . land containing 296 acres . . . being the moiety of a pattent containing 792 acres of land formerly granted to John Catlett[,] Gent. . . . 10th day of September 1660 & . . . [by] John Catlett given to his two Daughters Sarah & Elizabeth[,] the one moiety of which . . . doth . . . belong to me the said Robert Taliaferro (excepting 100 acres part thereof which I sold to Henry & Thomas Samuel) I being the only Son & heir of the said Heir at Law the said Sarah.[23]

The Catlett reference is the last one needed to complete this portion of the family tree. On 6 April 1687, in old Rappahannock County, a Robert Taliaferro and wife Sarah executed two documents. In one, they sold their half of 600 acres, formerly belonging to her father, John Catlett. In the second, they petitioned the court for the right to reclaim monies in the hands of two London merchants (John Jefferies and John Mumford) who handled the accounts of Sarah's late mother, Elizabeth (née Underwood) Taylor Slaughter Catlett Butler. Mrs. Butler's will, dated 7 May 1673 in old Rappahannock, decrees that Sarah should have her legacy at the day of her marriage or at seventeen years of age.[24] Because the two documents of April 1687 state the fact of Sarah's marriage, it can be assumed that the marriage was quite recent. It was also short-lived. Robert was dead by June 1688, when Sarah acted as his administratrix.[25]

No document treating that estate refers to children left by Robert[2]. The existence of an infant son, conceived during the brief 1687–88 marriage, is evident only from the land sales that son made a generation later as "the only Son" and, thus, the only heir to paternal real estate under colonial Virginia law.

The original objective of the Taliaferro investigation—identification of the wife of Mason French—has not generated the desired results. Her identity remains a question. However, as often the case with genealogical problems, when research is extended to cover a range of associates, other riddles are resolved. Mason's sister Margaret clearly wed Robert[3] Taliaferro.[26]

END OF THE FRENCH-TALIAFERRO MARRIAGE

The corrected identification offered here for Robert[3] Taliaferro and his wife Margaret French still leaves one problem unaddressed: the identification of this Robert as the spouse of other wives. When did Margaret die? Did Robert wed another? As first noted in this paper, researchers elsewhere have cited his wife as "Margaret Buckner."

Robert did, indeed, have a second wife. The conveyances cited for him in 1711, 1718, and 1723 all contain the dower release of his wife *Margaret.* On 22 September 1726, another Robert Taliaferro deed was drawn, with relinquishment by wife

Ann. Proof that the 1726 Robert is one and the same as Margaret's husband is evident again from the details of the deeds. The document refers to the land as being the tract on which he then lived and part of the 739-acre patent of his father.[27] Its description reveals it to be the remainder of the land not sold to Samuel Short in the 1711 deed.

Between the 1723 and 1726 conveyances, Robert drafted one other conveyance that further pinpoints the probable period of Margaret's death and his remarriage to Ann [—?—]. In January 1724/25, he deeded a Negro girl, Phillis, to his daughter Anne and another Negro girl, Cate, to his daughter Elizabeth. Margaret was not a participant, although her brother Daniel witnessed the transfer.[28] By implication, the slave girls were a parental settlement made to Margaret's daughters before their father, Robert, remarried.

SUMMATION

Margaret French, daughter of Hugh, married Robert[3] Taliaferro, son of Robert[2] and Sarah Catlett, grandson of Robert[1] and Katherine Dedman. Although no marriage record exists for any of these individuals, the conclusions withstand all reasonable doubt. The evidence needed to prove correctly the identity of Margaret French's husband and Robert Taliaferro's wife has long existed. It is found in records used by countless students of both families. Its full value was finally realized by focusing upon data that casual researchers consider to be irrelevant and by properly correlating those details.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

*8214 Red Wing Court, Frederick, MD 21701. Ms. Amundson has spent the last seven years compiling for publication a genealogy of the descendants of Hugh[1] French. Another problem relating to this family has been resolved by her in *The Virginia Genealogist* 38 (January–March 1994): 22–24.

1. Henry Campbell Black, with Joseph R. Nolan and M. J. Connolly, *Black's Law Dictionary: Definitions of the Terms and Phrases of American and English Jurisprudence, Ancient and Modern,* 5th ed. (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1979), 373.

2. Both John Bailey Calvert Nicklin and William Buckner McGroarty wrote extensively on the Taliaferros. One of these may be the author of an anonymous article, "The Taliaferro Family," *William and Mary Quarterly,* ser. 1, vol. 20 (January 1912): 210–14 and (April 1912): 266–71, which presents Robert's wife as "Margaret (Buckner?)." See p. 268 especially. Overall, the work contains many errors. Extensive correspondence on the subject exists in the files of the late and eminent genealogist George H. S. King, FASG, now owned by the Va. Historical Society in Richmond; see Taliaferro File. For example: King to Festus Morgan, Cooperstown, N.Y., 13 March 1961; King to Mary D. McCurdy of Chapell Hill, N.C. [no date; p. 1 of 6 pp. missing]; and Prentiss Price to King, 5 February 1961.

See also Nicklin's comments on the family in *Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 11 (July 1929): 12–28.

3. The late Reverend Melvin Steadman of Fairfax Co. and other places in Northern Va.—a prolific correspondent descending from Hugh[1] French—advanced this theory. See, for example, his 26 February 1979 letter to Mr. King, now in the French File, King Collection, Va. Historical Society. Steadman's unsubstantiated opinion on this matter has a faithful following among French researchers.

4. Ruth and Sam Sparacio, comps., *Deed Abstracts of Richmond County, Virginia, 1705–1708* (McLean, Va.: Antient Press, 1991), 24–25; Sparacio, comps., *Richmond County, Virginia, Deed Book, 1708–1711* (McLean, Va.: Antient Press, 1991), 84.

5. Richmond Co., Va., Will Book, 1701: 340–42.

6. Sparacio, *Deed Abstracts of Richmond County, Virginia, 1705–1708*, 24–25.

7. Ibid.

8. The identity of Mason's wife Catherine, widow of the Cossum Bennett who died 1718 in Westmoreland Co., Va., is proved by a law suit brought by her Bennett children; see Westmoreland Co., Court Order Book, 1731–1739, part 1: 128a. Catherine was identified as née Ellis when her first husband surrendered his claim to Charles Ellis's estate in Stafford Co., in 1708; see Sparacio, comps., *Deed and Will Abstracts of Stafford County, Virginia (1699–1709)* (McLean, Va.: Privately printed, 1987), 148–49.

9. Westmoreland Co. Court Order Book, 1743–1747: 129.

10. Son Daniel is identified as Catherine's child through the will he left in Stafford Co., naming his mother, Catherine French, as his only legatee. See Sparacio, *Stafford County, Virginia, Will Book, 1748–1767* (McLean, Va.: P.p., 1987), 70–71.

Son John was appointed the administrator of his mother Catherine's estate; see Westmoreland Co., Court Order Book, 1758–1761: 47. This John was the John French who married Margaret Burgess in St. Paul's Parish; see George Harrison Sanford King, comp., *The Register of Saint Paul's Parish, 1715–1798* (Fredericksburg, Va.: P.p., 1960), 53.

Beyond this point, identifications of Mason's and Catherine's children are made by sorting all French documents of that place and time. By identifying children of each of Mason's brothers—who gave their children the same names as did Mason but left wills to help sort the mass—the pool of possible children for Mason and Catherine is narrowed to just the cited four. Mason's son Mason is the one who married Margaret Lacy; Mason's daughter Margaret is the one who married Original Bowling; for both, see King, *Register of Saint Paul's Parish*, 53.

11. Will of Daniel[2] French, King George Co., Va., Will Book 1: 122–24; will of Hugh[2] French, Stafford Co., Va., Will Book M: 247–48.

12. George H. S. King, comp., *Marriages of Richmond County, Virginia, 1668–1853* (1964; reprinted, Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1986), 74.

13. Sparacio, comps., *Deed and Will Abstracts of Westmoreland County, Virginia, 1736–1740* (McLean, Va.: Antient Press, 1995), 16. Hugh[3] French's testimony relates to the nuncupative will of Field Hudson. Mary Hazel, guardian of the property of Hugh's wife Margaret "Jarvis" [Gervis] French, and widow of Daniel Field, also gave oath relating to this matter.

14. Robert's wife was née Mary Moseley. She first wed Thomas Reynolds, then Robert, then Robert Edmondson. At her death, she left no children; the land she inherited from her father reverted to her brother. For supporting evidence, see Estate of Thomas Reynolds, Essex Co., Va., Will Book F: 380–81, and the deed of Mary's brother William Moseley, published in Sparacio, comps., *Deed Abstracts of Essex County, Virginia, 1745–1749* (McLean, Va.: Antient Press, 1992), 113–14.

15. Robert French will, Essex Co., Va., Will Book 7: 61–63.

16. Sparacio, comps., *(Old) Rappahannock County, Virginia, Court Order Book, 1687–1689* (McLean, Va.: Antient Press, 1990), 75.

17. Sparacio, comps., *Order Book Abstracts of Essex County, Virginia, 1716–1723* (McLean, Va.: Antient Press, 1990), part 1: 39, 52.

18. Sparacio, comps., *Deed Abstracts of Essex County, Virginia, 1724–1728* (McLean, Va.: P.p., 1988), 4.

19. Sparacio, *Richmond County, Virginia, Deed Book, 1708–1711*, 84.

20. John Frederick Dorman, CG, comp., *Essex County, Virginia, Deeds and Wills, No. 13, 1707–1711* (Washington, D.C.: P.p., 1963), 121.

21. Dorman, comp., *Essex County, Virginia, Records, 1706–1719* (Washington, D.C.: P.p., 1963), 70.

22. Sparacio, comps., *(Old) Rappahannock County, Virginia, Deed Book, 1672–1676* (McLean, Va.: P.p., 1989), part 1: 37.

23. Sparacio, comps., *Deed Abstracts of Essex County, Virginia, 1721–1724* (McLean, Va.: P.p., 1988), 44.

24. Sparacio, comps., *Deed and Will Abstracts of (Old) Rappahannock County, Virginia, 1665–1677* (McLean, Va.: P.p., 1989), 49–51.

25. Sparacio, comps., *(Old) Rappahannock County, Virginia, Court Order Book, 1687–1689*, 32.

26. It appears doubtful that Mason's first wife, *if* she was the daughter of a Robert Taliaferro, was a sister to the Robert[3] who married Mason's sister. Unless Robert[3] was a twin, the short duration of his parents' marriage could hardly have allowed for the conception and birth of a sibling.

27. Sparacio, *Deed Abstracts of Essex County, Virginia, 1721–1724*, 44.

28. Sparacio, *Deed Abstracts of Essex County, Virginia, 1724–1728*, 4.

Notes and Documents

Free African Americans in Pre–Civil War "Anglo" Alabama: Slave Manumissions Gleaned from County Court Records

Contributed by Gary B. Mills, Ph.D., CG*

[Continued from vol. 83, no. 2 (June 1995): 127–42]

Ed. note: This series of statewide abstracts—treating a population that migrated into Alabama from virtually all southeastern states—is gleaned from a seventeen-year study of all free nonwhites identifiable in antebellum Alabama. Readers should consult the prefatory discussion that appears in the preceding issue for further identification of the population and records covered by these abstracts.

JONES: THOMAS
Tuscaloosa Co. Self-purchase. Drawn 27 December 1848. Filed 1 January 1849. "Whereas Thomas Jones, a negro man about fifty years of age, the slave of William D. Marast of the City of Tuscaloosa, has out of his savings made with the knowledge and assent of his said master paid . . . [$550] . . . his master is willing . . . to manumit . . . said slave Thomas Jones and whereas the said Thomas hath chosen James Hullum of said city with the assent and approbation of his said master to receive and hold [Thomas] a Deed of manumission." (Tuscaloosa Co., Deed Record W: 565–66.)

JORDAN: CLARISSA, ELIONETTA, ISHAM, LOUISA, REBECCA, SUSAN
Monroe Co. Will of Isaac Jordan. [No date] 1838. Filed circa 1844. Document is entirely concerned with the manumission of slaves Rebecca, Clarissa, Susan, Isham, Louisa, and Elionetta. Because the laws of the state would not "unconditionally" permit their manumission and because the policy of the state could change, Jordan enjoined his executors to try to get them manumitted in such a way that they might remain in Alabama. Executors also should "secure the maintenance of said slaves that all [his] real and personal property . . . lands, slaves, horses, cattle, hogs, notes, and accounts in this county and state or any other" should also be used by the executors to maintain the slaves he is trying to manumit. One negro girl slave would also go to "Isaac Baxter Jordan, now of Monroe County, for the great love I have for him." The sum of $100 was to be divided among the testator's half brothers and sisters. (Monroe Co., Deed & Will Book B (part 2): 424–25.)

KEENAN: JOHN
Dallas Co. Will of Michael J. Keenan. Drawn 15 July 1837. Filed 1 September 1837. "With regard to my faithful servant John, who is a Barber by trade, my will is that he be permitted to carry on his trade at such place as may seem most suitable on his own account, and that my Executors afford him such pecuniary aid as he may need in procuring a Shop and implements of trade, requiring him to pay

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from time to time such portion of what he may earn as they may think proper to direct; and when the Sum thus paid by him shall amount to what my executors may esteem a moderate and reasonable value for the said John, taking into consideration the sum or sums advanced him, if he should continue to conduct himself in a proper and becoming manner; it is my will and desire that he be liberated and my executors are to do whatever necessary to accomplish this." (Dallas Co., Will Record A: 135–40.)

KENARD?: ABRAM, DEMPSEY, WANDA
Russell Co. Manumission. 14 March 1835. Hortola & Lily [possibly Laley Kenard], female Indians of the Creek Nation and of Hitchetee Town, manumit Dempsey, a woman of about twenty-five or thirty years, black complected, and her two children Abram and Wanda, one about three years of age and the other six months. (Russell Co., Record Book A: 1833–34: 228–29.)

KENNEDY: BOSSILL, CAESAR, CAESAR JR., HANNAH,
JOHN, MARIAH, MARY ANN, THOMAS, WILLIAM
Lauderdale Co. Deed of manumission. Drawn 2 February 1821. Caesar Kennedy, of town of Huntsville, . . . authorized by Act of General Legislature passed 1819, manumits his "wife and her 7 children"—i.e., Hannah [wife] and Mariah, over 21; John, over 21; Mary Ann (born 18 June 1810); William; Caesar; Bossill (born 15 July 1812); and Thomas (born 18 July 1815). (Lauderdale Co., Deed Book 4: 17.)
Also:
Madison Co. Deed of manumission. Drawn 2 February 1821. Caesar Kennedy, resident of Huntsville and authorized by act of legislature of State of Alabama to manumit his wife "Henna and her seven children": Mariah, John, Mary Ann, William, Cesar, Russell, and Thomas. Kennedy hereby manumits all those over 21 and promises to free the minors when they reach 21. [Appended note:] "My wife Hannah is now liberated and also are Mariah and John, above the age of 21 years; Mary Ann was born Novr. 26, 1804 [*sic*], William was born 18 [*sic*] 1808, Cesar was born 18 June 1818, Russell was born 15 July 1812, Thomas was born 18 July 1815." (Madison Co., Record Book G: 142–43.)

KINCAID: GEORGE
Marengo Co. Affidavit of Robert V. Montague. Drawn 20 February 1841. Filed 14 May 1841. "For faithful and meritorious service rendered me by my slave George Kincaid, a mulatto man 30–40 years old, a good carpenter of good habits and good character, I am desirous to set him free . . . it is my intuition that this writing shall remain as evidence and aid him in obtaining his liberty at some future time or some other place when or where the laws will permit it to be done. In the meantime I hereby authorize him to go and come when and where he pleases and to contract and work on his own account and I furthermore request and require every person to permit him . . . to pass and repass without molestation." (Marengo Co., Deed Record H: 510.)

KING: HORACE
Russell Co. Manumission by Godwin heirs. 3 March 1859. "We the undersigned Heirs of John Godwin and Mrs. Ann H. Godwin and also being interested in a certain deed of trust made by John Godwin late of said county and which included Horace King and being satisfied that the said Horace King was duly emancipated in pursuance of an act of the Legislature of Alabama and having mutually and for a valuable consideration agreed . . . for a division of the Estate of the said Jno. Godwin and also of the negroes in the trust deed mentioned, which should exclude Horace King. . . in consideration of the premises we solemnly declare and certify that the said Horace King is duly emancipated and freed from all claims held by us." (Russell Co., Deed Record K: 565.)

LEWIS: BETTY (BETSY), GEORGE
Washington Co. Manumission. 10 October 1802. Edwin Lewis frees "his woman servant named Betty or Betsy," aged about 20, and her son George, about 8 months. (Washington Co., Deed Record A: 39.)

LIGGINS (RATHBONE?): BETSEY, SARAH ANN MARGARET
Madison Co. Deed of manumission by Rufus C. Rathbone. Drawn 20 February 1835. "To whom it may concern, Know that I, Rufus C. Rathbone of Madison County and State of Alabama have in my possession as my right and property two female Slaves, mother and daughter, the elder a yellow woman about thirty-two years of age whose name is Betsey and known by that of Betsey Liggins and her daughter about seven years of age (almost white) whose name is Sarah Ann Margaret . . . in consideration of good conduct and service rendered . . . hereby set them free and at liberty to do and act for themselves or in other words, the mother to rase and protect her child untill Maturitage so that she is able to act for herself. . . . Betsey, the bearer of this paper[,] I with pleasure recommend as a first rate house woman[,] strictly honest and is a good seamstress[,] and to speak generally of her qualifications, she is not surpassed by any servant within my knowledge." (Madison Co., Deed Record P: 371.)

LOVE: EVALINE, JAMES, MARGARET, MARY, SERENA
Tuscaloosa Co. Manumission bond posted by Zadock Love. 25 March 1829. Love, a free man of color, with Nicholas Perkins as security, posts bond for $1,200. On 14 January 1829, the legislature authorized Zadock to free "his wife Margaret and his three children Mary, Evaline, and James, also his wife's daughter Serena." (Tuscaloosa Co., Deed Record G: 481–82.)

MARR: BIDDY
Tuscaloosa Co. Self-purchase. 23 January 1834. Nancy G. F. Marr, executrix of Wm. M. Marr Sr., deceased, for $600 paid by Biddy, a mulatto slave of about 46, frees her "provided . . . that if [she] should behave herself in a loose and improper manner as to excite the displeasure of the white citizens in whose vicinity she lives or provided she should at any time be detected in harbouring or concealing, assisting or conniving at the harbouring and concealing of any of her children, slaves belonging to said estate, then in that or either case I do . . . reclaim the said Biddy as a slave on refunding to her the sum of [$600]." (Tuscaloosa Co., Deed Record J: 291.)

McCANN: BYRIA
Greene Co. Will of Robert McCann. Drawn 6 November 1831, Anderson District, South Carolina. Recorded 18 November 1839, Anderson District. Copy recorded 2 December 1839, Greene Co., Ala. "My servant woman, Byria, [shall have] her choice to live with any of my children she may choose, not as a slave, for if the law would permit her emancipation, I would do it, for she has been a trusty, honest, faithful servant to me; and I give her one cow and calf to be her own choice of the stock, and if she is displeased after her choice . . . she may remove to any of my other children." (Greene Co., Wills B: 235–37.)

McLEOD: SARAH
Montgomery Co. Self-purchase. 17 April 1848. $800. Rush Elmore has just received a bill of sale for "girl Sarah" from Moses McLemore, but paid no part of the purchase money. Sarah paid it all, and Elmore renounces all claim to her. (Montgomery Co., Conveyances [Old Series], X: 774.)

MCMILLAN: MARINA, RACHEL, ROWANA
Dallas Co. Will of James McMillan. Drawn 8 July 1835. Filed 24 June 1836. "To my faithful slave Rachel and her two children Rowana and Marina, and any or all other children if any she should have before this provision of my will shall be executed, I give their freedom and request my executors to take such measure as shall become necessary to secure them the freedom." Also leaves $2,000 in trust, under care of his brother, for support of the Negroes after their freedom and gives his brother $1,000 for the work involved. (Dallas Co., Will Book A: 116–17.)

MCRAE [MCCRAY]: EASTER, NED
Autauga Co. Will of Christian McRae. Drawn 8 November 1843. Proved 31 January 1844. "I will

that my Negro woman Easter have her freedom and I give Easter her youngest son Ned, and one hundred & fifty dollars in money and ten acres of land lying in the southeast corner of the east ½ of the southeast ¼ of section 36, township 18, range 15. The said Easter is to have the above named property during her lifetime and at her death she mae dispose of it in any manner she may think proper." Also, "to Gilbert McRae of Moore County, North Carolina, 3 negro boys, Isaac, Wallace & Jess, and Negro girl Chloe & her child Sam & girl Violet on condition he must never move the above named slaves out of this county of Autauga on account of their wives and husbands and he must not sell them nor part the three boys, he must move to this county and attend to them, treat them humanely as they have been treated by me, and he must pay my brother Malcolm McRae $125 annually. (Autauga Co., Reports, E-B, [18]41–45, 5: 449–50.)

MOORE, JAMES

Madison Co. Agreement of J. J. Pitman, V. M. Robertson, and James Robinson. Drawn 31 December 1847. "Whereas we have this day received from a yellow man called James Moore, the property of James M. Miller, the sum of one thousand & fifty dollars for the purpose of buying him and giving him his freedom... now it is... agreed between us that we are not to take any benefit whatever from said purchase ... we further agree that upon the death of either of us, whatsoever, right or title we may have shall go to the survivor... that the last survivor shall by will or otherwise vest the title in some discreet honest person as trustee for the benefit of him said James Moore." (Madison Co., Deed Record W: 501.)

MORTON : ADALINE, ALBERT, ANN, CAROLINE, DOROTHY, GEORGE, HENRY, JAMES, KITTY, MARIAH, MARY, MATILDA, MILES, ROBERT, SALLY, WILLIAM

Autauga Co. Will of Thomas Morton. Drawn 3 September 1847. Recorded 23 October 1847. "My negro woman Caroline and her two children Henry and Kitty, I will free. I give unto said Caroline and her children Henry & Kitty [$500].... My Negro man George [freedom and $500].... Negro woman Ann and her 3 children Wm., Robt. & James [freedom and $500 collectively].... Negro girl Mariah [freedom and $500].... Negro woman Mary and two children Albert and Sally [freedom and $200 collectively]. I want the said Albert and Sally to work for their said Mother Mary until her death, also I will to the above... equally my horse Pompey and my mule Pigeon... and I further will the Negroes one year's provisions." Also, Miles and wife Matilda and their two children, Doratha and Adaline [freedom and possibly $100—wording unclear] "and I direct if the above named Negroes has to leave this state the expense of their removal shall be paid out of my estate by my executor." (Autauga Co., Reports F, [18]45–50, vol. 6: 356–57.)

OTTERSON (OTTISONS): CHANCY, JOSEPH

Greene Co. Will of Ruth Otterson. Drafted 18 October 1843. Not admitted to probate. "It is my will and desire that Joseph & Chancy, old Negroes* made free by the last will of Samuel Otterson deceased* be taken care of by my said executors & that they be provided for when they become too old & helpless to provide for themselves, out of any money or means in the hands of my executors and that they be allowed to choose their own place of residence." (Greene Co., Probate File 969, Estate of Ruth Otterson.)

> *N.B.* Words between the two asterisks are lined through with pencil in the "loose" probate file. On 27 December 1843, Joe was sold to D. G. Mayes for $61 and Chancy was sold to Anthony Mayes for $1. The Mayes have not been tracked beyond this point. Joe Ottisons, 70, male, black, labourer, b. S.C., appears as free on the 1850 U.S. census, Greene Co., pop. sch., p. 294, dwelling/household 771, living with a white farmer, Harry Walker.

OWEN: FRANK

Tuscaloosa Co. Self-purchase. 5 January 1847. "Whereas Frank, a negro man about 45 or 50 years of age, the slave of Thomas Owen Esq. of the city of Tuscaloosa, has out of his savings made, with the knowledge and assent of his master, paid to his said master $550, his master is willing to set him free.

Frank has chosen D. James Hullum of the city to hold his deed of manumission." (Tuscaloosa Co., Deed Book W: 87–88.)

PACE: JOE
Dallas Co. Will of David Pace. Drawn 26 January 1824. Filed 29 July 1829. If the sale of his crop on hand and his stock are not adequate to pay his debts, then his Negro Joe is to be hired out until debts are paid. Hire is to be "at private sale . . . paying special regard to his good treatment." After debts are paid, his executor is to petition state legislature to manumit Joe. If legislature will not do so, then executor is to hire Joe out and give him all proceeds from his labor after his expenses are paid. If any money is left over after his goods are sold and debts are paid, it is to go to Joe. (Dallas Co., Record of Wills, A, 9-15-1821 to 12-24-1849: 66–67.)

PARKER: TRACY
Clarke Co. Bond posted by William R. Parker. 10 June 1827. $2,000. By legislative act of 9 January 1826, Parker was authorized to emancipate a slave woman named Tracy [no surname]. Certificate of emancipation issued to Tracy 12 June 1827.

N.B. Parker had purchased Tracy, "a Negro woman," on 18 April 1823 from James Fare for $300. (Clarke Co., Deed Record B: 7.)

PAYNE: MARTITIA
Tuscaloosa Co. Manumission. 17 March 1832. Nancy G. Marr, sole executor of estate of William M. Marr, late of Tuscaloosa, manumits Martitia, on condition that Martitia will pay $1,000 to the estate. (Tuscaloosa Co., Deed Record H: 560.)
Also
Bond for manumission. 21 June 1842. "Whereas by an act of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama approved January 6th 1836, Nancy G. Marr of the County of Tuscaloosa . . . was authorized to emancipate a mulatto girl by the name of Martitia." Mrs. Marr posted $1,000 bond. At recording, the clerk identified the freed girl as Martitia Payne. (Tuscaloosa Co., Deed Record S: 224–25.)

PEACOCK (BAKER): ALBERT, BETSEY, CAROLINE, CHARLES, JOHN, MARIA, SANDY
Montgomery Co. Will of William Peacock. Drawn 16 November 1834. Proved 2 April 1835. "I will and direct that my said executors shall take and use all necessary and lawful means after the death of my wife to set free the following named slaves: Sandy, Betsey, Maria, Albert, Caroline, and her two children." (Montgomery Co., Record of Wills, 2: 125–26.)
Also:
Will of Catherine Baker. Drawn 9 March 1849. Proved 20 & 25 October 1851. Directs her executors to promptly take all necessary means to carry out the provisions of the will of her late husband William Peacock and thereby emancipate the negroes Sandy, Mariah, Albert, and Caroline and the latter's two children, John and Charles, as well as their increase. "It is my wish that the above named negroes remain on my plantation till their emancipation is affected & afterwards if it be their desire to do so." Codicil 9 March 1849: Executor should take into his possession, immediately after Baker's death, the slaves to whom liberty is bequeathed; he should "keep them till he can remove them to some place where they can enjoy their freedom." (Montgomery Co., Record of Wills, 3: 211–15.)

PERKINS: ANEKI
Tuscaloosa Co. Will of Eliza C. Perkins. Circa 1850–1853. "With respect to my negro woman named Aneki, residing at New Grenada, Mississippi, it is my wish w[h]en it [is] competent to do so to . . . set her free. I desire that she may hire when she wishes and receive the proceeds of her own labor, and be protected and treated with kindness—and for this purpose I bequeath her to my grandson James P. Perkins, who I desire to constitute himself her guardian, fully relying upon his goodness & generosity to carry out my wishes in this respect." (Tuscaloosa Will Book, 1821–1855: 300–03.)

PERTEET: JACKSON, LUCINDA, WILLIAM
Tuscaloosa Co. Manumission bond. 25 March 1829. Solomon Perteet, free man of color, with Wm. M. Marr as security, posts bond for $1,200. Perteet was authorized by Legislature on 14 January 1829, to set free from slavery "his wife Lucinda and child Jackson, also William the son of his wife." (Tuscaloosa Co., Deed Record G: 480–81.)

PICKENS: ALFRED, CAROLINE, SARAH ANN
Greene Co. Will of John C. Pickens. Drawn 8 August 1842. Proved 13 May 1844. Negro woman Caroline and her child Sarah Ann to be set free and given an annuity of $300, and "the annuity is to be extended to her children during their lives. I mean the children she has during my lifetime are to receive the annuity, or any child that may be born nine months after my death." Also "having lost my much devoted little boy Alfred, who I do think possessed the finest disposition of any child I ever knew, and being ardently attached to him, I do hereby desire that his remains be taken up and deposited at my feet wherever I may be buried, this request may seem singular, but realy [*sic*] if I thought it would be neglected I would die miserable. I will remark that for four years of my illness, I was much troubled with cold feet in the winter, and the application of hot bricks answered only as temporary relief, this little fellow remarked that if I would let him sleep at my feet that he would keep them warm, which I consented to and derived much comfort from the experiment. I therefore desire that when I am laid in my last bed that he may occupy the same position that he was allowed to do when we were living." (Greene Co., Will Book C, 1842–64: 72–73.)

POPE: AMY, MARY
Madison Co. Affidavit of John Robinson [Esq.]. Circa April 1849. "Whereas some two or three weeks ago, I sold to Johnathon Mayhew a negro girl named Amy, aged about seven years, daughter of Mary Pope, a free woman of color, for [$350], and gave my receipt for the money. The purchase was made by said Mayhew for Mary Pope with this understanding, that I was to make a bill of sale for said girl, as would enable said girl to be taken out of this state, now in pursuance of said agreement as well as by the following [illegible] of said Mayhew, in these words &c: '[To] J. Robinson, Esq. Dear Sir: The bearer of this is Mary Pope, whose daughter is desirous of returning very soon, you will have the goodness to make the Bill of Sale to her as the purchaser. 9 April 1849. Yours respectfully, J. Mayhew.' [Therefore] I [John Robinson], convey to the said Mary Pope all my right and title to the said girl Amy." [Signed] John Robinson. (Madison Co., Deed Book X: 214, W: 501.)

RAGLAND: TAYLOR
Madison Co. Deed of sale to Molly Lee. Drawn 8 February 1830. Filed 12 February 1830. George Ragland of Franklin Co., Ala., sells to Molly Lee, a free woman of color of Madison Co., for $400, "one negro man slave named Taylor, about thirty years of age, the title to which boy is vested in me by a deed of release and quit claim from the widow and heirs of Edward [also called Edmund in same document] Ragland, deceased . . . of whom I am one." (Madison Co., Deed Record M: 579–80.)
Also:
Madison Co. Free pass, issued by Molly Lee. [No date] 1835. "I, Molly Lee, a free woman of color . . . purchased of Ursula Ragland . . . a Negro man slave, named Taylor, commonly called Taylor Ragland. . . . Being his wife it was then understood and intended that I should emancipate the said boy Taylor at the succeeding session of the Legislature; but from some cause or other it was delayed by those to whom it was confided, until certain circumstances in Virginia induced the Legislature of the state to refuse to pass any emancipation bill unless the person applying for it would enter into bond that the person emancipated should leave the state in twelve months. Hitherto neither the boy Taylor nor the undersigned have felt willing to leave the state and the passage of the Bill with that condition has not been pressed." (Madison Co., Deed Record P: 455.)

RAPIER: JOHN
Lauderdale Co. Will of Richard Rapier. Drawn 3 June 1824[?]; codicil (undated). Recorded 22 April

1824[?]. "First, I leave one thousand dollars to my executors to put to interest for the purpose of purchasing the freedom of the mulatto boy John, who now waits on me and who belongs to the Estate of Thomas, so soon as he is of age, or as soon as his master or his guardian can dispose of him. . . . [Bequest also] to my brother James Rapier now residing in Wayne County, Kentucky." Codicil: "I wish all my wearing appeart to be given to the boy John who now waits on me. I also wish my executor to give to the Boy John my Beaureau." (Lauderdale Co., Will Record 5&6, Book 5:117–18.)

REED: DANIEL, GEORGE
Washington Co. Sale by Young Gaines of Perry Co., Mississippi. 25 September 1828. To Daniel Reed [free man of color] of Washington Co., Ala., "his son George" for $525. (Washington Co., Deed Record G: 198.)

ROBERTSON (ROBINSON): LEVI
Tuscaloosa Co. Manumission. Drawn 25 October 1847. Wm. Robertson (also written Robinson) to "my negro man Levi" for $150 and for "the further consideration that said Negro has been a faithful slave and servant to me," gives him his freedom "as far as the laws and the state of Alabama . . . permit. Levi is about 55, of yellow color. (Tuscaloosa, Deed Record W: 273).

ROBERTSON: REUBEN
Tuscaloosa Co. Self-purchase. 25 October 1832. "I, John C. Oliver have received of Reuben Robertson, a man of color, the sum of [$150] for the purchase money of said Reuben Robertson and do hereby . . . allow unto [him] all rights, privileges, and immunities as a free man . . . so far as I am authorised to do by the Laws of this state. . . . Reuben Robertson by profession is a house carpenter and is about seventy years of age." (Tuscaloosa Co., Deed Record H: 605–06.)

ROBINSON: ANN, JOHN, LAFAYETTE, LELIA ANN
Madison Co. Manumission by John P. Neale. Drawn 26 August 1828. Recorded 27 August 1828. By act of general assembly on 3d Monday of November 1827, approved 9 January 1828, Neale, as "agent of William A. Powell," was authorized to free "a mulatto man slave named John Robinson," excepting rights of creditors. Bond of $500 posted by Neale that Robinson would not become a public ward. Described as "about Twenty eight years of age, bushy head and low stature, quick in replying to questions when propounded and very polite." Robinson is "to have and take possession and enjoy ingress, egress, and regress to any point or place in the world to which his inclination may lead him." (Madison Co., Deed Record L: 1825–27: 507–08.)
Also:
Madison Co. Manumission by John Robinson, free man of color. Drawn 22 April 1831. Recorded 23 April 1831. By legislative act of 3d Monday in November, 1830; approved 15 January 1831, Robinson was authorized to free his wife Ann and "her two children," Lelia Ann and LaFayette. Robinson posted $500 bond, with John W. Otey as his security. "Ann is a tall, tolerably slim woman of choclate complexion between twenty five and thirty years of age, of a remarkably mild amiable disposition and very affible; she has a large fine face, rather flat than otherwise, with a fine rolling eye, a tolerably bushy head of hair for a full blooded African." Lelia Ann is about three, with "a full round and well framed face of rather brighter complexion than her mother, Ann." LaFayette is about nine, with "a finely formed face of orange complexion, a very fine large black eye, and a very fine countenance." [Signed]: John Robinson, X, his mark. (Madison Co., Deed Record N, 1829–1832: 306.)

SAMPLE: JOSEPH (JOSIAH) "JOE"
Lauderdale Co. Agreement. 29 March 1830. Recorded 7 April 1830. James Sample and "Joseph (or Joe) a black man or man of color . . . is properly a free man, only having to serve a term of years. [He] was brought to this place and sold as a slave by Robert Martin and Oliver Simpson, the said Joseph having formerly resided in Baltimore [where he was sold for 7 years] and the said term of years will expire about the first July 1834, and the said Sample having taken pains and been at some trouble in

proving the freedom of said boy, or man Joseph. . . ." In return for Sample's trouble in proving "Joseph or Josiah" not a slave, Joseph agreed to extend his indenture to Sample for another six months, making it expire 1 January 1834. (Lauderdale Co., Deed Record 4: 503–05.)

N.B. The document accords Joseph no surname, but various other records of the Tennessee Valley subsequently identify him as Joseph Sample.

SCOTT: EDMUND, MARIAH

Lauderdale Co. Certificate of freedom. 1831. Thomas Lanier to Edmund Scott and Mariah Scott. The Scotts, born of free parents, had been bound to Lanier in Tennessee until they reached age twenty one. During the time of their servitude, Lanier moved to Alabama, where he gave them a certificate showing that their servitude had ended. (Lauderdale Co. Deed Records 4, 1830–35: 65, 200.)

SHUTE: PATSY

Greene Co. Manumission of Patsy by Silas Dinsmore, U.S. Choctaw agent, January 1804, at Pooshapuckanuck (Mount Dexter). Patsy [—?—] was born in Fayette Co., Pa., near Bizon Town, as slave of Philip Shute, who decided in 1791 "to move to [the] Cumberland . . . now West Tennessee." Patsy, "on account of the infancy of his youngest child whose mother had died . . . consented to accompany . . . Shute to nurse his children." She was to serve him during his natural life, [then] his family for "ten or twelve years." Shute died and Patsy was illegally enslaved by Richard Hall, "a trader in the Six Towns of the Chocktaw Nation," who sold her to Wm. Bradford of Ireland, who took her "into the Spanish Territory at or near Galvestown," where they were arrested and their papers taken. When released, they went to the Choctaw nation and were again arrested for want of papers. Patsy told Dinsmore that she was illegally enslaved. Dinsmore wrote to Fayette Co., Pa., received confirmation of her story, and ordered her to be freed. 27 January 1819: Dinsmore made new affidavit for Patsy in Washington Co., Ala. Territory. 15 January 1829: documents filed in Greene Co. (Greene Co., Deed Book C: 308–09).

SMITH: ANN, AVY, BOB, CHARLOT, CLEM, COOT, DICK, ELIE, ELLICK, EVELINE, GABE, GILBEY, GIM, HARRIET, HARRY, HET, HETTY, JACK, JOHN, NANCY, NED, PEGGY, PETER, PHILLIS, STANDLEY, WILLIAM

Autauga Co. Will of Jeremiah Smith. Drawn 23 February 1832 at Day's Bend. Proved 29 August 1834. "Item 5. As to my Negroes or slaves, there is Ellick, Peter, Standley, Harry, Ned, Jack, Elie, Nancy, Harriet, Het and Hetty, Peggy, Coot, William, Clem, John. Item 6. I wish Gabe & Gim to serve five years after my death, then to be free and at their liberty. Item 7. I wish Phillis, Gilbey and her child Ann, Charlot, Harriet['s] child Bob, and Dick to serve until my youngest son Burrel Smith arrives to twenty-one years of age and then for them to be free and at their liberty. . . . Item 8th. I wish Avy and Eveline to be free and at their liberty." (Autauga Co., Reports, vol. 3, C: 81.)

SMITH: BECKEY, BETTY, BOB, KING, SYLVIA, TOM

Dallas Co. Will of Bartholomew Smith. Drawn 19 June 1847; codicil, 19 June 1847. Filed 22 October 1847. "Free Tom, a Coloured man, emancipated servant of my father's, having my Bond for titles to a certain tract of Land, I hereby direct my executors to make him the necessary deed to the same. I furthermore, in Consideration of my respect, and affection for Tom give and bequeath to him five hundred dollars and direct my Executors to pay him the same." Codicil: "I desire that King, Old Sylvia, Old Bob, and Betty his wife, and Beckey be all regarded as free and supported by those of my legatees to whom they have been specially bequeathed." (Dallas Co., Record of Wills, A, 9-15-1821 to 12-24-1849: 317–22.)

N.B. Bartholomew Smith was in-law to Garland T. Gardner, whose 1856 will manumitted his own slaves. (Dallas Co., Marr. Book D: 205; Bart. Smith to Rebecca J. Gardner, 18 January 1841.) See first installment of this series for Gardner.

SMITH: BERRY, CAROLINE
Dallas Co. Bill of sale, B. Smith, purchaser. 10 January 1835. For $1,000 Smith buys two Negro slaves named Caroline and Berry. On rear of document, Smith notes "my right and title to the within Bill of Sale, though held in my possession, I transfer to Tom Smith, a free man, or his heirs for life." (Dallas Co., Probate File 96, Estate of "Free Tom" Smith.)

SMITH: BIG BOB, CHARITY, HARRIET, MALINDA, SARAH, THEODERIC, TOM, WILLIAM
Dallas Co. Will of Baxter Smith. Drawn 5 November 1825; codicil, 19 November 1825. Filed 9 January 1826. First, "to adopted son, Batty Smith, the illegitimate son of Cynthia Smith, now Cynthia Ford," 32 Negroes.... Sixth, "it is my will and desire that Tom, Harriet, Theoderic, William, Malinda, Sarah, and Big Bob shall be set free and I give and bequeath [to them] two thousand Dollars, also my waggon and four work mules, also two Quarter Sections of Land in Section One, Township Sixteen, Range Eleven, out of which the small ones are to be provided for until they are raised, and then to have an equal distributive share." If law will not allow this, then the Negroes are to be sent to Ohio or some other free state. Codicil: "It is my will that my Negro woman Charity be freed with my other emancipated slaves." (Dallas Co., Record of Wills, A, 9-15-1821 to 12-24-1849: 13–14.)

SMITH: CANDICE, HARRIET
Dallas Co. Deed of Candice Smith. Drawn 18 November 1858. "I, Candice Smith, formerly the property of Baxter Smith, Sr., Decd. and freed by the said Baxter Smith" sell for $80 to "Malinda Smith, formerly the property of the above-named Baxter Smith Sr., Deceased, and freed by the same," a tract of land in Dallas Co. that was willed by Baxter Smith Sr. to Harriet Smith. (Dallas Co., Deeds & Mortgages S: 785–86.)

SMITH: CHARITY, MALINDA, MILES, ORGAN, REBECCA, SARAH
Dallas Co. Estate of "Free Tom" Smith. Garland T. Gardner, Adm., files copy of act of legislature, dated 27 January 1852 at Montgomery, granting freedom to "The Negro slaves belonging to Tom (i.e. Charity, his widow, Malinda, Sarah, Organ, Miles, and Rebecca, his children, with the increase of the females)... provided that they leave Alabama within two years and provided that Garland T. Gardner execute bond with good security for $2,000." (Dallas Co., Probate File 96.)

> *N.B.* Other documents in this bulky file indicate that Malinda and Sarah left the state briefly, then returned unchallenged. Rebecca moved to Perry Co. with her husband, apparently without leaving the state. Charity stayed in Dallas Co. Miles removed to Mobile and "West Point," where he died. Organ died in 1851 before the act on his behalf was passed.

SMITH: CHARITY, PRECILLA
Dallas Co. Petition for manumission. 24 November 1857. Charity Smith "a free woman of color Residing in the City of Selma... is the mother of a certain Negro Girl about nine years of age of dark complexion named Prucilla [*sic*] and that said girl Precilla is a slave for life; and your Petitioner's Property. Your Petitioner further says that she is now getting old and in feeble health. That she is aware she cannot live long. In View of this uncertainty and for the natural love and affection she bears to her said Daughter Precilla, she is desirous of giving the said Precilla her freedom in the manner prescribed by the laws of Alabama, as laid down in Chapter four, Title five, Section 2042 of the Code. Your Petitioner therefore prays that your Honor will Cause Notice by Advertisement in the *Dallas Gazette* for sixty days, being the time prescribed by Law in such Cases." Court so ordered and set hearing for first Monday in February 1858.
Also
Court decree. Charity Smith alleges that she is "unembarrassed in her pecuniary affairs." Advertisement has been made according to law. It has been shown to the court that all allegations made in Charity's application are true and that said slave is of good character and no sufficient objection to her emancipation has been made. Charity has paid the costs of the advertisement. Therefore, the judge rules that Precilla is free. (Dallas Co., Probate Court Minutes K: 10-1857 to 10-1859: 45.)

SMITH: CLAYTON, RACHEL, SILVIA
Dallas Co. Deed of Archibald Johnston. Drawn 6 March 1845. Filed 8 August 1845. Johnston has received from Rachel, daughter of Silvia, "two hundred Dollars in full payment for a Molatto [*sic*] Man Clayton as a slave for life to her and the heirs of her body forever. This deed is made in lieu of a former one made to the aforesaid Rachel which is lost or mislaid, and I do hereby convey to said Rachel all the right and title conveyed to me by Stephen Cobb, Sheriff of Covington County, State of Alabama . . . to the said Rachel, daughter of Silvia, who was let free by Frederick Whitlicke, pursuant to an act of the Legislature of the State of Alabama with all the privileges of a Free Citizen of the State of her Coller [*sic*]." (Dallas Co., Book L, Mortgages & Deeds: 58–59.)

N.B. This family appears on the 1860 U.S. census under the surname Smith. See pop. sch., Dallas Co., Old Town Beat, pp. 783–84, dwelling 158, family 152.

SNODDY: SALLY
Madison Co. Bond of Nathaniel D. Snoddy. 26 March 1832. As administrator of estate of John Snoddy, deceased, Nathaniel secured a legislative act, passed 20 January 1830, authorizing him to emancipate a female slave named Sally. He now posts $500 bond to guarantee that she will not become a public charge. (Madison Co., Deed Record O: 25.)
Also
Madison Co. Affidavit of James C. Wayland for Sally Snoddy. 30 March 1832. "Sally, a black woman aged about thirty-six years, of rather a yellow cast, about five feet six inches high, of slender form with a Small scar on her forehead & about the center of it with a full mouth of large teeth shewing plainly in conversation & laughter, speaks readily & converses with much ease for a person in her condition, who in general has the appearance of a genteel servant, is the same woman formerly belonging to John Snoddy, decd., who was liberated . . . in January 1830." (Madison Co., Deed Record P: 134.)

SPENCER: DANIEL
Tuscaloosa Co. Sale by Solomon Perteet. Drawn 30 January 1840. Recorded 10 February 1840. To Ned Berry, the slave Daniel, purchased by Perteet from Gideon Berry on 28 January 1840. (Tuscaloosa Co., Deed Record Q: 312.)

N.B. No surname appears in the document, but this appears to be Daniel Spencer, grandson of Ned Berry's wife Cynthia. (Tuscaloosa Co., Conveyance Record 14: 148.)

TAIT: HARFORD, HOWARD
Monroe Co. Will of Charles Tait, attorney. Drawn 23 March 1835. Filed 22 March 1836. "5th. I bequeath unto my colored men, Harford and Howard, their freedom, this benefit to accrue to the first Harford, at my death, and to Howard at the decease of my wife Sarah. And I enjoin it as a sacred duty on my Executors to procure for them or either of them an Act of emancipation as soon as possible, after this my will shall take effect. But until such an act can be procured or in default of such act securing them or either of them freedom, I leave them, in trust to my son James A. Tait for the purpose of securing to them or either of them the benefit & enjoyment of their own Labour." (Monroe Co., Wills and Deeds A: 210.)

TAYLOR: ELIZA, JAMES "JIM," LOUISA, MALINDA, SYLVIA, SOLOMON
Wilcox Co. Sale by Henry Taylor. Drawn 18 May 1831. Recorded 18 May 1831. For $250, sells to "James (who I have lately set free), a negro woman Malinda, about forty years. (Wilcox Co., Deed Record B: 128.)
Also
Wilcox Co. "Sale" by Henry Taylor. Drawn and recorded 26 March 1832. For $1, conveys to "my freedman James who was freed by an act of the Legislature . . . on the 13th of January A.D. 1831, the following named negroes: Eliza, 34, woman; Louisa, girl of 14; Sylvia, girl of 5, and Solomon, a boy of 2." (Wilcox Co., Deed Record B: 217.)

Also
Wilcox Co. "Sale" by Henry Taylor. Drawn and recorded 26 March 1832. For $1 paid by Charles J. Gee, "have given . . . unto [him] . . . for the use of a free man of colour named Jim, being the same that was emancipated by the said Henry Taylor as by the act of the Legislature, all and singular my stock of every kind and description whatsoever, with the exception of the roan horse that I usually ride, my household and kitchen furniture, farming utensils and all and singular the following negroes slaves for life [27 named]. . . . It is hereby reserved to the said Henry Taylor a support and maintenance from the labor or hire of said negroes during his natural life." (Wilcox Co., Deed Record B: 218.)
Also
Wilcox Co. "Sale" by Henry Taylor. Drawn 26 July 1832. Recorded 27 July 1832. For $5 "to Charles J. Gee . . . for the better maintenance and support of a free man of color by name of Jim . . . all that messuage lying and being in the County of Wilcox [legal description given for 3 tracts totaling 304 acres]. . . . It is hereby agreed between the parties that the said Henry Taylor is to have a reasonable support out of all the rents, profits, and issues of said land." Also for $5, from same to same for same purpose, two Negro slaves for life: Polledine, a boy about 5, and Charity, a girl about 2, and one roan horse. (Wilcox Co., Deed Record B: 282–85.)
Also
Wilcox Co. "Sale" by Henry Taylor. Drawn 5 August 1834. Recorded 6 August 1834. For one silver dollar and "in consideration for the love and affection which I have and bear unto a certain free mulatto man by name of Jim (formerly a negro slave) . . . whom I have emancipated . . . do . . . confirm to the said Jim a negro man [8 slaves named]." (Wilcox Co., Deed Record C: 186.)

TAYLOR: JOHN
Madison Co. Bond of Jacob Johnston. Drawn 11 January 1823. Recorded 16 January 1823. Johnston has received from John Taylor, a man of color, $500 "in part payment to me of his full value which is the sum of seven hundred and fifty dollars." As soon as Taylor pays the rest, Johnson will petition the Legislature to free him legally. Johnston binds himself and heirs in the penal sum of $1,500 that he will fulfill this promise. (Madison Co., Deed Book H: 367.)
Also
Madison Co. Emancipation by Jacob J. Johnson. 11 August 1826. In accordance with legislative act approved 12 December 1825, and in consideration of $750 paid by Taylor, Johnson herewith emancipates him.

THOMAS: AILSEY, GEORGE, JACK, LUCY, MARY, MOSES, SALLY, TOM [v. TOM]
Greene Co. Slave sale. 17 December 1818. Adam James of the Choctaw Nation for $950 paid by "Tom, a Free man of colour late the property of my brother Benjamin James and by him emancipated" sells Tom "his wife Sally, a Slave inherited by me from my Father Benjamin James Senior, also Lucy, Mary, Ailsey, & George, children of the said negro woman Sally by the said Tom, slaves."
Also:
Greene Co. Self-purchase. 4 November 1819 [*sic*]. "Benjamin James of the Choctaw nation for . . . [$400] . . . paid by Tom, a negro man inherited by me from my late father Benjamin James, formerly a resident of this nation . . . do grant unto the said Tom, aged about forty-five years, his free liberty."
Also
Greene Co. Slave sale. 1 January 1824. Adam James, citizen of the Choctaw nation, for $800 cash, sells unto "a Black man commonly called Free Tom a negro Boy named Jack, a son of the said Tom and Sally his wife, Being about sixteen years old." (All three documents in Greene Co., Deed Record A: 234–35.)
Also
Greene Co. Will of Tom. Drawn 22 September 1829. Proved 27 January 1830. "I, Tom, Free man of colour, a citizen of the Choctaw nation and state of Alabama . . . 1st. I give my body to the dust with a request to be buried in a Decent, Christian manner, my spirit unto God who gave it in sure & certain Hopes of a resurrection unto Life eternal. 2nd. My Will & desire is to have all my stock of every

description . . . equally divided between my two wives and their children, viz: my wife Sally, her son Moses & Jack, her daughters any any [*sic*], Lucy, Mary & Ailsey, [and] my wife Baspasa, her sons James and John, Her daughters Nancy, Milly & Peggy. . . . 4th. Whereas I purchased my wife Sally, her sons Moses & Jack, also her daughters [*sic*] Lucy, while they were in a state of slavery, and whereas my wife Sally has had two daughters born since that purchase, viz, Mary & Ailsey, now I will and desire that at my death they & all of them be absolved & discharged from all servitude, whatsoever as though they . . . were naturally born free." (Greene Co., Will Book B: 46.)

N.B. The children of Tom appear in countless South Alabama records, and later Oklahoma records, using both the surnames *Tom* and *Thomas*.

THURMON: JOSHUA
Franklin Co. Bond of Mary Ann Kennedy. Posted 7 November 1827. Whereas the legislature of Alabama passed an act approved by the governor on 15 December 1824, authorizing Kennedy to emancipate a Negro man slave otherwise called Joshua Thurmon, she posts bond for $1,000, with security, guaranteeing that he would not become a public charge. (Lauderdale Co., Deed Record 4: 115.)

TOM: NELSON [v. THOMAS]
Sumter Co. Petition by Jack Tom. 14 October 1844. Seeks to free his "yellow boy slave by the name of Nelson, who is part Indian." Court agreed and notice was to be published for more than 60 days in Gainesville newspaper. (Sumter Co., Orphans Court Minutes 4: 120.)

TOULMIN: TONEY
Washington Co. Will of Harry Toulmin, former judge, superior court, Mississippi Territory. Circa 1824. "It has long been my intention to emancipate Toney, the son of Becky, on account of his faithful and affectionate services; but more especially because I think he can act discreetly as a free man. . . . I do not wish to petition our Alabama Assembly about his emancipation. . . . I scorn to petition for what I believe to be a right. Let him be sent with proper passport and extracts from this my will and money to bear his expenses to Daniel Gerrard in Kentucky. I believe that he can be made free by the laws of that state, but if he cannot, let him have liberty to go to any state where he can obtain freedom. (Washington Co., Record of Wills, 1820–99: 7.)

TOWNSEND: ELIZA M., VIRGINIA
TOWNSEND?: ARMSTEAD, NED, WOODSON
Madison Co. Will of Edmund Townsend. Filed 25 January 1853. Proved 13 June 1853. $45,000 to brother and nephews; $10,000 to executors "for benefit of Two Yellow Boys Armstead and Woodson. My . . . executors shall petition the Legislature of state to grant these boys their freedom and permit them [to] remain in the state. . . . I further give unto Eliza M. Townsend and Virginia Townsend all of the land, negroes, stock, plantation, tools, household and kitchen furniture that belonging to me and all moneys . . . after paying the above legacies and also wish that my executors shall keep up all my plantations as they are now kept up for the benefit of the two girls and their children. I also want my executors to set them free and to admit them to remain in the state and enjoy the benefit of their property as I have every reason to believe that they are my own children. I further request my negro man Ned to remain with his family and be as a free man and to attend to business as he has done for many years under pay of one hundred dollars per year." (Madison Co., Will Book 1: 9.)

N.B. See also the following Townsend entry for manumitted slaves of Samuel. Because the testator Edmund did not request the removal of his daughters and other favored slaves, and because the legal statutes of Alabama did not permit manumission at this time, the slave heirs of Edmund (along with his estate of circa $500,000) fell to Edmund's sibling. The brother Samuel then arranged, by will of 1856, for their removal to a free state. Eliza(beth) and Virginia were sent to Xenia, Ohio, in 1860, emancipated, and placed in Wilberforce University. See

Frances C. Roberts, "An Experiment in Emancipation of Slaves by an Alabama Planter" (M.A. Thesis, University of Alabama, 1940), 35.

TOWNSEND: AMOS, ARMSTRONG, AUSTIN, BOLLING, CAROLINE, CELIA, DICK, ELIZABETH, ELVIRA, EMILE, FREEMAN, HANNAH, HENRY, JANE, JANE (of HANNAH), JANE (wife of WESLEY), JOSEPH, JOSEPH (of LUCY), LUCY, LUCY (of CELIA), MALINDA, MARTHA, MARTIN, MARY, MILCHA, MILLY, OSBORN, PARTHENA, PEGGY, RACHEL, RAINEY, SUSAN, SYLVANUS, THOMAS, VIRGINIA, WARREN, WESTLEY, WILLIAM, WILLIS, WOODSON

Madison Co. Will of Samuel Townsend. Drawn 6 September 1856; codicil, 15 October 1856. Proved 8 January 1858. The following slaves and the increase of the females shall be freed: Westley (25, child of Rainey), Caroline (20, child of Rainey), Elvira (20, child of Hannah), Thomas (15, child of Hannah), Joseph (9, child of Celia), Susan (4, child of Celia), Milcha (8, child of Lucy), Willis (17, child of deceased Winney), Osborn (13, child of deceased Winney), Parthena (11, child of deceased Winney), Elizabeth (17, property of his deceased brother Edmund), Virginia (14, property of his deceased brother Edmund). All of the foregoing are "of light complections" and are designated by him as "legatees of the first class."

Townsend also manumits Woodson (light complexion, former property of Edmund); Rachel and her 3 daughters (Peggy, with son Bolling, Jane, and Mary); Rainey and children (Milly, Freeman); Hannah and her husband Dick and her children (Jane, Malinda, Armstrong); Celia (and her infant child Lucy); Lucy and children (Warren, Joseph); Martha and son (William); Jane (wife of Wesley and her child, unnamed); "deceased Emile's children and brothers" (Martin, Henry, Sylvanus, Amos); "deceased Winney's child (Austin, 19). All of this class of heirs should be freed "without violating the policy or laws of the State of Alabama." They should be removed from Alabama, to wherever his executors deem best. If it is not possible to free all and pay all necessary expenses of doing so, then only the legatees of the first class should be freed and removed.

Elizabeth and Virginia are joint property of John E. Townsend and the testator, for whom they paid $2,000. These should be divided and one of them purchased from John, "provided that she and any increase . . . can be bought for the sum of one thousand dollars." If not, then she will not be freed and removed from the state.

Townsend leaves $200 to be set aside for each slave. Also executors from time to time should use residuary funds from his estate to provide "for the comfortable maintenance and support of . . . legatees of the first class, and also for the education of such of them as shall be willing to be taught and my executors may think capable of learning the branches of learning usually taught in Common Schools." Plantations are to be kept together and worked.

Item 22: "If nothing should be recovered from the estate of Edmund Townsend, deceased, for the use and benefit of said Servant Woodson, and he shall continue to be the husband of the aforesaid Caroline and in the opinion of my executors, he shall have proved himself capable and disposed to take proper care of such a sum of money, then I authorize my executors to permit [him] to receive on his own account as much as, but not exceeding, five thousand dollars out of . . . the share of Caroline in said residuary trust fund."

Item 28: Bequeaths to nephew Samuel the plantations on which testator now resides, together with 20 slaves, including "Malinda, known as the wife of deceased slave Ned and all their children, except Jane, the wife of Wesley. . . . It is moreover my request . . . that he will keep all the slaves . . . on one of his plantations, unless he may choose to employ the boys that have wives as head men on some of his other plantations, and that he will distribute annually one hundred dollars among Ned and his family and children and the same amount among Edmond and his wife and their children." (Madison Co., Wills No. 1, 1813–1837: 167.)

URQUHART: JUDY

Madison Co. Will of London Urquhart, free man of color. [No date] 1837. James T. Gee is bequeathed Urquhart's lot in Huntsville and Urquhart's Negro woman Judy, who is his wife, "upon this trust and

confidence, that he shall permit her, during her life, to enjoy her freedom and the use and benefit of said lot and its appurtenances . . . the lot and appurtenances to be his absolutely after her death. I will and devise the balance of my estate, real and personal, absolutely and in fee simple to William H. Gee." (Huntsville, Probate Record 8: 153.)

WADSWORTH (ROBINSON): JOSHUA, LAVINA, MARY ARKANSAW
Russell Co. Self-purchase. 1 September 1835. Alex Robinson sells to James Wadsworth for $850, a "yellow Negroe woman by the name of Lavina and her two children, Joshua, about Three years old, and Mary Arkansaw, about six months." [Same day:] "Received of Lavina, the woman within named, $850 in full payment for herself and her two children, Joshua and Mary Arkansaw." [signed] James Wadsworth. (Russell Co., Record Book A: 232–33.)

WALTON: JACK, SUCKEY
Jefferson Co. Deed of manumission. Drawn 25 May 1829. "I, Jack Walton, a free black man, by an act of the Legislature of the State of Alabama approved January 22d, 1829, Entitled 'An Act to emancipate a certain slave therein named' was authorized and Empowered to manumit and set free my wife Suckey so soon as I the said Jack should execute to the Judge of the County Court of Jefferson County . . . a bond with sufficient security to be approved . . . conditional 'that the said slave shall never become chargeable to the State of Alabama, nor any City, County or Town therein' having this day executed a bond in pursuance of the said act which has been approved of by Peter Walker, Judge of the County Court of Jefferson County aforesaid. Now therefore . . . I . . . set free my wife Suckey, a black woman." (Jefferson Co., Deed Record 3: 322.)

WATKINS: CILLA, JOE, JUDY
Montgomery Co. Will of Thompson Watkins. [No date.] "I will and direct that my old servants Joe and Judy shall have entire exemption and freedom from all servitude and labour not voluntarily rendered, as a poor and inadequate requital for a long life of patient, honest service, and for this purpose and object, with full confidence in the execution of the trust, I transfer and bequeath the said Joe and Judy together with an Idiot woman named Cilla to my son James F. Watkins, enjoining him to give them support, guardianship, and protection." (Montgomery Co., Wills No. 2: 264–65.)

WATSON: JANUARY, NELLY
Coosa Co. Will of John Watson. Drawn 5 May 1851. Proved 7 July 1851. All land and Negroes are to be sold, except January, his wife Nelly, and the 40 acres that January is now planting. January and Nelly are to remain on these forty acres for the rest of their lives. They are to be furnished with a sorrell horse, 2 cows and calves, and all of Watson's hogs. Watson's executor is requested to build them a house. After death of January and Nelly, the land is to revert to the estate. If January and Nelly, in the meantime, should become unable to support themselves, then Watson's executor shall provide for them out of Watson's estate. (Coosa Co., Will & Orphan's Records 2: 42–43.)

WELSH: FLORA, JOHN, JULIA
Dallas Co. Will of Thomas Welsh. Drawn 23 January 1830; codicil, 23 June 1830. Filed 11 February 1832. "It is my will and desire that my faithful servant Flora, aged about forty-seven years and mentioned in the deed of trust to Abraham and William Horton, as also my servants John, aged about twenty, and Julia, aged about seventeen, shall together with their increase be liberated from bondage and set free, after my death, as speedily as can be legally done. If any heir attempts to prevent this manumission, then $500 shall be deducted from their share and donated to the County Treasury for use of the poor." Said Flora, Julia & John, after manumission, shall receive $15 annually for 5 years after testator's death. Welsh states that he had in his possession $225 earned by Flora "and which of right I consider her own." She is to be paid this, in addition to the first sum above. Prior to manumission of John, he is to be bound to a good blacksmith to learn and be taught that trade; executors are to take care that such a tradesman will provide for "faithful instruction of John and for his proper treatment."

Testator's heirs [who include grown children, but there is no mention of a wife] should act as guardians and advisors to the slaves he is manumitting, helping them in whatever way possible.
Codicil:
Welsh annuls the provision that $500 would be deducted from the share of any heir who protested the manumission; but he reaffirmed his desire that all legatees should cooperate in carrying out his wishes. (Dallas Co., Record of Wills, A, 9-15-1821 to 12-24-1849: 82–86.)

WHEELER: BOSTON
Greene Co. Copy of act of Georgia legislature, approved 6 March 1856. "An Act to manumit a negro man slave named Boston, the property of E. B. Way, Catharine P. Wheeler, Thomas B. Wheeler, H. R. Wheeler, and Eugene Bacon of the State of Georgia and County of Liberty; and John Savage of the County of Chatham. Whereas during a long life the negro man slave named Boston has served his owners with uniform fidelity and whereas during the ward [*sic*] of 1812, he served with his master in the company from Liberty County which marched to Darien and remained there under arms in momentary expectation of an engagement with the British, who threatened a landing, and other important services to the public. Be it therefore enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Georgia . . . that the negro man slave Boston . . . is hereby manumitted and . . . all laws and parts of laws militating against this act . . . are hereby repealed." (Greene Co., Deed Record V: 715.)

WINN: HANNA
Madison Co. Will of Gallanius Winn. Drawn 14 May 1839. "For the kind attendance of my old Negro woman Hanna, her freedom." (Madison Co., Probate Record A: 30.)

WINN: JACK, LUCY
Tuscaloosa Co. Self-purchase. 6 June 1845. Abner Winn "for $2,000 paid by my negroes, man Jack and woman Lucy, wife of said Jack . . . and for the further consideration that said negroes have been faithful slaves and servants to me, have and do by these presents [give them] their freedom . . . as far as the Laws of the State of Alabama . . . will authorize. Jack is about 48, colour black. Lucy is about 44, colour black." (Tuscaloosa Co., Deed Record U: 403.)

WINN: JERRY
Tuscaloosa Co. Will of Abner Winn. 31 October 1855. "My negro man Jerry to be permitted to buy himself at fifteen hundred dollars and to enable him to do so he shall not be required to pay more than one hundred and fifty dollars hire annually. I do this to enable him to get to Liberia and I do not wish him to be held in bondage by any man." (Tuscaloosa Co., Will Book 3: 35–36.)
Also
17 February 1858. "Whereas the last will and testament of Abner Winn deceased directs . . . that his Negro man Jerry shall be permitted to buy himself . . . and whereas the said Jerry has this day paid . . . we . . . Nancy A. Winn executrice and Chelsea M. Cooke, executor . . . hereby relinquish all right, title or claim." (Tuscaloosa Co., Deed Record 5: 553.)

WITHERSPOON: CATHARINE, CHARLOTTE, DANIEL, EFFE, ELMIRA, EPSA, FELIX, HARRISON, HENRY, HONES, JACK, JANE ANN, JINNY, JULILA, LAFAYETTE, LOUISA, LUCINDA, LUCRETIA, MARCUS, MARY, MERCURY, MOSES, PAUL, PETER, TINA
Greene Co. Will of Thomas Sydenham Witherspoon. Drawn 31 August 1844. Proved 8 December 1845. "I will and bequeath to the President of the American Colonization Society, who shall be in office at my death, the following slaves, viz: Paul, Effe, Lucretia, Daniel, Lucinda, Hones, Harrison, Henry, Catharine, Mercury, Jane Ann, Lafayette, Mary, Elmira, Peter, Marcus, Jinny, Felix, Julia, Jack, Tina, Moses, Epsa, Louisa, Charlotte & the increase of the females thereof . . . [to be taken to Liberia, etc.]. I am actuated by the fear and love of God." (Greene Co., Will Book C: 108–09.)

Also
Greene Co. Power of attorney. 5 June 1847. Recorded 7 August 1847. Henry Clay of Ashland, president of the American Colonization Society, has sued the executors of Witherspoon and won a decree in his favor to recover those slaves. He now appoints Harry I. Thornton, Esquire, of Alabama. his lawful attorney, "to demand and receive any hire which they may heretofore have earned from the said executors." (Greene Co., Deed Record O: 197.)

WOODS: LETITIA
Dallas Co. Will of Bailey M. Woods. Drawn 19 July 1823. Filed 18 July 1829. "It is my will & desire that a female slave named Letitia, now about three or four years old, be emansipated [*sic*] and that my executors apply to the Legislature for [rest of line is cut off of document]. (Dallas Co., Record of Wills, A, 9-15-1821 to 12-24-1849: 60–61.)

African Americans Elsewhere

CONNECTICUT:
Marriage. "On the 20th ult. at the house of Nathaniel Haynes, by Thomas Tillsoh, Esq., William Davis, an African, to Nancy Hunter, a white woman, both of Greenfield." [There follows a disparaging couplet added by the Ohio editor.]

—*The [Sandusky, Ohio] Clarion*, 5 May 1824

INDIANA:
Conviction. 1854. Daviess Co. Charles Allen, free black, convicted of petit larceny, having stolen a shirt valued at $2.50. Allen is sentenced to prison for one year, will be disenfranchised for five, and is to remain in prison until he pays the fine of $5, plus the costs of his prosecution.

—*State* v. *Allen,* Final Record, Circuit Court, D: 296

Conviction. 1859. Daviess Co. Charles Brown, free black, convicted of grand larceny, having stolen a cloth coat valued at $7. Brown to pay $10 fine, to serve three years in the state prison, to be disenfranchised for five, and to remain in prison until fine and court costs are paid.

—*State* v. *Brown,* Final Record, Circuit Court, D: 389–90

NEW YORK:
Breach of Promise. "The New York *National Advocate* gives a ludicrous account of a trial for a breach of promise of marriage brought by Miss Phillis Schoonmaker *vs.* Mr. Cuff Hogeboom, people of color, in Ulster County, before a magistrate, in which the plaintiff recovered a verdict of ten dollars—but the defendant not having the wherewithal to pay damages was sent to jail as a warning to all others in the like case offending."

—*The [Sandusky, Ohio] Clarion*, 21 May 1825

Conviction. "Springfield, September 30 [1813]. At the late term of the Supreme Judicial Court, holden at Northampton, Peter Pyner, a black man, was convicted of a Rape, committed on the body of a white female. . . . Sentence of Death was pronounced."

—*Buffalo [New York] Gazette*, 19 October 1813

Guidelines for the Use of Credentials and Postnomials in Genealogy

By The Association of Professional Genealogists

ED. NOTE: The following document, adopted by the Association of Professional Genealogists in May 1995, echoes the long-standing practice of most major genealogical journals, including the NGS Quarterly. *It will continue to be the policy followed by* NGSQ *in its presentation of textual materials and advertisements.*

The guidelines are reproduced here with the permission of the APG, which waives all copyright restrictions. Other editors are encouraged to reprint these guidelines for the benefit of their own readers who find the subject a confusing one. APG does request that the guidelines' origins be attributed to the Association of Professional Genealogists; 3421 M Street Northwest, Suite 236; Washington, DC 20007-3552. If desired, APG can provide editors with a one-page, 8½" x 11," camera-ready master. Please enclose a SASE with your request.

CREDENTIALS are a worthy achievement for anyone engaged in the conduct or practice of genealogy. Properly used, they attest knowledge, skill, and ethics. They enhance . . . credibility as a researcher, writer, consultant, lecturer, or court witness. They can facilitate access to limited-access records and repositories.

The Association of Professional Genealogists also recognizes that genealogical credentials are not widely known or understood in the public sector. Thus the public can be easily misled by an inappropriate use of postnomials implying special qualifications. To avoid misunderstandings and misinterpretations of the credentials held by [genealogists], the association sets forth the following guidelines:

EDUCATIONAL CREDENTIALS

Earned credentials are appropriate descriptors of a [researcher's] educational background, within the following framework:

- If the degree is earned in a field other than genealogy, the [genealogist] should identify, in parentheses following the degree, the field in which the credential was earned.
- The degree should be granted by an accredited institution.
- Honorary degrees, as opposed to earned degrees, should not be presented as credentials.

PROFESSIONAL CREDENTIALS

Postnomials of a professional nature,

earned outside the field of genealogy, may or may not be relevant, depending upon the circumstances of use:

- Postnomials earned in an adjunct field would be appropriate if the nature of one's genealogical work combines both fields (example: a genealogist with genetic-research credentials who lectures on the applicability of genealogy to genetics or seeks research assignments that focus on family-health issues).
- Outside this limited context, the genealogical use of nongenealogical credentials is commonly considered inappropriate.

Professional postnomials that imply genealogical expertise should be awarded by an accrediting or certifying body that

- conducts a rigorous examination program separate from membership in its own or another society; and
- publishes in professional genealogical literature and provides in response to public requests, a clear and detailed explication of its examination policies and procedures—setting forth the specific standards that successful applicants must meet; and
- administers its tests on a nonexclusionary basis, without regard for race, creed, or color, and without need for personal recommendation by a current member of that agency; and
- makes public, upon request, its pass-fail ratio for applications in order to substantiate the group's high testing standards; and
- provides its applicants with an appraisal of the strengths and weaknesses of their applications, in support of its ruling for acceptance or rejection; and
- publishes, and makes available upon request, a roster of its approved genealogists; and
- does not usurp the preexisting credentials of any other testing agency.

HONORARY CREDENTIALS

Honorary postnomials, to have meaning, must denote exceptional expertise or service. As in other professional and scholarly fields, meaningful honorary postnomials are those

- awarded without application for the honor and without assessment of fees; and
- awarded by open-membership organizations to a very limited number of members, in recognition of noteworthy service (example: fellows of the National Genealogical Society, Utah Genealogical Association, or Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania); or
- awarded by scholastically oriented societies on the basis of published scholarship that has withstood peer review and public criticism—provided that such a society make public the specific criteria upon which its honorees are chosen and make available, upon request, its list of honorees.

Used within this framework, genealogical credentials will accurately reflect the high standards of expertise and ethics that underlie all legitimate professions.

POLICY 13, APG POLICY MANUAL (REV. 1995)

Book and Media Reviews

COMPUTER GENEALOGY

Genealogy Online: Researching Your Roots. By Elizabeth Powell Crowe. Published by Windcrest/McGraw-Hill; 1221 Avenue of the Americas; New York, NY 10020; 1995. 280 pp. Softback; packaged with *Brother's Keeper,* version 5.2. $27.95.

Crowe's new reference book covers a huge territory: computer data bases, electronic bulletin boards (BBSs), online library catalogs, and other online services. Each is described with clear, step-by-step instructions—including illustrations of opening screens, a feature of particular help to those who have never attempted to use a computer modem. Choices seem endless: local BBSs and their "nets" (the electronic networks with which they are affiliated), as well as America Online's Genealogy Club, CompuServe's Roots Forum, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' varied offerings, Delphi's Custom Forum 68, Everton Publisher's BBS, FidoNet, Genie's Genealogy RoundTable, Internet, the National Genealogical Society's BBS, Prodigy's genealogy BBS and column, Usenet's soc.roots newsgroup, and various online library catalogs.

Appendixes include a list of genealogy BBSs and instructions on how to access the Library of Congress Information System. The online catalogs of most major genealogical libraries are referenced—for example, the public libraries of Fort Wayne, Indiana, and Lansing, Michigan, and the library systems of the University of California and Pennsylvania State University. Omitted from this section, though, is CARL (Colorado Alliance of Research Libraries), which began in 1978 as one of the first shared electronic catalog systems and now includes 420 libraries nationwide. Included with *Genealogy Online* is a 3.5" disk offering *Brother's Keeper,* a genealogy software program for recording family data that has long been distributed as "shareware" (that is, without charge—although donations to the developer are accepted).

Crowe also missed an opportunity to further educate the genealogical field on the importance and value of documentation in the true genealogical sense—i.e., citing the source from which each piece of data was obtained, whether traditional or electronically recorded. A chapter dedicated to this subject should have stressed the fact that the computer is a *tool* for genealogists, not a source in itself. The publicity flier accompanying the review copy promises that "*Genealogy Online* . . . provides an illuminating look at tapping the vast resources of the online community to *enhance* genealogical research" [italics added]. The book does deliver an enlightening survey of cyberspace resources and contacts. Unfortunately, it implies that these constitute research in and of itself, rather than being an *enhancement* of traditional (and presently sounder) genealogical study. Readers of the book will have to figure out this message on their own.

Arvada, Colorado — Kathleen W. Hinckley, CGRS

ETHNIC REFERENCE WORKS

Bibliographic Checklist of African American Newspapers. By Barbara K. Henritze. Published by Genealogical Publishing Company; 1001 North Calvert Street; Baltimore, MD 21202-3897; 1995. 206 pp. Index. Hardback, $35.00 (shipping: $3.00).

The importance of using newspapers for genealogical research is often undervalued, even by seasoned researchers. This is especially true of those who are unaware that the African American press extended much beyond the major metropolitan areas or back into the antebellum period and those who believe that the Caucasian American press ignored African Americans. Henritze rightly points out in her introduction that ethnic newspapers can provide a window into an overlooked world of social, political, and economic thought for the time period under study—giving unique perspectives that are of interest to researchers working on Americans of all ethnicities. Thus, her *Bibliographic Checklist of African American Newspapers* is an important aid.

Compiled from 107 sources, this reference work cites more than five thousand African American newspapers and other periodicals. Most date from the late-nineteenth century to the present; but a few (the Philadelphia *National Reformer,* for example) date as far back as 1837. The listed publications represent forty-four states and the District of Columbia and include those marketed to the general public as well as to associates of religious denominations, fraternal organizations, educational institutions, labor groups, and certain businesses.

This prodigious work is easy to use. The tabular format begins with titles, but the principal arrangement is alphabetical by state, then by city, and then by name of paper. Each entry describes frequency of publication (if known) and the years issued. A source column provides information as to where and how the publication is identified and is keyed to the appendix, in which all sources are cited fully. A complete alphabetical index to all the publications is included. A thoughtful and informative introduction provides tips for locating newspapers of interest, and a table identifies the number of publications by state.

Henritze's compilation, which should be in every genealogical and historical library, carries a price tag that also makes it affordable for the personal collection of most researchers.

Silver Spring, Maryland — Margo Lee Williams

FAMILY HISTORIES

The Genealogy of the Webster, Martin, Dozier, Staples & Starke Families of Wilkes County, Ga.: Their Ancestors, Descendants & Kin—Braswell, Wyatt & Martin. By Michal Martin Farmer. Published by the author; Post Office Box 140880; Dallas, TX 75214; 1994. 833 pp. Index, maps, photographs. Hardback, $65.00.

Farmer unites place and history for the ancestors of Dozier Braswell Webster (1894–1967), incorporating a brief historical background of Wilkes County with a narrative of family events. The approach is appropriate, as the primary families of this study migrated into Wilkes from Virginia and North Carolina from the time of Wilkes's creation (1777) until shortly after the Revolutionary War. Eleven chapters are devoted to family groups—the Websters, eight generations of them, being the largest. In addition to the families listed in the title, significant treatment is also given to Ledinghams. Each family group varies in content and chronology. The Malones of Bute County, North Carolina, cover five pages and

date from 1710 to 1778. The Staples of Virginia cover fifty-one pages and date from 1670 to 1988.

Documentation is inconsistent. Both primary and secondary sources are used; some are excellently cited, others not. In a few cases, information is backed by no reference at all (e.g., Georgia land-lottery winnings). For each biographical sketch, references appear in footnotes—a practice some readers like; but when lengthy, as often in this case, they detract from the text. The numbering system is improvised; but the author provides an explanation, as well as a key to abbreviations. Ancestral charts, numerous pictures, and maps offer visual guides. The book is handsomely printed, with large, readable type. It contains ample abstracts and transcripts, census data, oral traditions, and Bible records (with addresses of contributors) that will be of particular interest to the families involved.

Marietta, Georgia — Lee Hendrix Smoak, CGRS

METHODOLOGICAL MANUALS

Beyond Pedigrees: Organizing and Enhancing Your Work. By Beverly DeLong Whitaker. Published by Ancestry; Post Office Box 538; Salt Lake City, UT 84110; 1993. x, 96 pp. Bibliography, illustrations, index, map. Softback, $12.95 (shipping: $3.50).

Beyond Pedigrees is a how-to manual that focuses on organizing research rather than on research itself. Readers are introduced, for example, to census-data forms—not to an in-depth presentation of all that can or cannot be learned from census records. Although beginners will find useful ideas in the discussions of going back in time and using geography, the chapter on research procedures will be the most useful—for its sample logs, correspondence calendars, flow charts, and other aids. Both novices and experienced researchers might also appreciate Whitaker's numerous suggestions for using family photographs and memorabilia. Not only do these arouse the interest of spouses, children, and other relatives; but they also enliven a family history and can provide clues for further research.

Some mention of the educational opportunities provided by conferences, the NGS home-study course, or continuing-education classes would have been appropriate in the chapter on getting help from others (which does include guidelines for writing queries and creating networks of cousins). However, this volume is not intended to be a beginner's bible. Admitting that limitation, as a book of helpful hints, *Beyond Pedigrees* should lead the beginning researcher down the path of organized, documented research—not into the morass of notes scribbled on the backs of envelopes and the piles of unorganized research that plague so many genealogical efforts.

Orange, Virginia — Barbara Vines Little

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

Camera Clues. By Joe Nickel. Published by the University Press of Kentucky; Lexington, KY 40508–4008; 1994. vi, 234 pp. Hardback, $26.95.

Both personal and commercial photographs frequently carry few clues to their identification. Each image presents itself as a mystery to be solved. The approach to a solution,

by necessity, should incorporate historical and scientific guidelines in a logical progression toward identification. Nickel has ably structured *Camera Clues*, beginning with a brief but thorough history of photography. He provides essentials to set up a time frame from which to delve deeper into a particular era. The scientific methods and many reference works he mentions will well equip the researcher who uses them. Readers can extract outline information (dates, format, photographing techniques, etc.) to set up a quick-reference chart, or they can simply refer to the appendix, which offers a chronological list of photographic developments.

The scope of this text is wide enough to accommodate a variety of photographic investigators. The language is comprehensible; indeed, some sections read so much like a good mystery that the book is at times difficult to put down. Of particular interest in the identification and dating of photographs is the attention paid to minute details. For example, an emblem on a uniform may designate an organization and thus date the image. Using supplementary information from city directories, local histories, etc., the sleuth may be able to name the person. Some images are obviously studio photographs. Again, close attention to depicted details, such as a telegraph key, might help to reveal the occupation of the individual pictured. Or, the possible presence of revenue stamps on the back can date the image between September 1864 and August 1866.

Some photographs may fool the eye, but the author shows ways and means by which it may be possible to detect altered images. The importance of each photograph's provenance is mentioned early in the text and later in dealing with suspicious photography. This is particularly important in contending with modern techniques. Fakes are everywhere. The process of uncovering fraudulent photography became more difficult with motion pictures. Now, computer technology could make it impossible to detect modified or entirely false images. Nickel addresses the challenges presented by the latest media but further points out the advantages of computer enhancement in photo analysis.

The use of case studies from both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries bolsters the relevance of this handbook, which is a valuable tool for solving photographic mysteries.

Springfield, Massachusetts — Wilma Pappalardo

Cemeteries of the U.S.: A Guide to Contact Information for U.S. Cemeteries and Their Records. Edited by Deborah M. Burek. Published by Gale Research; Detroit, MI 48226-1822; 1994. xv, 1607 pp. Hardback, $155.00.

A future edition of this book has the potential to become a comprehensive catalog of cemeteries for U.S. families. This first edition offers more than 22,600 entries covering fifty states, the District of Columbia, Guam, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico—as well as military cemeteries for U.S. citizens in Belgium, England, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Mexico, the Netherlands, Panama, and Tunisia. The main entries for each burial ground are arranged alphabetically by state, then by county, and then by cemetery name within each county. Individual listings may contain the name; physical location; mailing address; telephone and fax numbers; contact information; ownership or governance; years of operation; hours of accessibility; availability of records; facilities offered; religious,

military, or other affiliations; some historical information; and cross-references to previous or dual names.

Prior to this publication, it was necessary to study topographical maps and contact local funeral homes, cemetery associations, government regulatory offices, libraries, genealogical and historical societies, and the telephone company's *Yellow Pages* to compile a list of cemeteries in a particular area. While all that is still necessary for a *complete* survey, this book is a good beginning. A comparison of listings in the Knoxville (Knox County), Tennessee, *Yellow Pages* with Burek's listings for Knox County, reveals five cemeteries cited in the *Yellow Pages* but not by Burek. However, seven Knox County cemeteries in the Burek guide are not in the *Yellow Pages;* six are in Knoxville, one in Powell. Similar problems were spotted in other areas. For example, Burek lists no cemeteries in Leetonia (Columbiana County), Ohio, although there are two identified by the local funeral home. Similarly, Valmont Cemetery in Boulder County, Colorado (run by the Boulder Historical Society), is listed by Burek as inactive, although there were two burials in 1994—a picky point, but a nonetheless aggravating matter if one is searching for one of those two people.

Other features enhance the book. Following the main entries are two appendixes (i.e., Appendix of State Regulatory Office and Cemetery Districts; and Appendix of Contact Information for Publishers and Organizations listed in the bibliographic citations) and two indexes (a Citations, Religious Denominations, and Other Affiliations Index; and a Master Index). An additional appendix highlighting national cemeteries would have been useful. The Master Index identifies sundry possible locations for the many identically named cemeteries one would expect to find. (For instance, there are fifty-eight Resthaven and Rest Haven cemeteries, gardens, and parks listed for twenty-five states.) Alphabetization throughout is word-by-word, rather than letter-by-letter. Therefore Rest Haven appears before Resthaven.

As a compendium, this book is disappointing. As an initial working list, it will have much current use and far more potential. The publisher advises that "errors brought to [its] attention and verified to [its] satisfaction... will be corrected in future editions." Thus, those future publications will be as good as genealogists and societies make them by submitting the necessary corrections and additions.

Boulder, Colorado — Barbara K. Henritze

How to Find Almost Anyone, Anywhere. By Norma Mott Tillman. Published by Rutledge Hill Press; 211 Seventh Avenue, North; Nashville, TN 37219-1823; 1994. 274 pp. No index. Hardback, $18.95.

Another private investigator has written yet another book on how to find living persons. Tillman's handbook is strikingly similar in format, content, style, and even title to two others: *How to Locate Anyone Anywhere,* by Ted L. Gunderson (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1984); and *You, Too, Can Find Anybody,* by Joseph J. Culligan (Kansas City: Hallmark Press, 1993).

Tillman, who has been featured on several television shows and has been published in major magazines, may be an excellent private investigator; but she does not grasp the genealogical aspects of research. Random examples make the point:

Tillman: "If you would like to find out if a relative had a life-insurance policy, write: American Council of Life Insurance" (p. 11). *Reality:* This misleading piece of information was widely circulated in genealogical newsletters in the 1980s; it is regrettable that it has surfaced again. The service exists to help determine whether a policy benefit is due, not whether an individual owned a policy.

Tillman: "You can obtain a death record from a computer database. There are 92 million death records available through my computer simply by entering a name. In fact, I can find all persons who have died between 1940 and 1993 with that name. Once I find a record, I will have the person's date of birth, Social Security number, place of birth, and last known address" (p. 32). *Reality:* Tillman apparently is referring to the Social Security Death Benefit Index, which is *not* an index to everyone who died between those years and does *not* give the person's place of birth. Rather, the index lists, incompletely, the Social Security recipients who died during the cited years and the places where they had made application for their Social Security numbers. (Tillman does not actually identify the data base in her computer—possibly because she offers a search of her wonderful resource for about thirty dollars per record.)

Tillman: "There are microfilm indexes for 1880 (all states and territories, but only for households with children), 1900, 1910 (twenty-one states, principally those in the South), 1920, and 1930 (partial). The National Archives has 1880, 1900, and 1910 indexes, which are available to the public" (p. 158). *Reality:* Virtually every genealogist knows that the 1880 Soundex includes only families with children *ten years of age or under;* that the National Archives (not to mention sundry libraries nationwide) also has "available to the public" the 1920 Soundex and census on microfilm, and that the index to the 1930 federal enumeration is not yet available to the public.

Tillman: "The 1920 census is the most recent record released. However, all states may not be indexed. In some states your research must begin with the 1900 census, which is indexed for all states" (p. 160). *Reality:* One wonders if the author has ever done an actual census search!

Tillman: "Family tree books may be available through Halberts Inc., 3699 Ira Road, Bath, OH 44210" (p. 161). *Reality:* This private investigator is obviously unaware of the United States Post Office's 1988 prosecution of Halberts and the recent request that the firm be investigated again. Halberts' publications (as genealogists are frequently warned in the *National Genealogical Society Newsletter*) are in no way "family tree books." Rather, they assemble outdated and duplicative mailing lists of basically unrelated individuals bearing a common surname, together with a few pages of generic genealogical "how to," marketing the whole in such a way as to mislead naive buyers into assuming these books treat their own family history.

Tillman: "There is a computer situated on Ellis Island in New York City that has a record of anyone who arrived in that port" (p. 161). *Reality:* The Ellis Island data base is far from an index to all who disembarked there.

To this reader, the author's repeated promotion of her missing persons' registry and her data base, as well as her offer to send readers a free list of "information brokers" whose services they can use, makes this work a commercial disguised as a book.

Arvada, Colorado — Kathleen W. Hinckley, CGRS, PI

What Did They Mean by That? A Dictionary of Historical Terms for Genealogists. By Paul Drake, J.D. Published by Heritage Books; 1540 East Pointer Ridge Place, Suite 300; Bowie, MD 20736; 1994. xiv, 234 pp. Bibliography. Softback, $23.00.

This volume's announced purpose is to define obsolete and archaic terms that the genealogist is likely to encounter in old records—especially ones whose meanings have changed over time—as well as abbreviations. The period of coverage is not specified. Terms from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century colonial America predominate; and coverage is particularly thorough for the archaic wording in estate inventories and court papers. Some modern items are included (e.g., *Daughters of the American Revolution; G.I. Bill;* and *microfiche* and *microfilm*). Abbreviations include such common acronyms as *SASE* (self-addressed, stamped envelope), but not *DAR.*

Drake successfully meets genealogical needs of two types. He has produced a handy reference to take to repositories that lack such references, and he provides an introduction to the problem of obsolete terminology for those who infrequently encounter it. Facsimiles of several old account-book pages, with their transcriptions, illustrate some problems that go with interpreting handwriting and deciphering the names of unfamiliar objects.

That said, the potential user should be aware of some unevenness in the volume's coverage. *Goodwife* appears, for example, but without a definition following the term. *Goodman* is omitted, as is *goody* (a common colloquialiasm for goodwife). *Old Goody* is defined only as a jestful reference to Santa Claus. *Parish* is presented as an ecclesiastical district, with no reference to it as a civil district in Louisiana and Ireland or to its civil functions in some American colonies—except for the cross-reference to processioning, which was certainly one of its more arcane civil activities. "Historic" medical terms include a number that are by no means antiquated—e.g., *diaphoretic, diarrhea,* and *undulant fever.*

Infelicities also appear. *Capius* appears for *capias* (a writ of attachment). For *Catholic School Recores* [*sic*], there is only a cross-reference to *order of nuns,* under which is the not-very-helpful statement that school and institutional records made by them "may be located through many sources, including local parish priests." Cross-references are occasionally chained in inconvenient sequences: e.g., the entry "C.G. see Certified Genealogist," under which appears only "see Board for Certification of Genealogists," at which point a definition finally appears. Proper names seem to have been selected for inclusion almost randomly, as in those listed under *roads, early,* or in the main-entry term *Old Mission Church,* a particular structure at Upper Sandusky, Ohio. Where periods and spaces occur in terms, they are alphabetized before letters—i.e., *A.E.F.* before *ab initio* before *abate.*

Bearing in mind its limitations, the book is a handy reference; but it is not a substitute for *Black's Law Dictionary* or for a general, unabridged English dictionary that still must be used to supplement this book's coverage.

Wilmington, Delaware — Donn Devine, CG, CGI, J.D.

REGIONAL WORKS

Women in Waiting in the Westward Movement: Life on the Home Frontier. By Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith. Published by University of Oklahoma Press; Norman, OK 73069; 1994. xvii, 381 pp. Softback, $17.95.

It is easy to relive the experiences of the *men* who moved west. Libraries are full of narratives, biographies, diaries, and texts. The very image of the American West conjures up cowboys around the chuck wagon, bewhiskered prospectors panning for gold, fur trappers and mountain men, and all other ilk of males on the move. For many years, historians who focused on ledgers, diaries, and censuses extant for those emerging communities assumed that these men were young and unattached. From Peavy and Smith, we see a different perspective. Men who went west had the *privilege* to do so—to decide and then to go—while their womenfolk may have gone along or stayed at home, whichever the husband had decreed.

Some men went west to seek a quick fortune. Some scouted for a better life for their family. Some craved adventure. Others sought better farmland. Some fled from financial pressures or unhappy marriages. Whatever their reasons for leaving, their women were often left behind—where they were expected to manage the children, the crops, and the animals and to cope with both responsibilities and creditors.

This provocative study of those women, and the manner in which they juggled their worries, is reconstructed through the correspondence between husbands in the West and women waiting at home. Relating the experiences of seven different families who were separated by the pull of the West, the authors unveil fascinating dramas. The various crises that arose, and the methods the women chose to handle them, are absorbing. Readers follow the adventures of the men and discover the courage of the women; and they become nearly as frustrated with the wandering, ne'er-do-well husbands as did those men's wives.

Peavy and Smith, independent scholars, have selected their material well. They have woven it into a intriguing narrative that provides a new look on the westward movement. *Women in Waiting* offers a viewpoint on families that genealogists will probably find in many of their own ancestral lines—the striving man, the supportive woman.

Springfield, Missouri — Marsha Hoffman Rising CG, CGL, FASG

Minnesota Land Owner Maps and Directories. Compiled by Mary Hawker Bakeman. Published by Park Genealogical Books; 3601 Seventy-eighth Avenue North; Brooklyn Park, MN 55443; 1994. 141 pp. $20.00 (shipping: $1.50).

County atlases, wall maps, and rural directories—common to the Midwest, the northeastern U.S., and southern Canada—contain a wealth of information. In addition to lists of men and women who owned individual parcels of land, they can provide a vivid portrayal of an ancestor's whole neighborhood, from the schoolhouse on the corner, the church down the road, and "Uncle John's" house across the field, to the mill and railroad at the nearest village. An area's ethnic makeup and the names of its record-keeping institutions may be gleaned. By comparing the same land on maps across a period of years, conclusions might even be drawn about the dates of such events as deaths or marriages.

Bakeman has assembled an extensive guide to land-ownership maps and atlases in Minnesota, materials housed in eighty-three repositories in that state and elsewhere. Building upon the 1980 guide to Minnesota county atlases, *Windows to the Past* by Mai Treude (map librarian at the University of Minnesota), Bakeman has incorporated Treude's informative discussion of the county-atlas phenomenon as an appendix to this new work.

From Bakeman we learn that, since Treude's work first appeared, the land-ownership map holdings of the Minnesota Historical Society alone have expanded from 411 to 1,072 items. Many atlases have been rediscovered or reprinted since 1980; and Bakeman has been considerably aided by tools not formerly available, such as LUMINA (online catalog of the University of Minnesota) and PALS (computer catalog of the Minnesota Historical Society and the state college system).

Included in this guide are rural residential directories, county atlases, and the large wall maps that generally were produced earlier than the atlases. All sources provide the names of rural landowners (city residents are rarely included in this genre). If a source has been indexed, microfilmed, or reprinted, this information is noted—along with repositories where the source can be found. The number of pages, the size, and the scale are also noted. The whole state is covered, with listings arranged by county. The time period ranges from territorial (pre-1858) to the present.

Anyone doing research in Minnesota counties would find Bakeman's guide very helpful.

Cannon Falls, Minnesota Kathryn Ericson

New Hampshire–Vermont Atlas of Historical County Boundaries. Edited by John H. Long; compiled by Gordon DenBoer with George E. Goodridge Jr. Published by Simon and Schuster; 15 Columbus Circle; New York, NY 10023; 1993. xx, 216 pp. Timelines, maps. Hardback, $40.00.

As part of a projected forty-volume series detailing all U.S. county-boundary changes from colonial times through 1990, this volume is indispensable for New Hampshire and Vermont genealogists, historians, and geographers. To have, at last, everything one ever wanted or needed to know about the complexities of the history of these two states' county formations—all accurately, succinctly, and clearly presented in one book—is almost too good to be true.

Background to the series, sources, and procedures is followed by a section that summarizes special topics and problems, then offers other helpful methodological explanations. Next, each state is introduced by a table of county creations and a consolidated timeline of state and county boundaries. This is followed by detailed, county-by-county chronologies, with beautifully clear maps, explaining the history of tracts severed from one county and added to another; precise dates are given for each change, along with the amount of land involved. A further bonus is a table of colonial, state, and federal censuses, with the dates they were taken and the nature of the canvass (e.g., statistical or nominal). The same treatment is provided for defunct or short-lived counties in both states, for the claims made by Vermont to the East and West Unions, and for the complicated tussle between New York and New Hampshire for control of portions of Vermont. Clearly, this new atlas will be the first place to turn when one needs to clarify ambiguities involving these areas.

Only two minor points might be niggled over here. The first is the name of New Hampshire's "Big Lake," which is normally written *Winnipesaukee,* although one can find myriad spellings of it over the course of the area's European occupation. The book consistently spells the name *Winnepesaukee* everywhere but on the map, where it is "correctly" spelled

in the former manner. The second error is slightly more serious: in the table of colonial, state, and federal censuses of New Hampshire, under the 1798 U.S. direct tax, it is stated that there are "no statistics; [and] some names [are] at New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston." Reality is more complicated and more helpful, as well. Some years ago, John S. Fipphen found and transcribed the original schedules of a portion of District 13—consisting of the towns of Alton, Brookfield, Effingham, Middleton, New Durham, Ossipee, Tuftonboro(ugh), Wakefield, and Wolfeboro(ugh). In 1798, all these towns were in Strafford County; Middleton and New Durham still are. However, Alton lies now in Belknap and the other locales are now in Carroll. In 1988, Fipphen's work was published by the New England Historic Genealogical Society for the Wolfeboro Historical Society.

The presentation of the early, now extinct, counties of Vermont is refreshingly clear and is one of the strong points of the book. The difficult history of the counties of Cumberland, Gloucester, and Charlotte (which is now Washington County, New York, but was then partly in Vermont) with the ever-changing territory called Albany County has been a constant state of confusion; here it is cleared up. Likewise, the rarely seen ghost of Washington County, New Hampshire, is captured on paper for all time, with a map of its boundaries, too.

While all this may seem more than a little academic to the novice, it is of critical importance to the genealogist who searches for probate files, land records, and court cases to resolve challenging genealogical problems. The only thing more that would have made the present opus a model of perfection would have been a table itemizing the surviving county records and documents, along with the repository for each. But such is beyond the scope of this series and can be dealt with by someone else in a companion set.

The present volume should be on the shelves of every library in the covered states and those elsewhere with a basic collection of New England reference material. Likewise, genealogists working in New Hampshire and Vermont should not fail to purchase this book for their own private reference. It will be one of their most-consistently used books.

Derry, New Hampshire — George Freeman Sanborn Jr., FASG

A Genealogist's Guide to Pennsylvania Records. Compiled by Helen Hutchinson Woodroofe. Published by the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania; 1300 Locust Street; Philadelphia, PA 19107; 1995. xii, 464 pp. Softback, $39.95 (shipping: $4.00).

Have you ever wished for a complete library card catalog on the shelves of your home library? This series, first serialized in *The Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine* from 1979 (vol. 31, no. 2) to 1987 (vol. 35, no. 2), offers such a gem—covering books, microfilms, and miscellaneous documents available for research at the library of the Historical and Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

Beginning with a general listing of Pennsylvania volumes, this compendium continues through the sixty-seven counties in alphabetical order. All entries are followed by their call or shelf numbers in the GSP library, or by volume and page numbers within serials, or at archives elsewhere. A map of the state shows each county under treatment. Many references are to manuscript (or otherwise unpublished) collections unique to this fine old library. One

appendix, "Supplementary References: Adams to Luzerne Counties," reflects additional material received from 1980 to 1994. Another presents dates of county formations.

The reviewer has used this material extensively in Pennsylvania research and personally attests its value. This consolidation brings Woodroofe's work together in an exceptional volume that is a fitting tribute to one who has given much to Pennsylvania research.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania — Jean S. Morris

Rhode Island Passenger Lists: Port of Providence, 1798–1808, 1820–1872; Port of Bristol and Warren, 1820–1871; Compiled from United States Custom House Papers. Compiled by Maureen A. Taylor. Published by Genealogical Publishing Company; 1001 North Calvert Street; Baltimore, MD 21202–3897; 1995. xiii, 232 pp. Hardback, $25.00 (shipping: $3.00).

Irish Passenger Lists, 1803–1806: Lists of Passengers Sailing from Ireland to America, Extracted from the Hardwicke Papers. Compiled under the editorial supervision of Brian Mitchell. Published by Genealogical Publishing Company; 1001 North Calvert Street; Baltimore, MD 21202–3897; 1995. ix, 154 pp. Index. Hardback. $25.00 (shipping $3.00).

In their abiding fascination with passenger lists, genealogists are always looking for new resources to investigate. It is particularly good to see publications such as these, which make available odd or out-of-the-way sources most researchers would not likely otherwise see—or even be aware of.

Rhode Island Passenger Lists pulls together material from the U.S. Custom House papers at the Rhode Island Historical Society and from National Archives microfilm M275 relating to the two Rhode Island ports. The 1798–1808 lists are actually alien-registration lists kept by Jeremiah Olney, Collector of Customs at Providence. They normally cite the alien's name, age, sex, occupation, place of birth, date of arrival, citizenship (i.e., country of allegiance), residence, intended residence, and sponsor's name. The 1820–72 lists are a combination of rolls for the two ports appearing in the Custom House papers and on the National Archives microfilm. These records normally list the individual's name, age, sex, occupation, date of arrival, "country to which they belong," and "country to which they wish to become inhabitants," as well as port of embarkation. There are separate alphabetical sequences for Providence and Bristol/Warren. Researchers will need to track down the manuscripts for clues to other family members of a different surname. Unfortunately, the compiler does not identify which of the two sources a particular listing comes from—a deficiency that makes the search for originals more difficult than it should be.

Irish Passenger Lists covers 109 shiploads of emigrants from Ireland that were compiled from British Library papers of Philip Yorke, Earl of Hardwicke and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 1801 to 1806. Records are presented ship-by-ship and normally include the vessel's name, port and date of embarkation, and intended destination—as well as names of passengers and their ages, occupations, and residences (usually a county but sometimes a more-precise location). A full index is included. Because these records predate the regular recording of passenger arrivals at U.S. ports, they are a particularly important addition to the passenger-list literature.

It would have been helpful in both publications to have an illustration of a typical entry, so the researcher could see the format. Also in both cases, the citations to the sources are so general that they are likely to cause difficulties for the researcher tracking the actual records (or microfilm, if available). Researchers *will* in many cases want to get a copy of the manuscript record, to verify the reading and to have a visual representation of that ancestor's arrival in the United States. After all, that is why passenger lists are so popular among genealogists and why these significant research tools were published.

Madison, Wisconsin — James L. Hansen

Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina: Index to Volumes 1–96. Compiled by David Fischer. Order from the Huguenot Society of South Carolina; 138 Logan Street; Charleston, SC 29401; 1994. 2 vols., 447 and 435 pp. Softback, $85.00 postpaid.

In 1885, approximately two hundred years after the first French religious dissenters arrived in the colonies, the Huguenot Society of South Carolina was founded. Its primary purpose was to establish a permanent library pertaining to Huguenot history and to collect genealogical records of Huguenot émigrés throughout America. Fourteen years later, the society began to publish its annual *Transactions,* relating not only the business of the society but also research papers compiled by its members. The series continues to this day. The work under review is its first comprehensive index.

Fischer's introduction helpfully describes the guidelines used in preparing the index. Users, for example, are alerted to the following conventions: *Personal names* are given identifying attributions—including dates of birth and death; males are further identified by titles (but rarely are females so identified); females are cited by the family names of the husbands, in the order that they married, and an entry for each woman under her married name is followed by the word *née* and her birth name. *Place names* are limited to those appearing in the titles of articles; and all entries refer to South Carolina, unless otherwise indicated. *Coverage* includes all articles in the *Transactions*—indexed under both title and author. *Dates* are given as per modern usage.

Researchers interested in South Carolina's Huguenot population have long wished for a shortcut to this mammoth series. They now have it—ninety-five thousand references to genealogical and historical source materials created over nearly a century of study and publication. Users will also want to know that volumes 1–86 of the *Transactions* are also available from the South Carolina Historical Society; 100 Meeting Street; Charleston, SC 29401 on microfiche.

Greenville, South Carolina — GeLee Corley Hendrix, CG, FASG

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Leaders and Leading Men of the Indian Territory; with Interesting Biographical Sketches: Choctaws and Chickasaws, with a Brief History of Each Tribe: Its Laws, Customs, Superstitions and Religious Beliefs. By H. F. O'Beirne. Originally published 1891; reprinted by Oldbuck Press; Post Office Box 1623; Conway, AR 72032; 1993. Illustrations, index. Hardback, $49.95 (shipping: $2.00).

Oldbuck Press has reissued a number of classic and obscure works of genealogical value, principally relating to Arkansas and Oklahoma. The present volume is, arguably, one of its best offerings—a rare "mugbook" in which full-blood and mixed-blood Native American men and women, as well as countrymen (non-Indians married into the tribe), recite their ancestry (as they know or believe it) and their life activities. Photographs, both priceless and profuse, testify to the extensive intermixture of these two tribes with, principally, Caucasian Americans and, secondarily, African Americans. An every-name index, added by the publisher, brings the work up to modern expectations. Users will be surprised by the wide-ranging origins of many of these men and women.

BCG Roster of Genealogists Certified: Researchers, Editors, Instructors, Lecturers, Librarians, and Writers—1995. Edited by Ruth Land Hatten, CGRS. Published by the Board for Certification of Genealogists; Post Office Box 5816; Falmouth, VA 22403-5816. vi, 65 pp. Softback. $8.00 (U.S.); $9.00 (Canada); $10.00 (overseas).

1995–96 APG Directory of Professional Genealogists. Edited by Elizabeth Kelley Kerstens. Published by the Association of Professional Genealogists; 3421 M Street Northwest, Suite 236; Washington, DC 20007-3552. xi, 146 pp. (including advertisements). Softback. Members: $12.00; nonmembers: $15.00.

Most family historians find it necessary, from time to time, to engage some type of professional help. The modest price of these two rosters makes it easy for careful consumers to find an appropriate professional. Because each provides a different perspective, the use of both rolls supplies maximum data from which to make choices. The BCG roster, arranged by state and county, identifies all researchers whose skills have been tested and approved by the Board for Certification (a nonprofit organization founded by genealogical leaders in 1964). The data for each certified individual provide the geographic, ethnic, and other specialties for which they have been successfully tested and the types of services they offer. The APG directory lists all persons who were, at publication, affiliated with (but not tested by) this membership organization for professionals that was founded in 1979; each APG member's specialties and skills are therein described in his or her own words. Prefaces to both publications point out that their associates are required to adhere to a specific code of ethics, and both groups offer a mediation service in the event of a client-professional problem.

Alabama Land Sales, 1823–1832: Statewide Conveyances of "University Lands" to Private Ownership. Transcribed and indexed by June O. Reese, CGRS. Published by the Tuscaloosa Genealogical Society–Night Group; Post Office Box 020802; Tuscaloosa, AL 35402; 1995. ii, 81 pp. Softback, $18.00 postpaid.

Today's genealogists realize that thorough land-ownership research within public-land states requires them to comb not only the courthouse of the county in which an ancestor resided but also the federal land records of the National Archives and the Bureau of Land Management. Reese, who specializes in finding "obscure" records, reminds us with this volume that the traditional venues may not be adequate. In the sundry public-land states, at various times and for several reasons, the federal government transferred large blocks of land to the possession of intermediaries, who then conveyed the land in smaller tracts to individuals. The present volume presents the records of one such situation. By congressional

acts of 1818 and 1819, public land within Alabama was set aside for the support of an institution of higher learning. That facility, the University of Alabama, disposed of the lands between 1823 and 1832, recording the transactions in the courthouse of the county in which the university itself was located (Tuscaloosa). However, the conveyed lands were scattered across several counties; and the purchasers hailed from even more. As a consequence, no search for ancestral land in Alabama can be considered complete until this slender volume is consulted.

The Louisiana Link: Paul, Castel, Iles, Laprairie, Smith. By Glenwith H. McHenry. Published by Anundsen Publishing Company; Post Office Box 230; Decorah, IA 52101; 1994. Order from the author; Post Office Box 3011; Pineville, LA 71361–3011. vi, 388 pp. Illustrations, index. Hardback, price not stated..

On 19 April 1851, the Alexandria, Louisiana, *Red River Republican* quoted the local census marshal's report that the area was first settled by "Egyptians and French." Like most traditions, this one had a somewhat skewed foundation. The earliest identifiable settlers were *Gypsy* and French—specifically, a *bohème* and *gitano* matriach named Cecile Castel *dite* Varangue and her half-French children. McHenry's genealogy is an account of the offspring that Cecile generated and the mostly Anglo-American families who intermarried with them in the Spanish and early U.S. years of Louisiana's history. The index is to personal names only, the numbering system is nonstandard, and the arrangement of data is somewhat confusing. But the attention to documentation will be appreciated by all good genealogists who descend from this prolific family.

Update

Jeanne Brooks Gart, "The Association of Oldest Inhabitants of the District of Columbia," *NGSQ* 82 (December 1994): 292–95.

Ed. note:
Ms. Gart reports that her reexamination of the original records requires the following alterations:

p. 293
Christopher Andrews: birthdate should read *12 November 1866.*

p. 294
B. B. French and Francis B. Lord: the birthplace of both should be *New Hampshire.*



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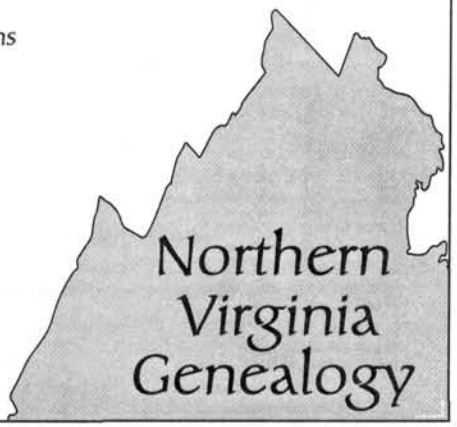
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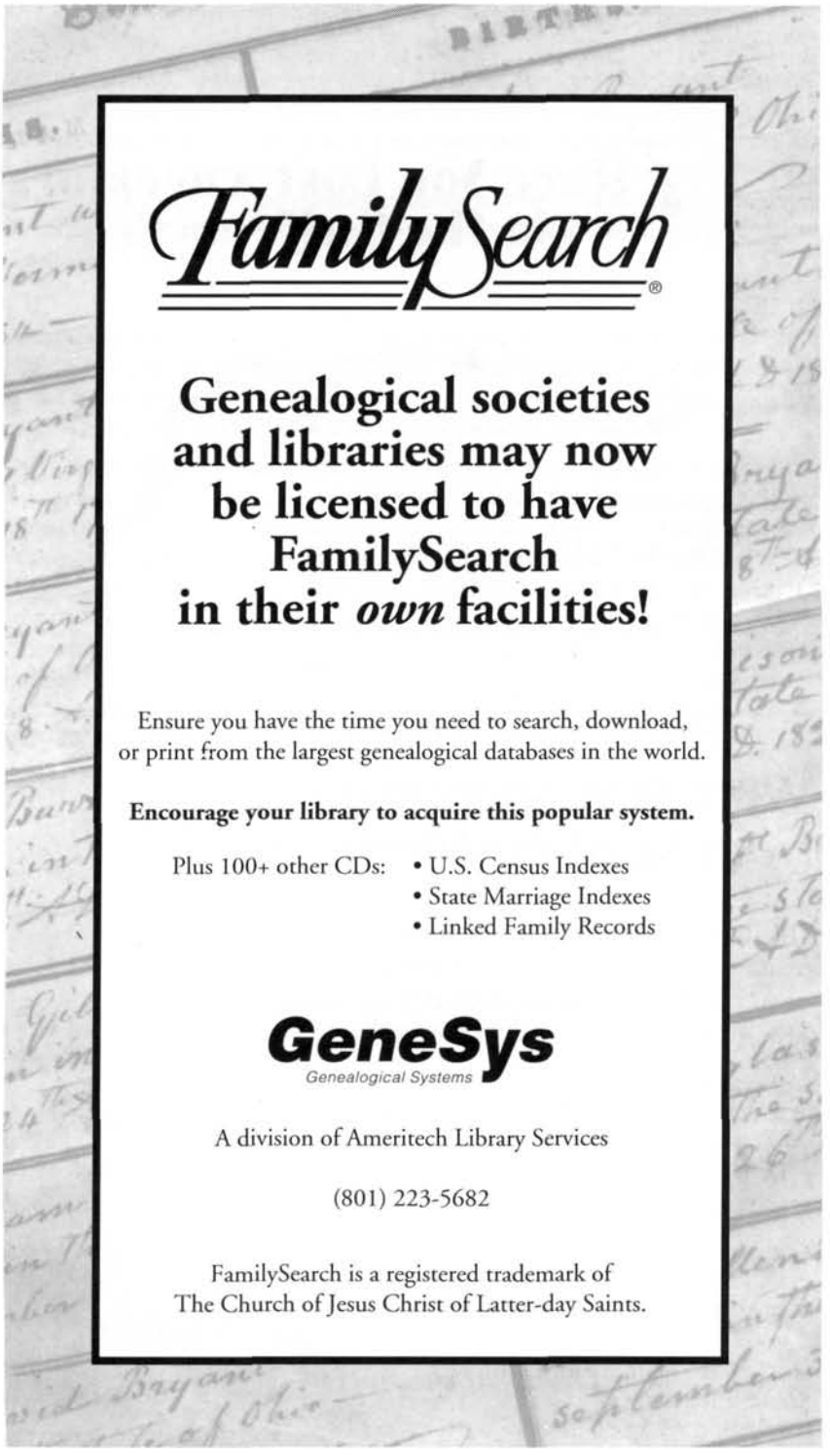
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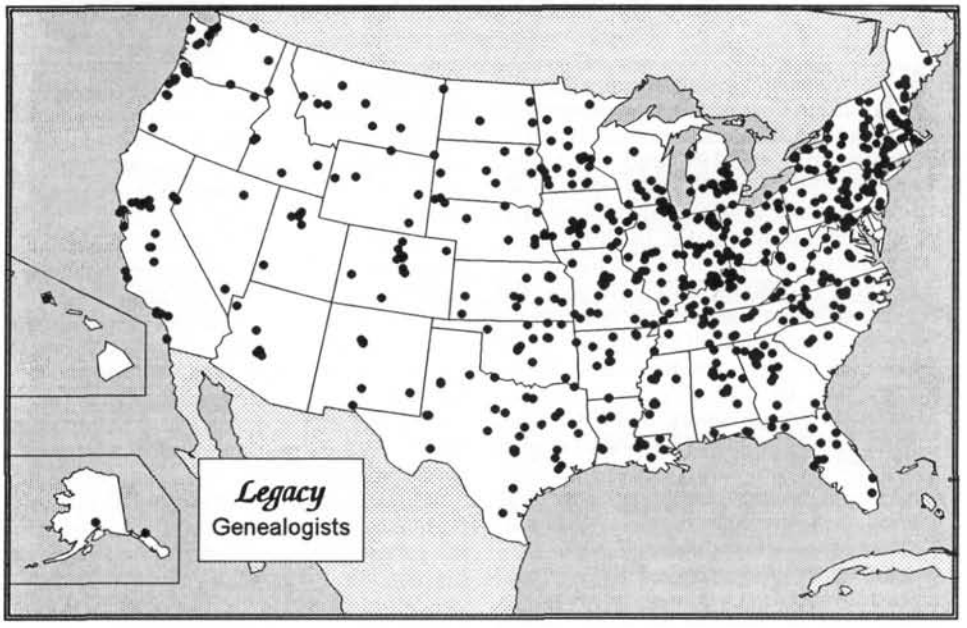
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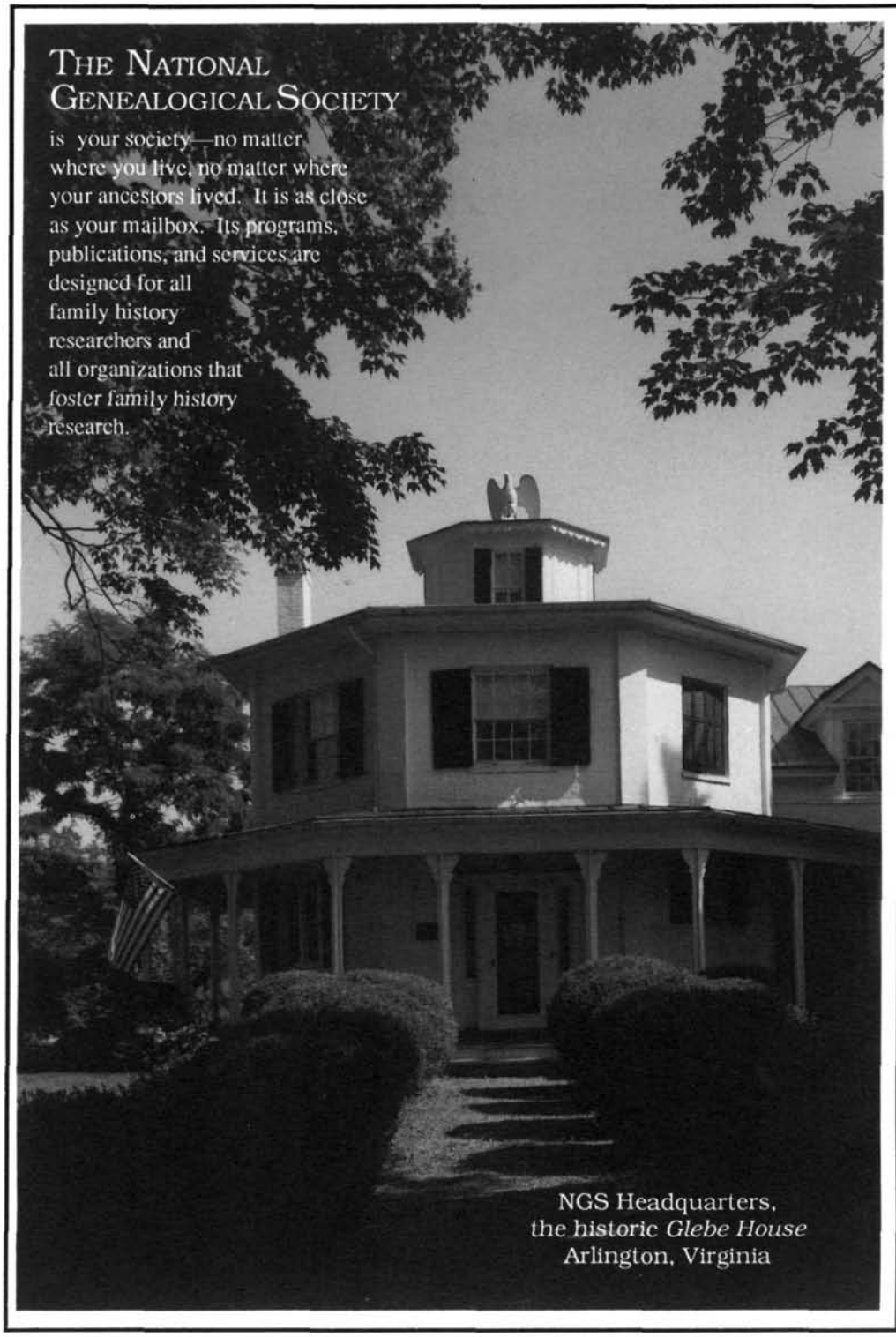
One is ROOTS. *The other is* WINGS.

National Genealogical Society Quarterly

Volume 83, Number 4
December 1995



A journal for today's family historian



Photograph by Hugh B. Johnson

National Genealogical Society
Quarterly

A Journal for Today's Family Historian

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Editors' Corner

"God is in the details!"

The preface to a recent genealogy complains about present standards in the field of genealogy and—yes—takes *NGSQ* to task.

"What genealogist in his/her right mind," the author questions, "wants to spend his/her spare time being a 'good genealogist' taking 'those extra steps' to verify another genealogist's 'bibliographic sources'? Is this for real? . . . [*NGSQ*'s] definitions of primary evidence . . . if taken seriously, would exclude a photocopy as primary evidence because it is a copy, not the original."

The author's comment, if not the criticism, is right on target and presents a frightening topic for debate. *Is* a photocopy worthy of the label *primary* evidence? We live in an age when computer technology can create almost anything one wants to see on paper. The same kind of "wizardry" that enables grocery-store tabloids to publish pictures of two-headed babies also enables so-called genealogists to alter documents and produce "photocopies" that say absolutely anything the perpetrators wish them to say. Do we need proof that John is the son of James? Simple. Scan James's recorded will into the computer, highlight the word *John* that appears in the clerk's signature, paste a copy at the spot now occupied by the name of an actual child, print out the results, and photocopy it. John is now a son. Who can tell the difference? If you doubt the ability of any computer owner to create such untruths, check out the program offerings for NGS's upcoming Nashville conference—where one computer session demonstrates how to "morph" and the Board for Certification of Genealogists' luncheon addresses the ethics involved.

So how does an honest and careful genealogist protect himself or herself? By being a "good genealogist." By "taking 'those extra steps' to verify another genealogist's 'bibliographic sources.'" Yes, this is for real. Chicanery has always existed, in and out of our field. Now it has more-sophisticated tools with which to fool us.

Good researchers, like good editors, nitpick every piece of information. Gustave Flaubert's observation of more than a century ago is even more apropos today: "God is in the details!"

For genealogists, the insistence upon verifying every asserted fact makes the difference between a researcher's heaven or hell—the difference between successful progress or time wasted on lines that are not ours. The best genealogists also go beyond mere verification to consider a host of other minutiae: how long did it take a man to travel from one state to another by horseback in a specific era? What was the maximum taxable age in a certain year and place? What month and day was the official tax date in a particular county and year? As Marsha Hoffman Rising and Gale Williams Bamman illustrate in the present issue, such peripheral detail can be crucial to the correct identification of an ancestor and his origin.

Yes. This is for real. God *is* in those details.

NGSQ, December 1995 —*The Millses*

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1995 Winner
NGS Family History Writing Contest

Matthew Cowlin (1840–1925): Ancestral Poetry as Clues to an Immigrant's Origins

By Mary Alice Benedict Grindol*

Family historians use many sources for clues. For most, public records are the mainstay because few ancestors left diaries or personal narratives; yet public records often disappoint genealogists who seek immigrant origins. Such was the case with Matthew Cowlin. Conventional research yielded little that pointed to family or birthplace abroad. His descendants had preserved few memories and no mementos, aside from an assortment of poetic musings found amid belongings left by his daughter Laura. Signed by Matthew, they filled two pocket-size notebooks—one in his own hand, the other a copy by Laura.

Ancestral poetry, when found, can be a fascinating artifact, attesting to a literary bent and reflecting something of the writer's character. Can it also provide reliable genealogical clues? That is the test to which Matthew Cowlin's rhymes and couplets have been put.

THE ELUSIVE MATTHEW

A family tradition, land records, a naturalization, census returns, a will, and a death certificate. Between them, these commonplace records say relatively little about the world that produced Matthew Cowlin. The tradition holds that he was born at Ramsey on the Isle of Man and arrived in America at the age of eleven. His conveyances, though numerous, link him to no parents. His citizenship proceedings are equally vague. Household enumerations identify his wife and children, referring to his past only in the most general of terms: born in England of English parents. His will likewise points to those who came after him, not those who preceded him. His death certificate cites his mother as "—— Hancock." Together, these records track him from Madison County, New York, in 1860 to his 1925 death in Toledo, Ohio—by way of Box Butte, Nebraska. They put carpentry tools and a plow into his hands but set no known kinsmen into a house next door.

One poem, penned in Matthew's old age, seems to support at least the traditional account of his place of birth. Italics mark here the passages that offered hope:

In England *1851*

My boyhood days seem like a dream
When I think of the trees along the stream
Where I sailed my boats with boyish pride
With my clothing wet thru to my hide.
I loved to play by the old foot plank
With its hand rail from bank to bank
To watch the fish skip about
And see the frogs jump in and out.

On *leaving the only home I had known*
I turned and gazed over the scene.
The boats were sailing *along the river*
And the trees by the brook *yet green.*
Beyond the river miles away
The beautiful city of Ramsey lay
With its church spires towering high—
To all this I must say good bye.
And yet what would all this be to me
When I was far across the sea?
All would soon fade from memory
In a land so fair and free.

On my native land I turned my back.
Our train was standing on the track
Where we entered by a small side door
And *soon arrived at the Atlantic shore.*
Our vessel, *the largest then afloat,*
Was reached by means of a smaller boat.
As we stood on deck with sails spread wide
We drifted away with the ebbing tide.

Rocked by the waves of the ocean deep,
I shed no tears but lost some sleep.
I thought of home and things on shore,
But the dark old quarters troubled me more.
Four hundred souls in that dark prison,
We hardly knew when the sun had risen,
With a row of air tubes overhead
And board bunks for our beds.

After *four weeks sailing* I saw once more—
It never looked so good to me before—
Even the leaves on the trees had a brighter look
If, could be, than those by the brook.
—Matthew Cowlin [circa 1919][1]

Matthew was nineteen when the 1860 federal enumerator found him, an apprentice carpenter, living with the Daniel Webb family in Cazenovia, Madison County, New York—his first known place of residence in America.[2] If he did migrate as an eleven-year-old, as tradition contends, then he likely made the trip with family; but no other Cowlins could be found in Cazenovia. Logically, he came through the port

of New York City; but no indexes have been created for that facility for the year of immigration implied by "In England 1851." Contemporary censuses also exist for the town of Ramsey on the Isle of Man—an English possession—but attempts to place Matthew amid a family there were also fruitless.

That Matthew, like many transplants to America, was caught up in the civil conflict of the 1860s is obvious from another of his poems. The detail it provides not only leads to records of his military service and veteran's benefits but also helps to track him during the postwar years, when wanderlust led him westward through places unaccounted for in the family tradition.

Old Flag

Tip my hat to you old flag
So rent by shot and shell . . . ,
The *76th* took the lead . . .[3]
I fought with all our army leaders,
From *'Little Mac'* down to *Meade*
But never knew a real defeat
When Grant was in the lead.
If you could wave, Old Flag, to suit us all,
There would be no cause for you to fall
But our country's evils we must face
To save you, Old Flag, from disgrace.
—M.C. [undated]

Cowlin petitioned his adopted country for the old-age benefits due him for service to that flag. In a pension questionnaire of 1915, he gave his birthdate and nativity as 11 August 1840, Ramsey, England—but he stated no county. He named his wife as Maria E. Loomis; and he recalled that they wed "in Muskegon Mich. in 1866" but couldn't "remember date or by whom. [It was] Some time in July."[4] That postwar sojourn in Michigan was unexpected by his descendants—especially by this writer who lives in the state and had no prior inkling of her great-grandfather's presence there. But his marriage record is where he said;[5] and a chance meeting at the Muskegon County courthouse, with a local researcher[6] who owns a Loomis genealogy,[7] subsequently led this writer down the Loomis family trail.

Still traveling in his sunset years, Matthew sought out two sisters—a visit he chronicled in a bit of verse that hints at another chapter in his life:

What I Saw West

. . . I saw *Sister Lib* and *Sister Sate*
When I arrived at the *sunflower state*
Sister Lib, *now eighty five*
And Sister Sate were quite alive.

. . . I saw the turkey and other good things,
While on my western way,
At the *Orton* home in Kansas,
On the world's greatest Thanksgiving Day.

. . . I saw *Nebraska*'s sunny skies
And *our old sod church,* once more,
Where I had built my western home
Over thirty five years before.

. . . I saw the goose and chicken
And the New Year's bill of fare
At the *Keeler home in Alliance*
While I was stopping there. . . .[8]
—While in the west
Winter 1918 and 1919

Another poetic account of this same trip names "sister Lib's" son *Ed* Orton—making it possible to locate the Kansas branch and trace it to its roots. Ed and his widowed mother "Elizabeth" appear on the 1910 census of Trego County, Kansas.[9] They still lived there in 1923, when a death certificate was filed for Elizabeth (Cowlin) Orton that cites her birthplace as Ramsey, *Huntingdonshire,* England—not Ramsey, *Isle of Man.*[10] From that record, the leap across the ocean to the English census of March 1851 was far easier than the trans-Atlantic journey Matthew had made that same year. A corresponding family, with children of the right names and ages, appears on this Ramsey's returns.[11]

The period of uprooting was thus narrowed to a frame that could be feasibly searched. Sometime between March and the autumn season—when America's trees "had a brighter look if, could be, than those by the brook" back home—Matthew and his family transplanted themselves. It was apparently in mid-October (considering the reference "In England 1851" makes to "four weeks sailing") that 8 Cowlins joined 430 other passengers aboard the ship *John I. Lucy.* At their arrival in the New York harbor on 17 November 1851,[12] it was unlikely that the trees retained much autumn color; but they may well have seemed "bright" to a lad emerging from four weeks of darkness below decks.

BRITISH ROOTS

From a variety of English records, the mosaic of Matthew's birth family can be traced. The census and immigration list paint a seemingly uncomplicated family:

NAME	AGE IN MARCH 1851	AGE IN NOVEMBER 1851
Joseph	44	45
Susan(n)a	38	40
Betsey	[not included]	18
Eliza	15	16
David	13	13
Joseph	12	11
Mat(t)hew	11	9
Mary	6	6
Sarah	5	4

Joseph's wife of 1851 was not Matthew's mother. His death certificate gives her name as "—— Hancock"[13] and the Huntingdonshire parish registers document Joseph Cowlin's 12 October 1829 marriage to Mary—not Susanna—Hancock.[14] What had happened to Mary? Who was Susanna?

Vital records from London's General Register Office answered those questions but raised conflicts also. On 22 June 1848, Mary died at Ramsey, aged thirty-six.[15] Sixteen months later, on 19 October 1849, Joseph married "Susannah" Townsend.[16] The General Register Office also offers birth records for Matthew and his sister Sarah ("Sate"). Curiously, although all the other events took place in Ramsey, Matthew was not born there. His registration cites his birth—to Joseph Cowlin and wife Mary Hancock—in Glassmoor, Whittlesey, Cambridgeshire, and it logs a slightly different date (27 July 1840 rather than 11 August 1840) from that Matthew asserted in his pension application.[17] Given his admitted inability to remember his marriage date, a birthdate slightly misremembered in old age—for one whose mother died in his childhood—is not surprising.

AMERICAN OFFSHOOTS

Rooted in England, the limbs of this immigrant family tree spread across much of the American continent. Clues to the directions in which it branched were developed from initially baffling lines in a poem that reminisced about Matthew's youth in Cazenovia:

A Visit to New York

A visit to *Mr. and Mrs. Clinton Hatch*
And sister joins me here
At the old farm house on the hill
That's stood a hundred year.

A grand reunion at *the dear old place*
The family home a hundred years or more
Four generations gather here
As they have often done before. . . .

Everything arranged with great care
And everyone doing their share,
On the lawn near the old pine tree
So well known to sister and me.

A pleasant day to all had passed
Midnight was drawing near,
The moon had lit the mountain top
When the autos disappear.

When our guests had left the ground
Norton's largest auto came around
A moonlight trip for us was planned
The sights we saw were surely grand. . . .

A quiet visit to the *silent city*
While the busy world was still
Brought back to us kind thoughts of those
Then resting on the hill.

We autoed thru its narrow streets
Our driver seemed to know,
Where our dear ones, were laid to rest
Over thirty years ago. . . .
—By M.C. Aug 14, 1918
At Cazenovia N.Y.

That Matthew and one sister lived during their childhood with or near the Hatch family is evident. Studying the area Hatches eventually provided the identity of that sister. Not in Cazenovia but in nearby Fenner, Clinton Hatch first appears as a newlywed on the 1880 census—where his wife Cora gives *England* as the birthplace of both her parents.[18] The couple remained in Fenner, where Cora's 1937 death certificate cites her parents as William H. Kinning and Eliza *Cowlin.*[19]

Matthew's older sister Elizabeth (variously "Betsey" and "Lib"), but not Eliza, is found registered in Sunday School at the Cazenovia Methodist Episcopal Church on a list of 1853;[20] yet no Cowlins (or Cowlings) are enumerated in that county in the 1855 state census of New York. Elizabeth was tallied that year in Lafayette, in the neighboring county of Onondaga, as a servant in the household of Charles W. Hoyt.[21] In 1860 Elizabeth (now Orton) still resided in Lafayette—as did her brother Joseph (under the spelling *Conlin*).[22] Only Matthew was in Cazenovia, where he lived that year with Daniel Webb, a master carpenter, whom Matthew served as apprentice.[23] Their sisters Sarah and Eliza remain unfound on both the 1855 and 1860 returns of any county. Although Sarah's descendants believe her to have been in Cazenovia during that decade,[24] her December 1863 marriage notice in the *Cazenovia Republican* gives her residence as Onondaga.[25]

Matthew's thoughtfulness in dating the poem that chronicles his reunion led to a newspaper account of the affair. Among the out-of-town guests named are Mrs. William Kinning—identified therein as Matthew's sister and the mother of Mrs. Clinton Hatch. Two daughters of Mrs. Kinning, visiting from Maryland, are named as well.[26] The helpful "Norton," who "brought the car around" for Matthew and his sister's pilgrimage to the cemetery, was a local automobile-garage owner;[27] his relationship to the family, if any, has yet to be discovered.

Despite Matthew's poetic reference to "dear ones laid to rest in the silent city," cemeteries of Cazenovia and the surrounding area have yielded no Cowlin or Cowling stones. No death, probate, census, or marriage records have been located for the other siblings or the father Joseph. The loved ones buried there before 1888 ("over thirty years ago") may have been interred without stones, considering the limited financial resources accorded the family by censuses of that era. The stepmother Susanna returned to England, where—as Susan Cowlin, widow—she is listed in the 1861 census household of her father, Robert Townsend, in Ramsey.[28]

GENEALOGICAL SUMMARY: THREE GENERATIONS

1. Matthew[2] Cowlin aka Cowling (Joseph[1]) was born 27 July 1840 at Glassmoor, Whittlesey, Cambridgeshire[29]—then a market town in the parishes of Saint Andrew and Saint Mary—in the northern division of the hundred of Witchford, Isle of Ely.[30] His father, Joseph Cowlin (Cowling), a farm laborer born at Wistow, Huntingdonshire,[31] was possibly the son of John (or Joseph) and Frances [—?—] Cowling.[32] Matthew's mother was Mary Hancock, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (née Seaton) Hancock of Upwood, county Huntingdon.[33] The family's move to nearby Ramsey, in Huntingdonshire (now a part of county Cambridge), apparently occurred at such a tender age for Matthew that he believed himself born there.[34] He died 24 September 1925 at Toledo in Lucas County, Ohio, and is buried there in Memorial Park.[35] On 1 July 1866 at Muskegon, Muskegon County, Michigan, he married **Maria E. Loomis.**[36] Maria, said by Loomis researchers to be the daughter of Morgan and Charlotte (Banks) Loomis, was born 28 April 1846 in New York and died 6 June 1894, near old Box Butte City, Nebraska.[37]

The "city" of Matthew's childhood hardly merited that description given it by "In England 1851." Rather than a city, Ramsey was a market town and parish, situated eleven miles north-northeast from Huntingdon and some sixty-eight miles north-by-west from London.[38] When the family walked its streets for the last time, its 4,644 or so inhabitants were chiefly engaged in agriculture.[39] Joseph Cowling had settled his household temporarily amid five other families on a large farm owned by one Samuel Golding, north of the town.[40] The spires remembered by Matthew may have been those of Ramsey Abbey, an ancient Benedictine monastery. The parish church, also ancient, was a fine edifice dedicated to Saint Thomas à Becket—its masonry still good. Battlemented and surmounted by pinnacles at the four corners, it boasted a tower that pealed six bells.[41]

Agriculture suffered greatly during the decade Matthew lived in England, and many of his countrymen already had emigrated to America. The General Enclosure Act that had governed England for a century—requiring all land in the open-field parishes to be enclosed and divided among parish landowners—had been harsh on rural families; and Huntingdonshire was part of the wet-clay belt of the Midlands, where enclosure had long been postponed. It was an expensive business, especially when the land was poor. Field boundaries had to be marked, hedges planted, ditches dug, and new, straight roads laid out with wide verges. The concomitant costs were the proverbial last-nail-in-the-coffin for many peasant farmers, who saw no solution but to sell their meager holdings and seek work elsewhere.[42] It is no wonder that Matthew's family, buffeted by that economic maelstrom, set out to seek "a land so fair and free."

The distance to Liverpool, the port from which they sailed, is approximately 300 kilometers or 186 miles. Although Matthew gives little detail about the train ride in his poem, it would have been primitive by today's standards; and ample accounts

exist to document the realism of the bustling seaport of Liverpool. Matthew may have been awed by the great sailing ships, but Susanna and his sisters more likely were repelled by the hordes of roughneck teamsters, roustabouts, and sailors and by the odor of rotting seafood and caged animals waiting to be loaded. The Cowlins were surely torn between fright, bravado, and excitement.

Matthew Cowlin spent his youth in or near Cazenovia, Madison County, New York, where he learned the carpentry trade. At twenty-one, he enlisted in the Union Army, Company A, of the Seventy-sixth New York Volunteer Infantry. His enlistment papers describe him as 5 feet, 8 inches tall, with a light complexion, brown hair, and blue eyes. He was wounded in action in the Second Battle of Bull Run on 28 August 1862 and later served as a colonel's orderly (sometimes called *servant*). He fought in the Battle of Gettysburg in 1863, was promoted to first sergeant on 16 March 1864, and transferred to Company D on 10 October, before being given an early discharge on 5 November 1864.[43]

Allegedly, Matthew saved the life of a fellow soldier, Sergeant Alexander Loomis, by shooting a sniper who had Loomis in his sights.[44] Extant records show only that during the Battle of the Wilderness in Virginia, about 6 May 1864, the orderly, Sergeant Matthew Cowlin—who shared Loomis's tent—sent his comrade to the hospital.[45] After the war, the two men continued their friendship, settling near one another in Hobart, Indiana[46] (and, temporarily, in Michigan, where Matthew married Alexander Loomis's sister, Maria[47]).

Matthew and Maria raised their family in Hobart. He constructed or renovated houses for resale[48] and served on the building committee of the Methodist Episcopal Church.[49] Maria, developing health problems that were diagnosed in that era as "mental," was institutionalized 1877–79 in the Hospital of the Insane in Indianapolis. Her "epileptic mania" was said to have persisted for a year, triggered by the birth of her last child.[50] Declared incurable and "not capable of doing any business," she was sent home. When Matthew applied for permission to sell real estate without her consent in 1882, he believed her condition to be permanent.[51]

As railroads ploughed through the western plains, Nebraska advertised for settlers.[52] In July 1885, Matthew Cowlin succumbed to the lure,[53] following the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad to the tent town of Hay Springs in newly formed Sheridan County.[54] His brother-in-law, Alexander Loomis, had ventured there earlier, traveling by wagon the 135 miles or so from the land office at Valentine to the area called Box Butte.[55] Matthew also stopped at Valentine, where he made a timber-culture application for 180 acres in Sheridan County. Although there were no woody roots to tangle around a plow on his new land, Matthew probably missed the large trees he'd used for carpentry in New York, Michigan, and Indiana. His entire parcel was devoid of trees, but he soon rectified that.[56]

In February 1886, Matthew filed a homestead application for another 160 acres and, three days later, entered his new tract. When the weather warmed, he applied his carpentry skills to the framing of a house, fourteen feet by twenty-five feet at one

"dimension" and twelve by fourteen at the other. By 12 May, he had brought out his family and moved them in, then turned his energy toward the mixed prairie sod that was thick with wooly grass. That first spring, he broke eight acres.[57]

Within a year, Matthew had tilled twenty-eight more acres; by 1888, fifty-three, and by 1890 sixty more. By 1893, a barn, a granary, a henhouse, and sheds stood on the site; and two and three-quarter miles of fence wrapped around the property.[58] Not that he toiled alone. Children in Sheridan County worked the parental farms, school terms being only three months long. Boys walked behind the plows. Girls tended chickens and the garden, as well as the cooking and sewing.[59] The contributions of the children were particularly important to this family's welfare, as Maria apparently continued to suffer epileptic seizures. According to tradition, the laudanum prescribed for her illness drew her further away from the real world and loved ones.[60]

Tied to the home because of Maria's illness, Matthew had difficulty making the family's needed business trips; but three are documented. On 28 December 1892, in adjacent Dawes County—in the bustling lumber town of Chadron—he finally swore his allegiance to the United States of America.[61] Forever patriotic, he would never forget his commitment to his adopted country.[62] Two months later, he accompanied three friends and neighbors back to Chadron to file his final homestead proof with the federal land office. Due to Maria's illness, he was unable to return for his certificate until January 1894, nearly a year late.[63]

Maria languished through the winter of 1893–94, then died on 6 June 1894.[64] She is buried at the Box Butte graveyard, now called Pioneer Cemetery, in northern Box Butte County. On a windswept hill a few miles from the now-plowed fields that used to be Box Butte City, Matthew built a small picket fence around Maria's grave, in lieu of a tombstone. Until he moved away, Matthew regularly climbed the hill to whitewash and repair the boards.[65] Perhaps it was when he finally moved that Matthew instructed his son Willard:

. . . Do Not Forget

Do not forget that mother's grave
On each memorial day. . . .
—M.C. 1914

Matthew was still in Box Butte Precinct in 1900;[66] about 1905, he relocated in Moomaw, some eighteen miles south of Hay Springs but still in Sheridan County.[67] Sometime between 1910 and 1915 he moved back east to Toledo, Ohio, to be near his daughter, Laura.[68] He was still with her when, on 24 September 1925, he committed suicide by hanging himself in his carpentry shop at the back of the house. It was his second attempt—he had first tried gas.[69] According to family tradition, he was dying of prostate cancer and the pain had become intolerable.[70] His death certificate noted that illness was contributory.[71] By the terms of his will, drawn the day before, his estate of about nine thousand dollars, including a lot in Toledo, was divided equally among his children.[72]

In the following passage, written before his illness, Matthew Cowlin describes himself and the principles that guided him through life:

From Over the Sea

. . . I'm glad that I have lived so long
And keep my health and feel so strong
I've tried to live as all men should
And tried to keep my habits good.

And while mixing with the busy throng
Have learned my life I can prolong.
I spend much time in the open air
And all those blessings, I now share.
A game of cards I never learned to play
And have all that time to walk each day.
Pie or cake, I seldom eat now I'm old,
Or eat but little meat, hot or cold.

I did not live three years in one
As many of my comrades have done.
I never use that filthy weed
And for rum, I have no need.

I only eat the things I think I need
And at the time one should feed.
I cultivate every pleasant tho't or smile
And keep good natured all the while.

I may have broken the golden rule,
But I never called a child a mule.
To them I try to be always kind
And in them a friend I always find. . . .
—On My 76th Birthday 1917

The children of Matthew[2] and Maria E. (Loomis) Cowlin/Cowling were

\+ 2 i. Alice Jane[3] Cowlin, born 25 December 1866;[73] died 21 November 1928;[74] married 30 October 1885 at Hobart, Indiana, J. A. Stevens.[75]

\+ 3 ii. Laura May Cowlin, born 24 September 1874;[76] died 19 January 1951;[77] married (1) 24 September 1892, at Box Butte, Nebraska, Clarence Albert Benedict;[78] (2) 1 February 1911, at Norwalk, Ohio, Manley Webb;[79] (3) 28 September 1921, Lucas County, Ohio, James W. Storr;[80] (4) 23 November 1925, Toledo, Ohio, Joseph Murphy;[81] and (5), about 1928, Leodore Saindon.[82]

4 iii. Matthew Willard "Will" Cowlin, born 20 April 1876 in Indiana (probably Hobart, Lake County);[83] died 15 July 1951 at Byron, Shiawassee County, Michigan; buried in Fremont Cemetery at Bancroft, Shiawassee County.[84] He married 5 February 1929, at Byron, Lenora "Nora" Zella (née Blain) Small, daughter of Marion and Eleanor (née Moore) Blain.[85] Called "Will"

or Willard by his family,[86] he was a farmer for most of his life.[87] On 28 May 1906, he received his own homestead patent for 160 acres in Sheridan County, Nebraska.[88] Though he is listed as a resident of Box Butte when he sold this property in 1905, he signed the papers in Lincoln, Nebraska.[89] In 1910, the census taker identified him as a single male, cook, and rancher in Sharp Precinct of Sheridan County.[90]

Both Will and Lenora were in their fifties when they married. Twice wed before, Lenora was a widow.[91] Although they resided in Osceola Township of Livingston County, Michigan, at the time of their marriage,[92] they farmed in Bancroft, adjacent Shiawassee County, and retired to Byron (also in Shiawassee) about 1946.[93]

Willard's death, reminiscent of his father's, was a suicide. Despondent over a serious diabetic condition, he hanged himself in the garage at his home.[94] Lenora died 6 February 1953 and is also buried in Bancroft's Fremont Cemetery.[95]

2. Alice Jane[3] Cowlin (Matthew[2], Joseph[1]), born 25 December 1866 at Hobart, Lake County, Indiana;[96] died 21 November 1928 at Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa; buried there in Glendale Cemetery.[97] On 30 October 1885, at Hobart, she married **James** (or **John) Alfred "Al" Stevens,** son of Marion and Maria (née Die) Stevens.[98] Al died at Des Moines also, on 13 January 1947.[99]

During the early years of their marriage, Alice and Al resided in northwestern Indiana,[100] where Al worked on the railroad.[101] About 1915, the family moved to Des Moines, where he became a "street-car man" for the city.[102] After Alice died—at home, the victim of "failing heart or hypertension"[103]—Al lived at Des Moines's Grand Hotel. A member of the Moose Lodge, he retired several years before his death from septicemia, following a prostatic resection.[104]

Children of James (or John) Alfred and Alice Jane[3] (Cowlin) Stevens were

5 i. Matthew Marion[4] Stevens, born 11 July 1886;[105] died 13 April 1941 at Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa; buried in Glendale Cemetery.[106] Married to M. Marie [—?—], he was a bookkeeper in Des Moines.[107] He died at the Polk County Home.[108]

6 ii. Leon Leroy Stevens, born 2 December 1887; died 19 February 1888.[109]

7 iii. Neil Nathaniel Stevens, born 24 March 1889;[110] lived in Gary, Indiana, in 1947.[111] No further information.

8 iv. Willard Willis Stevens, born 13 January 1892,[112] at Hobart, Lake County, Indiana; died 17 September 1966 at Mercy Hospital in Davenport, Scott County, Iowa; buried in Memorial Park.[113]

Willard married Alta Cox in 1929, at Adel in Dallas County, Iowa.[114] In 1931 he was a foreman, in 1932 a superintendent, and in 1933 the manager at Badger Body Manufacturing Company in Des Moines. In 1934 he was a mechanic at General Motors Truck Company.[115] Moving to Davenport in 1936, he was a plant superintendent for Hiland Potato Chip Company.

He was a veteran of World War I. Alta, who had been previously married, died in 1942.[116]

9 v. Myrtle Marie Stevens, born 9 November 1893 at Griffith, Lake County, Indiana;[117] died 1 October 1975 at Mesa, Maricopa County, Arizona, but was taken back to Des Moines for burial.[118] She married (1) Gordon V. Loos; and (2) Benjamin S. DuBois,[119] son of Nathan L. and Josephine (née Katzenberger) DuBois.[120] Gordon and Myrtle were divorced; he died 26 March 1959.[121] Benjamin, a World War I veteran, lived with Myrtle in Des Moines through 1961. Before retiring in 1958, he was a glass cutter for Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company and a member of the American Legion and the Teamsters Union. He died about 1961.[122]

10 vi. Ralph Donald Stevens, born 22 November 1895,[123] apparently at Griffith, Lake County, Indiana; died 22 February 1959 at Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa; buried in Polk County's Highland Memorial Gardens.[124] He married Blanche Isola King, daughter of Robert Wills and Mary Jane (née Wilson) King.[125] Ralph, a foreman in Des Moines's street department from 1942 to 1960, lived with Blanche at the same address where his father had lived in 1915.[126] Blanche died 12 August 1968 in Shaller, Iowa, the town where she was born. Funeral services were conducted in Des Moines, and she is buried there.[127]

3. Laura May[3] Cowlin (Matthew[2], Joseph[1]), born 24 September 1874 at Hobart, Lake County, Indiana; died 19 January 1951 at Battle Creek, Calhoun County, Michigan; buried in Memorial Park in Battle Creek.[128] She married (1) 24 September 1892, Box Butte, Box Butte County, Nebraska, **Clarence Albert Benedict,**[129] son of Jacob and Lovilla C. (née Dewey) Benedict;[130] (2) 1 February 1911, Norwalk, Huron County, Ohio, **Manley Webb;**[131] (3) 28 September 1921, Lucas County, Ohio, **James W. Storr,** son of Thomas and Jennie (née Husker) Storr;[132] (4) 23 November 1925, Toledo, Lucas County, Ohio, **Joseph Murphy,** son of Thomas J. and Anna (Callohon or Callahan) Murphy;[133] and (5) about 1928,[134] **Leodore Saindon,** son of Jacques Saindon.[135]

Laura was employed during her younger years as a domestic and as a store cashier and clerk.[136] She was active in the Daughters of the Union Veterans, the American War Mothers, the Women's Relief Corps, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the Methodist Church.[137]

Clarence Albert Benedict was a Sheridan County, Nebraska, farmer, stagecoach driver, and mail carrier when he met Laura.[138] His homestead was not as successful as his father-in-law's;[139] and in 1897 he sold his property and took his young family to Blackfoot, Idaho, to live in a tent.[140] From there, they migrated to Painesville, Ohio[141]—where, in 1900, Clarence worked as a freight handler.[142] The family moved to Willard, Ohio, for several years[143] before 1906, when Clarence left Laura and took with him two of their children, Charlotte and Virgil.[144] At first they stayed with his mother and stepfather, the Albert Williamses, while Clarence did odd jobs for the Williams and neighboring farmers; but soon Clarence took Charlotte and

Virgil still further west. In Ottumwa, Iowa, they rented rooms; and the teenaged Charlotte did cooking. Clarence worked at the Morrell Packing Company plant, driving a mule on an open two-wheeled tank that picked up the entrails of the butchered animals.

The splintered family soon broke up again. Charlotte left her father and brother and moved to the small town of Buxton, Iowa—where she married about 1909—and Virgil was placed with a Rouse family. Clarence left the packing plant and threshed grain on area farms. After harvest, in the fall of 1906, he left for Tacoma, Washington, where he worked as a lumberman and teamster and later sent for Virgil.[145] On 18 November 1909, Laura filed for divorce; it was granted 4 March 1910, giving her custody of their youngest child, Gladys.[146] Clarence married twice more. About 1920, he came back to Iowa and lived briefly at Albia before settling, for the last nineteen years of his life, in Des Moines as an engineer/fireman at Iowa Methodist Hospital. He died at Grayson Nursing Home in Des Moines on 16 April 1948 and is buried in Albia.[147]

Manley Webb of Norwalk, Ohio, whom Laura married a year after her divorce, was a steel-mill machinist who had been wed previously to Margaret P. [—?—].[148] By 2 July 1920, when Laura petitioned to end this nine-year, childless marriage, she had moved to Toledo.[149]

James W. Storr, Laura's third husband, was a Toledo clerk and widower.[150] That marriage also ended in divorce, without children.[151]

Joseph Murphy, the barber Laura wed in November 1925,[152] apparently found favor with her father. However, a March 1925 poem—that Matthew surely wrote for and to her— implies a troubled relationship between the courting couple and a flight by Laura.[153]

Come Back Dear Girl

Come back dear girl to the Buckeye town
For Joe has lain his razor down
And left for parts unknown
When he found his bird had flown.

Come back to the old Maumee
Where we all will welcome thee
And breathe the fresh air once more
Beneath the trees of a cottage door. . . .

Come back, where rain falls each day
And spins along the new highway
For all will soon be green
And Joe, of course, will be seen.

—By Dad[?] Mar. 1925

Laura did return by September, the month that her cancer-stricken father hanged himself at theToledo home they shared.[154] Amid her grief, she married Murphy,

who had also been wed and divorced, although but once.[155] He and Laura resided in Toledo until about 1928, when that union dissolved without children.[156]

Leodore Saindon, Laura's fifth and final husband, was a farmer near Garnet, Kansas, where they lived until about 1934.[157] At his death, 18 December 1937, he resided in Pacoima, Los Angeles County, California.[158] There were no offspring born of this marriage either.[159]

Children of Clarence Albert and Laura May[3] (Cowlin) Benedict were

11 i. Charlotte "Lottie"[4] Benedict, born 16 March 1892[160] or 1893 in Nebraska; died 12 September 1968 in Phoenix, Maricopa County, Arizona; buried in a cemetery on Van Buren Street in Phoenix.[161] She married (1) about 1909 in Fremont, Iowa, Henry Lentz;[162] (2) after 1918, Guy Stout;[163] and (3) 21 August 1946,[164] Christ Julius Norem, son of Nels and Dorothy [—?—] Norem.[165] Charlotte, a cook,[166] spent much of her life in Iowa. Lentz, a railroad-section boss, died of flu during World War I. Stout died about 1940 in Des Moines.[167] Norem, who had first married Charlotte's sister Alice, died 22 April 1957 and is buried in the veterans' section of the Van Buren Street Cemetery in Phoenix.[168]

12 ii. Edwin Leroy "Roy" Benedict, born 22 July 1894 on a farm twenty-five miles south of Hay Springs, Nebraska;[169] died 20 March 1941 at Pearl Harbor, Honolulu, Hawaii;[170] buried Veterans Cemetery, Los Angeles, California.[171] Roy is believed to have married twice, but neither wife's name is known.[172] Although his mother stated that he resided with her at the time she filed for divorce in 1909,[173] the census of 1910 records him as a hired man and student living in another household.[174] He enlisted 10 June 1913 in the U.S. Navy and made that his career. His complexion was ruddy; he had blue eyes, was 5 feet 7 and 7/8 inches tall, and had a deformed little finger on his left hand. Roy completed his original tour of duty on 16 November 1914 but reenlisted and served through World War I. Attached to the ship *Minnesota* when it was mined on 19 September 1918, he received a Victory Medal and Atlantic Fleet Clasp. Reenlisting as a chief signalman on 5 June 1923, he served on several ships until 15 July 1929, when he was transferred from active duty to the Fleet Naval Reserve. Called back into active service in 1940,[175] he died from an explosion on his destroyer (the *Alwyn*) the spring before World War II began.[176]

13 iii. Alice Irene Benedict aka Waters, born 18 April 1896[177] or 1897[178] while the family lived in a tent at Blackfoot, Bingham County, Idaho;[179] died 20 February 1991 at Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa.[180] She married (1) 2 February 1921 at Des Moines, Christ Julius Norem, son of Nels Norem—who had emigrated from Norway at age fifteen—and his wife Dorothy [—?—]; (2) 13 August 1946 at Kansas City, Missouri, Carl William Overton; and (3) 20 March 1983 at Carlisle, Warren County, Iowa, Mansel Herman Goin.[181]

Alice Irene was adopted as an infant by her Aunt Clara Alice (Benedict) Waters and Clara's husband, Harry Waters. When Clara died soon after, Irene was taken to an orphanage,[182] from where she became the foster child

of William H. and Lucinda Trumbo.[183] A favorite foster brother drowned in 1910, and in February 1911 her fostermother died. When, the following May, her foster father hung himself in the barn, she was returned to the orphanage in Cleveland. A lady who had "been like a sister during her childhood" helped her obtain a job in the Children's Home[184] or Institution for the Feeble Minded in Columbus.[185]

During Irene's tenure at the Columbus facility, a matron there helped her find her birth family. Traveling to a birth uncle's home (that of Stephen Benedict in Painesville, Ohio), she attended the funeral of his little son and met—for the first time, in her recollection—her brother Virgil. With Virgil, she went to Mount Clemens, Michigan, obtained temporary employment there, and soon traveled to Iowa for a happy reunion with her sister Charlotte. On the way to Michigan, however, Virgil and Irene stopped in Toledo. When they attempted to visit their mother Laura, according to Virgil, the door was slammed in their faces.[186] (Irene did not mention this rebuff to the writer when she told the story of her life.) In later years, Laura did acknowledge Irene as her birth daughter; but the pair were never close. Irene frequently saw her father when they both resided in Des Moines.

Julius Norem and Irene worked at the Iowa Methodist Hospital in Des Moines, when they married at the chaplain's home. Julius, a World War I veteran, was an engineer; Irene worked the kitchen.[187] After their divorce, apparently not long before her 1946 remarriage, Julius wed Irene's sister Charlotte.

Carl Overton, Irene's second husband, died 9 March 1982.[188] The octogenarian Irene then wed her longtime neighbor, Mansel Goin (widower of Lorna [—?—]), whose only son, according to Irene, was a "namesake" of Irene's son Don.[189] Irene and Mansel, a truck driver before his retirement, lived in his home in Des Moines until shortly before her death.[190]

14 iv. Virgil Merrill Benedict, born 29 August 1898 at Painesville, Lake County, Ohio;[191] died 24 October 1989 at Battle Creek, Calhoun County, Michigan; buried Memorial Park, Battle Creek.[192] He married (1) 13 May 1924, Springfield Township, Kalkaska County, Michigan, Lottie Mae Fuller, daughter of William Rufas and Maryetta "Mattie" Eveline (Button) Fuller;[193] and (2) 12 August 1978 at Battle Creek, Sara "Sadie" Betsy (née French) Brown,[194] the daughter of Wesley Newell and Nellie Mae (Reid) French and the widow of Clayton Arden Brown.[195] Virgil, a veteran of the U.S. Marine Corps in World War I, was a dairyman and a landlord. Lottie Mae, a graduate of Kalkaska County Normal, who taught school one year before her marriage, continued religious education and other Methodist church and community work. They jointly owned the Battle Creek Dairy from 1947 to about 1960.[196] Lottie died 15 August 1977 and is buried at Battle Creek's Memorial Park.[197] After Virgil's remarriage, he and Sadie remained in Battle Creek, where they were prominent in their church and enjoyed gardening—and where Virgil continued as an active landlord until he was over ninety.[198]

15 v. Gladys Lucille Benedict, born 16 May 1901 at Painesville in Lake County, Ohio;[199] died 7 December 1969 at Toledo, Lucas County, Ohio; buried Forest Cemetery, Toledo.[200] She married (1) 22 November 1919 in Lucas County, David Braddock, son of William and Mary (Noble) Braddock;[201] and (2) Harvey J. Wines.[202] Gladys lived with her mother at the time of Laura's 1907 divorce petition,[203] but the census of 1910 shows that she was boarded out to another family.[204] An assembler for the Dura Corporation in Toledo for seventeen years, Gladys retired three years before her death.[205] David, a baker and pastry cook[206] whom Gladys divorced, died 14 September 1964 in Toledo and is buried there.[207] Harvey, for twenty-seven years a machine operator at Bingham Stamping Company in Toledo, died in that city on 15 December 1977.[208]

Researchers frequently wish that ancestors had left written accounts of their lives. Matthew did; yet his descendants have wished for straight prose—a simple diary or common letters that would point explicitly, rather than obliquely, to his past. Ultimately, his writings revealed much about himself and his family—once his descendants cultivated the patience to ponder riddles and sort out details—with personality that dances, muses, and teases across the yellowed pages. This descendant is grateful that Matthew wrote his poems; that Laura preserved them for offspring who cherish them; and that the puzzle of the Cowlin/Cowling family could thus be challenged, unraveled, and rewoven.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

* 718 South Thirty-fifth Street; Galesburg, MI 49053. Ms. Grindol compiled and authored *The Grindol Family Genealogy* (1983) and edited her father's genealogy that she published as *The Descendants of Virgil Merrill Benedict by His Wife Lottie Mae Fuller* (1989). She is the editor of *Kalamazoo Valley Heritage* (newsletter of the Kalamazoo Valley [Michigan] Genealogical Society) and *Benedict Family News,* a national quarterly newsletter. She also conducts genealogical classes for the Kalamazoo Valley Genealogical Society

1. Unpublished poems of Matthew Cowlin, in two small notebooks. One, in Matthew's handwriting, is in the possession of the writer; the other, a copy made by Matthew's daughter Laura, is held by the writer's brother, Benjamin A. Benedict; 8106 SE Carlton St.; Portland, OR 97206.

2. 1860 U.S. Census, Population Schedule, Madison Co., N.Y., town of Cazenovia, p. 46, dwelling 411, family 411, for the household of Daniel B. Webb.

3. 1890 U.S. Cens., Special Schedule of Veterans & Widows, gives the same unit for Matthew; see Nebr., Sheridan Co., Box Butte precinct, p. 1, enumeration district [ED] 420.

4. Military and pension records of Matthew Cowlin, Sergeant, Soldier's Certificate no. 572,157, Companies A and D, 76th N.Y. Infantry; Civil War and Later Pension Files; Records of the Veterans Administration, Record Group 15; National Archives, Washington, D.C.

5. Muskegon Co., Mich., Marriage Book 1: 114.

6. Sharon L. Miller, CGRS; 1610 Heights Ravenna Road; Ravenna, MI 49451.

7. Elisha Scott Loomis, *Descendants of Joseph Loomis in America and His Antecedents in the Old World* (1908; reprinted, Fresno, Calif.: John E. Loomis, 1981), 275. For an analysis of portions of this book and its reliability, see Gordon L. Remington, "Law of the Land *v.* Copycat Genealogies: What Proves Asahel Drake's Parentage?" *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 83 (September 1995): 180–91.

8. Elsewhere in this poem, in stanzas not repeated here, Matthew speaks of others important in his life—the "Kinzeys," a family with whom he spent that Christmas 1918 (location not stated); and "Willie Omara" in Peters, Nebr., to whom he attached an enigmatic line about "Mary's lamb."

The "Kinzeys" proved to be kinsmen. Florence Mabel Newcomer, a granddaughter of Matthew's sister

Elizabeth, married Everett "Mike" Kinzy. They resided in Ellis, Kans., according to her obituary in the *Ellis Review,* 21 June 1956.

No relationship has been found with the O'Maras. William O'Mara and his wife Frances resided between 1900 and 1920 in Sheridan Co., Nebr. See 1900 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Mirage precinct, ED 180, p. 1, line 68; 1910 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Hay Springs Village, township 31, range 46, ED 212, sheet 4B, Miller St.; and 1920 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Running Water precinct, ED 234, p. 2A, line 10. The Mary with the lamb appears to be O'Mara's youngest daughter. For a fuller discussion of this family, see Patricia Pinney's O'Mara sketch in *The History of Hay Springs, Nebraska, and the Surrounding Area: The First 100 Years 1885–1985,* Hay Springs Centennial Book Committee, ed. (Dallas: Curtis Media, 1985), 420.

9. 1910 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Trego Co., Kans., Glencoe Twp., ED 225, p. 2, line 1.

10. Elizabeth Orton death certificate (died 19 August 1923), reg. no. 74, Kans. State Board of Health; Matthew Cowlin death certificate, Lucas Co., Ohio, local file no. 2817.

11. 1851 Cens. of England, Huntingdonshire, Ramsey Parish, p. 163 b, for Goldings Farm; Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' Family History Library, Salt Lake City (hereinafter FHL), microfilm 288,835. One of the families on Goldings Farm was that of James and Ann "Handcock," possibly related to Matthew's mother, Mary Hancock.

12. Passenger list of the *John I. Lucy* from Liverpool, arrival at port of N.Y., 17 November 1851, p. 2 , FHL microfilm 175,463, no. 107.

13. Matthew Cowlin death certificate, Lucas Co., Ohio, local file no. 2817.

14. W. P. W. Phillimore, ed., *Huntingdonshire Parish Registers: Marriages,* vol. 1 (London: Phillimore & Co., 1912), 95.

15. Mary Cowling death record (died 22 June 1848, Ramsey, age 36 years), no. [?43], General Register Office, London. Certified copy in possession of writer.

16. Joseph Cowlin–Susannah Townsend marriage record (married 19 October 1849, Ramsey), no. 380, General Register Office, London. Certified copy in possession of writer.

17. Matthew Cowling birth record (born 27 July 1840, Glassmoor, Whittlesey), registered 6 August 1840, no. 226; and Sarah Cowling birth record (born 3 April 1846, Ramsey), registered 26 April 1846, no. [?40—part of number is missing], General Register Office, London. Certified copies in possession of writer.

See also 1841 Cens. of England, Cambridgeshire, Whittlesey, St. Mary and St. Andrew Parishes, p. 13, FHL microfilm 241,228. Here the family name is spelled *Kowland.* Although relationships to the head were not stated that year, another probable brother of Matthew was included—George, age nine. A George Cowling, age 21, appears on the 1851 Cens. of Huntingdonshire, p. 162b, in Marriotts Drove near Goldings Farm; he was a servant in the household of William Rose, as was another lad, John Cowling, age 15.

18. 1880 U.S. Cens., Madison Co., N.Y., Fenner Twp., ED 56, p. 8, dwell. 183, fam. 201. Cora and Clinton Hatch are in the household of his father, Leroy Hatch. See also 1900 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Madison Co., town of Fenner, ED 10, p. 2, dwell. 48, fam. 48. This year's information on Cora's parents states they were both born in N.Y. and conflicts with that of other census years. See also 1910 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Madison Co., town of Fenner, ED 10, p. 5A, line17; and 1920 U.S. cens., Madison Co., town of Fenner, ED 107, p. 8, line 55.

19. Death record for Cora B. Hatch (died 31 May 1937), Fenner, Madison Co., N.Y., book unnumbered. The clerk who provided this record recalled that "someone in the neighborhood's mother was a Hatch." As a result, contact was later made with living descendants, including Lillis Cora Boss, the granddaughter of Cora (Cowlin) Kinning and Melissa Prevo, Cora's great-grandaughter.

20. "Cazenovia (N.Y.) Records of C.M.E. Church 1830–1900," vol. 310 of "DAR Cemetery Records," pp. 1–106, MS, N.Y. State Library, Albany.

21. 1855 N.Y. State Cens., Onondaga Co., town of Lafayette, p. 122, line 5, for Charles W. Hoyt household.

22. 1860 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Onondaga Co., N.Y., town of Lafayette, p. 88, dwell. 726, fam. 747, for Harlo[w] Orton household.

23. 1860 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Madison Co., N.Y., town of Cazenovia, p. 46, dwell. 411, fam. 411, for the household of Daniel B. Webb.

24. Family records of Jenna Clayton Smith (15767 119th Place SE; Renton, WA 98058), Cindy Young (896 Carthage Court; Concord, CA 94518-3411), and Alicia Mattoon (North 5113 McDonald Rd.; Spokane, WA 99216).

25. "Keeler-Cowlin: on the 13th inst. by Esli S. Perkins, Esqu., Mr. Chas H. Keeler and Miss Sarah J. Cowlin, both of Onondaga," *Cazenovia Republican,* 16 December 1863, p. 3.

26. "Family Reunion at Hatch Farm," *Cazenovia Republican,* 22 August 1918, p. 1.

27. 1920 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Madison Co., N.Y., Cazenovia, ED 103, p. 2, line 91, Albany St., for Dudley D. Norton, "proprietor of a garage."

28. 1861 cens. of England, Ramsey, Huntingdonshire, for Robert Townsend household, FHL microfilm 542,729.

29. Matthew Cowling birth record (born 27 July 1840, Glassmoor, Whittlesey), registered 6 August 1840, no. 226, General Register Office, London.

30. R. B. Pugh, ed., *A History of Cambridge[shire] and The Isle of Ely,* vol. 4 of The Victoria History of the Counties of England Series (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1953), 123.

31. 1851 cens. of England, Huntingdonshire, Ramsey Ph., p. 163b, for Goldings Farm.

32. A search of the parish registers of Upwood and Wistow, reported in a letter to this writer, dated 12 July 1994, from Cambridge Co. Record Office (Grammar School Walk; Huntingdon, PE186LF, England), produced only one record in which a Cowling boy was christened around the time of Joseph's birth; this Joseph's parents are said to be *John* and Frances. However, the marriage record for Joseph Cowling to Susannah Townsend cites Joseph's father as *Joseph,* not John; see entry for 19 October 1849, no. 380, General Register Office, London.

33. As reported in letter of Cambridge Co. Record Office to this writer, 12 July 1994, from that office's search of the registers of Upwood and Wistow.

34. Matthew Cowlin pension record, SC 572,157, National Archives.

35. Matthew Cowlin death certificate, Lucas Co., Ohio, local file no. 2817.

36. Muskegon Co., Mich., Marr. Book 1: 114.

37. Loomis, *Descendants of Joseph Loomis*, 275, gives only her birthdate and names of her parents, although it places her father in Summit, Schoharie Co., N.Y., and also cites a census entry for the parental household in Worchester Twp., Otsego Co., N.Y. That state is also cited as her place of birth on the 1880 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Lake Co., Ind., Hobart Twp., p. 30, dwell. 327, fam. 327. Maria's death date is drawn from Matthew's 1915 military pensionner's questionnaire, filed in SC 572, 157, National Archives. Her death place is derived from the family's place of residence at the time of her death and from her place of burial.

38. James Hatfield?, *History and Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Huntingdon; Comprising a General Survey of the County and Embracing Separate Historical Descriptions of the United Boroughs of Huntingdon and Godmanchester; and all the Market Towns; Together with Notices of Every Parish* (Huntingdon : James Hatfield, 1854), 382.

39. *1851 Census, Enumberator's [*sic*] Schedules: Huntingdon District, Ramsey Sub-District, HO/107/1748/1; Parishes of Ramsey [and] Upwood* (Huntingdon: Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire Family History Societies, 1991), 112–13.

40. Ibid.; see also *Ordnance Survey Maps of England and Wales,* sheet 44 (1866; reprinted, Newton Abbot, Devon: David & Charles Brunel House, 1980).

41. *History and Gazetteer and Directory of the County of Huntingdon,* 370–72.

42. Michael Wickes, *A History of Huntingdonshire* (Chichester, Sussex: Phillimore, 1985), 105–6.

43. Matthew Cowlin military and pension record, SC 572,157, National Archives.

44. Oral interview with Alex Loomis, June 1992, Alliance, Nebr. Alex Loomis is the grandson of Serg. Alexander Loomis (1843–98).

45. Affidavit of Matthew Cowlin, 21 January 1891; see also Alexander Loomis, Serg., pension file SC 153,341, and widow's pension file WC 501,225, Companies A, C, H, 76th N.Y. Infantry; Civil War and Later Pension Files; Records of the Veterans Administration, Record Group 15; National Archives.

46. Lake Co., Ind., Deed Books 4: 225–26; 8: 104; 9: 186, 194; 13: 59, 426, 485–86; 14: 267; 18: 122; 23: 8; 33: 364, 496–97; and 37: 374. Regarding the residences of Alexander, his pension file cites his address in March 1870 as Nunica, Ottawa Co., Mich, and his address in 1873 as Hobart, Lake Co., Ind. He also appears on the 1880 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Lake Co., Ind., Hobart Twp., ED 67, p. 2, dwell. 10, fam. 10.

47. The marriage record of Matthew and Maria gives their residences as Muskegon. The pension record of Alexander Loomis, WC 501,225, claim dated 3 March 1871, cites Alexander's address as Nunica, Ottawa Co., Mich. [near Muskegon].

48. Lake Co., Ind., Deed Books 4: 225–26; 8: 104; 9: 186, 194; 13: 59, 426, 485–86; 14: 267; 18: 122; 23: 8; 33: 364, 496–97; and 37: 374.

49. Weston A. Goodspeed and Charles Blanchard, eds., *Counties of Porter and Lake, Indiana* [N.p.: F. A. Battey & Co., 1882), 529.

50. 1880 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Lake Co., Ind., Hobart twp., ED 67, p. 30, dwell. 327, fam. 327, reports Maria Cowlin to be insane. See also 1880 U.S. Cens., Supplemental Schedules, nos. 1 to 7 (Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes), Hobart Twp., ED 67, p. 6676A, line 6. See also "Central State Hospital Admission Record, Women," p. 134, no. 3362; and "DMH/Central State Hospital, County Book, Women, 11-1-1876"; both MS at Ind. State Archives, Indianapolis. A typed card indicates that she was discharged a decade later, but this appears

to be an error; the year is scribbled over and no such record could be found in the appropriate books.

51. Guardianship papers of Maria E. Cowlin, no. 313, box 8, filed 2 February 1882, microfilm copy, Lake Co. Ind., probate office.

52. For example, the article "Western Journal" in the Falls City, Nebr., *Nemaha Valley Journal*, 29 April 1869, p. 1, urges Nebr. residents to write back home to family and friends, encouraging them to settle in Nebr.

53. Matthew Cowlin timber-culture file, final certificate no. 329 and application no. 4627, sect. 27, twp. 28, range 46, approved 11 April 1895; Bureau of Land Management, Cheyenne, Wyo. (hereinafter BLM-Wyo.).

54. *Recollections of Sheridan County, Nebraska* (Rushville, Nebr.?: Sheridan Co. Historical Soc., 1976), 37.

55. Oral interview with Alex Loomis, grandson of Alexander Loomis.

56. Matthew Cowlin timber-culture file.

57. Matthew Cowlin homestead file, final certificate no. 1558, application no. 5257, BLM-Wyo.

58. Ibid.

59. *Recollections of Sheridan County, Nebraska,* 160.

60. Oral interview with Alex Loomis.

61. Matthew Cowlin naturalization record, 28 December 1892, Clerk of District Court, Dawes Co., Nebr., to Mary A. Grindol; no source citation provided by the clerk. A copy of his naturalization certificate appears in his homestead application. See also "Chadron in 1892," and "Local Doings," *Dawes County [Nebr.]Journal,* 30 December 1892, p. 1.

62. In addition to the poem "Old Flag," quoted herein, Matthew also wrote others with intensely patriotic themes: "The Little Bronze Button," "Only A Volunteer," "America's Fair Share," and "A Star in the Window." These poems and a few of his others have been published in James S. Benedict, ed., *Poems of A Civil War Veteran* (San Pedro, Calif: J.B. Press, 1991).

63. Matthew Cowlin homestead file, final proof, application no. 5257.

64. Matthew Cowlin pension record, SC 572,157, for answer to questionanaire dated 13 March 1915.

65. Oral interview with Tom Manion and visit to grave site at Pioneer Cemetery, Sheridan Co., Nebr., 26 May 1992. Manion's father told him the story about "Mr. Cowlin," who had built the cemetery memorial for his wife and whitewashed the boards until he moved away. Manion reported playing in the cemetery as a boy in the 1920s and seeing the white-board grave memorial. The foundation of the fence and the four corner posts were still standing in 1992; a photograph of them is in the possession of this writer.

66. 1900 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Sheridan Co., Nebr., Box Butte p.o. and precinct, sheet 1, line 52, for Matthew Cowlin (living alone).

67. Box Butte Co., Nebr., Deed Book 5: 349. In addition to the homestead and timber-culture properties, Matthew owned other land in Sheridan Co., Nebr.—including property in the village of Hay Springs. See Sheridan Co. Deed Books *C:* 21; *L:* 213; *5:* 63; *12:* 159; *9:* 165; *17:* 362; *22:* 158 *(this tract appears to adjoin the* Box Butte Co. property at the beginning of this note); 22: 158; and 23: 35. See also Matthew's pension application; several papers in this file, dated after 1907, have Moomaw as his address (a site at which he may have been renting).

68. The 1915 questionnaire from the Dept. of the Interior, in Matthew's pension file, gives Toledo addresses for Matthew and Laura.

69. Matthew Cowlin obituary, "Funeral for Suicide to be Held Saturday," *Toledo Blade,* 25 September 1925, p. 2.

70. Taped memoirs of Virgil Benedict (1898–1989), grandson of Matthew Cowlin, made about 1986, in possession of the writer, who is Virgil's daughter.

71. Matthew Cowlin death certificate, Lucas Co., Ohio, no. 2817.

72. Lucas Co., Ohio, probate record no. 18021.

73. Miscellaneous family notes, clippings, and book pages of Alice (née Cowlin) Stevens and Myrtle (née Stevens) DuBois—formerly in possession of Ethel M. Patterson, Myrtle's daughter—include a page from a small Bible or book, with birth and death dates of the family written on one side; on the reverse is written "Alice J. Stevens, Presented by the Hobart, U.S. School to Miss Alice Cowlin 1882." In the same envelope with this page is a handwritten list of birthplaces for the family. In possession of the writer. These miscellaneous records are hereinafter referred to as the Stevens-DuBois Collection.

74. Alice Jane Stevens death certificate, no. 007-11640, Iowa Dept. of Vital Statistics, Des Moines.

75. Ibid. The name given for both the husband and the informant is "John Alfred Stevens." However, see James Stevens death certificate, no. 1405, Iowa Dept. of Vital Statistics; and obituary for James "Al" Stevens, Des Moines *Tribune,* 15 January 1947, p. 13; also *Albert* Stevens–Alice Collin *[sic]* marriage license, Lake Co., Ind., Marr. Book E: 18, and the corresponding certificate for Alfred Stevens and Alice Cowlin, indexed as *Albert* Stevens and *Allie Collins.*

76. Laura M. Saindon death certificate, Calhoun Co., Mich., local file no. 42.

77. Ibid.

78. Box Butte Co., Nebr., marr. record no. 289.

79. Lucas Co., Ohio, divorce record, journal entry filed 10 December 1920.

80. Lucas Co., Ohio, Marr. Book 42: 242.

81. Lucas Co., Ohio, Marr. Book 50: 376.

82. Leodore Saindon, death record no. 37-077522, Calif. Dept. of Public Health, Sacramento.

83. Matthew Willard Cowlin death record, Shiawassee Co., Mich., local file no. 5.

84. Ibid. See also "Byron Man Hangs Self," Owasso, Mich., *Argus Press,* 16 July 1951, p. 12.

85. Livingston Co., Mich., Marr. Book 5: 103. See also Nora Zella Cowlin death record, Livingston Co., Mich., local file no. 14.

86. Personal conversations with Laura (née Cowlin) Saindon, grandmother of this writer and sister of Willard Cowlin, ca. 1945–51.

87. "Byron Man Hangs Self," Owasso, Mich., *Argus Press,* 16 July 1951, p. 12.

88. Sheridan Co., Nebr., Deed Book 21: 351.

89. Ibid., 20: 182.

90. 1910 U.S. cens., Sheridan Co., Nebr., Sharp Pct, ED 208, p. 2, line 55. According to this record, Willard owned his own farm, free of mortgage. This is puzzling, because he had sold his homestead in 1905, and no other deeds have been found for him.

91. Livingston Co., Mich., Marr. Book 5: 103.

92. Ibid.

93. "Byron Man Hangs Self," Owasso, Mich., *Argus Press,* 16 July 1951, p. 12.

94. Ibid.

95. Nora Zella Cowlin death record, Livingston Co., Mich., local file no. 14.

96. Stevens-DuBois Collection for Bible page.

97. Alice Jane Stevens death certificate, no. 007-11640, Iowa Dept. of Vital Statistics, Ames.

98. James Stevens death certificate, no. 1405, Iowa Dept. of Vital Statistics; obituary for James "Al" Stevens, Des Moines *Tribune,* 15 January 1947, p. 13.

99. Des Moines *Tribune,* 15 January 1947, p. 13.

100. Amid the Stevens-DuBois Collection, a page from a small book reads "Myrtle M. Stevens, East Chicago, Indiana, Nov. 9, 1903." See also *Index to Lake County, Indiana School Enumerations 1890 and 1896* (N.p.: NW Ind. Gen. Soc., n.d.), 81. The children of J. A. Stevens are in St. John Twp. in 1896.

101. The Stevens-DuBois Collection also offers a handwritten note that gives his occupations.

102. Ibid. Alice Jane Stevens's death certificate cites her residence in the city for thirteen years. See also R. L. Polk, *Des Moines City Directory,* 1930, 1931, 1932, 1934, 1935 for "Jas A. Stevens" entry as a city resident. James's death certificate cites his occupation and his thirty-four years of residence in Des Moines.

103. Alice Jane Stevens death certificate.

104. James Stevens death certificate, no. 1405, Iowa Dept. of Vital Statistics.

105. Stevens-DuBois Collection for Bible page.

106. Matthew Marion Stevens obituary, Des Moines *Tribune,* 14 April 1941, p. 6A. See also *Des Moines Register,* 14 April 1941, p. 12.

107. R. L. Polk, *Des Moines City Directory,* 1941, for Matthew M. Stevens.

108. Matthew Marion Stevens obituary, *Des Moines Register,* 14 April 1941, p. 12. See also Des Moines *Tribune,* 14 April 1941, p. 6A.

109. Stevens-DuBois Collection for Bible page.

110. Ibid.

111. James "Al" Stevens obituary, Des Moines *Tribune,* 15 January 1947, p. 13.

112. Stevens-DuBois Collection for Bible page.

113. Willard Stevens obituary, Davenport, Iowa, *Democrat,* 18 September 1966, p. 12A.

114. Ibid.

115. R. L. Polk, *Des Moines City Directory,* 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, for Willard Stevens.

116. Willard Stevens obituary, Davenport, Iowa, *Democrat,* 18 September 1966, p. 12A.

117. Stevens-DuBois Collection for Bible page.

118. Undated clipping of obituary for Myrtle M. DuBois, newspaper unnamed. In possession of writer.

119. Letter, Ethel M. Patterson of Mesa, Ariz., to present writer, 18 April 1989; and follow-up phone call of 25 September 1989. The current address of Mrs. Patterson, the stepdaughter of Myrtle Marie Stevens, is unknown.

120. *Darke Co., Ohio, Birth Records, 1867–1908* (Greenville, Ohio?: Darke Co. Hist. Soc., n.d.), 91D.

121. Ethel M. Patterson to present writer, 18 April and 25 September 1989.

122. Newspaper clipping: "Rites Saturday for DuBois," newspaper unnamed and undated, in possession of present writer. His age is given as seventy-five; the year of his death, as given in the present genealogy, is calculated from the birthdate found for him in *Darke Co., Ohio, Birth Records, 1867–1908*, p. 91D.

123. Stevens-DuBois Collection for Bible page.

124. Ralph D. Stevens obituary, Des Moines *Tribune,* 22 February 1959, p. 17. See also *Tribune,* 23 February 1959, p. 19. The writer also telephoned Hamilton Funeral Home of Des Moines, on 20 October 1987, for related information.

125. Hamilton Funeral Home, computer printout, no. 19680609, Iowa Genealogical Society, Des Moines.

126. R. L. Polk, *Des Moines City Directory*, 1942, 1945, 1950, 1958, 1959, 1960, for Ralph D. Stevens.

127. Hamilton Funeral Home, computer printout. This record gives death date as 12 September 1968; but a telephone call to the mortuary, by this writer on 20 October 1987, confirmed the 12 August date. Supporting evidence is also supplied by the funeral card for Mrs. Blanche I. Stevens, in possession of writer.

128. Death certificate for Laura M. Saindon, Calhoun Co., Mich., local file no. 42.

129. Box Butte Co., Nebr., marr. record no. 289.

130. Ibid. His parents are also cited on his application for license to marry his second wife, Hattie Tuttle, Lake Co., Ohio., marr. license application no. 40. See also his death certificate, Iowa State Dept. of Health, Division of Vital Statistics, no. 8144; and Elwyn E. Benedict, *Genealogy of the Benedicts in America*, 2 vols. (East Syracuse, N.Y.?: Privately printed, 1969), 2: 489. Vol. 1 of this Benedict genealogy is an annotated republication of an 1870 compilation by Henry Marvin Benedict.

131. Lucas Co., Ohio, divorce record, journal entry filed 10 December 1920.

132. Lucas Co., Ohio, Marr. Book 42: 242.

133. Lucas Co., Ohio, Marr. Book 50: 376.

134. Photograph album of Laura (née Cowlin) Saindon, currently in possession of writer.

135. Death record, Leodore Saindon, no. 37-077522, Calif. Dept. of Public Health, Sacramento.

136. Personal conversations with Laura Saindon, ca. 1945–51. See also Lucas Co., Ohio, Marr. Book 42: 242.

137. Scrapbook of Laura Saindon, currently in possession of writer. See also obituary, Battle Creek *Enquirer and News,* 20 January 1951.

138. "Virgil Merrill Benedict Autobiography," in *Virgil Merrill Benedict: Autobiography and Genealogy* (Galesburg, Mich.: Louis and Mary Grindol, 1988), 3.

139. Clarence Albert Benedict, homestead final certificate no. 1919, BLM-Wyo. See also Sheridan Co., Nebr., Deed Book 3: 215.

140. "Virgil Merrill Benedict Autobiography," in *Virgil Merrill Benedict: Autobiography and Genealogy,* 3.

141. Sheridan Co., Nebr., Deed Book 12: 159. Clarence and Laura's signatures were notarized in Painesville, Ohio.

142. 1900 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Lake Co., Ohio, town of Painesville, ED 63, p. 17.

143. "Virgil Merrill Benedict Autobiography," in *Virgil Merrill Benedict: Autobiography and Genealogy,* 5.

144. Huron Co., Ohio, divorce record no. 7630.

145. "Virgil Merrill Benedict Autobiography," in *Virgil Merrill Benedict: Autobiography and Genealogy,* 5.

146. Huron Co., Ohio, divorce record no. 7630.

147. Lake Co.,Ohio, marr. licence application no. 40. In possession of present writer are two clippings, (undated, newspapers unidentified) that offer his obituaries. One is apparently from a Des Moines newspaper; the other from Albia, Iowa. See also Clarence Albert Benedict death record, no. 8144, Iowa State Dept. of Health.

148. 1910 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Huron Co., Ohio, town of Norwalk, ED 35, p. 1B, line 90.

149. Lucas Co., Ohio, divorce record, journal entry filed 10 December 1920.

150. Lucas Co., Ohio, Marr. Book 42: 242.

151. Lucas Co., Ohio, divorce record no. P-93057.

152. Lucas Co., Ohio, Marr. Book 50: 376.

153. Perhaps Laura went then to Calif. or Tex., where she frequently sojourned in later life. For many years ,Laura lived with the writer's family in Mich. during the summers and went to Glendale, Calif., each winter.

154. Matthew Cowlin obituary, "Funeral for Suicide to Be Held Saturday," *Toledo Blade,* 25 September 1925, p. 2, states that Matthew and Laura lived together.

155. Lucas Co., Ohio, Marr. Book 50: 376.

156. R. L. Polk, *Toledo City Directory,* 1926, 1927, 1928, for Joseph and Laura Murphy; personal conversations with Laura Saindon, ca. 1945–51.

157. Photograph albums of Laura Saindon; in possession of writer.

158. Death record, Leodore Saindon, no. 37-077522, Calif. Dept. of Public Health, Sacramento.

159. Personal conversations with Laura Saindon, ca. 1945–51.

160. Benedict, *Genealogy of the Benedicts in America,* 2: 455, cites her birthdate as 1892. However, her death certificate cites it as 1893. See Charlotte A. Norem death certificate, no. 4909, Ariz. Dept. of Health Services, Office of Vital Records, Tucson. The 1969 Benedict genealogy, which does not cite its source for the data, appears to be a year off on the births of all this set of siblings.

161. Charlotte A. Norem death certificate.

162. Undated photograph marked "just married" and another marked "Henry with 'Sis' 1912" on the same page, torn from a photo album. The two individuals appear to be the same, and the woman is identified as Charlotte in another picture. Photograph in possession of writer, who inherited this from her father, Virgil Benedict.

163. Two loose photographs labeled "Guy Stout Charlotte's husband" and "Charlotte Stout," handwriting unknown, in possession of writer, who inherited it from Virgil Benedict.

164. Loose photograph labeled "This was taken on our 8th wedding anniversary Aug. 21, '54 Julius & Charlotte." In possession of writer and inherited from Virgil Benedict.

165. Personal interviews and conversations with Alice Irene (née Benedict) (Waters) Goin, April 1986 and October 1987, Des Moines, Iowa. Also letter from same, dated 11 June 1986, in possession of writer.

166. Death certificate for Charlotte A. Norem, no. 4909, Ariz. Dept. of Health Services, Office of Vital Records, Tucson.

167. As related to the writer by Virgil Benedict, brother-in-law of the subject.

168. Letter, Alice Irene Goin to writer, 11 June 1986.

169. Certificate: Fleet Naval Reserve of the U. S. Navy, original in possession of writer. "Hobart, Indiana" is typed in as birthplace; but it is crossed off, and the handwriting of his mother adds "on Farm 25 miles south of Hay Springs Nebr." Benedict, *Genealogy of the Benedicts in America,* 2: 455, gives his birth year as 1895; but the year typed on the certificate (1894) was not disputed by his mother.

170. Continuous Service Certificate, Dept. of the Navy, Bureau of Navigation; original in possession of writer.

171. Burial record, Roy Edwin Benedict, Veterans Administration Facility, Los Angeles, Calif.; photocopy and accompanying photographs of tombstone in possession of writer.

172. Photograph albums of Laura Saindon; see particularly those labeled "Roy's wife."

173. Huron Co., Ohio, divorce record no. 7630.

174. 1910 U.S. Cens., Huron Co., Ohio, Richmond Twp., ED 43, p. 8, household of Alford W. Spaulding.

175. Continuous Service Certificate, Dept. of the Navy, Bureau of Navigation; original in possession of writer.

176. Newspaper clipping filed with V.A. burial record for Roy Edwin Benedict. The newspaper's name and year are missing; but the item is datelined *Washington, March 22.* It reads, "The Navy disclosed tonight that four large destroyers of the Fleet Battle Force collided and were damaged slightly in technical exercises at night off Pearl Harbor, Honolulu last night. . . . There was no loss of life and no serious injuries to personnel." The ship on which Roy then served, the *Alwyn,* was among those listed in this collision.

177. Alice Irene Benedict, delayed birth certificate no. 346420, filed 21 May 1942, Idaho Dept. of Health and Welfare, Boise. Irene was told that she was born in Blackfoot, Idaho, in 1896 and that her parents had gone there after leaving Nebr. Her aging father verified her application for a certificate in 1942. This document contains known errors: the age of her father is given as 43 years in 1896; however, other records (notably his death record and a photograph marked "2 March 1947 on his 84th birthday") make him 33 in 1896. The age of Alice Irene's mother Laura is given as either 22 or 23 (one number written over the other); but Laura's death certificate cites her birth as September 1874—making her 21 in April 1896).

178. A newspaper item in the Hay Springs, Nebr., *Leader,* 1 May 1896, reads, "Matt. Cowlin went to Omaha the first of the week. His daughter, Mrs. Benedict, accompanied him home as far as Ainsworth where she stopped to visit friends, expecting to come home later." It appears that not only were the Benedicts still living in Nebr. in May 1896 but that Laura was well enough to travel—unusual during that era if she had just given birth thirteen days earlier. See also 1900 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Lake Co., Ohio, village of Painesville, ED 65, p. 9, line 89, for Alice I. Waters, born April 1897; and 1910 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Marion Co., Ohio, Bowling Green Twp., ED 73, p. 6B, line 10, for Irene Trumbo, age 13 (enumerators were to count ages on 15 April). See also 1920 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Franklin Co., Ohio, Columbus City, ED 191, p. 17, for Irene Waters, 22 years (census date was 1 January).

179. Alice Irene Benedict, delayed birth certificate no. 346,420, Idaho, Dept. of Health and Welfare. See also Alice

Irene Goin obituary, Des Moines *Tribune,* 21 February 1991. The story of the family's ca. 1896–97 residence in a tent at Blackfoot, Idaho, was related by Virgil Benedict, who was born 1898, after his mother left Blackfoot for Painesville, Ohio.

180. Alice Irene Goin obituary, Des Moines *Tribune,* 21 February 1991.

181. Personal interviews and conversations with Alice Irene Goin, April 1986 and October 1987; letter of Alice Irene Goin to author, 11 June 1986, now in possession of author.

182. Letter from Alice Irene Goin, 11 June 1986.

183. Ibid. See also 1910 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Marion Co., Ohio, Bowling Green Twp., ED 73, p. 6B, line 10, for Irene Trumbo.

184. Letter, Alice Irene Goin to writer, 11 June 1986.

185. 1920 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Franklin Co., Ohio, Columbus City, ED 191, p. 17, for Irene Waters. She is enumerated as an inmate at the Institution for Feeble Minded. She could read and write, as could many of the inmates. Although the institution's name refers to the "Feeble Minded," it apparently housed all sorts of individuals—some of normal intelligence, as was Irene. Perhaps their only problem was pauperism.

186. Personal conversations with Virgil Benedict, father of the writer and brother of Irene.

187. Personal interviews and conversations with Alice Irene Goin, April 1986 and October 1987; and letter of Goin dated 11 June 1896.

188. Letter to Virgil and Sadie Benedict from "Irene," 9 March 1983, and photograph of Carl Overton, inscribed "1982," both in possession of writer.

189. Letter to Virgil and Sadie Benedict from "Irene," 9 March 1983.

190. Personal conversation with Mansel Goin, April 1986, Des Moines; also Alice Irene Goin obituary, Des Moines *Tribune,* 21 February 1991.

191. Virgil Benedict birth record, Lake Co., Ohio, local file no. 142; photocopy in possession of writer.

192. Obituary, Battle Creek *Enquirer,* p. 4A, and funeral notice, p. 7C, 25 October 1989. Also funeral card, in possession of writer. His body was donated to the Univ. of Mich. School of Medicine. However, the following summer—after the medical school was finished with his remains—the ashes were interred at Memorial Park in Battle Creek in a private burial.

193. Kalkaska Co., Mich., marr. record no. 7; certified copy in possession of writer. See also R. Glen Nye, *Button Families of America* (San Diego, Calif.?: Button Genealogical Committee, 1971), 679–80.

194. Personal knowledge of the writer, who attended the wedding.

195. Personal interview with Sadie Benedict, 31 January 1983, Battle Creek, Mich.

196. "Virgil Merrill Benedict Autobiography," in *Virgil Merrill Benedict: Autobiography and Genealogy,* 3.

197. Lottie Mae Benedict death certificate, Calhoun Co., Mich., no. 827; certified copy and funeral card, in possession of writer. See also obituary, Battle Creek *Enquirer,* 16 August 1977.

198. Personal knowledge of the writer from multiple visits to their home, 1978 to 1989.

199. Gladys Benedict birth record, Lake Co., Ohio, Probate Court Book 2: 90.

200. Gladys Lucille Braddock, death record no. 099488, Ohio Dept. of Health. Also funeral card for Gladys Braddock Wines, in possession of this author.

201. Lucas Co., Ohio, Marr. Book 38: 236.

202. Gladys Wines obituary, Toledo *Blade,* 8 December 1969.

203. Huron Co., Ohio, divorce record no. 7630.

204. 1910 U.S. Cens., Pop. Sch., Huron Co., Ohio, Norwalk Twp., ED 37, p. 8, for household of Mollie Heial [or Reial].

205. Gladys Wines obituary, Toledo *Blade,* 8 December 1969.

206. Lucas Co., Ohio, Marr. Book 38: 236. See also Lucas Co. birth certificates for sons Norman Jay Braddock, (born 2 May 1926), no. 1869, and David Richard Braddock (born 29 January 1924), no. 484.

207. Funeral card for David Braddock, in possession of this author. Also personal interview with Joyce (née Braddock) Black, daughter of Gladys and David, 2 July 1990, Toledo.

208. Harvey Wines obituary, Toledo *Blade,* 16 December 1977.

Forging Links in a Surveyor's Chain: Samuel M. Scroggins of Missouri and Tennessee

By Marsha Hoffman Rising, CG, CGL, FASG
and Gale Williams Bamman, CG, CGL*

Attempts to place Scroggins in an earlier location led to a dilemma facing many genealogists who research pioneers. When records in several places reveal persons of the same name, how can one determine whether those records were created by one individual or several?

Intellectual curiosity leads some genealogists to apply genealogical techniques toward a study of an entire community.[1] The Ozarks Migration Patterns Project is such an effort. Its goal is to trace the geographic origins of the first one thousand individuals who purchased public land from the federal land office at Springfield, Greene County, Missouri. The time frame of these sales is 1 June 1835–5 March 1839. The hypothesis under investigation is intrinsic to all genealogical study: within any frontier community, most settlers have origins in common with neighbors and associates. It is a theory that is popularly but subjectively touted; and it remains inadequately quantified. If true, what are the odds that the typical family historian can successfully apply the principle in reverse—i.e., determine the origins and birth family of an elusive ancestor by studying the migration pattern of neighbors?

The completed project will require a monograph to elucidate. Meanwhile, Samuel M. Scroggins—one of the more-elusive individuals in the study—offers a case at point. Scroggins entered 160 acres in sections 26 and 27 of township 30 north, range 21 west, in the Springfield District—an area of Greene County, Missouri, just south of what is now Fellows Lake in the political township of Franklin.[2] Samuel's purchase, finalized 13 October 1838, was allowed under the preemption act of 1834—establishing his presence there by 1833;[3] but he soon assigned (sold) his pending certificate to one William Deisart (Dysart).[4] Dysart, not Scroggins, is shown as the first owner in county deed records and files of the local land-abstract office.[5] Dysart came to Greene from Bedford County, in the lower reaches of Middle Tennessee,[6] a common migration pattern that has emerged in this study. However, no contemporary Samuel Scroggins has been found in Bedford.

FIRST LINK: FRONTIER MISSOURI

Scroggins passed briefly through the Missouri Ozarks and produced minimal evidence of his stay. He first appears on record there at the county's initial court

session, convened 11 March 1833, at which time he was appointed surveyor.[7] He was confirmed in the post by the first general election (held in August 1835) but was not reelected the following year.[8] He last appears on 26 February 1836, when he and one John Gwinn were separately summoned to appear as witnesses in the case *Missouri* v. *Thomas Duke* and each posted a fifty-dollar bond. Duke requested trial in a special term of circuit court and was found guilty five days later.[9] Scroggins's obligation to the court of Greene County ended then, and he disappears from local records. His Gwinn associate, a man traceable to Fentress County, Tennessee, remained in Greene County.[10]

Tax rolls confirm this period of residence for Scroggins and imply his age, while a late-nineteenth-century local history places him in the county slightly earlier and suggests associations for him. Between 1833 and 1835, Samuel paid assessments in Greene County for livestock and a poll.[11] Prior to 1 January 1836, Missouri's contemporary laws imposed a poll (head) tax upon all white males over twenty-one years of age and under fifty; and the law set 1 January as the date the rolls were to be compiled.[12] Thus, to be taxed in 1835, Samuel's birth occurred after 1 January 1785. The undocumented local history asserts that Scroggins was on Greene's Little Sac River "about 1831," along with James K. Alsup and Daniel Johnson, but says nothing of the origins of any of these men.[13] The current project places Alsup, in 1830, in Hardeman County, West Tennessee[14]—some 150 miles west-southwest of Bedford. Johnson's origins are not satisfactorily established, but he may be connected to pioneers of that surname who came from Bedford and settled in the cited area of Greene.[15]

Attempts to place Scroggins in an earlier location led to a dilemma facing many genealogists who research pioneers. When records in several places reveal persons of the same name, how can one determine whether those records were created by one individual or several? The strategy that proves most successful is this:

> *First,* thoroughly exhaust all extant records for the place where the person is known to have lived.
>
> *Second,* study in depth the records of other locales in which persons of the same name appear on record. (Also note the existence of whatever records, created at the time and place of interest, in which the individual does *not* appear.)
>
> *Third,* use the resulting data to construct a chronology of events.
>
> *Fourth,* formulate and pose as many pertinent questions as possible. Were the individuals creating records at overlapping times? Was it physically possible for one person to generate *all* the records? Is one *likely* to have done so? Do associates in one community also appear in the other? Answering each such question, by examining as many records as possible, usually enables one to make that crucial determination.

SECOND LINK: TENNESSEE

Tennessee, with its heavy contribution to the settlement of Southwest Missouri,[16] was a logical place to begin the search, especially since Samuel's known associates

at this point in the research had Tennessee origins. Moreover, similar studies of other states yielded nothing more tangible with which to forge a link. Yet a literature survey and a search of record categories offering statewide indexes for Tennessee produced no clear-cut link. Rather, two options emerged.

East Tennessee?

Census indexes are a natural beginning point when looking for prior geographic origins; but, if used alone, they might lead to a too-hasty decision. The only Samuel Scroggins recorded as a head of household in Tennessee in 1830 lived in Monroe,[17] a county along the North Carolina border, some 150 miles east of Bedford County. His immediate neighbor was one William Dillard—a man who migrated to Greene County, Missouri, in the summer of 1837.[18] Other householders on the same Monroe County page, Horace Snow and Jane Renshaw, were later neighbors and in-laws of Dillard in Greene.[19] However, no other mention of this Samuel Scroggins was found in Monroe County's records.

Analysis of this Scroggins household of 1830 offers no clear-cut basis for accepting or eliminating the head of household as the man in Missouri. Without knowing the exact birthdate for either Samuel, the evidence remains ambiguous. Consider:

Samuel Scroggins	1 male	50–60	1 female	40–50
	1 male	20–30	1 female	15–20
	2 males	10–15	1 female	10–15
	1 male	5–10	2 females	0–5

If Samuel was the eldest member of the household and assuming the census data to be correct, then he was born 1770–80 and could not be the Missourian born after 1 January 1785. If, however, the head of household is the male 20–30 (who provided support for older parents) then the census data would be compatible.[20] Despite the later association of this Samuel's census neighbors with the Missouri Ozarks, there is insufficient evidence to connect the Samuel of Monroe with the Samuel M. of Missouri.

Middle Tennessee?

Contact with other Scroggins researchers yielded another suggestion of origins: one Samuel Scroggins who lived in Fentress County, Tennessee, during the 1820s–50s period but is said to have had children born 1832–35 *somewhere* in Missouri.[21] A recent history of Fentress offers an undocumented sketch of various individuals who descend from a Samuel Mills Scroggins. According to the author, he was born in May 1802 in Bourbon County, Kentucky, as the son of Robert and Narcissa (Mills) Scroggins. He is said to have married Phariba Gwinn, daughter of a John Gwinn; to have made numerous surveys in parts of Tennessee and Kentucky between 1833 and 1855; and to have received several land grants in Fentress County, the earliest one dated 18 August 1826.[22]

Three similarities to the Samuel Scroggins of Greene County are immediately apparent—as well as one discrepancy:

SIMILARITIES:

1. The middle name *Mills,* attributed to Samuel of Fentress, produces the middle initial *M,* used by Samuel of Greene County, Missouri.
2. Samuel of Fentress is said to have married the daughter of one John Gwinn; and a man of that same name testified in the same Greene County case as Samuel in 1836.
3. Both Samuel of Fentress and Samuel of Greene were surveyors.

CONFLICTING ISSUE:

1. The 1833–35 residence of Samuel M. Scroggins in Greene County appears at odds with the 1820s–30s land grants supposedly made in Fentress County to Samuel Mills Scroggins and with the latter's alleged1833–55 land-surveying activity in Tennessee and Kentucky.

Do these records relate to two men of the same name or only one man? Again, more data are needed. A review of the 1850 census of Fentress County confirms the 1832–35 Missouri birth data that the family descendant attributed to children of the Fentress Samuel; and it accords this Samuel an age compatible with that implied by the 1833–35 tax data for Samuel M. Scroggins of Greene:

1850 U.S. Census
Population Schedule
District 11, p. 385B
Dwelling 120, family 120
Enumeration date: 28 August 1850

Scroggins,	Saml.	50	male	farmer	$300 property	b. Kentucky
	Pheriba	45	female			b. Tenn.
	Geo.	20	male			b. Ill.
	Amanda	18	female			b. Mo.
	Mary	15	female			b. Mo.
	Malinda	11	female			b. Tenn.
	Andrew	9	male			b. Tenn.
	Balam	7	male			b. Tenn.
	Louisa	4	female			b. Tenn.
	Margaret	2	female			b. Tenn.

Two and three households away on this census are two young heads of families that are said by descendants to be Samuel's sons:[23]

Dwellings 122–23, families 122–23

Scroggins,	John	24	male	farmer	$15 property	b. Tenn.
Scroggins,	Robert	22	male	farmer	no property	b. Tenn.

The change in children's birthplaces between circa 1835 and 1839 (i.e., Missouri to Tennessee) coincides with the disappearance of Samuel M. Scroggins from Greene

after February 1836. Also, the three-to-four-year spacing of the children in the 1830s and mid-1840s implies that this "farmer," Samuel, may have been absent from home for extended periods—an implication compatible with the surveying occupation attributed to the Samuel of both locales. Neither the Fentress County Samuel nor his family appears on the 1840 federal enumeration, even though he witnessed a deed in Fentress County on 16 March of that year.[24]

THIRD LINK: JOHN R. GWINN (GWYNN)

The father-in-law attributed to Scroggins by the 1987 Fentress County history offers another significant clue. A Gwynn family sketch therein states that the pioneer John Gwinn had sons John R. and Andrew B. (although no documentation is offered, the point does not seem contradicted by local records).[25] In Missouri, in 1835, one John R. Gwynn purchased land from the federal land office at Springfield. The acreage he selected lay on the southern edge of Greene County, later Christian—some twenty miles from the northern part of the county in which Samuel Scroggins entered the tract that he sold prior to completion of title. The 1840 census shows Andrew B. Gwynn with neighbors who correspond to the adjacent landholders that can be documented for Samuel Scroggins in the federal tract books.[26] A connection to Fentress County is firmly established by an 1855 record in which John R. appeared before Greene's probate court to have himself appointed guardian of his minor children. They were, he said, due a legacy from the estate of their grandfather, John Beatty of Fentress County, Tennessee.[27]

FOURTH LINK: SURVEY RECORDS

The meager supply of county-level records that survive for Fentress reveals little of Samuel; however, descendants have preserved one private record of considerable value—his personal surveyor's notes.[28] Small and just partially bound, his notebook offers forty surveys recorded in roughly chronological order, nearly half of which are undated. Fourteen were made in September 1838, four in 1839, and another four in 1840. Samuel's whereabouts during these years can be inferred by locating the landowners for whom those surveys were made. Eight of the individuals cited on the surveys (as principal or adjacent landowners) were heads of household in Fentress County in 1840. One was enumerated that year in adjoining Overton County. The others could not be conclusively matched to any family head in Tennessee.[29]

While Samuel's own survey notes do not shed light on the date of his return to Tennessee from Missouri, an unpublished and undated manuscript circulated by descendants implies it was the same year that Samuel of Greene made his last appearance in the Ozarks. According to "Scroggins Acres: Facts and Fancies," Samuel Mills Scroggins received "land grant # # [*sic*] 4268, Sequatchie Road, 1836."[30] Superficial use of the county deed records might suggest otherwise. On 9 August 1836, the Fentress county clerk recorded a grant (*dated 8 January 1836*) of

200 acres in Fentress *surveyed for Samuel in June 1835*. Is it likely that Samuel was in Fentress from June 1835 to January 1836, that he returned to Missouri for the February 1836 court action, then made the trek back to Tennessee by August?

A contemporary account reports such a trip, one-way, to be a two-week venture by horseback.[31] Thus, timewise, it is within the realm of possibility for one man to perform these actions in both places. However, a close comparison of the relevant records produces a chronology much easier on both Samuel and his horse.

18 August 1826	Samuel Scroggins entered 100 acres on east fork of "Oby" River in Fentress County, at the northwest boundary of a farm occupied by Joseph Wilson.[32]
27 January 1828	Samuel M. "Scroggin" entered 100 acres on East Fork of the "Obey" River, Fentress County.[33]
6 May 1830	Samuel Scroggins entered 200 acres on "Sequach" Road, including a "well-known" spring near Cobb's Branch, Fentress County.[34]
"about 1831"	Samuel M. Scroggins is *said* to have settled on the Little Sac River in Greene County, Missouri—a point in time that may be premature, as many of the earliest dates of settlement given in this undocumented source cannot be verified.[35]
23 February 1832	John Gwyn [alleged father-in-law of Samuel Mills Scroggins and alleged father of the Greene County settler John R. Gwynn] entered 15 acres in Fentress County on waters of East Fork, beginning on a white oak on southeast corner of entry made by Samuel "Scroggin."[36]
1 January 1833	Enumeration of (taxable) free, white, male inhabitants of Fentress includes both a John and a John R. Gwin, as well as John Beaty [Gwin's father-in-law]. *Samuel Scroggins is not included.*[37]
1833, 1834, 1835	Samuel Scroggins appears on tax rolls of Greene County.[38]
1833–35	Surviving deeds and entry books of Fentress—and its 1833 census—show no Samuel Scroggins in the county.
June 1835	Survey made of the 200 acres of state land entered by Scroggins on 6 May 1830, described as lying on "Cobb's Branch . . . west of Sequatchy River."[39]
8 January 1836	Governor Newton Cannon signed Tennessee land grant no. 4268 in favor of Samuel Scroggins "by virtue of Entry #528 made in the office of the Entrytaker of Fentress County and entered on the 6th day of May 1830."[40]
28 February–2 March 1836	Samuel Scroggins appeared at the trial of Thomas Duke in Greene County, Missouri. Last record found for him in Missouri.[41]
9 August 1836	Scroggins's land grant no. 4268 was recorded in Fentress County's deed books.[42]
October 1836	The first entries in Samuel Mills Scroggins's personal survey book place him in Fentress—i.e.: "October Court $3.00 S. Scroggin • Jesse Woods to five doller lett by John Gwin Oct Courts 1836[;] and David Beaty • 50 cents."[43] Both Jesse Woods and David Beatty appear on the 1830 and 1840 censuses of Fentress County.[44]

11 September 1838	S. M. "Scrogin" surveyed 50 acres for Jno. Clemons of Fentress.[45]
5 June 1844	Samuel M. Scroggins entered 600 acres on Pratt's Branch, along Walker's line and Cobb's Branch, Fentress County.[46]

FORGING THE CHAIN

Any doubts regarding the strength of the weld between Samuel Scroggins of Tennessee and the man of the same name in Missouri are effectively resolved when one sorts the data relating to grant no. 4268. Samuel was clearly present in Fentress County on 6 May 1830 when he entered (filed for) the land. He did not have to be present in June 1835 when the appointed surveyor established the metes and bounds that the state would allot him. Logically, he was *not* present in the governor's office on 8 January 1836 when the grant was actually signed. In all probability, it was he who took the governor's order to the courthouse for filing in August 1836. And he was clearly settled in the county in October 1836 when he began his own surveying activities there. His removal from Missouri to Tennessee can thus be fixed between 2 March and 9 August 1836.

All the evidence regarding age, occupation, location, etc., is compatible between Samuel M. Scroggins of Greene County, Missouri, and Samuel Mills Scroggins of Fentress County, Tennessee; and human links are provided by in-laws John R. Gwinn and the Beattys. The 1831–35 absence of Samuel Mills Scroggins from Fentress County, during which time he had children born in Missouri, is entirely compatible with the documented appearance of Samuel M. Scroggins in Greene.

By contrast, all elements are not compatible between the Samuel M. Scroggins of Greene and Samuel Scroggins of Monroe County in East Tennessee, 1830; and no associational links can be forged. Age data between the two Samuels remain irreconcilable. The auxiliary fact that three other Monroe families moved to Greene County *after* Samuel had left there is the type of proverbial red herring that can lead genealogists astray.

One other possibility—that Samuel of the 1830 Monroe census might be the Samuel missing from the 1830 Fentress census—seems highly unlikely. First, the Fentress land entry was made in May, while the official date of the 1830 enumeration was 1 June. The theory that Samuel might have gone ahead to Fentress, located suitable land, then returned to Monroe to get his family is negated by the fact that the age data and household composition for the 1830 Samuel are not compatible with that of the 1850 census. Considering the latter enumeration's attribution of an 1830 Illinois birth to Samuel's son George (but the failure to find the family on the 1830 Illinois list), it is more likely that the family of this surveyor was mid-move at the time of those enumerations.

CONCLUSION

To determine if more than one man of the same name is creating records in disparate geographic areas, it is essential that every effort be made to reconstruct

each man's life on a month by month—if not week by week or day by day—basis. Identities can seldom be connected with documents created a decade or so apart. Even though nineteenth-century travel was strenuous by comparison to modern transit, our ancestors remained remarkably mobile. Samuel Mills Scroggins is but one of many examples of our restless, bold, and adventurous forebears who did not hesitate to leave home—or return.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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1. For examples of community studies by genealogists, see Robert C. Anderson, *The Great Migration Begins: Immigrants to New England, 1620–1633*, 3 vols. (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Soc.; vols. 1–2, publ. 1995; vol. 3, to be publ. 1996); and Elizabeth Shown Mills, "Family and Social Patterns of the Colonial Louisiana Frontier: A Quantitative Analysis, 1714–1803" (B.A. Honors Thesis, Univ. of Ala. New College, 1981), manuscript on deposit in Mills Collection, Northwestern State Univ. Archives, Natchitoches, La. For examples of community studies by historians applying genealogical techniques, see Peter R. Knights, *Yankee Destinies: The Lives of Ordinary Nineteenth-Century Bostonians* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of N.C. Press, 1991); and Anita H. and Darrett B. Rutman, *A Place in Time: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1650–1750* (N. Y.: W. W. Norton, 1984).

2. More specifically, Samuel purchased the W½ of the NW¼ of section 26 and the E½ of the NE¼ of section 27, township 30 north, range 21 west. See Springfield District (Mo.) Tract Book 12 (microfilm roll 64; arrangement by township and range), U.S. Bureau of Land Management–Eastern States Office; Springfield, Va.

3. The preemption act from which Samuel benefited was approved by Congress on 19 June 1834. It required that settlers live on and improve the land for one year prior to the passage of the act. If they met the criteria, they were entitled to have first option to buy the land for $1.25 per acre. See 23d Cong., 1st sess., pp. 4469–73 (4 Stat. 678), and Paul W. Gates, *History of Public Land Law Development* (Washington, D.C.: Zenger Pub. Co., 1978).

4. Springfield District (Mo.) Tract Book 12, Cert. 503. No date is given for the transfer, but Dysart appears on the 1835 Greene Co. tax roll (Greene Co. Archives, Springfield), implying it was in that year when Scroggins assigned to him the land.

5. On 4 November 1850, William Dysart and his wife, Ann, sold the sec. 26 parcel to Thomas J. Whitlock; and on 7 July 1853 the Dysarts sold to Mary A. Headley (Headlee) the 80 acres in sec. 27 for the token price of $1. See Greene Co., Mo., Deed Book F: 75, 317. The title-abstract office consulted was Hogan Land Title Co., Springfield.

6. William Dysart's listing, 1830 U.S. Census, Bedford Co., Tenn., p. 5; and *An Illustrated Historical Atlas Map, Greene County, Missouri* (1876; reprinted, Springfield: Ozarks Genealogical Soc., 1988), 22.

7. Greene Co., Mo., Court Minute Book A: 1. Greene Co. was created in 1833 from Crawford. Research in the parent county turned up no earlier mention of Samuel Scroggins.

8. R. I. Holcombe, *History of Greene County, Missouri, Written and Compiled from the Most Authentic Official and Private Sources* (St. Louis: Western Historical Co., 1883), 173, 175.

9. Greene Co. Circuit Court Book A: 139, 143. The original case file was lost to flooding.

10. Greene Co. Probate Book A: 528.

11. Greene Co. Tax Assessor's List, 1833, 1834, 1835.

12. *Missouri Revised Statutes, 1835* (St. Louis: Chambers & Knapp, 1841), 21; *Laws of a Public and General Nature of the State of Missouri Passed between the Years 1824 & 1836, Not Published in the Digest of 1825, nor in the Digest of 1835*, 2 vols. (Jefferson City: W. Lusk & Son, 1839), 2: 196.

13. Holcombe, *History of Greene County, Missouri*, 148. A dam built on the Little Sac created Fellows Lake in 1955. A portion of the stream continues to run south through the parcel Scroggins purchased in sec. 27.

14. 1830 U.S. Cens., Hardeman Co., Tenn., p. 338.

15. Bedford Co., Tenn., Deed Book CC: 453–55.

16. The present study shows that fully 74 percent of the early land purchasers in Greene Co., whose origins are currently known, came directly from Tenn.

17. 1830 U.S. Cens., Monroe Co., Tenn., p. 90.

18. William Dillard of Greene Co., Mo., was cited as the administrator of the estate of Jeremiah Ruth in Monroe Co., Tenn., when Dillard filed in Greene a request to complete his administration of the Tenn. probate; see Greene Co., Mo., Deed Book A: 162.

19. Horace Snow married Mary Dillard, William's daughter; see Greene Co. Will Book B: 210–12. For Renshaw, see E. E. Stringfield, *Presbyterianism in the Ozarks* (N.p.: Presbytery of the Ozarks, 1909), 280–81.

20. Assuming the conclusion reached in this paper to be correct, then the household of Samuel M. Scroggins in 1830 should have consisted of a male aged 20–30, a female 20–30, and two or three males under 5. See the household compositions of Samuel, John, and Robert Scroggins, 1850 U.S. Cens., Fentress Co., Tenn., Population Schedule, district 11, p. 385B, dwelling/family nos. 120, 122, and 123.

21. Particular credit is given to Margaret Scroggins; P.O. Box 473; Poplar Bluff, MO 63901; and Vangee (Rushing) Brigham; 10909 Legends Lane; Austin, TX 78747.

22. Fentress Co. Historical Soc., *History of Fentress County, Tennessee* (Dallas, Tex.: Curtis Media Corp., 1987), 573.

23. Family group record (undocumented) for Samuel Mills Scroggins, compiled by descendant Vangee (Rushing) Brigham.

24. S. M. Scroggins witnessed a deed from John B. Rogers of Warren Co., Tenn., to David Beaty of Fentress; see Fentress Co., Tenn., Deed Book C: 162.

25. *History of Fentress County*, 339.

26. *United States Land Sales in Missouri: Springfield Land Office Abstracts, 1835–1846* (Springfield: Ozarks Gen. Soc., 1982), 10 (John R. Gwynn); and 1840 U.S. Cens., Greene Co., p. 254, for Andrew B. Gwynn.

27. Greene Co., Mo., Probate Book A: 528.

28. "Samuel Mills Scroggins's Surveyor Book (1836–1844)." The manuscript original was duplicated by the late Caster D. Patton of Dothan, Ala., then placed in a bank vault in Crossville, Tenn. A photocopy is in possession of Howard Scroggins; Route 1, Box 88; Grandview, TN 37337. The title that descendants and other researchers commonly give to this manuscript does not actually appear thereon; the little book has no cover. It should be noted that the signed surveys actually spell the surname as "Scrogin."

29. John Gowney, Spencer Woods, James Buck, George Beatty, William Pritchard, Lucy Garret, Isac Beaty, and George W. Clemons were heads of households in Fentress. Isaac Franklin lived in Overton Co., but his property line is mentioned in Fentress deeds. Most of these families are also listed on the 1830 U.S. Cens. of Fentress.

30. Loma Scroggins Patton, "Scroggins Acres: Facts and Fancies," undated and unpublished manuscript, p. 99. The author's last known address (1970) was 10625 N. Battleford Dr.; Casa Grande, AZ 85222.

31. "Joseph Roundtree Diary" (1988 typescript of the nineteenth-century original), Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Univ. of Mo.–Rolla; unpaginated pp. 13–15 detail his October 1830 journey.

32. Fentress Co. Entry Books, Vol. ABC, April 1824–1901: 81, Tenn. State Archives, Nashville. See also Wanda Sewell Hatfield, *Entry Books of Fentress County, Tennessee: Volumes A, B, & C, 1824–1901* (Signature Mountain, Tenn.: Mountain Press, 1990), 16.

33. Fentress Co. Entry Books, Vol. ABC: 106.

34. Tenn. Land Grants Mountain District, Book F: 307–8, grant no. 4268, Roll 131, Tenn. State Archives.

35. Holcombe, *History of Greene County, Missouri.*, 148.

36. Fentress Co., Tenn., Land Entry Books, 1824–1901, Vol. ABC: 175. The same entry and date were registered in Samuel's own survey book, indicating that he must have been in Tenn. to complete that survey.

37. Eleanor R. Barham and Elizabeth R. Nichols, "1833 Enumeration, Fentress Co., Tennessee," *Ansearchin' News* (Journal of the Tenn. Gen. Soc.) 27 (Spring 1980): 9.

38. Greene Co. Tax Assessor's List, 1833, 1834, 1835.

39. Roll 131, Tenn. Land Grants, Mountain Dist., Book F: 307–8, Tenn. State Archives.

40. Ibid.

41. Greene Co. Circuit Court Book A: 139, 143.

42. Fentress Co., Tenn., Deed Book A: 427.

43. Scroggins Surveyor Book, unnumbered page.

44. 1830 U.S. Cens., Fentress Co., Tenn., pp. 4–5; 1840 U.S. Cens., Fentress Co., pp. 6, 9, 11–12.

45. Scroggins Surveyor Book, unnumbered page.

46. Hatfield, *Entry Books of Fentress County*, 51.

Alaska's Native Population: Sources for Genealogical and Historical Research

By Gretchen L. Lake *and* David A. Hales*

Many modern Alaskans have traceable roots that extend for generations into their native soil. Other genealogists have a mother or grandmother from there who wed a soldier during World War II—or a father or grandfather who was drafted into the armed services, was stationed there, and never returned. . . . Many researchers, of both part and full Native origin, need documentation to qualify for government benefits. . . . Whatever the need, significant records exist to effect a search.

Genealogical interest in America's Native peoples is not new. However, the traditional emphasis upon indigenous populations of the East is shifting westward, as new generations further remove society from the era in which the European-American frontier invaded western Indian nations. That intellectual interest has now pushed beyond the Rockies and the Plains to the Pacific Northwest and into the reaches of Alaska.

Although Alaska's statehood is relatively recent (1959) and popular knowledge of the region is still minimal, some written records exist from 1784, when the first Russian trading post was established at Three Saints Bay on Kodiak Island. By the U.S. purchase of Alaska in 1867, its population included some 500 Russians, 300 "American and other non-Russian whites," and 1,500 persons of mixed race—as well as roughly 25,000 to 30,000 people of indigenous origins. Soldiers, traders, and prospectors augmented that population for the next two decades. After news of the 1896 gold strike on the Klondike River, U.S. citizens—by the tens of thousands—surged northward into Dawson, Nome, Fairbanks, and a succession of other mining, fishing, lumbering, and canning camps. With World War II and the completion of the Alaska Highway through Canada, some 150,000 soldiers were dispatched to Alaska to stave off Japanese aggression. In the half-century since, both industry and tourism have fed the population shift to the America's last continental state.[1]

The genealogical implications are obvious. Many modern Alaskans have traceable roots that extend for generations into their native soil. Other genealogists have a mother or grandmother from there who wed a soldier during World War II—or a father or grandfather who was drafted into the armed services, was stationed there, and never returned, having wed a Native woman and raised a new family. Many researchers, of both part and full Native origin, need documentation to qualify for

government benefits. And others, with no ancestral interest in the area, seek historical records of Alaska's indigenous population for purely academic or medical reasons. Whatever the need, significant records exist to effect a search.

This article attempts to acquaint inquirers with the major sources available. Emphasis is upon the holdings of the Archives and Manuscript Section of the Alaska and Polar Regions Department, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks (Post Office Box 756808; Fairbanks, AK 99775-6808). Most of the materials mentioned in this paper may be consulted there.

THE NATIVE PEOPLE

Alaska is home to unique and diverse groups of indigenous people who are jointly called Alaska Natives and who represent some 14.6 percent of the state's total population (circa 85,700 out of 587,800 in 1990).[2] The major groups, categorized by broad linguistic and cultural similarities, are as follows:

ESKIMOS (INUIT), the largest representation at about 34,000 people, have occupied villages along the Bering Sea and the Arctic Ocean and are divided ethnically between the Southern Eskimos (Yup'ik) and the Northern Eskimos (Inupiat).

INDIANS, the second-largest of the Native groups, are ethnically divided between the *Interior Indians* (Athabascans), a nomadic people who have occupied the vast inland regions of Alaska in widely scattered clusters; and the *Southeast Coastal Indians* (Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian), of whom the Tlingit and Haida settled in permanent villages—developing a culture rich in art—while the Tsimshian migrated from Canada to Metlakatla in 1887.

ALEUTS, the third-largest Native population, have traditionally lived in villages along the Alaska Peninsula, the Aleutians, the Pribilofs, and Kodiak Island.

Many of the people continue to reside in their hereditary villages along the major rivers and Alaska's coastline, where they follow traditional life-styles that center upon hunting, fishing, and trapping. However, advances in transportation, communication, and other services to remote areas have greatly altered life in bush villages. Many Natives have moved to the larger urban areas—principally in the Greater Anchorage area, with large numbers also in Fairbanks and Juneau. Countless others have migrated to Seattle.[3]

Beginning in the 1900s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs started to send young Alaska Natives to schools outside the territory for vocational training and education. Although most returned, some did acquire work away from Alaska and their Native roots. During World War II, a number of Native men were drafted into the armed services and served worldwide; many married non-Native women and settled in communities throughout the United States. Countless Native females who married non-Native servicemen have also dispersed, following their husbands to residences elsewhere. As a rule, however, it appears that until the mid-1900s, most of the region's Natives were born, reared, and buried, in Alaska.[4]

THE RECORDS

There are few genealogical sources created by Alaska Natives, although the people have long taken great pride in ancestors and family relationships. Traditionally living in small groups spread over vast distances, they recounted lineages orally. Only the last hundred years have seen the active development of orthographies and literacy for the more than twenty-one Alaska Native languages and those who speak them. Linguists are only now defining writing systems for some indigenous tongues spoken primarily by the elders.

This combination of oral tradition and decentralized subsistence living has created a dependency on records created by non-Natives—teachers; missionaries; and government officials at local, state, and federal levels. Five basic types will be covered in this paper: census returns, church records, claims settlements, general archival resources, and miscellaneous publications.

CENSUS RETURNS

Alaska was first included on the U.S. decennial census in 1880; but (the Sitka area excepted) personal data are available for only the twentieth century. The 1880 return for most settlements counted people but recorded no individual details; the 1890 enumeration, as with most states and territories, suffered destruction. The 1900, 1910, and 1920 data sheets have been microfilmed for public availability, but post-1920 U.S. censuses for all regions remain sealed. As with other areas, Alaska's data sheets are only as accurate as the information supplied by individuals and recorded by census marshals; and people who moved during the course of the counting may be listed on two or more sheets.

Alaska Natives have been included also in special censuses. The nature of those enumerations has varied widely—from municipal population counts to incarceration rolls—but often these lists are the only possible sources for information within their time frames and locations. Unless other whereabouts are stated, the following returns are available at the Rasmuson Library.

Aleutian Islands

Two sets of records from March 1878 enumerate inhabitants of Unalaska and other Aleutian settlements. The first—which includes 1,383 individuals (675 males, 708 females) of Akun, Akutan, Attu Island, Atka Island, Avatanak Island, Chernofski, Korovinski, Makushin, Nikolaievsky village, Nikolski village, Unalaska, and Unmak Island—apparently originated with the Unalaska Russian Church and was later hand copied by one A. Greenbaum, agent of the Alaska Commercial Company. The second return canvasses Belkofski, Korovinsky (now Korovin Island), Nikolaevsk (Nicholayefsk) village, Peregrebnoy or Vorznesensky (now Wosnesenski) Island, Protassof (or Morzhovoi), and Unga Island.[5]

The general arrangement is the same for both groups of records. Heads of households are listed randomly for each village, under such broad headings as

"Church officials and families," "Widows and Orphans," "Russians," "Aleuts," and "Creoles" (a term used then and there to mean offspring of Russian fathers and Native mothers). The first group of records usually includes only the name of each father, with additional individuals identified merely as "his wife," "his son," or "his daughter," with a corresponding age. However, the entries are not consistent; and some households are fully identified.

Anaktuvuk Pass (Northern Alaska)

Special census records of Anaktuvuk Pass originated for modern medical purposes. They have been compiled on a regular basis since radiation ecology studies of 1962–64 indicated that various age groups of this region showed important differences in their radioisotopes of cesium (^{137}CS) body burdens. Census entries are arranged alphabetically by family name, citing sex, date and place of birth, marital status, and relationship to head of household—as well as explanatory notes on such matters as marriages and adoptions.[6]

Ketchikan (Southeast Alaska)

An enumeration of the town of Ketchikan (just north of the U.S. border) and individuals residing within a radius of two miles of the town, was taken from 15 May through 5 June 1906, amid increasing demands to accord Alaska territorial status. Declared by the Common Council to be an official census of the population, this list is alphabetical by surname and includes name, age, sex, color, and occupation. It does not include Natives; but two special listings at the end cover the Japanese population and children of white male citizens who had married Indian women.

Saint Paul and Saint George Islands

These Pribilof Islands have been the focus of several special counts, beginning in the early-twentieth century. The 1914 and 1917 annual reports of the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service append censuses of Saint Paul and Saint George Natives. Residents are grouped by families, citing age at last birthday and place of birth.[7]

Sitka

This southeastern region is an exception to the previous generalization about the statistical, nonpersonal nature of the 1880 federal census in Alaska. Actually begun on 1 February 1881, but still classed as part of the Tenth Census of the United States, this enumeration consists of three parts. Part A, covering the town of Sitka, records 394 individuals, with details for each that include name, sex, marital status, nationality, occupation, literacy (whether the individual read, wrote, or spoke English), and age groups of children (under five, under ten, and under twenty years). Part B, canvassing the Indian village of Sitka, names only the chief of each lodge; cites his occupation and state of English literacy; then tallies the number of males, females, and children by age category (under five and under ten). Part C offers for both villages the statistical summary that is common for the rest of Alaska.[8]

CHURCH RECORDS

Many denominations have come to Alaska since the Russian Orthodox Church established its foothold in 1794. Initial competition between them was more or less resolved in 1880 when leaders of different Protestant denominations met to parcel the region into informal jurisdictions as follows:

Baptists	Kenai Peninsula (later given the Methodists), Kodiak Island
Episcopalians	Yukon River area
Methodists	Alaska Peninsula, Aleutian Islands, (later) Kenai Peninsula
Presbyterians	Southeast Alaska

Subsequent assignments added

Moravians	Kuskokwim River area
Quakers	Kotzebue area
Swedish Covenanters	Seward Peninsula base

Not all records of these missionary activities have survived the ravages of nature and time—though many have—and not all church records created on the Native population have been retained in the state. Some denominations have established centralized historical repositories elsewhere. The following briefly surveys the major religious groups that have shaped Alaskan Native society.

Covenant Church

Two Swedish Covenant ministers, Axel E. Karlson and Adolph Lydell, first established a mission among the Tlingit Indians in Yakutat in 1887. Later, Karlson moved northward to work with Eskimos, met the leader Nashalook, and was invited to his settlement at Unalakleet—where Karlson would establish a strong following. In 1899, the work was formally transferred to the Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of the United States.[9]

Many records of this denomination still remain in the individual churches, but researchers will also want to investigate the holdings of two other facilities:

COVENANT AND HISTORICAL ARCHIVES; Evangelical Covenant Church of America; 51255 Spaulding Avenue; Chicago, IL 60625-4987, which houses the national archives of this denomination.

UNALAKLEET COVENANT CHURCH; Post Office Box 209; Unalakleet, AK 99684, which maintains the birth, baptism, marriage, and funeral records for the most-significant congregation of this faith in Alaska.

Among major collections at the Elmer E. Rasmuson Library are

Evangelical Covenant Church Records, Unalakleet, 1880s–1900s. This collection, which more precisely ranges from 1888 to 1981, includes records of marriages, baptisms, deaths, births, yearly meetings, conferences, membership rolls, yearly school reports, and family records. Many of the entries are for residents of other villages—e.g., Egawik, Hooper Bay, Klickatarik, Koyak, Marshall, Mount Village, Nome, Nunivak Island, Scammon Bay, Shaktoolik, and White Mountain.

Unalakleet Mission Daybooks and Logbooks, 1892–1915. This unindexed collection includes the English and Swedish daybook of missionary David Johnson, 1893–95; the Swedish daybook of Axel E. Karlson, 1894–97, and an unindexed logbook of the Covenant mission in Unalakleet, kept by various individuals. These resources detail funerals, marriage ceremonies, prayer meetings, visitors, and other information relating to members of the church, duties of the mission, and activities of the school.

Episcopal Church

In response to England's efforts to develop western Canada, Episcopal Archdeacon Robert McDonald established a mission at Fort Yukon in 1862. Later, he was joined by three priests from the English Church Missionary Society and by Bishop William Mappas from the Canadian Episcopal Diocese of Selkirk. Reverend Octavius Theodore Parker, supported by the Episcopal Church Foreign Missionary Society, settled in Anvik. The work of these men among the Athabascans along the Yukon River was augmented by an American Episcopal group in cooperation with the Methodist William Duncan—who, in 1887, established the Metlakatla settlement for the Tsimshian Indians on Annette Island in southeastern Alaska.[10]

Major archival collections that the researcher will want to consult are found at the following locations:

ARCHIVES OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH, USA; 606 Rathervue Place; Austin, TX 78768, being the national archives of this denomination.

EPISCOPAL CHURCH COLLECTION; Alaska and Polar Regions Department, Rasmuson Library; University of Alaska Fairbanks (previously cited), being the official archives of the Episcopal Church in Alaska.

Materials in the latter facility extend from the 1880s through the 1980s and are especially rich for the middle half of the twentieth century. Finding aids have been prepared for portions of this extensive collection, particularly for the sacramental records of the various churches. Among the major resources are

Arctic Village Journals, which offer materials created by Albert E. Tritt, an Episcopal minister serving in Arctic Village, Venetie, and Chalkyitsik from 1923 to the 1950s. Included are correspondences, lists of Natives living in the three villages in 1955, and journals recording his ministry throughout the area—including records of services, baptisms, marriages, and funerals, as well as his own life history and genealogy.

Parish Records, which cover Allakaket (1953–80), Anvik (1900–72), Bethel (1960–69), Chena (1904–63), Eagle (1904–63), Fairbanks (1971–89), Fort Yukon (1899–1971), Huslia (1956–78), Ketchikan (1951–58), Nenana (1904–73), Nome (1898–1912), Point Hope (1908–63; including villages of Candle, Deering, Kivalina, Kobuk, Kotzebue, Noatak, Nome, Point Lay, Wainwright, and White Mountain), Shageluk (1904–70), Sitka (1905–81), Tanacross (1931–36), and Valdez (1902–78). The cited dates are for the entire parish collection and do not mean that sacramental registers are available for each year; researchers must consult the specific parish finding aid for the exact coverage.

Two denominational periodicals supply other material valuable for research—*The Alaskan Churchman* (1906–80) and its successor, the *Alaskan Epiphany* (1980–).

Moravian Church

The Moravian Church, headquartered in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, sent ministers Henry Hartman and William Weinland in 1884 to consider prospects for launching a mission in Alaska. They recommended that an industrial school be established at Nushagak in Bristol Bay, even though the Russian Orthodox Church already was active there. About one year later, five missionaries arrived in the area (which they called Bethel) to construct a church, school, and housing. In later years, the Moravian Church extended its activity over the Kuskokwim River Valley.[11] Primary facilities for research on Moravians in Alaska are

MORAVIAN ARCHIVES; 41 West Locust Street; Bethlehem, PA 18018, being the official national repository.

ALASKA MORAVIAN CHURCH; Post Office Box 545; Bethel, AK 99559, being the official state repository.

ROMIG FAMILY COLLECTION; Archives and Manuscript Section, Alaska and Polar Regions Department, Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks (already cited), an extensive collection containing diaries, photographs, and other materials from several members of the Romig family during their service as missionaries.

Presbyterian Church

Returning from his missionary duties in the Sandwich Islands in 1829, the Presbyterian J. S. Green visited Alaska to explore the possibilities of missionary work. It was not until 1877, however, that the denomination expressed interest in a potential Alaska mission, sending the Reverend John Mallory to Wrangell in Southeast Alaska. To Mallory's surprise, he found a well-established Christian group being led by an Alaska Native, Phillip McKay aka Clah. A follower of the Wesleyan Methodist mission established in British Columbia by William Duncan, Clah had come to Wrangell when the Methodists acquired a contract to cut wood there; at the end of the contract, he stayed on to teach "the Word of God" to his fellow Natives and to establish a school. Reverend Mallory took charge of the work, but lasted only a month. His replacement over the next decade expanded Presbyterianism beyond the Wrangell mission to include a school at Sitka (now Sheldon Jackson College) and various enterprises in the Klondikes (which they mistakenly assumed to be in the United States, not Canada) before the first presbytery was established in 1899.

Primary repositories for Alaska's Presbyterian records are:[12]

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (USA); Department of History Library; 425 Lombard Street; Philadelphia, PA 19147, which holds records from the 1800s through 1965.

PRESBYTERY OF ALASKA; 5750 Glacier Highway, no. 14; Juneau, AK 99801-9543, whose jurisdiction covers all of southeastern Alaska.

PRESBYTERY OF THE YUKON; 616 West Tenth Avenue; Anchorage, AK 99501, whose jurisdiction covers the central and northern portions of the state. Since 1977, this presbytery also has published a periodical, *The Alaska Presbyterian*.

Roman Catholic Church

Roman Catholic explorers celebrated a mass at Bucareli Bay on Prince of Wales Island (Southeast Alaska) in 1779, but it was not until 1862 that the church began sporadic efforts to convert the Natives. Oblates of Mary Immaculate proselytized in the early 1870s at Fort Yukon and along the Yukon River Delta. In 1879—one hundred years after the first mass—Father John Althoff established the church's first resident mission at Wrangell, under the Canadian diocese of Vancouver.

From that time, a number of Roman Catholic orders launched religious work in Alaska. An 1886 effort by Vancouver Bishop John Seghers failed when he personally led a missionary party into Alaska and was murdered by his hired men; the accompanying priests, from the Society of Jesus's Rocky Mountain Mission, returned to the United States. One of them, Father Pascal Tosi, secured an appointment as vice-superior of the Jesuits in Alaska; and by 1892 he had attracted thirteen Jesuits to the territory. The Saint Ann Sisters began their work in 1888 with the Mission of the Holy Cross in Interior Alaska; eleven years later, they opened a school in Nulato. Sisters of Providence followed in 1902—establishing hospitals in Anchorage, Fairbanks, and Nome, as well as schools in the last two cities.[13]

There is no central depository for Catholic sacramental records. The original registers of baptism, confirmation, marriage, and burial are now transferred annually to the diocesan level; copies are usually retained by each parish. Researchers who know of Catholic ancestors in a specific locale, but are unsure of the parish that served the area, might forward limited requests to the appropriate diocese for routing. Those dioceses, and their jurisdictions, are

CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF JUNEAU; 419 Sixth Street, no. 200; Juneau AK 99801, which serves Southeast Alaska.

CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF FAIRBANKS; 1316 Peger Road; Fairbanks, AK 99701, which serves northern Alaska.

CATHOLIC ARCHDIOCESE OF ANCHORAGE; 225 Cordova Street; Post Office Box 102239; Anchorage, AK 99510–2239, which serves southern Alaska.

Records of Jesuit activity in Alaska are owned by the Oregon Province of the Society of Jesus, which has supervised the order's Alaskan work since 1932. Their original materials are housed in the

ALASKAN MISSION COLLECTION; Crosby Library; Gonzaga University; East 502 Boone Avenue; Spokane, WA 98258.

The Crosby Library material is a valuable trove for genealogists and historical researchers—comprising 49,816 pages compiled by Jesuits in Alaska from 1886 to 1955. Microfilm copies are available at major libraries in Alaska, with a published guide that should be consulted by anyone who plans to use the records.[14] In brief, the collection consists of

Mission-station material, including censuses and religious records of Alaska Natives, correspondence, financial records, mission diaries, the historia domus (brief accounts of the status of a mission, written every two to three years), litterae annuae (annual accounts of a parish or mission), miscellaneous historical manuscripts written at the missions, and any newsletter or newspaper clippings regarding the unit.

Missions for which individual collections exist include Akulurak, Andreafsky, Bethel District, Chaniliut, Dillingham, Douglas, Eagle, Fairbanks, Holy Cross, Hooper Bay, Juneau, Kashunuk, Ketchikan, King Island and Little Diomede, Kokrines, Kotzebue, Mountain View, Nome, Nulato, Pilgrim Springs, Saint Michael, and Tanana—as well as the geographically broader Alaska Collection and Southeast Alaska Collection.

Biographical material, including correspondence, personal diaries, published and unpublished historical manuscripts, and publications about church personnel attached to Alaska. Researchers who obtain sacramental records on Natives of interest to them should note the officiating minister and consider the possibility that the personal papers of this man might offer additional references to the Natives he ministered.

Missionaries for whom individual collections exist are Francis Barnum,[15] Joseph Bernard, Beger Bougis, Bartholomew Chiaudano, Joseph R. Crimont, Edward Cunningham, Philip Delon, Paul Deschout, Anthony R. Drathman, Aloysius Eline, John P. Fox, Carmelo Giordano, John Hess, Aloysius Jacquet, Julius Jette, William Judge, Anthony Keyes, Bellarmine Lafortune, Martin Lonneux, Giovanni Lucchesi, Joseph McElmeel, Frank Menager, Francis Monroe, Paul Muset, John Negro, John O'Hare, Joseph Perron, Hubert Post, John Post, John B. Rene, Aloysius Robaut, Aloysius Roccati, Crispin Rossi, Frederick Ruppert, John B. Sifton, Philbert Turnell, Paschal Tosi, Joseph Treca, James Twohig, and John Van Der Pol.

Other archives with Roman Catholic collections of value include

ALASKA STATE ARCHIVES; Reference Services Unit; 141 Willoughby Avenue; Juneau, AK 99801-1720, which holds copies of student transcripts from Saint Mary's Catholic High School in Saint Mary's (formerly Andreafsky) and from Covenant High School in Unalakleet (restricted, in both cases, to former students and their fiduciaries), as well as some student censuses from within the State Department of Education files.

BRITISH COLUMBIA PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES; Parliament Buildings; 655 Belleville Street; Victoria, BC V8V 1X4, Canada, which holds some records relating to Catholic missions in the Yukon Territory, Northwest Territories, and Alaska.

BUREAU OF CATHOLIC INDIAN MISSION RECORDS; Marquette University Archives; 1415 West Wisconsin Avenue; Milwaukee, WI 53233, which holds some Catholic mission records from Alaska.

SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE ARCHIVES; 4800 Thirty-seventh Avenue Southwest; Seattle, WA 90126, which houses records of Holy Cross Hospital, Nome (1902–14); Saint Joseph Hospital, Fairbanks (1938—); Immaculate Conception School, Fairbanks (1946–76); and Catholic Junior High School, Anchorage (1961–67).

SISTERS OF SAINT ANN, NORTHWESTERN PROVINCE ARCHIVES; 1950 Beglie Street; Victoria, BC V8R 1K8, Canada, which offers assorted mission records from Alaska.

SISTERS OF SAINT ANN, MOTHER HOUSE ARCHIVES; 1950 Prevost Street; Lachine, QC H8C 1P7, Canada, which houses similar materials.

Researchers should also be familiar with three periodicals published by the Catholic Church in Alaska. *The Alaskan Shepherd* (issued bimonthly by the Diocese of Northern Alaska at Fairbanks from 1963 to present) and *The Inside Passage* (a weekly newsletter issued by the Diocese of Juneau for Southeast Alaska since 1970) carry short feature articles about people and both current and historical events. *Northern Winds,* a newsletter published between 1943 and 1953, chronicles the activities of the Holy Cross Mission, with news of children, religious leaders, and visitors.

Russian Orthodox Church

Russian expansion into Alaska was primarily prompted by commercial interests, but there was also an early religious connection. In response to the concern of Czarina Catherine II over the conversion of the Natives and their protection from abusive traders, a Russian Orthodox priest was dispatched there in 1792. Over the years, this denomination established a substantial following in most regions of Alaska; and its influence remains the most-enduring legacy of the early Russian presence in the American Northwest.[16]

In the 1920s and 1930s, the Alaskan diocese gave its archival records to the Library of Congress, where they were later indexed and filmed for preservation. The indexes have been published for the years 1816 through 1936,[17] and microfilm copies of the original records for this period are available at most major libraries in Alaska. While the indexes use the Roman alphabet, the original records are handwritten in Russian. Researchers must be familiar with the language and the old-style Russian cursive writing or have a translator available.

Useful material is also available at the denominational archives:

SAINT HERMAN'S THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY; Post Office Box 728; Kodiak, AK 99615.

The official periodical of this denomination in America, *The Russian Orthodox American Messenger,* was issued from 1896 through 1973. Alaska was heavily featured until 1910—with information on baptisms in remote villages and laymen honored for service to the church. An English-language index exists.[18]

Society of Friends (Quakers)

The first activity of the Society of Friends in Alaska was in Douglas (Southeast Alaska), where the Kansas Yearly Meeting of Friends established a mission in 1887. Interest expanded in 1896, after the Presbyterian minister Sheldon Jackson visited the traditional Eskimo Rendezvous at Kotzebue in Northwest Alaska and was invited to supply missionaries to the area. Anna Hunnicutt, a Friend teaching in Douglas, learned of the opportunity at Kotzebue and convinced the California Meeting to provide support. In 1897, she and Alice Umigiichak arrived in the

Kotzebue area with plans to construct buildings, but they were refused permission by Native medicine men. Eventually the Society did establish a foothold in Kotzebue, from which it spawned Northwest Alaska stations at Candle, Deering, Kivalina, Noatak, Noorvik, Selawik, and Shungnak. Kotzebue has remained the center for the Society of Friends in Alaska.[19]

Quaker records of genealogical value include birth, membership, marriage, and funeral records, kept by the local meetings. The state's administrative office—though it is currently unable to field genealogical inquiries—is the

ALASKA YEARLY MEETING HEADQUARTERS; Post Office Box 687; Kotzebue, AK 99752.

CLAIMS SETTLEMENTS

In December 1971, Congress passed the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA), which validated aboriginal use, occupancy, and continued possession of lands in the state of Alaska. By the terms of this act, Natives received over forty million acres of the public domain and a monetary settlement of $962.5 million. To manage their funds, lands, and resources, the Natives established 13 regional and 246 village corporations. Citizens with one-fourth or more Alaska Indian, Aleut, or Eskimo blood, who were alive at the time the act was passed, could share in the benefits—unless they were members of the Annette Island Reserve Community of Metlakatla, with whom Congress had already settled in 1891.[20]

Thousands of genealogy-related records have been compiled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to determine eligibility for the ANCSA benefits. These records are closed to the public, but Alaska Natives may acquire information on themselves through a two-step process:

- Acquire a birth certificate from the state's Department of Health and Social Services, Bureau of Vital Statistics (Post Office Box H; Juneau, AK 99811). A money order for the current fee must accompany each request. Inquirers must be eighteen years old or older and request a certificate for themselves or their child or legal ward. Adoptees should obtain a copy of their *original* certificate.
- Determine Native-blood quantum and acquire a "Certificate of Native Blood" by sending the birth certificate to the Alaska office of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs (Post Office Box 3-8000; Juneau, AK 99802).

Individuals may also receive genealogical information through the Native corporations. While these offices may not release official records, each knows the people in its jurisdiction and is able to put interested people in contact with each other. The thirteen regional corporations are[21]

AHTNA, INCORPORATED; Post Office Box 649; Copper Center, AK 99588; or 406 West Fireweed, no. 101; Anchorage, AK 99505.

ALEUT CORPORATION; 1 Aleut Plaza; 4000 Old Seward Highway, Suite 300; Anchorage, AK 99503.

ARCTIC SLOPE REGIONAL CORPORATION; Post Office Box 129; Barrow, AK 99723; or 301 Arctic Slope Avenue; Anchorage, AK 99518.

BERING STRAITS NATIVE CORPORATION; Post Office Box 1008; Nome, AK 99762; or 3351 Arctic Boulevard; Anchorage AK 99503.

BRISTOL BAY NATIVE CORPORATION; Post Office Box 198; Dillingham, AK 99576; or 800 Cordova; Anchorage, AK 99510.

CALISTA CORPORATION; Post Office Box 408; Bethel, AK 99559; or 601 West Fifth Avenue, Suite 200; Anchorage, AK 99501.

CHUGACH CORPORATION; 560 East Thirty-fourth Street; Anchorage, AK 99503.

COOK INLET REGION, INCORPORATED; 2525 C Street; Anchorage, AK 99509.

DOYON, LIMITED; Doyon Building; 201 First Avenue; Fairbanks, AK 99701.

KONIAG, INCORPORATED; 4300 B Street; Anchorage, AK 99503

NANA CORPORATION; Post Office Box 49; Kotzebue, AK 99752; or 1001 Benson Boulevard; Anchorage, AK 99503.

SEALASKA CORPORATION; One Sealaska Plaza, Suite 400; Juneau, AK 99801-1276.

THIRTEENTH REGIONAL CORPORATION; 12503 Southeast Mill Plain Road, Suite 200; Vancouver, WA 98684.

GENERAL ARCHIVAL RESOURCES

Information about Alaska Natives often appears in manuscript collections of local historical societies and major regional repositories. Among the facilities that all researchers should consider are

ALASKA HISTORICAL LIBRARY; Post Office Box 110571; Juneau, AK 99811-0571 (of particular interest: Louis Shotridge Collection, Tlingit Indian Genealogy Notes and Information, 1915–26?, Manuscript Collection no. 37—a restricted body of materials written in Tlingit).

ALASKA STATE LIBRARY; Post Office Box 110571; Juneau, AK 99811-0571.

ALASKA STATE ARCHIVES; 141 Willoughby Avenue; Juneau, AK 99811-1720.

ANCHORAGE MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND ART; 121 West Seventh Avenue; Anchorage, AK 99501.

ARCHIVES, UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA ANCHORAGE, CONSORTIUM LIBRARY; 3211 Providence Drive; Anchorage, AK 99508.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES–ALASKA REGION; 654 West Third Avenue; Anchorage, AK 99501.[22]

Above all, researchers will want to review the holdings of the previously cited Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks—particularly the following:

Alaska Commercial Company Collection. Of special interest is Box 152, Folder 1576, wherein a logbook for Unalaska (Aleutian Islands) lists approximately seventy-five individuals—mostly children who were vaccinated for smallpox on 13–14 May 1878—with name, age, and sex of each individual.

Donald Foote Collection. Taped interviews in this collection contain references to family genealogies, primarily in Point Hope. The information has not been charted.

Froehlich Rainey Collection. Four boxes of materials accumulated by Rainey, a professor of anthropology at the University of Alaska from 1933–47, yield names of contemporary Alaska Natives from Point Hope and Barrow (northern Alaska). Also included are Dr. Rainey's business and personal correspondence (1936–46); diaries describing his fieldwork at Point Hope and Saint Lawrence Island (1937–40); a collection of stories told to him by residents at Point Hope; and grave listings from Ipiutak and Tigara.

Genealogical Records of Barrow families. This compilation of Eskimo family records, 1825–1975, was created by researchers studying blood types. The materials are grouped together by families for six generations and list date and place of birth, sex, and degree of Eskimo ancestry. The alphabetical name index is helpful; however, researchers report numerous errors.[23]

Minto Alaska Village Council Records ("Council Secretary's Book of Minutes of Business Meetings" for 28 December 1939–11 March 1948). This collection includes a history of individuals who lived in this Interior Alaska village during the specified years. Each entry includes name and date of birth. Some entries include the date of death. The last date of death was recorded in 1961 [*sic*], and the oldest person on the list was born in December 1853.

Robert McKennan Collection. Among these materials are census and hospital records from Healy River, Nabesna, Sam Creek, Scottie Creek, Tanacross, and Tetlin (1937–38); Tanana (1946); Tanacross (1946, 1962); Minto (1958); Tetlin (1958); and Northway.

Vital Statistics and Miscellaneous Records for Kake, Alaska. Available only on microfilm, this group of birth, marriage, and death records from Southeast Alaska, covering 31 October 1917 to 7 July 1928, was compiled by the U.S. Bureau of Education, Alaska Native School Medical and Reindeer Service.

Two additional collections of extreme value have been produced by members of the Native corporations:

Fort Gibbon (Tanana) District Area Data Base. Developed by Paul and Merrily Verhagen and Robert Maynard (contact Verhagens; Post Office Box 563; Nenana, AK 99760), the data base consists of two parts. Part 1 covers the compiled records of the Fort Gibbon-Tanana Recording District 1915–1941—including birth, marriage, and death registrations, as well as the genealogical records of the Roman Catholic priest, Jules Jette, S.J. Part 2 records the responses of area families who have reviewed the data in part 1 and offered their corrections or additions. A copy of the data base has been provided for the Tanana Native Council (Post Office Box 93; Tanana AK 99775).

North Slope Borough Genealogical Records. The Inupiat History, Language, and Culture Commission (Box 69; Barrow, AK 99723) has developed a strong collection of Eskimo genealogies, including a magnificent assemblage of photographs and oral-history materials.

MISCELLANEOUS PUBLICATIONS

In addition to the printed censuses, histories, and periodicals already mentioned, researchers should be aware of four often overlooked publications of significant genealogical value.

Dauenhauer, Nora Marks, and Richard Dauenhauer. *Haa Kusteey: Our Culture: Tlingit Life Stories.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1994. This book offers biographical sketches of approximately fifty Southeast Alaska Tlingit elders. Part 1 covers individuals born between 1863 and 1915. Part 2 treats the founders of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, a sociopolitical organization. The authors offer copious photographs of people and events.

Letter from the Secretary of War, 44th Congress, 1st Session, Senate Executive Document 12, June 1875. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1876. Included is a petition of Natives on Saint George Island in the Pribilofs, requesting the U.S. government to regard the residents "not as wild Indians . . . but as fellow citizens struggling to advance in civilization, and to become worthy to be esteemed." Approximately thirty names are included with the petition.

Message of the President of the United States . . . Forty-fourth Congress, First Session, Senate Executive Document 33, Part 2, 24 March 1876. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1876. Three important lists are contained therein: (1) Indian prisoners confined at Sitka during the three years ending 31 December 1875; (2) civilian prisoners confined at Sitka during the same period; and (3) prisoners confined at the post of Fort Wrangel[l], Alaska, from 1 August to 31 December 1875, inclusive.

Oliver, Ethel Ross. *Journal of an Aleutian Year.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988. This World War II study lists residents of Attu Island in the Aleutians who were captured by the Japanese on 7 June 1942. First transported to Kiska Island and then to Hokkaido Island, Japan, the Attuans were incarcerated at the Otaru War Prison Camp until the end of hostilities. The listing for each includes such background information as date and place of birth, names of parents, date and cause of death, residence of survivors, and age as of June 1947.

CONCLUSION

Most researchers who approach this topic expect difficulty in tracing Alaska Native roots; yet major sources do exist to assist the effort. While the information provided here is not exhaustive, it does introduce a significant body of literature, manuscripts, and data bases in which searches can be launched. In addition to the items presently discussed, other possibilites will develop, as Native groups continue to compile their own genealogies and indexes.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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1. Statistics cited here are from "Alaska," *The American Peoples Encyclopedia* (N.Y.: Grolier, 1968), 290–91; and "Alaska," *Encarta 95* (Redmond, Wash.: Microsoft Corp., 1994), based upon *Funk & Wagnall's New*

Encyclopedia, 1994 ed. For historical background, see also Claus-M. Naske and Herman E. Slotnick, *Alaska: A History of the Forty-Ninth State,* 2d ed. (Norman: Univ. of Okla., 1987); Cora Cheney, *Alaska: Indians, Eskimos, Russians, and the Rest* (N.Y.: Dodd, 1980); W. R. Hunt, *Alaska: A Bicentennial History* (N.Y.: W. W. Norton, 1976); Lael Morgan, *Alaska's Native People,* vol. 6, no. 3, of *Alaska Geographic* (Anchorage: Alaska Geographic Society, 1979); and May McNeer, *The Alaska Gold Rush* (N.Y.: Random House, 1960).

2. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, *County and City Data Book,* 12th ed. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1994), 32. A useful map depicting the distribution of Alaska Native population is found in *The Alaska Almanac: Facts about Alaska,* 17th ed. (Anchorage: Alaska Northwest Books, 1993), 128.

3. *County and City Data Book,* 32.

4. The overview here reflects the conclusions of the authors, based upon their own extensive research and personal interviews with Alaska Native families.

5. Useful for the various spellings of Alaska's geographic sites is Donald J. Orth, *Dictionary of Alaska Place Names* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967).

6. W. C. Hanson, *Anaktuvuk Pass, Alaska Village Census,* prepared for the U.S. Dept. of Energy by the Battell Memorial Institute, 1967, 1972, 1978, and 1989. These records are available through the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), the nation's largest clearinghouse for scientific, technical, engineering, and business information produced by the federal government. Address inquiries to U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Technology Administration (NTIS); Springfield, VA 22161, specifying order nos. as follows: November 1969 (BNWL-MS); September 1972 (C00-2122-11); August 1978 (LA-5999-MS, REV); and May 1989 (PNL03081).

7. U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, *Alaska Fishery and Fur Seal Industries* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915); this volume, which is Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 819, constitutes Appendix 9 to the 1914 annual report of the U.S. Commissioner of Fisheries. Also U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, *Alaska Fishery and Fur Seal Industries* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), issued as Bureau of Fisheries Doc. 847 and Appendix 2 to the 1917 annual report of the U.S. Commissioner of Fisheries.

8. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Census of Sitka, Alaska Territory* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882), constituting part of House Executive Doc. 81, 47th Cong., 1st sess.

9. L. Arden Almquist, *Covenant Church in Alaska* (Chicago: Covenant Press, 1962); Peter Marston, *Covenant Frontiers: Fifty Years in China, Fifty Three Years in Alaska, Three Years in Africa* (Chicago: Evangelical Mission Covenant Church of America, 1941). A list of the Evangelical Covenant Churches in Alaska, which includes pastors and addresses, is available from the Evangelical Covenant Church of Alaska; P.O. Box 190729; Anchorage, AK 99519.

10. Also important are Charles Campbell, *A History of the Episcopal Mission of Our Savior in Tanana* (Tanana: N.p., 1985); and Hudson Stuck, *The Alaska Mission of the Episcopal Church* (N.Y.: Domestic and Foreign Mission Society, 1920).

11. Primary publications on the Moravian Church in Alaska are Ferdinand Drebert, *Alaska Missionary* (Bethlehem, Pa.: Moravian Bookshop, 1949); James W. Henkelman and Kurt H. Vitt, *The History of the Alaska Moravian Church, 1885–1985: Harmonious to Dwell* (Bethel, Alaska: Moravian Seminary and Archives, 1985); Wendell H. Oswalt, *Mission of Change in Alaska: Eskimos and Moravians on the Kuskokwim* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1963); Anna Buxbaum Schwalbe, *Dayspring on the Kuskokwim: The Story of the Moravian Mission in Alaska* (Bethlehem, Pa.: Moravian Press, 1951); and Kurt H. Vitt and James Henkelman, *The Alaska Moravian Church, an Annotated Bibliography: History of the Alaska Moravian Church; 1983 Research Project: Annotated Bibliography, Archival Inventory, and Material List* (Anchorage: Alaska Historical Commission, 1983).

12. For Presbyterianism in Alaska, see Florence Hayes, *Arctic Gateway* (N.Y.: Friendship Press, 1940); and *Alaska: Source of Service* (N.Y.: Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, 1946).

13. For the Roman Catholic experience, see Mary G. Balcom, *The Catholic Church in Alaska* (Chicago: Adams Press, 1970); and Louis L. Renner, *A Bibliography of the Catholic Church in Alaska* (Fairbanks: Privately printed, 1977), and *Supplement 1* (1978).

14. *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Oregon Province Archives of the Society of Jesus: Alaska Mission Collection* (Spokane: Gonzaga Univ., 1980).

15. Another Francis Barnum, S.J., Collection exists in the Archives of Georgetown Univ., Washington, D.C.

16. For Russian Orthodox activity in Alaska, see Gregory Afonsky, *A History of the Orthodox Church in Alaska: 1794–1917* (Kodiak: St. Herman's Theological Seminary, 1977); Barbara S. Smith, *Orthodoxy and Native Americans: The Alaska Mission* (Syosset, N.Y.: Historical Society of the Orthodox Church in America, 1980); Barbara S. Smith, *Russian Orthodoxy in Alaska: A History, Inventory, and Analysis of Church Archives in Alaska with an Annotated Bibliography* (Anchorage: Alaska Historical Commission, 1980).

17. *Index to Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths in the Archives of the Russian Orthodox Church in Alaska,*

1816–1866, 3 vols. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1970); and *Indexes to Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths in the Archives of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in Alaska, 1867–1889* (Washington: Library of Congress, n.d.); *Index to Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths in the Archives of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in Alaska, 1890–1899* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1965); and *Index to Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths in the Archives of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in Alaska, 1900–1936* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1964).

18. Barbara Sweetland Smith and Anne C. Sudkamp, *Alaska Names and Places in the Russian Orthodox American Messenger, 1896–1973: An Index and Annotated Bibliography* (Anchorage: Alaska Historical Commission, 1985).

19. For Quakers in Alaska, see Arthur O. Roberts, *Tomorrow is Growing Old: Stories of the Quakers in Alaska* (Newberg, Oreg.: Barclay Press, 1978).

20. Robert D. Arnold and Janet Archibald, *Alaska Native Land Claims* (Anchorage: Native Foundation, 1976), 145–47. For additional microfilmed materials on the Metlakatla Reservation, see *Records of the Alaska Division of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Concerning Metlakatla, 1887–1993*, microfilm publication M1333, 14 rolls, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

21. For a map depicting the location of Alaska Native corporations, see *The Alaska Almanac*, 128.

22. For a guide to the National Archives's principal manuscript holdings on Alaska Natives, see Edward D. Hill, *Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs*, 2 vols. (Washington: National Archives and Records Service, 1965), 1: 229–36.

23. Edna Ahgeak MacLean, *Genealogical Records of Barrow Families* (Barrow: Naval Arctic Research Laboratory, 1971).

American Deaths in Panama, 1856

[George W. Fletcher, U.S. Consul, Aspinwall, Panama, 14 June 1856,
to Honorable William L. Marcy, Secretary of State, Washington, D.C.
Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Colon, 17 July 1852–19 December 1857
Roll 1, microfilm publication T-193, National Archives, Washington, D.C.]

"I have the honor to enclose herewith a draft of the Panama Rail Road Company [and sundry items] being the property of persons who were killed in the late accident on the Rail Road, the particulars of which were furnished you by Mr. Boyd, the Vice Consul, during my late absence, in his letter no. 13, under date of the 19th ultimo . . .

List of property belonging to Fayette Gilson whose mother's address is Maria Gilson, Fulton County, Illinois:

Cash – four hundred dollars	$400. –
3 pieces California Gold weighing one ounce & 7/16, at $16 per oz, as per appraisement	23.00
A promissory note signed by J. Bidwell, payable to W. W. Wentworth & by him endorsed, to said Gilson, for $175.	
One Pacific M. S. S. Co's ticket for passage	
One Pocket Book much damaged and of no value whatsoever, not sent	
	$423.00
Less 1½ pr Ct. for Draft	6.34
	$416.66

For which I herewith enclose a draft of the Panama R. R. Co. payable to order of Hon. Wm. L. Marcy."

—Contributed by the editors

Notes and Documents

Panunzio's Deportation Cases of 1919–20: A Neglected Source and an Index

By Sharon DeBartolo Carmack, CGRS*

America was a magnet, but a risky one, for millions of people during its peak immigration years in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Available jobs, higher wages, landownership opportunities, and religious freedom—all were irresistible enticements. Leaving a homeland and ancestral roots was a wrenching experience. To pay passage and finance a new beginning, emigrants sold possessions and borrowed money. Beyond the hardship of ocean travel on overcrowded steamships, they also experienced a stressful screening process at the port of arrival. After all their sacrifices, would they be labeled "undesirable" and sent back? Would part of their family be accepted and part rejected? It was a risk all faced and a reality for over half a million new arrivals between 1892 and 1930 alone.[1]

Few aliens were turned away before late-nineteenth-century labor rivalries agitated American sensibilities. Beginning in 1882, however, a multitude of new laws specified who would be excluded, admitted, or later deported. Chinese immigration was temporarily suspended; and other "undesirables"—individuals whose known or suspected past included criminal activity, mental-health problems, or idiocy and those likely to become a public charge—were denied entrance. Attempts to impose literacy requirements throughout the 1890s and the early 1900s (primarily directed at immigrants from Southern Europe) met with failure or presidential veto. In 1917, however, Congress overrode the veto of Woodrow Wilson and added sweeping extensions to the 1882 act—specifically barring anyone over sixteen years of age who could not read English "or some other language or dialect" and children under sixteen traveling alone, as well as contract laborers and others known or suspected to be professional beggars, prostitutes and their procurers, offenders of "moral turpitude," polygamists, anarchists, epileptics, the "feeble minded," those infected with a "loathsome" or contagious disease or a physical or mental disorder that would prevent them from obtaining work, and most Asians.[2]

New arrivals deemed to be members of one of these classes were briefly detained, then sent back to the country of origin on the next returning ship of the same line—that is, they were *barred* from entry. Other aliens were admitted but were later charged with violation of one or another immigration law; if the charges were proved to the satisfaction of an examining board, they were *deported.* Once an immigrant was admitted, the statute of

limitations varied for discovery of a prior transgression or commitment of a new one, depending on the legislative act then in effect. Beginning in 1891, deportation was limited to within one year after the immigrant had been admitted.[3] However, the 1917 act stated, "at any time within five years after entry, any alien who at the time of entry was a member of one or more of the classes excluded by law [or] any alien who shall be found in the United States in violation of this act . . . shall, upon warrant of the Attorney General, be taken into custody and deported."[4] Another act the following year amended this to remove the five-year limitation.[5]

Existing records vary according to the situation:[6]

- In open-and-shut cases involving barred aliens, no special records were created. Only a notation was made on the original passenger list next to that person's name. In other cases, the name was added to a supplemental section of the passenger manifest, called "Record of Aliens Held for Special Inquiry." These appendixes (when extant) are included in the microfilm publication of the various ship rolls, and each appears following the passenger list to which it pertains. Details include the name of the detainee, the cause of detention or rejection, the date and time of discharge or return, the number of meals consumed while detained, and—if the rejected immigrant was waiting for someone—the name and address of the American contact.
- If a case was appealed to the port's Board of Special Inquiry and a hearing file was created, the record of that case will be found in the regional branch of the National Archives that has the records of the port of entry involved (e.g., for extant Board of Special Inquiry records created at the port of San Francisco, one should check at the National Archives–Pacific Sierra Region).
- For an alien who was admitted but later threatened with deportation after identification as a member of an excluded class, a personal file was created. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) pursued the case amid proceedings that were ruled by the U.S. Supreme Court to be administrative rather than criminal.[7]

It is members of this deported class that are the focus of the present paper.

PANUNZIO'S STUDY

In late 1919 and early 1920, there occurred an episode of American history known as the Red Scare. Acting upon orders of the U.S. Attorney General, federal agents launched a series of nationwide "dragnet operations" designed to corral and detain aliens suspected of "subversive activities." Attention focused primarily upon members of four organizations—the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the Union of Russian Workers (URW), the Communist Labor Party, and the Communist Party. The ensuing "deportations delirium" stemmed partly from the growing hostility against aliens, partly from the increasing agitation of labor movements, and largely from the anti-Russian sentiment created by the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 and Russia's role in World War I.[8]

Among the moral leaders who sought to stem this infringement upon civil rights was a Methodist Episcopal minister named Constantine M. Panunzio. Hoping to "call public attention to practices that are inconsistent with the American tradition of justice and fair play," Panunzio undertook, in 1921, a study of the 1919–20 deportation hearings for alleged

anarchists. Focusing upon two hundred cases at INS as a "representative cross-section" of the "great mass of deportation cases," he produced a small book that was published that same year in New York by the Commission on the Church and Social Service. Panunzio discusses by name some one hundred accused immigrants in eighteen states. Many were not ultimately deported—some were imprisoned for a time, questioned, found innocent, and released. Among those who were ejected from the country, some had spouses and children who either stayed in America or followed the deportee back to Europe at a later date. Unaware that enterprising genealogists might someday need this information, Panunzio did not prepare an index. His work received little notice at the time and has become no better known in the intervening decades. For family researchers, however, it could prove valuable.[9]

Genealogists can find in this study much more than just the *name* of a relative. For each interviewee or case studied, Panunzio includes a warrant number, enabling researchers to acquire the record from INS by following the procedure subsequently outlined in this paper. Visiting prisons and detention centers—primarily the county jail of Hartford, Connecticut; the prisons of Youngstown, Ohio, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and a detention camp in Detroit, Michigan—he interviewed some of the accused. A portion of that interview material is quoted in his text. Informative chapters cover—among other considerations—who the arrested aliens were, how the arrests were made, how the aliens were tried, how they were treated during the proceedings, how long they were held in prison, how they felt about leaving America, and how their families were affected.

PANUNZIO'S FINDINGS

Arrests of alien suspects were not limited by age, sex, nationality, occupation, economic standing, length of residence in the United States, or naturalization status. Seven of the two hundred cases Panunzio examined deal with women. Thirteen nationalities are represented in his files: Austrians, one Bulgarian, Croatians, one Dutch, Galicians, Germans, Hungarians, one Italian, Jugoslavs, Lithuanians, Poles, Russians, and Ukrainians. Most were between ages twenty and forty; but one was a minor and others were over fifty. Of the two hundred, fifty-four already had made their declaration of intention to file for citizenship. A portion of Panunzio's "Table I—Length of Residence in the U.S." follows, illustrating the point that immigrants could be arrested and considered for deportation regardless of the number of years they had lived in America:[10]

Years in U.S.	Number of Immigrant Cases
–1	0
1–5	31
6–10	134
11–15	23
16–20	7
21–	1
Not stated	4
Total	200

Between 1 July 1919 and 30 June 1920—Panunzio found—2,777 aliens were deported for all causes, 314 of whom were deemed anarchists.[11] Statistics published by various commissioners general of immigration reveal overall numbers for an even-broader period:[12]

Time Period	Number deported
1892–1900	3,127
1901–1910	11,558
1911–1920	27,912
1921–1930	92,157

Panunzio also found that the majority of those charged with anarchy (148 of the 200) were of Russian and Ukrainian heritage, and most belonged to the Union of Russian Workers. When interviewed, some of the accused stated they had joined for socialization with people from their homeland. Largely uneducated, they had not realized that anarchy was one of the organization's purposes; the union had represented itself to them as a mutual-aid society that provided education, social opportunities, and financial guidance. Other immigrants were enticed by leadership opportunities held out to them—the promise of a little prestige in their new community. John Huacuk, to illustrate, joined to "learn to read and write arithmetic," as stated in his case file.[13] Tony Vasilewich remarked in his deposition, "When I joined this organization, Union of Russian Workers, I thought it was a mutual benefit society and after getting acquainted with them on one occasion I asked them if they [would] give me sick benefit, and they laughed at me and I quit them."[14] Others, like Christopher Hetaguroff, "understood the purpose as being 'brotherhood, equality and truth.'"[15]

CONTENT OF DEPORTATION RECORDS

For researchers who have lost track of immigrants or for those whose family stories tell of a relative sent back to the homeland, the deportation files may be valuable. Most case files contain the following items:[16]

- the original affidavit of probable cause, filed by an agent of the Department of Justice.
- a carbon copy of the original arrest warrant.
- the record of the preliminary examination given the alien at the time of arrest.
- a complete official transcript of all the proceedings in the case and of testimonies given in regular hearing(s) conducted by the immigration inspector.
- a summary of findings and recommendations by the local immigration inspector.
- a summary of findings and recommendations by the commissioner-general of immigration.
- actual evidence or record of evidence submitted in the case.
- a record of bail when secured.
- a brief submitted by the alien's attorney.
- letters submitted by the alien's friends and employers.
- a memorandum from the Secretary of Labor or his representative, giving a final decision on the case—together with instructions for disposition.

OBTAINING DEPORTATION RECORDS

Deportation files are extant for the period 1906–57[17] and are in the custody of the INS. The indexed list that concludes this article covers only the 1919–20 period of Panunzio's study; it gives the warrant number in parentheses after the alien's name. Researchers who find a person of interest on this list may request a search of the INS files (and photocopies of any extant records) by making a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request and including the warrant number. They should use FOIA form G**639** (form G**641** is obsolete) and send it to the FOIA officer at the INS *district office* nearest their residence. (The INS headquarters in Washington, D.C., has a lengthy backlog; thus, contact with a district office will expedite requests.) Addresses of the district offices may be obtained from Bentley's *Genealogist's Address Book*[18] or by writing the INS in Washington to request a list (Historical Reference Library and Reading Room Section; 425 I Street NW, Room 1100A; Washington, DC 20536). Currently, there is no fee for this service; should the request be "large or unusual," however, researchers will be notified in advance of any charges.[19]

If there is reason to believe that a family member was deported after being admitted but a warrant number is not known, records might still be obtainable through the following procedure:

- Check the supplemental section of the passenger list that includes the immigrant. If a notation is found or if none appears but strong cause exists to believe a deportation or deportation hearing occurred, then
- locate the appropriate Board of Special Inquiry records at the regional branch of the National Archives that serves the port.[20] If no record is found but strong cause still exists to believe a deportation or deportation hearing occurred, then
- make a brief inquiry to either a district or national office of INS, using the procedure outlined above.

OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Some aliens who were arrested and deemed part of an undesirable class were given a choice: they could voluntarily leave America or be deported. If they left of their own accord and paid for their own trip home (or arranged to take a seaman's post to work for their passage), they avoided a record of deportation and could return to America when they no longer belonged to the excluded class. If the government paid travel expenses, however, a deportation record was created; and that deportee was not allowed to return to the United States for at least five years.[21]

Regardless of whether this man, woman, or child was rejected upon arrival or ejected after residing in this country for a time—regardless of whether the person left voluntarily or involuntarily—researchers should check for subsequent passenger lists and naturalization records. There is always the possibility that the alien returned. Even if there is no family tradition of deportation, when a late-nineteenth- or early-twentieth-century immigrant disappears from American records for a length of time, researchers should evaluate the likelihood of a return to the homeland.

—— & ——

INDEX TO DEPORTATION CASES OF 1919–20 STUDIED BY CONSTANTINE M. PANUNZIO

Contributor's note:

The warrant-file number is in parentheses, followed by the page number in Panunzio's book, which circulates through interlibrary loan from various holding libraries.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

*Post Office Box 338; Simla, CO 80835. Ms. Carmack is a Certified Genealogical Record Specialist with an emphasis upon Italian-American family and social history and upon writing narrative family histories that place ancestors into historical perspective. She is the editor of the *Association of Professional Genealogists Quarterly* and *SPEAK!*, the newsletter of the Genealogical Speakers Guild.

1. *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration to the Secretary of Labor* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1930), 158, categorizes 498,142 aliens who were turned away at various U.S. ports. The Commissioner General's reports of 1892 to 1930 record 133,847 more that were deported after admittance, according to the tally of Jane Perry Clark, *Deportation of Aliens from the United States to Europe* (N.Y.: Columbia Univ. Press, 1931), 29. Clark also provides extensive discussions of other case studies and file transcripts on individuals not named in the present article.

2. Sidney Kansas, *U.S. Immigration Exclusion and Deportation and Citizenship of the United States of America*, 2d ed. (Albany, N.Y.: Matthew Bender Co., 1941), provides the most-extensive discussion of the various immigration laws prior to World War II, including transcripts of each act. For an overview of 1882–1917 legislation, see pp. 4–15; for the 1917 act, see pp. 69–140.

Also excellent are Immigration and Naturalization Service [INS], *An Immigrant Nation: United States Regulation of Immigration, 1798–1991* (Washington, D.C.: Dept. of Justice, 1991); E..P. Hutchinson, *Legislative History of American Immigration Policy, 1798–1965* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pa. Press, 1981); Edith Abbott, *Immigration: Select Documents and Case Records* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1924); and Kate Holladay Claghorn, *The Immigrant's Day in Court* (1922; reprinted, N.Y.: Arno Press, 1969).

3. INS, *An Immigrant Nation*, 12; Kansas, *U.S. Immigration Exclusion and Deportation*, 6.

4. Kansas, *U.S. Immigration Exclusion and Deportation*, 109–10.

5. Clark, *Deportation of Aliens*, 219–20.

6. Telephone conversation with Marian L. Smith, INS Historian, 8 November 1993; letter to the author dated 17 November 1993 from Elizabeth A. Berrio, Chief, INS Historical Reference Library and Reading Room Section, Washington, D.C.

7. *Fong Yue Ting* v. *United States* (1893), 149 U.S. 698, 709; see discussion in William Preston Jr., *Alien Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903–1933*, 2d ed. (Urbana: Univ. of Ill. Press), 11. Preston also offers an excellent bibliographic essay that describes relevant holdings in the National Archives as well as major publications on this subject; see pp. 297–304.

8. Preston, *Alien Dissenters*, 1–10.

9. Constantine M. Panunzio, *The Deportation Cases of 1919–20* (N.Y.: Commission on the Church and Social Service, 1921).

10. Ibid., 17–18, 101–3.

11. Ibid., 95.

12. Statistics are drawn from the *Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration for the Fiscal Year...*, published annually by order of Congress between 1892 and 1930 as part of the U. S. Serial Set maintained in research libraries. For summaries with slightly varying calculations, see Reed Ueda, "Naturalization and Citizenship," in Stephen Themstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1980), 746; and Clark, *Deportation of Aliens from the United States to Europe,* 29.

13. Panunzio, *Deportation Cases,* 66.

14. Ibid., 68.

15. Ibid., 69.

16. Ibid., 11–12.

17. Widespread fear of anarchy erupted again in 1952, at which time Congress overrode President Harry Truman's veto to pass another restrictive immigration bill authorizing the Attorney General to deport "any alien who has engaged in activities 'prejudicial to the public interest' or 'subversive to the national security.'" Preston's *Alien Dissenters,* 1, touches briefly upon this.

18. Elizabeth Petty Bentley, *The Genealogist's Address Book, 3d ed.* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1995), 2–4. The Philadelphia district office has moved since Bentley's book went to press. The new address is Immigration and Naturalization Service, District Office; 1600 Callowhill St.; Philadelphia, PA 19130. Any INS address in Martinsburg, W. Va., should be disregarded; this is a storage warehouse.

19. Smith conversation, 8 November 1993; Berrio letter, 17 November 1993.

20. Locating these records may be facilitated by consulting Loretto Dennis Szucs and Sandra Hargreaves Luebking, *The Archives: A Guide to the National Archives Field Branches* (Salt Lake City: Ancestry, 1988).

21. INS, *An Immigrant Nation,* 15.

U.S. Border Patrol Deaths, 1924–29

Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration to the Secretary of Labor, 1929 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1929), 26.

"Ten men in the organization [the U.S. Border Patrol], whose names are herein listed, have lost their lives in encounters with outlaws. Outlaws very frequently shoot and shoot to kill when they are challenged, unless the odds are greatly against them. Patrolmen are under the strictest orders to shoot only in self-defense. Once attacked, however, they shoot fast, straight, and with deadly effect.

ROLL OF HONOR

1. FRANK H. CLARK. Killed at El Paso, Tex., on December 13, 1924.
2. AUGUST D. DE LA PENA. Killed at Rio Grande City, Tex., on August 3, 1925.
3. WILLIAM W. MCKEE. Killed near Alambre ranch, 40 miles south of Tucson, Ariz., on April 23, 1926.
4. LON PARKER. Killed near Willis ranch, Huachuca Mountains, Ariz., on July 25, 1926.
5. THAD PIPPIN. Killed in mountains near El Paso, Tex., on April 21, 1927.
6. FRANKLIN P. WOOD. Presumed to have been rammed and sunk by, and while in pursuit of, a smuggler's boat in the Detroit River, December 15, 1927. Body never recovered.
7. NORMAN G. ROSS. Killed by apprehended alien while in rear seat of alien's car on February 10, 1928, near Kane Springs, Calif.
8. ROBERT H. LOBDELL. Killed near Roseau, Minn., December 25, 1928.
9. EARL A. ROBERTS. Killed by a liquor smuggler about March 23, 1929, at Algonac, Mich.
10. BENJAMIN T. HILL. Killed by, and while pursuing, a suspected smuggler in El Paso, Tex., May 30, 1929."

—Contributed by the editors

Bible Records

The Ensminger-Robinson Bible

Contributed by Irving E. Gaskill*

Contributor's note:

The following data appear in a photocopy of the family-record pages of a Bible, for which no title page is included. The same information, with one addition, is found in the original family-record pages of a smaller Bible, also without title page, that bears the notation "Presented to Dad from Daughter Beatrice,1948." These pages were among the effects of the late Beatrice Ensminger Robinson of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, and are now in the possession of Bertha Kenyon Gaskill of Leesburg, Virginia.

Memoranda:

Dates of Births — Ensminger Family:

Annie	Dec. 14, 1860
Jennie	Sept. 21, 1863
John	Oct. 2, 1866
Will	Oct. 18, 1869
Elmer	May 13, 1873
Charles	May 21, 1876
Florence	Nov. 7, 1878
Arthur	Mar. 24, 1881
Mother — Susan R.	Dec. 6, 1842
Father — George M.	May 13, 1836

Births:

Mabel M. Ensminger	Jan. 2, 1901
Lester E. Ensminger	Mar. 24, 1902
Earl H. Ensminger	Dec. 24, 1903
Margie L. Ensminger	Sept. 25, 1905
Grace S. Ensminger	Oct. 26, 1906
Beatres Ensminger	Oct. 2, 1908
Lee Ensminger	June 26, 1917
Richard Ensminger	August 29, 1920

Deaths:

Mable M. Ensminger	Mar. 11, 1902
Frances S. Ensminger	Oct. 29, 1908
Father	
Charles E. Ensminger	Dec. 22, 1953

The smaller Bible adds "Mother" above the name *Frances* and offers the following entry:

Mother:
Ninna E. Ensinger [*sic*] Dec. 11, 1959

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*405 Belmont Drive, Southwest; Leesburg, VA 22075. Prior Bible records preserved by Mr. Gaskill's family appear in the September 1992 issue of *NGSQ*.

Book and Media Reviews

BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS

Biographies of Alaska-Yukon Pioneers, 1850–1950. By Ed Ferrell. Published by Heritage Books; 1540-E Pointer Ridge Place, Suite 300; Bowie, MD 20716; 1994. 355 pp. Softback. $24.00 (shipping: $3.50).

Ferrell's collection of over four hundred biographies, previously published in scattered sources and assembled here for easier access, is well timed with the upcoming centennial of the gold stampeders to Alaska and Canada. In the absence of an introduction explaining the compiler's purpose and scope, it is difficult to determine criteria for inclusion in his work, but it appears that all biographees were in Alaska or the Yukon Territory at the time of the gold rush of 1896. Arrangement of the entries is alphabetical, with no index through which users can access related names in the body of the text. Josephine Humphrey, for example, is presented under the *H* section, for her maiden name *Humphrey,* although her biography (p. 146) indicates that she had previously wed one Julius A. Mason.

Sketches are not taken verbatim from their sources. Because information is selectively extracted from the originals (often from more than one source and then edited), researchers will need to consult the material from which Ferrell drew each individual's data. Many important facts that were originally provided have been omitted in this condensation. For example, the biographical sketch of John S. Bugbee (pp. 44–45) does not give the complete date of death; meanwhile, the mining record from which the data were extracted does give the full date. Similarly, when G. J. Lomen died in 1934, the *Alaska Weekly* obituary (dated 15 June) named six children—five sons and a daughter; the Lomen sketch that appears in Edward S. Harrison's *Nome and Seward Peninsula: History, Description, Biographies, and Stories* (privately printed, Seattle, 1905) names those six children also; but Ferrell (p. 198) does not.

Citations are also too vague in some instances, which means that locating the sources used for the compilation may be difficult. That is unfortunate because, as the author points out, he has used much "obscure and unindexed material." Libraries are usually willing to provide copies of specific articles if complete information is provided; but they cannot be expected to do lengthy research for correspondents. Typical of the problem is the citation for Clara S. Dedman (pp. 86–88), which refers readers to *Stroller's Weekly*, April 1932; but the exact issue and page are not given. Similarly, James H. Condit's sketch (p. 71) cites one source as "(newspaper?) August 19, 1950."

Ferrell has assembled a wealth of information and alerts readers to a few of the numerous sources available. All things considered, he offers a useful introduction to some of the stampeders.

Fairbanks, Alaska — Connie Bradbury

FAMILY HISTORIES

Descendants of Daniel Wolf, 1732–1807. By Charles C. Wolf. Published by Heritage Books; 1540-E Pointer Ridge Place, Suite 300; Bowie, MD 20716; 1995. viii, 374 pp. Drawings, maps, photographs. Softback. $28.00 (shipping: $3.50).

Daniel Wolf, the progenitor of this German family, is first on record in America in Bethel Township, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania, where a daughter was baptized in 1776. By 1784, the family had settled in Frederick County, Maryland. Following Daniel's death there in 1807, his widow Elizabeth, son Jacob, and three daughters moved to German Township, Montgomery County, Ohio, where Elizabeth died testate in 1815.

Chapter two outlines, by a preponderance of the evidence, the probable ancestry of Daniel—beginning with the family's Maryland and Ohio association with Peter and Frederick Wolf. The author's research in German records reveals one Jacob and Anna Margaretha Wolf of Hochstadt in the Palatinate, who had sons by these given names—with ages to match those of the brothers Peter and Frederick (who arrived at Philadelphia in 1750) and those of the brothers Daniel and George (who arrived in 1751 with their father Jacob). In addition to this evidence, the author compares signatures of the three who left wills with their signatures on the ship-passenger lists. In the case of Daniel, who died intestate, the ship roll signature is compared to that on a transcribed deed, for which the clerk attempted to reproduce Daniel's original penmanship. The evidence is convincing.

Both cognate and agnate lines of Daniel's descendants are followed well into the twentieth century. Documentation, keyed to the data, is provided through the fourth generation, after which the accounts give only vital dates gleaned from correspondence. The author also offers full transcriptions of wills and inventories for the early generations.

The book contains many illustrations. Printing was done on a dot-matrix machine, and the reproduction of the photographs could have been enhanced to advantage; but the presentation appears to be a complete genealogy of the Wolf family.

New Market, Maryland — Donna Valley Russell, CG, FASG

Seward and Related Families, Incorporating "We Remember Carroll." By George C. Seward. Published by the author; 48 Greenacres Avenue; Scarsdale, NY 10583; 1994. xxii, 316 pp. Appendixes, illustrations, indexes. Softback. $28.50.

Primarily a history of the author's ancestral lines, the work also includes the collateral line of William H. Seward, secretary of state under presidents Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson. Ancestry is traced to a string of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Obadiah Sewards of Milford, Connecticut; Brookhaven, Long Island, New York; and Morris County, New Jersey. The author convincingly demonstrates that there were four generations of Obadiahs, rather than the three accepted by earlier authors.

It is necessary to go beyond first impressions to recognize the quality of the author's research and the reliability of his conclusions. The book's departures from generally accepted standards could cause its intrinsic soundness to be overlooked on the basis of a cursory examination. Negative impressions start with a tipped-in errata sheet that cites the International Genealogical Index (IGI) of the Family History Library of the Church of Jesus

Christ of Latter-day Saints, together with its alphanumeric "C" source code for a 1607 English baptism—rather than the actual baptismal register (microfilmed and easily available) from which the IGI entry was extracted. Fortunately, this is not a fault characteristic of the work itself, although transcribed or published versions of original records are relied upon more heavily than is necessary in these days of microfilm and photocopies.

Other idiosyncrasies that are more often seen in family histories of lesser merit include use of the d'Aboville numbering system (a European variant of the disfavored Henry System that produces even more cumbersome identification numbers by placing a period between each generation's birth-order digit) and the display of a coat of arms at the front of the book. The latter is not, however, presented as a "family coat of arms." Rather, the author's caption explains that it was assumed by Secretary of State Seward, who designed it with a slight difference in charges from the shield granted in 1564 to a Seward who is not known to be related to the American family—one of Stoke-in-Teignhead, county Devon, England.

Coverage of the family's most-recent one hundred fifty years, derived largely from family records and well illustrated with photographs, is a good example of a real family history—not just a bare recital of vital events and relationships. Appendix J, "We Remember Carroll," is a touching tribute to the author's late wife, Carroll Frances (née McKay) Seward (1913–91). It includes a transcribed interview with her by her son about her family and youth, and a cluster of recollections by family members and friends. "Carroll" is full of the stuff of family history that so often goes unrecorded.

Wilmington, Delaware — Donn Devine, CG, CGI

METHODOLOGICAL GUIDES

Doing Genealogy: Foundations for Successful Research. Cassette-taped lecture by Kory L. Meyerink, AG.

Searching U.S. Census Records: An Invaluable Aid for Locating and Tracking Families. Cassette-taped lecture by Jimmy Parker, AG.

Using U.S. Military Records: A Rich Source of Information for Genealogists and Family Historians. Cassette-taped lecture by Jimmy Parker, AG.

Related softback workbook for each lecture, prepared by Robert L. Hales, Ph.D. Published by Family History Unlimited; 3507 North University Avenue, Suite 350; Provo, UT 84604; 1992–93. $50.00 each set (shipping $4.00 per set; $8.00 for two or more sets).

These three learning kits cover areas of interest to both beginning and seasoned researchers: basic methodological principles and the identification of important resources. The presenters are genealogists long accredited by the Family History Library (FHL) in Salt Lake City, as well as employees of that facility, and bring years of practical and teaching experience to their instruction.

The paperback workbooks, designed to be used with their corresponding tapes, are 8½ by 11 inches and superbly illustrated. They clearly cover each topic, including sample documents and well-chosen examples that serve as a standard for others to follow in compiling methodology books. Bibliographies are included, as well as discussions of how to locate these records at the Family History Library. The workbooks for *Doing Genealogy* and *Using U.S. Military Records* also include FHL research outlines in their appendixes; and

an excerpt (unfortunately misspelled *excert*) from FHL's *Research Outline: United States* is included in *Searching U.S. Census Records.*

Four audio tapes accompany each presentation, attractively packaged in cassette containers. Each is a quality offering, clearly recorded during a live presentation. Tips in locating records at FHL are given throughout. Each course is designed to be studied in segments. Interested researchers can listen to the tapes and study the workbooks at their own pace. Although videos and computer presentations are often better media for teaching, these cassette-workbook presentations are highly recommended—especially for libraries, including LDS family-history centers (branch libraries).

Orem, Utah — Kip Sperry, CG, AG, FASG, FNGS

The Genealogist's Handbook. By Raymond S. Wright III. Published by American Library Association; 155 North Wacker Drive; Chicago, IL 60606-1719; 1995. xiv, 119 pp. Appendixes, illustrations, index. Hardback. $40.00 or $36.50 for ALA members (shipping: $6.00).

A new crop of methodologies, handbooks, and source books, as well as revisions of classic works, is appearing on the genealogical scene. Ray Wright, a member of the faculty at Brigham Young University, has made a new contribution to the group designed to assist researchers interested in genealogy and family history.

Wright states his intention to do more than provide a guide to research methods. "This book's purpose is twofold: to teach researchers how to discover the lives of ancestors in original and other records, and then to place ancestors in the context of time, place and society as they write about those ancestors" (p. xiii). Wright's definitions of genealogy and family history correspond to this dual purpose. Genealogy, he says, is the study of a person's lineage; family history is a study of ancestral lives. It is the synthesis of the two that forms the primary focus of Wright's handbook and his definition of "modern" family history. From the perspective of his own background as an historian, librarian, and genealogist, he emphasizes the role of *context,* both to direct the research and to understand the findings. Context, for Wright, is important also in exploring the amorphous nature of genealogical curiosity. It takes little to "ignite our passion for family history," he says; yet efforts to articulate what lies behind this curiosity are often clumsy and inchoate. While a compilation of documented names and dates forms the foundation of genealogy, most contemporary researchers seek more. Both sound research techniques and a passion for history are necessary to produce a satisfying genealogical study.

Wright's interdisciplinary approach and emphasis on broad context also lead him into some difficulties. Throughout the book, the most-basic research approaches are commingled with far more sophisticated ones. His early overview of sources, for example, veers off into a treatment of statistical materials and the possible use of statistical surveys and analyses, which could be daunting or distracting for the novice. In other cases, he neglects to mention very basic ready-references in favor of tools that are harder to find and more difficult to use. He does not mention Virgil White's several indexes and abstracts of military-pension records, for example. His discussion of ethnic resources suggests using the *Encyclopedia of Associations* to identify organizations founded to promote or commemorate ethnic identity.

More expeditious, however, would be the use of Elizabeth Petty Bentley's recently revised *Genealogist's Address Book,* which has a handy compilation of ethnic associations. Wright's final chapter, "Writing Family History," does not include a discussion of numbering systems and indexing. These are surprising lapses, particularly coming from a librarian who should be acutely aware that both are techniques to promote access to information—the librarian's raison d'être.

Otherwise, the author treats individual research problems articulately and clearly. His discussion of locating ancestors geographically is succinct and well developed. While his are the standard recommendations, they are presented logically and in a way that many will find helpful. The extended narrative of his journey through census records, which well illustrates the subtleties of research in this source, is strengthened by reproductions of original returns. Wright's discussion of computers and genealogy will be a welcome and helpful introduction for those who have yet to embrace computer technology. The book also includes a comprehensive bibliography of "works cited" and lists of genealogical research centers, including a separate section for those that specialize in ethnic research.

The Genealogist's Handbook, published by the American Library Association, will be widely advertised to librarians. Faced with ever-increasing numbers of enthusiastic but naive researchers, librarians always welcome sources that assist them in directing patrons toward productive, successful, and independent research. Despite its shortcomings, the book is recommended for inclusion in any significant genealogy collection. Even experienced researchers will benefit from the author's fresh approach; and the synthesis of genealogy and family history that shapes Wright's manual is an important element of the maturing discipline of genealogy.

Arlington, Virginia — Dereka Smith, M.L.S., NGS Librarian

REGIONAL WORKS

Creoles of Color in the Bayou Country. By Carl A. Brasseaux, Keith P. Fontenot, and Claude F. Oubre. Published by University Press of Mississippi; Jackson, MS 39205; 1994. xiv, 174 pp. Appendixes, illustrations, index, maps. Hardback. $32.50 (shipping $3.50).

"Few words in American English are as misunderstood or as frequently misused as the term *Creole.*" With this opening statement (p. xi), the authors set the stage for a brief work that illuminates a cloudy subject for both historians and genealogists. Their prefatory discussion is important reading for anyone with roots in Louisiana and all others who are careful to use ethnic terms correctly. To reduce the authors' elucidation to bare bones: *creole* was a term applied to any child born in an American colony of European or African parentage or ancestry. Whether that child was entirely white, entirely black, or a mixture, was irrelevant. Past the colonial era, the term applied to descendants of the original Creoles.

Brasseaux, Fontenot, and Oubre—who, between them, bring into this project nearly three-quarters of a century of scholarship in their field—have reconstructed one type of Creole world: individuals and families of interracial ancestry who first appeared on record in southwestern Louisiana in 1766. The authors have followed their subjects through the social, economic, and political vicissitudes of two centuries, in an approach that is both personal and statistical. Their bibliography implies that they have used virtually every

resource available, through which they have personally identified individual members of this scattered society, reconstructed lives, and defined patterns. Their historical synthesis is well illustrated by anecdotal data that treat many familiar families. Two appendixes abstract court suits and conveyances recorded for this population in the major civil repository of the region, the Saint Landry Parish Courthouse at Opelousas.

The study's one disappointment is its documentation. Following the preferred practice of the press that published them, the authors use highly abbreviated parenthetical source citations. For example, readers who are interested in the marriage contract (at least we presume this to be a marriage *contract;* the text refers only to this marriage as an *event,* but experienced researchers would expect a civilly filed record of that event to be only a contract for an *intended* marriage that may or may not have subsequently taken place in the church) of Catherine Bello to Jean Alexandre Durosseau are told only that the record appears *somewhere* in "Louisiana State Archives and Record Service, Opelousas Colonial Records" (p. 15). That collection contains more than a thousand documents. Without the document number and/or the exact date of the record, one cannot reasonably ask that facility to provide the record. Archivists are notoriously annoyed at genealogists who expect them to provide inadequately cited documents; and researchers will incur unnecessary expense in employing others to relocate these records for them.

More disappointing is the Donato Bello–Lemelle–Guillory–Meuillion genealogy (pp. 28–39), which, unlike the book's general narrative, offers no documentation at all. Indisputably, a considerable amount of work went into the disentanglement of records and duplicate names necessary to reconstitute these family units. Yet, by standards in the field of genealogy, that reconstruction is questionable until and unless each statement of fact and every asserted relationship can be supported by documentary evidence. The double standard employed in this work—i.e., the implication that documentation is necessary for analyses of history but not for genealogy—is a familiar but long-outdated saw that should not still linger in the halls and presses of academia.

These caveats aside, Brasseaux, Fontenot, and Oubre present an extremely valuable analysis of a long-ignored segment of a much-misunderstood population. Their work is the product of years of painstaking diligence and insight that few if any other scholars could match on their subject. Anyone with ancestry in Southwest Louisiana, of any shade, would benefit from their study.

Tuscaloosa, Alabama — Elizabeth Shown Mills, CG, CGL, FNGS, FASG

The Pickens Sentinel, Pickens Court House, South Carolina, 1872–1893: Historical and Genealogical Abstracts. By Peggy Burton Rich and Marion Ard Whitehurst. Published by Heritage Books; 1540-E Pointer Ridge Place, Suite 300; Bowie, MD 20716; 1994. 755 pp. in 2 vols. Illustrations, indexes. Softback. $70.00 (shipping $3.50).

Two decades of everyday news items are abstracted from the earliest years of a journal that can boast of being the oldest continuous business in Pickens County. Building its subscriber base in war-torn South Carolina, with an advertised policy that reflects the hardships of that era—i.e., "a sheep is just as current at this office to pay subscriptions as greenbacks"— the *Pickens Sentinel* subsequently has enjoyed six generations of support from local families.

Editors of the current abstracts provide virtually all the essential background one could want from a work of this type. A place index is offered, as well as a personal-name index (although out-of-state sites are rarely indexed.) Lost issues are identified (mostly in the period 1872–74). The abstracts cover births, deaths, marriages, court proceedings, probate notices, announced legal sales, and such current events as theft, murder, lynching, bigamy, adultery, infanticide, and moonshine activities (and revenue-officer efforts to control the latter). The mainstream of community life is portrayed through the activities of blacksmiths, cattlemen, dentists, doctors, fishermen and oystermen, housewives, lawyers, merchants, photographers, preachers, public officials, students, surveyors, tanners, and teachers. Social functions are widely covered—baseball games, cantatas, debates, fairs, the laying of cornerstones, and large political and religious gatherings. The abstracted news includes national-level events as well as local happenings. When the original issue presents a more-complete account of an affair than does the abstract, Rich and Whitehurst say so. An introduction places the abstracts within their historical era.

The result is a day-to-day, fact-by-fact account of the rebuilding of a devastated society in a small Southern town following the War Between the States.

Greenville, South Carolina — Ge Lee Corley Hendrix, CG, FASG

Texas Voter Registration, 1867–1869. Microfilm publication of the Texas State Library; State and Local Records Division; 4400 Shoal Creek Boulevard; Austin, TX 78756; refilmed1994. 12 rolls, 35 mm. $17.50 each (plus shipping).

At the close of the Civil War, citizens of the seceded states had to sign a loyalty oath and have their names enrolled in a voter register before they could again exercise their right to cast a ballot. The purpose of the 1867 Voters' Registration was to prepare, by county, lists of those qualified—at the discretion of the military-district commander—to vote for or against calling a constitutional convention. Thus, these lists are unique. (Routine voter registration is a county function, and those lists may be found in the county courthouses or archives.)

The lists are alphabetical by county; but the voters' names fortunately appear in the order in which they registered. In some cases, the entries provide the number of years the voter had lived in the state, county, and precinct; whether he was a native or was naturalized (if so: how, when, and where); his home address; his place of birth; and general remarks. In other cases, only minimal residency information is given. African American voters are identified in the remarks column as *colored, col.,* or *F.M.C.*

This microfilm series is a major tool for finding those residents not in the state when the 1860 census was taken and for identifying those who died or left Texas before the 1870 enumeration.

Richardson, Texas — Brenda Burns Kellow, CG

Pioneers of Old Frederick County, Virginia. By Cecil O'Dell. Printed by Walsworth Publishing Company; Marceline, Missouri; 1995. Available from the author; 464 Norse; Liberty, MO 64068. xii, 623 pp. Indexes, maps. Hardback. $49.50 (shipping: $4.50).

Two things all genealogists would like to find for every ancestor are well-documented information and plats to show where that person's home or farm was located. O'Dell has combined both in his extensive study. What began as a search for his own forebears turned into a fifteen-year project of identifying and locating the pre-1744 settlers of the vast reaches of Old Frederick. Twelve counties were ultimately created from the original bounds of this county—which had, itself, been part of the original jurisdiction of Orange County, Virginia.

Chapters four through eighteen re-create the area and its people in a way that makes it possible to view a community and identify close neighbors, even though they may not have been adjacent landowners. The individual landowner plats—drawn by Galtjo Geertsema, a surveyor from Martinsburg, West Virginia—preface each chapter. Family data on each settler range from a few paragraphs to a few pages, depending on the resources available to O'Dell. In some instances, he documents the family's origins, how long they stayed in Old Frederick, and when their land passed out of family ownership. All grants, deeds, and surveys mentioned in the text are dated and referenced.

Aside from the plats, three other large maps on two loose sheets are included with each book. The 1736 Fry-Brooke Map of the Northern Neck and the 1751 Fry-Jefferson Map of Virginia and Maryland are on reverse sides of the same sheet. The second offers a colored map, prepared by Geertsema specifically for this publication, showing old and new county boundaries, towns and communities, rivers and runs, and early roadways.

Other offerings increase the value of O'Dell's compilation. A brief introduction provides a discussion of William Penn and his colony (which spawned many Frederick Countians); an overview of migration prompted by land speculators; and a synopsis of the *Hite* v. *Fairfax* lawsuit that clouded titles for all settlers on the 100,000 acres disputed by these rival proprietors. The final chapter treats early roads. An every-name index, a numerical map and tract index, and an alphabetical index to each chapter map round out the work.

Readers should bear in mind that not every land patent is platted herein and not every settler is named. Only those who could be identified as arriving before 1744 are included. Otherwise, if *Pioneers of Old Frederick County* has a weakness, it is the abundant reliance upon secondary sources—although primary materials are referenced often and the book is replete with documentation. Anyone researching this vast area during the years of early settlement will want to consult this work many times.

Lovettsville, Virginia — Marty Hiatt, CGRS

BOOKS IN BRIEF

County Courthouse Book. By Elizabeth Petty Bentley. Published by Genealogical Publishing Company; 1001 North Calvert Street; Baltimore, MD 21202-3897; 1995. viii, 397 pp. Softback. $34.95 (shipping, $3.50).

This book, a revision of a 1990 edition, is the result of a survey sent to over 4,700 record repositories across the country. Nearly 65 percent of the agencies responded. The title of the work is overly confining—not only are county courthouses included, but also offices of the Connecticut judicial districts, New England towns, Vermont probate districts, and Virginia's independent cities. Specific addresses, fees, contact persons, and years of record availability are indicated for land, naturalization, probate, and vital records. Other materials of value to genealogists are not noted, unfortunately—although it is recognized that doing so would add

substantially to the volume's size and cost. Entries are grouped by state, and each section begins with a description of the present-day court system in the respective state.

Migration from the Russian Empire: Lists of Passengers Arriving at the Port of New York (volume 1: January 1875–September 1882; volume 2: October 1882–April 1886). Edited by Ira A. Glazier. Published by Genealogical Publishing Company; 1001 North Calvert Street; Baltimore, MD 21202–3897. xxxii, 703 and 631 pp. Index. Hardback. $60.00 each volume (shipping: $3.50 for one; $4.75 for both).

Millions of individuals from a variety of ethnic groups of Russian nationality immigrated to the United States between 1875 and 1910. Predominantly of Jewish extraction, they also included Byelorussians, Estonians, Finns, Germans, Latvians, Lithuanians, Poles, and Ukrainians, as well as indigenous Russians. These two volumes are the first of a set that will eventually extend the work to 1910. Arranged chronologically, the data on each passenger are taken from the original ship manifests at the Temple Balch Center for Immigration Research. Along with the name of the ship, port of embarkation, and date of arrival in New York, individual entries include each passenger's name and his or her age, sex, and occupation. In these inaugural volumes, provinces and villages of origin are indicated for a small minority of the passengers.

Missouri Cemetery Inscription Sources: Print & Microform. By Elizabeth Gorrell Kot and Shirley Pugh Thomson. Published by Indices Publishing; 228 Sandy Neck Way; Vallejo, CA 94591-7850. vi, 842 pp. Index. Softback. $55.00 (shipping: $5.00).

Published cemetery transcriptions are buried in a wide range of sources, many of which may be obscure. Kot and Thomson have scoured books, microfilm, microfiche, periodicals, and unpublished manuscripts to identify as many listings of Missouri graves as possible. Over fifteen thousand cemeteries are referenced. Each citation includes the name of the facility and the original source for the gravestone transcription. Transcriptions themselves are not included, but the compilers make it easy for researchers to find the sources through a list of publishers' addresses and identification of film and fiche numbers for materials available from Salt Lake City's Family History Library. The county-by-county listing of citations is followed by a short roll of cemeteries for which the county is unknown and a 164-page index of all the burial grounds covered by the book. Theirs is a valuable finding aid that will save many steps for genealogists seeking gravestone records for Missouri ancestors.

On the Trail of the Buffalo Soldier: Biographies of African-Americans in the U.S. Army, 1866–1917. Compiled and edited by Frank N. Schubert. Published by Scholarly Resources; 104 Greenhill Avenue; Wilmington, DE 19805-1897; 1995. xviii, 519 pp. Appendixes. Hardback. $125.00.

Recognizing the contributions of African American soldiers during the Civil War, Congress in 1866 created six regiments whose noncommissioned ranks were to be totally composed of this ethnic group; in the course of their extensive and dauntless service on the American frontier, the tag "Buffalo Soldier" was appended to them. In 1869, as part of a general reduction of the Army, the number of black regiments was reduced to four. Thou-

sands of men served in these units during the half-century covered by this volume. Itself the culmination of about twenty-five years of research, Schubert's compendium provides a comprehensive index of references to over eight thousand African American soldiers named in a wide range of periodicals and military records. At a minimum, the entries give rank, unit, dates of service, and a source reference. Many entries include extensive biographical details. Like many of the publications issued by Scholarly Resources, this index is certain to be a valuable finding aid for genealogists and historians studying African Americans.

The American Descendants of Henry Luce of Martha's Vineyard. Compiled by Martha F. McCourt, Thomas R. Luce, Robert L. Massard, and Catherine M. Mayhew. Distributed by the Sales Department; New England Historic Genealogical Society; 101 Newbury Street; Boston, MA 02116-3087. xxvii, 4493 pp. in 4 vols. Illustrations, index, maps, photographs. Hardback. $250 (shipping $9.75).

Henry Luce came to New England in the 1660s and settled in Martha's Vineyard about 1670. In the 325 years since, 13 generations of his innumerable descendants have spread across the United States. This massive set brings together the work of hundreds of genealogists over the past century. The list of contributors fills more than 15 pages, the 522-page index alone is larger than most compiled genealogies, and the set requires 14 inches of shelf space. Apparently, all the Luces in the book are traced back to Henry[1] and are arranged in family groups by generation. Although a nonstandard numbering system is used, page-number references facilitate connecting the lines of descent. References are given for each family; but they often consist of nothing but the researcher's name, rather than original or even secondary sources. This remarkable work is certain to be a valuable starting point—but not the definitive genealogy—of anyone with Luce ancestry.

Thomas County, Georgia, Newspaper Clippings (volume 1: 1857–1875; volume 2: 1876–1881). By Tad Evans. Published by the compiler; 1506 Stillwood Drive; Savannah, GA 31419; 1995. vi, 518, 534 pp. Index. Hardback. $40.00 each volume (shipping: $4.00 each).

This set is one of many volumes of newspaper extracts for Georgia counties produced by the compiler under a grant provided by the R. J. Taylor Jr. Foundation. Three Thomasville newspapers are included: the *Wire-Grass Reporter,* the *Southern Enterprise,* and the *Thomasville Times.* Extracts consist largely of deaths, marriages, legal notices, sheriff's sales, elections, jury lists, unclaimed letters, and social news. They appear to be verbatim quotes of articles, rather than abstracts. The compiler notes, however, that legal notices and sheriff's sales have been rearranged in a standard format that may have changed the wording from the original. The index includes personal names, cities, and towns.

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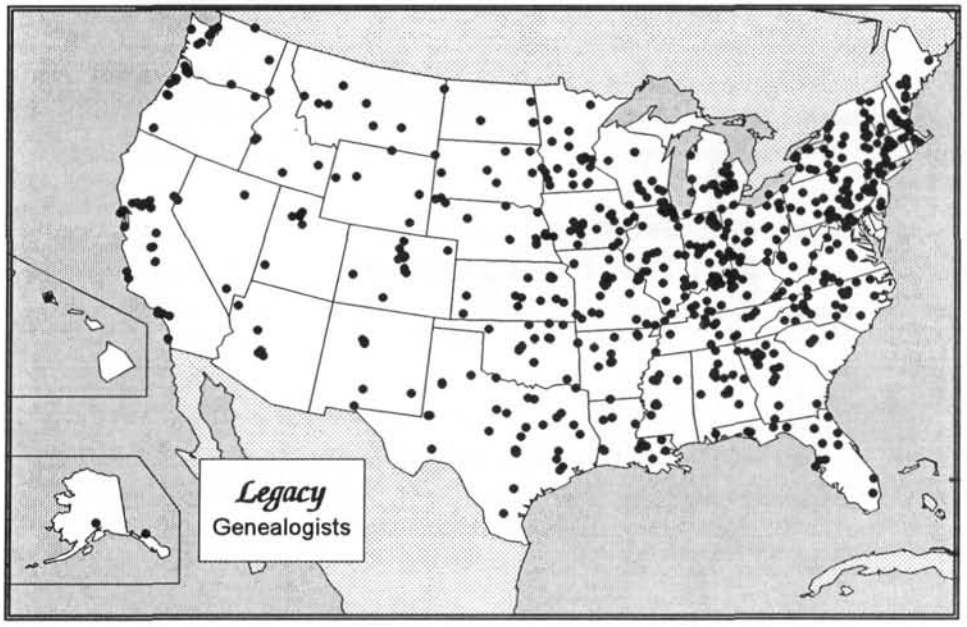
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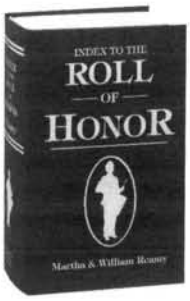
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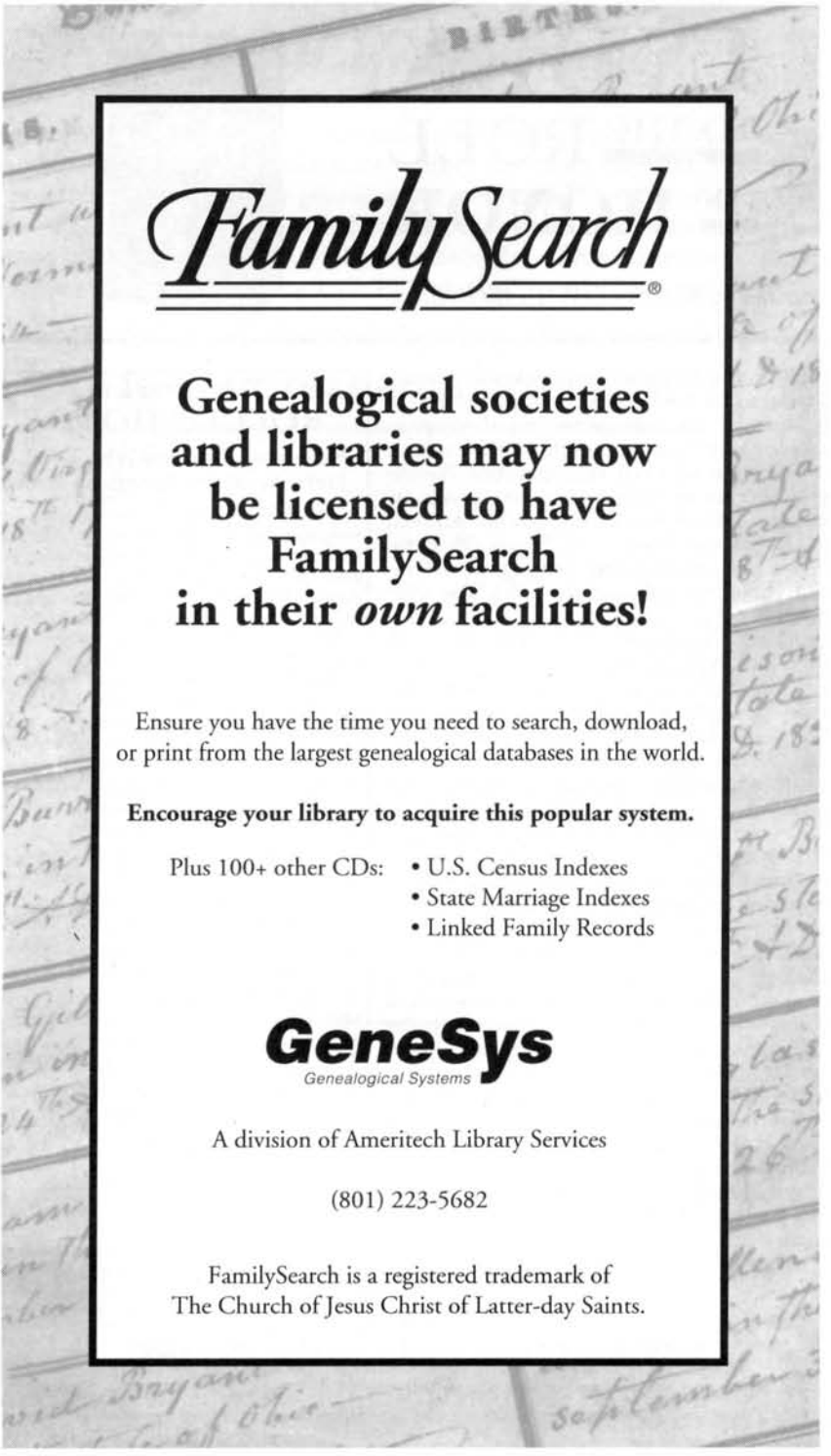
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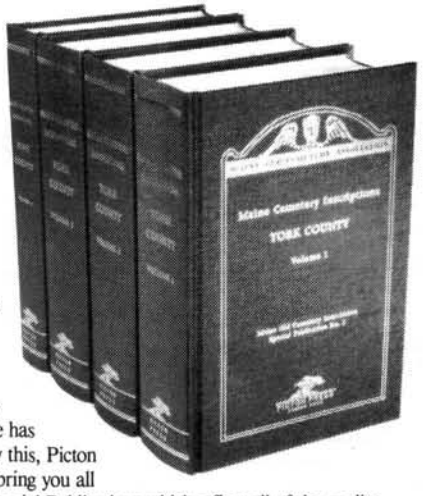
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Headquarters: The society is headquartered in an architectural treasure across the Potomac from our nation's capital city. Its home, the historic Glebe House of Arlington, Virginia, with its distinctive octagonal wing, was built in the 1850s on the site of the 500-acre glebe (parsonage land) of colonial Fairfax Parish. In 1972, Glebe House was accepted on the National Register of Historic Places. Society members and library patrons are graciously welcomed.

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