National Genealogical Society Quarterly



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The
National Genealogical Society

presents . . .

Faces of America

On the Cover:

EMMA DUNHAM KELLEY
(1863–1938)

An acclaimed author of late nineteenth-century girls' religious fiction, Emma Dunham Kelley, in her late twenties, published two books and penned a third—a rare accomplishment in that era for a young unmarried woman of working-class background. Emma is among the few whose fame endures, but it was not the vividness of Emma's characters or their endearing foibles that brought her acclaim. Some twenty years after Emma's death—without knowing where or when Emma was born, her parents' names, whom she married, or where and when she died—someone decided she was black, basing assumptions apparently on a single photograph.

Some scholars maintained that the absence of people of color in Emma's books reflected an African American author's attempt to reach white readers by writing on religious themes and ignoring her black heritage. Others inferred that Emma wrote about "white mulattoes" whom black readers would recognize.

Until recently Emma's family was unaware of her designation as black. To them her second book, *Four Girls at Cottage City*, related Emma's mother's experiences. It chronicled her daughter's birth after the deaths of her husband "Isaac Chase" and brother "Johial" on a ship captained by brother-in-law "Hersey Nickerson." In *Four Girls*, the Warren Phillips family of eight girls and two boys mirrors that of Emma's grandfather, Warren Chase. Half of the fictitious children's names are those of the real ones, and the Phillips family lives in South Dennis, Massachusetts, as did the Chase family. The near drowning of the novel's Warren Phillips one November matches a similar, but real, incident in the life of Warren Chase Sr. in November 1837. The fictional Warren's death of yellow fever in New Orleans parallels Warren Chase's 1854 death in Savannah from the same malady.

Like the assumptions that led scholars to misclassify Emma Dunham Kelley as black, genealogists' assumptions can create errors. Like the invalid conclusion concerning Emma's race, genealogical inaccuracies can be accepted widely. As this issue's lead article shows, however, thorough research can correct even long-accepted mistakes.

Credits:

P. H. Rose, Conrad Building, Providence, R.I., original 4.25-inch-by-6.5-inch card stock sepia toned photograph imprinted on verso, "opened June 1886" and inscribed on verso, "Emma Dunham Kelley, Mrs. Benjamin Hawkins, author of 'Megda.'" The late E. Butler Moulton, who inherited the photograph in 1984 from his aunt Megda Hawkins (daughter of Emma Hawkins), gave it to Katherine E. Flynn, Ph.D., CG, on 26 April 2003. From the style of dress, absence of a ring on Emma's left hand, and her apparent age it was likely taken before her marriage in 1892. Ohio-born Philip H. Rose (ca. 1847–1926) ran a photography business in Providence through 1910. See 1910 U.S. census, Providence Co., R.I., population schedule, Providence, Ward 1, District 150, sheet 17A, dwelling 323, family 437; National Archives microfilm publication T624, roll 1441.

National Genealogical Society Quarterly

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FEATURE ARTICLES

A Case of Mistaken Racial Identity: Finding Emma Dunham (née Kelley) Hawkins 5
Katherine E. Flynn, Ph.D., CG

Developing Family Narrative from Leads in Sources: The Case of James W. and Nancy Parberry 23
John Philip Colletta, Ph.D.

Genealogical Research in Illinois 38
Diane Renner Walsh, CG

REVIEWS 68

COMMUNICATIONS 2

EDITORS' CORNER
"Unknown" or Just "Under Researched"? 3

NGS ADMINISTRATION 4

SIDELIGHT
A Man in Waiting? 37

REVIEWS
Hanks. *Akee Tree: A Descendant's Search for his Ancestors on the Eskridge Plantations*. By Tony Burroughs. 68
Crook. *Fendall Hall: A True Story of Good Times and Bad Times on the Chattahoochee River*. By Richard A. Smallwood Sr. 68
McCarty and Much. *The McCartys of the Northern Neck: 350 Years of a Virginia Family*. By Donald W. Moore, CG. 69
Hamilton. *The Making and Unmaking of a Revolutionary Family: The Tuckers of Virginia, 1752–1830*. By Margaret Ruth Amundson, CG. 70
Beatty and Vick. *Joseph Vick of Lower Parish, Isle of Wight County, Virginia, and His Descendants*. By Barbara Vines Little, CG. 70
Carmack. *The Family Tree Guide to Finding Your Ellis Island Ancestors*. By June C. DeLalio, CG. 71

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Glazier and Filby. *Italians to America: Lists of Passengers Arriving at U.S. Ports.*
By June C. DeLalio, CG. 72
Merriman. *About Genealogical Standards of Evidence: A Guide for Genealogists.*
By Kay Haviland Freilich, CG, CGL. 72
Graham. *1805 Georgia Land Lottery: Fortunate Drawers and Grantees.*
By Barbara Smallwood Stock. 73
Boyd. *Family Maps of Leake County, Mississippi: With Homesteads, Roads, Waterways, Towns, Cemeteries, Railroads, and More.*
By Jane J. Williams, CG. 74

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EDITORS' CORNER

"Unknown" or Just "Under Researched"?

Good genealogy requires intuition. Because we cannot observe distant ancestors directly, we must learn to infer kinship. As articles in this journal demonstrate repeatedly—we postulate theories, find significance in negative searches, and use reason to fill gaps left by missing or mistaken documentation. We sense "the sounds of a dog not barking," as Elizabeth Mills wrote in this space several years ago (*NGS Quarterly* 88 [June 2000]: 3). To advance family histories beyond the obvious, we hone our ability to imagine, surmise, and hypothesize.

Heightened imagination can help solve difficult problems, but it also causes errors in judgment. Poor judgment can cause a researcher to overlook clues and inconsistencies, to give too much credence to negative results, or to focus research too narrowly. Beyond that, it can lead to the conclusion that "no further research" is possible or that a subject cannot be found. As a result, under-researched information and ancestors may remain hidden and described as unknown.

The lead article in this issue corrects just such a blunder—one that arose from suppositions that blinded scholars and cut short their research. The perpetrator based an inaccurate conclusion on a single source—a photograph in a book. As author Flynn explains, that individual—apparently believing the facts to be self-evident—overlooked contradictory evidence and consequently failed to pursue further research. Others perpetuated the error. Even while recognizing the contradictions, they tried to justify the inconsistencies rather than attempt to resolve them through more thorough research. Like scholars from other disciplines, genealogists can allow assumptions and convenience to obstruct research and conceal facts.

How can we use imagination to our advantage? How do we detect errors in records as apparently self-evident as birth certificates or photographs? The answer is simply to accept no source at face value. Imagine the errors it may contain as well the conclusions it suggests. Undertake broad searches—research that goes well beyond easily accessible sources. Examine assumptions, obtain the best evidence possible, correlate findings with earlier results, resolve contradictions, and establish conclusions only after thorough investigation. Take advantage of courses, institutes, lectures, study groups, mentors, case studies, and research guides (such as this issue's "Genealogical Research in Illinois"), which help genealogists learn about the array of records to examine before proclaiming research "exhaustive" or conclusions "sound." Once a problem is solved, have the solution vetted—a process discussed on this page in the December 2004 issue.

Solving genealogical problems calls for imagination balanced by extensive research. Through constantly challenging our own assumptions, hypotheses, and theories, we may deflect errors in judgment. By undertaking thorough research, we may avoid premature conclusions. Attending to both imagination and methodology can prevent our declaring that under-researched information is unknown.

—Thomas W. Jones
and Melinde Lutz Sanborn
NGSQ, MARCH 2006

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A Case of Mistaken Racial Identity: Finding Emma Dunham (née Kelley) Hawkins

By Katherine E. Flynn, Ph.D., CG

Race. For historians and genealogists, race is crucial to understanding people and their experiences. In the absence of any genealogical or biographical data, assuming ethnic identity from mere appearance caused the mislabeling of a literary figure, thus jeopardizing all scholarly studies of her writing.

In the early 1970s traditional American literary canons were expanded to include works by authors who had been previously ignored, undervalued, or undiscovered because of race or gender. One such writer was Emma Dunham (née Kelley) Hawkins who is claimed as one of the earliest published African American female novelists.[1] Despite her apparent importance, little is known about her. Her two novels, *Megda* and *Four Girls at Cottage City*, first published in 1891 and 1895, respectively, both had second editions and are major constituents of "The Black Woman's Era" in American fiction from 1890 to 1910.[2] An original copy of either novel can command up to eighty-five hundred dollars today, and both are coveted items in any major African American literature collection.[3]

The frontispiece of *Megda* is a signed photograph of Emma Dunham Kelley, repeatedly cited as evidence that she was black.[4] See figure 1.[5] This picture is

© Katherine E. Flynn, Ph.D., CG; 580 Belle Meade Farm Drive; Loveland, OH 45140-7302. Dr. Flynn, a research scientist, became interested in Emma Dunham Kelley while researching for a previous *NGS Quarterly* article. She thanks the late E. Butler Moulton, Erika Henning-Dyson, and Christine Chirokas for generously sharing their family's story.

1. Barbara McCaskill, "Emma Dunham Kelley," in Sharon M. Harris, ed., *American Women Prose Writers, 1870–1920*, Dictionary of Literary Biography, vol. 221 (Detroit: Gale Group, 2000), 238–45; Julie L. Williams, "Emma Dunham Kelley-Hawkins," in Emmanuel S. Nelson, ed., *African-American Authors, 1745–1945: A Bio-bibliographical Critical Sourcebook* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2000), 311–15; and Meryl F. Schwartz, "Kelley, Emma Dunham," in William L. Andrews, Frances Smith Foster, and Trudier Harris, eds., *The Concise Oxford Companion to African American Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 240.

2. Emma Dunham Kelley, *Megda* (Boston: James H. Earle, 1891 and 1892); Emma D. Kelley-Hawkins, *Four Girls at Cottage City* (Providence, R.I.: Continental Printing, 1895; and Boston: James H. Earle, 1898); and Henry Louis Gates Jr., "Foreword," in Henry Louis Gates Jr., ed., *The Schomburg Library of Nineteenth-Century Black Women Writers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), xvi.

3. *Between the Covers Rare Books, Inc.* (http://www.betweenthecovers.com/display.php?id=50833&back=/elist.htm : accessed 5 March 2006).

4. Molly Hite, "Introduction," *Megda*, in Gates, *Schomburg Library*; and Carla L. Peterson, "New Negro Modernity: Worldliness and Interiority in the Novels of Emma Dunham Kelley-Hawkins," in Ann L. Ardis and Leslie W. Lewis, eds., *Women's Experience of Modernity, 1875–1945* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 113.

5. Kelley, *Megda*. This image was taken from an original copy of the 1892 edition.

the sole visual on the entry page of the "African American Women Writers of the 19th Century" on the Web site of the New York Public Library's Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture—the country's pre-eminent institution for black literature.[6] Yet its biography of Kelley yields no details of her life.[7]

The documented research presented here demonstrates that Emma Dunham (née Kelley) Hawkins, author of *Megda* and *Four Girls at Cottage City*, was unequivocally white, as were her ancestors and their siblings, going back at least four generations on Cape Cod.

THE NOVELS—SCANT CLUES

The dedication in *Megda* says, "to my widowed mother to whose patient love and unwearied devotion during years of hard struggle and self-sacrifice I owe all that I am." In *Four Girls at Cottage City*, Emma wrote, "To Dear Aunt Lottie, whom I have often and truly called my 'Second Mother.'"

J. H. Earle of Boston published all the editions but the first of *Four Girls at Cottage City*. That one edition, by Continental Printing of Providence, Rhode Island, has been known since at least 1991,[8] but only Barbara McCaskill noted the significance of the publisher's location.[9] Other key locations in the novels had been completely overlooked: Pawtucket, Rhode Island, and West Dennis and South Dennis, Massachusetts.[10]

In an era when black women writers were rare, *Four Girls at Cottage City* appeared on a weekly book publication list in the national periodical *Nation* on 1 August 1895 with no mention that either the book or its author was exceptional in any way.[11] Both novels are considered "girl's fiction,"[12] but no one has recognized the obvious conceptual inspiration of the 1876 bestseller, *Four Girls at Chautauqua*, in which young girls struggle with their evangelical religious faith during a religious meeting at Chautauqua, New York.[13]

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6. "African American Women Writers of the 19th Century," *Digital Schomburg: New York Public Library Digital Library Collections* (http://digital.nypl.org/schomburg/writers_aa19/ : accessed 5 March 2006).

7. Emma Dunham Kelley biography, "African American Women Writers of the 19th Century," *Digital Schomburg* (http://digital.nypl.org/schomburg/writers_aa19/biographies.html : accessed 5 March 2006). It states, in part, "Emma Dunham Kelley (?–?) is to date a mystery woman. We do not know where she was born or how she spent her girlhood, nor who the Mr. Hawkins was that she married." Also see Gates, "Foreword." The review of *The Schomburg Library of Nineteenth-Century Black Women Writers* series in the *New York Times Book Review*, 3 July 1988, page 1, features Emma Kelley's picture from *Megda*.

8. OCLC number 24619877 for this edition in WorldCat is dated 25 October 1991 with the only copy held at Brown University. Also see Williams, "Emma Dunham Kelley-Hawkins," 311; and McCaskill, "Emma Dunham Kelley."

9. McCaskill, "Emma Dunham Kelley."

10. Kelley-Hawkins, *Four Girls at Cottage City*, Schomburg reprint, 183 and 370.

11. *Nation*, 61, no. 1570 (1 August 1895): 87–92.

12. Nina Baym, *Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America, 1820–1870* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978).

13. Pansy [I. M. Alden], *Four Girls at Chautauqua* (Boston: Lothrop Publishing, 1876). This novel is still in print today, albeit in a revised form.

RESEARCH STRATEGY

Massachusetts has had statewide vital records registration since 1841. How could Emma Kelley live to publish two novels in the 1890s yet elude being recorded? Previous unpublished research suggested that Emma was identified as African American solely from the photograph in *Megda*.[14] Failure to find any record of her was excused by prejudice and lack of record-keeping about blacks.[15]

Even without evidence, scholars maintained, her photo "clearly depicts an Afro-American woman,"[16] and "The visible signs of the photographed figure announce the author as black and the text as black-authored."[17] To this researcher the photograph was inconclusive at best.[18]

A simple search in federal census indexes led to immediate success in the 1930, 1920, and 1910 census for Rhode Island.[19] In each appeared an Emma Hawkins or an Emma D. Hawkins, born in Massachusetts and with a daughter named Megda! In every instance Emma was enumerated as white.[20]

The obituary, death certificate, and will of Megda Dunham Hawkins, who died unmarried in 1984, confirmed she was the daughter of Emma Dunham Kelley and Benjamin A. Hawkins.[21] Conclusive proof that this Emma was the long-sought author came first from E. Butler Moulton, Emma's great-nephew and Megda Hawkins's heir.[22] He was well aware of his literary relative and possessed original editions of the novels, Emma's "forget-me-not" pattern china,[23] a

14. Deborah McDowell, University of Virginia, phone communication to author, 20 March 2003; and Molly Hite, Cornell University, e-mail to author, 30 April 2003. Each wrote an introduction to one of Emma's novels for *The Schomburg Library of Nineteenth-Century Black Women Writers*.

15. Deborah McDowell, University of Virginia, phone communication to author, 20 March 2003.

16. Hite, "Introduction," xxviii.

17. Peterson, "New Negro Modernity," 113.

18. For studies of human perception of ethnicity see A. W. Caroo, "Recognition of Faces as a Function of Race, Attitudes and Reported Cross-racial Friendships," *Perceptual and Motor Skills* 64 (1987): 319–25.

19. Benjamin A. Hawkins household, 1910 U.S. census, Providence Co., R.I., population schedule, town of Lincoln, enumeration district (ED) 108, sheet 4A, dwelling 49, family 60; National Archives (NA) microfilm publication T624, roll 1439. Also, Benj. A. Hawkins household, 1920 U.S. census, Providence Co., R.I., pop. sch., Providence City, Ward 2, ED 182, sheet 12A, dwell. 227, fam. 286; NA microfilm T625, roll 1678. Also, Emma D. Hawkins household, 1930 U.S. census, Providence Co., R.I., pop. sch., Providence City, First District, ED 128, sheet 18B, dwell. 147, fam. 200; NA microfilm T626, roll 2175.

20. Emma, her husband, and her children have not been found in the 1900 U.S. census of Rhode Island or elsewhere. Page by page searches were done through Cumberland, Lincoln, Central Falls, and Pawtucket. The returns for Cumberland and Lincoln, the most probable locations for the household, have significant damage, making large portions of most pages illegible.

21. Megda D. Hawkins obituary, *Evening Times*, Pawtucket, R.I., 22 October 1984, page 7, column 1. Megda Dunham Hawkins death certificate, East Providence Certificate Book 34: 87, Registrar, East Providence, R.I. Megda Hawkins will (1977), estate of Megda Hawkins, 1984, probate file no. 10983, Probate Court, East Providence, R.I.

22. Megda Hawkins estate, file no. 10983, Probate Court, East Providence, R.I. The contents of the house went to Mr. Moulton but the house and most of the estate were willed to St. Stephen's Congregational Church, in the center of Brown University.

23. "Forget-Me-Not" was Emma's pen name in *Megda*. The china, a wedding gift from her in-laws, recognized this pseudonym. See E. Butler Moulton, "The Kelley Sisters," unpublished manuscript in the possession of Erika Henning Dyson.

Figure 1
Frontispiece of *Megda*



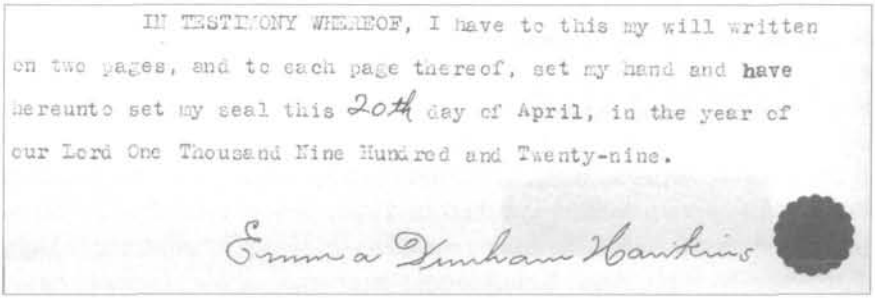
Source: Emma Dunham Kelley, *Megda* (Boston: James. H. Earle, 1892).

cross-stitched sampler by Emma's mother of the Warren Chase family, and Emma's black bead necklace with a mother-of-pearl pendant engraved "Cottage City."[24] Additional evidence was the signature on Emma Hawkins's will,[25] a match for the one found in *Megda*. See figure 2.

24. E. Butler Moulton, phone communication to author, 19 April 2003; and Moulton, "The Kelley Sisters." Mr. Moulton, who died 26 September 2005, reviewed this paper when it was submitted for publication.

25. Emma Hawkins will (1929), estate of Emma Dunham Hawkins, 1938, probate file no. 3472, Probate Court, East Providence, R.I.

Figure 2
Emma Hawkins Signature on Will


IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have to this my will written on two pages, and to each page thereof, set my hand and have hereunto set my seal this 20th day of April, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-nine.

Emma a Dunham Hawkins

Source: Emma Hawkins will (1929), estate of Emma Dunham Hawkins, 1938, probate file no. 3472, Probate Court, East Providence, R.I.

Unaware of Emma Kelley's classification as an early African American writer, Mr. Moulton produced another photograph of Emma (cover)[26] with a fair complexion.

In February 2005, as this research was completed, an article suggesting that Emma Kelley was not African American was published in the *Boston Globe*.[27] This popular press piece cited early census records but left extensive genealogical gaps.

EMMA KELLEY'S STORY

Emma Dunham Kelley, born 11 November 1863 in Dennis, Massachusetts,[28] was the second daughter of Isaac Dunham Kelley and Gabrelia Chase, who married there in 1859.[29] In 1860 the young couple lived with Isaac's father.[30]

Dennis was an ancient, but never wealthy, seafaring town where men had

26. Emma Hawkins photograph, original, inscribed on verso, "Emma Dunham Kelley, Mrs. Benjamin Hawkins, author of 'Megda;'" (photographer's imprint: P. H. Rose, Conrad Building, Providence, R.I.; on verso, "opened June 1886"); inherited in 1984 from Megda Hawkins (daughter of Emma Hawkins) by E. Butler Moulton, New York, N.Y. (great-nephew of Emma Hawkins); gift to author by Moulton on 26 April 2003. The 4.25 in. x 6.5 in. card stock sepia toned photograph is undated. The style of dress, absence of a ring on Emma's left hand, and her apparent age suggest that it was likely taken before her marriage in 1892.

27. Holly A. Jackson, "Mistaken Identity," *Boston Globe*, 20 February 2005, pages D1 and D3.

28. Emma D. Kelley entry, Massachusetts Register of Births, 1863, 159: 7, no. 64, Division of Vital Statistics, Boston; microfilm 1,420,998, Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City, Utah, has a marginal note, "Name received Nov. 14, 1894." Also, unnamed white female birth entry, as daughter of "Isaac D. & Gabrellia [*sic*] A. Kelley," *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis 1710–1890* (Oxford, Mass.: Holbrook Research Institute, Archive Publishing, 1986), Births Book 2: 2, no. 59, fiche 30.

29. Kelley-Chase marriage entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis* 2: 2, no. 59, fiche 30; and Kelley-Chase marriage entry, Massachusetts Register of Marriages, 1859, 126: 7, Commonwealth Archives, Columbia Point. For Emma's older sister, see "Unnamed female Kelley" entry, Massachusetts Register of Births, 1859, 123: 8, no. 87.

30. Hiram Kelley household, 1860 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., pop. sch., West Dennis, p. 73, dwell. 619, fams. 662–63; NA microfilm M653, roll 486.

gone down to the sea in ships to support their families for generations.[31] On 26 March 1863 Emma's father and young uncle, Johial Chase, left Boston for Alexandria, Virginia, with a load of ice on the 118-ton schooner *Roxbury* under Captain Hersey Crowell, another uncle of Emma's. Early in the voyage a strong gale blew up that apparently sank the ship. Never seen again after 1 April,[32] they were recorded as dying "at sea" on 4 April 1863.[33] Isaac left twenty-two-year-old Gabrelia with a three-year-old daughter, Alice, and pregnant with Emma. This catastrophe devastated the Chase family both emotionally and financially. Gabrelia's sea-captain father had died in 1854; now the family had no male breadwinners.[34]

Amid the "terrible days" Kelley would later write about, Gabrelia and her babies apparently lived with her widowed mother and several unmarried siblings.[35] A garbled census entry places them in the maternal household in Dennis as late as 1865, but they soon relocated to New Bedford, home to Gabrelia's older sister, Emily (née Chase) Bryant and her tailor husband.[36] Gabrelia did not long remain a widow. On 5 June 1867 she married William S. Quincy, a carpenter, and the next year had a son, Herbert S. Quincy.[37] This marriage would conceal Emma in the census until her own marriage.

Immediately thereafter the family moved to Rhode Island, where the rapidly expanding textile industry supplied ample employment in villages along the

31. Dennis was founded in 1710 as a division from Yarmouth. For a comprehensive history of Dennis see Nancy Thacher Reid, *Dennis, Cape Cod: From Firstcomers to Newcomers 1639–1993* (Dennis, Mass.: Dennis Historical Society, 1996).

32. "Marine List" section, *Yarmouth Register*, Yarmouth Port, Mass., 8 May 1863.

33. Isaac Dunham Kelley, Hersey Crowell, and Johial Chase death entries, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis* 2:1, nos. 39–41, fiche 34. For a transcription see Roberta Gilbert Bratti, Natalie Hardacker Ross, and Pauline Wixon Derick, comps., *Dennis Vital Records, 1793–1900* (Plymouth, Mass.: General Society of Mayflower Descendants, 1993), 1: 236. An obelisk monument to all three stands in the Congregational Churchyard cemetery, South Dennis.

34. Capt. Warren Chase entry, "Death Cards/Register 1854–1893," Georgia Historical Society Library, Savannah; and Capt. Warren Chase entry, "Laurel Grove Cemetery, Savannah, Georgia: General Index to Keepers' Record Books, 1852–1938, Volume I," compiled by Workers of the W.P.A. Official Project No. 465-34-3-148, 1939, Georgia Historical Society Library. Chase died in Savannah's yellow fever epidemic in August 1854. There is no tombstone but a Warren Chase Jr. tombstone is listed in *South Dennis Congregational Church Cemetery* (http://www.capecodgravestones.com/denniscong6.html). It is not known whether this is a memorial or an actual burial.

35. Kelley-Hawkins, *Four Girls at Cottage City*, 244–47 and 278–80. Emma transparently wrote from her mother's perspective, lightly scrambling her ancestral surnames. For a discussion of this book's autobiographical nature, see this issue's cover essay.

36. Emeline Chase household, 1865 Massachusetts state census, Barnstable Co., Dennis, unpaginated, 35th page, dwell. 9, fam. 13, Secretary for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; FHL microfilm 0,953,966. This census entry enumerates a Gabrelia A. Kelley with age of one year and has no entry for Emma or Alice. *The New Bedford Directory of the Inhabitants, Business Firms, Institutions, Streets, Societies 1867–1868* (Boston: Dudley and Greenough, 1867).

37. Quincy-Kelley marriage entry, Massachusetts Register of Marriages, 1867, 199: 118, no. 93. Herbert Smith Quincy death certificate, Pawtucket Certificate Book 10: 52, Town Clerk, Pawtucket, R.I.

Blackstone River.[38] Tragedy struck again when William died of consumption in July 1868 leaving twenty-seven-year old Gabrelia twice widowed with three children under ten.[39] Gabrelia went to work in the cotton mills.[40] Her widowed mother and unmarried siblings had also moved to Cumberland, Rhode Island, by 1870.[41]

By 1875, fifteen-year-old Alice also had to work in the Lonsdale mills while Emma and Herbert attended public schools.[42] Living next door in company-owned row-houses were Kelley's grandmother Chase, Aunt Lavina, and Uncle Warren.[43] The 1880 census shows Emma still in school while Gabrelia and Alice worked in the mills.[44] Close by were Emma's maternal aunts and uncles: Charlotte Crowell, widow of the drowned Captain Hersey Crowell, and unmarried Chase siblings, Warren, Abbie, and Lavina.[45] As Emma's grandmother Chase lay dying,[46] she made Charlotte (Aunt Lottie) promise to take care of the family.[47] Another Chase sibling, Patience (née Chase) Matthews, had also moved to nearby Lincoln.[48]

Emma became a schoolteacher by 1885.[49] She aspired to publish a novel for young women with strong religious and moral lessons. At age twenty-eight she

38. *The New Bedford Directory*. William S. Quincy appears only in this 1867–68 directory, residing at 116 Kempton, just six blocks from Charles G. Bryant at 13 Spruce, where Gabrelia lived with her sister. See Robert Grieve, *An Illustrated History of Pawtucket, Central Falls and Vicinity: A Narrative of the Growth and Evolution of the Community* (Pawtucket, R.I.: Pawtucket Gazette and Chronicle, 1897), 160–72.

39. William S. Quincy death certificate, Cumberland Certificate Book 4: 39, Town Clerk, Cumberland, R.I.; and William S. Quincy death entry, Christ Church Burial Book, 1868, pp. 218–19, folder 8, box 7, series II, mss. group 95, Special Collections and Archives, University of Rhode Island Library, Kingston.

40. She worked for the Lonsdale Company, owned by the Brown family, founders of Brown University. See E. Butler Moulton, letter to author, 3 May 2003.

41. Emeline Chace [*sic*] household, 1870 U.S. census, Providence Co., R.I., pop. sch., Cumberland, p. 53, dwell. 341, fam. 430; NA microfilm M593, roll 1475. Emeline is listed with Lavina and Warren F. followed by a *male* named Gabriel Lunley [*sic*] (Gabrelia) with one female child named Alice M. Lunley and *two* male children: Emar D. Lunley [Emma D.] and Herbert Lunley.

42. Gabriella Quinzy [*sic*] household, 1875 Rhode Island state census, Providence Co., Town of Cumberland, Dist. 2, Lonsdale, p. 114, dwell. 377, fam. 449; FHL microfilm 0,947,369. Alice and Emma are surnamed Kelley.

43. Emeline Chace [*sic*] household, 1875 Rhode Island state census, Providence Co., Town of Cumberland, Dist. 2, Lonsdale, p. 114, dwell. 376, fam. 448; FHL microfilm 0,947,369.

44. Gela Quincy household, 1880 U.S. census, Providence Co., R.I., pop. sch., Cumberland, Village of Lonsdale, ED 105, p. 1, dwell./fam 1; NA microfilm T9, roll 1214. Alice and Emma are listed as Gela's daughters and Herbert is listed as her son. All the children are surnamed Quincy in this census.

45. Charlotte F. Crowell household, 1880 U.S. census, Providence Co., R.I., pop. sch., Cumberland, Village of Lonsdale, ED 105, p. 10, dwell./fam. 74; NA microfilm T9, roll 1214. Both Abbie and Lavina are working in a cotton mill while Charlotte runs a boarding house.

46. Emeline Chase death entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis*, 2: 24, no. 56, fiche 34. Place of death is Cumberland, R.I., but she was buried in Dennis.

47. Moulton, "The Kelley Sisters."

48. Edwin Matthews household, 1880 U.S. census, Providence Co., R.I., pop. sch., Lincoln, ED 121, p. 16, dwell. 95, fam. 147; NA microfilm T9, roll 1215.

49. Ella Quimcy [*sic*] entry, 1885 Rhode Island state census, Providence Co., Lincoln, Dist. 146, fam. 237, Q (alphabetical by surname), line 23; FHL microfilm 0,953,917. Ella is listed as a schoolteacher and daughter of Gabriella Quimcy [*sic*] on line 15. The most logical place for Kelley to study was Rhode Island Normal School, present-day Rhode Island College. Commissioned searches of yearbooks and student registers for 1874–90 found Alice May Kelley in the 1876 yearbook, but no mention of Emma.

published *Megda*. Nearing thirty, Emma married the childless widower Benjamin Arnon Hawkins, a second-generation civil engineer, eleven years her senior. Family lore says this was not a love match but one of practicality.[50] Their 1892 wedding notice in a local newspaper mentioned Emma's fame as the author of *Megda*.[51]

Emma brought to the marriage significant revenues from her first novel. Those financial resources were considerably enhanced by the publication, this time under her own copyright, of *Four Girls at Cottage City*, possibly written between the births of her children, Gala in 1894 and Megda in 1897.[52] A sequel to *Megda* survived in manuscript form until 1984 when it was discarded in the processing of Megda Hawkins's estate.[53]

Unfortunately, Emma saw the money squandered as her husband worked on several unsuccessful inventions such as a more efficient stove, the Hawkins Heater.[54] Despite Emma's employment as a librarian at the Davis Circulating Library in Pawtucket, the family quickly lost their first home to foreclosure and moved from one rented house to another—each cheaper than the last.[55] Concerned for the future of her two unmarried daughters if Benjamin survived her, Emma specified in her April 1929 will that in no event was he to receive a penny from her estate.[56]

Gabrelia died 6 September 1924 and was buried in South Dennis next to her mother.[57] Just over five years later, on 22 November 1929, Benjamin Hawkins died of heart disease.[58] Money was tight during the Depression for widowed Emma and her single daughters, although Megda and Gala held good jobs as secretaries, until frugal Lavina Chase, the sole surviving sibling of Emma's mother, died unmarried in 1933, willing most of her estate to Emma.[59] In the twilight of her life Emma had financial security and owned her own home.[60]

50. Moulton, letter to author, 3 May 2003.

51. Kelley-Hawkins marriage item, *Pawtucket Valley Daily Times*, Pawtucket, R.I., 20 July 1892, includes, "Miss Kelly [*sic*] is known as the authoress of 'Megda,' a beautiful story, and most exquisitly [*sic*] written."

52. Gala Elizabeth Hawkins birth certificate, Central Falls Certificate Book 4: 132, City Clerk, Central Falls, R.I. Megda Dunham Hawkins death certificate, East Providence Certificate Book 34: 87.

53. Moulton, letter to author, 3 May 2003. The existence of a third novel is alluded to in Kelley-Hawkins, *Four Girls at Cottage City*, 114.

54. Moulton, letter to author, 26 April 2003.

55. Moulton, "The Kelley Sisters." Emma appears in *The Pawtucket and Central Falls Rhode Island Directory 1913 Containing a Directory of the Citizens, Street Directory, City Record and Business Directory No. XLV* (Providence, R. I.: Sampson and Murdock Company, 1913), 311 and 693. The Davis Circulating Library was located at 210 Main Street.

56. Emma Hawkins will, file no. 3472, Probate Court, East Providence, R.I.

57. Gabrelia Ann Quincy death certificate, Cumberland Certificate Book 6: 60; and Gabrelia A. Quincy obituary, *Pawtucket Times*, Pawtucket, R.I., 8 September 1924, page 6.

58. Benjamin Arnon Hawkins death certificate, East Providence Certificate Book 4: 82, filed 20 November 1929; and Benjamin A. Hawkins obituary, *Pawtucket Times*, 19 November 1929, page 13, column 1.

59. Moulton, "The Kelley Sisters;" and Lavina W. Chase will (1933), estate of Lavina W. Chase, 1933, probate file no. 1340, Probate Court, Cumberland, R.I.

60. 104 Centre Street; Rumford, R.I. See Moulton, "The Kelley Sisters;" and *East Providence General Directory* (Boston: Sampson & Murdock Co., 1935), 173.

She died of heart disease in Rumford on 22 October 1938, and is buried beside her husband and daughters in Moshassuck Cemetery in Central Falls, Rhode Island.[61] The novels, particularly the subplot of "Charlotte Hood" in *Four Girls at Cottage City*, are heavily autobiographical.[62]

EMMA KELLEY'S HERITAGE

The Providence photograph clearly shows a woman with a fair complexion. Is this a case of mistaken racial classification? Was Emma "passing for white," either knowingly or unknowingly? The genealogical summary below traces her forebears for four generations through several ancient Cape Cod towns where it was customary to make note of ethnic or racial diversity. *None of these ancestors is ever described as nonwhite in vital, church, military, or census records.*

Ethnic homogeneity characterized Cape Cod from the mid-1700s, when Emma's great-great-grandparents were born, through 1863, when Emma was born. People of color were scarce in Emma's four ancestral towns where the average percentage of enumerated whites from 1790 through 1865 was 99.6 percent and never dropped below 98.9 percent.[63]

Some European Americans and Native Americans intermarried, but Emma's bloodlines were not among them.[64] Immigrants came from the Azores to Cape Cod to harvest cranberries, but they did not arrive until the late 1800s, over twenty years after Kelley's birth.[65]

EMMA KELLEY'S CLASSIFICATION AS AFRICAN AMERICAN

Who first identified Emma as African American and when? The presence of an original copy of *Megda* in the Schomburg Collection is often noted.[66] Alfred Schomburg and contemporary black bibliophiles, John Edward Bruce

61. Emma Dunham Hawkins death certificate, East Providence Certificate Book 6: 150; and Cemetery lot record card for Emma D. Hawkins (owner of Section G, S Avenue, Lot 20), Moshassuck Cemetery, 976 Lonsdale Avenue, Central Falls, R.I.

62. Kelley-Hawkins, *Four Girls at Cottage City*, 244–47 and 278–80.

63. These statistics were generated from the author's original hand tabulation of the U.S. census for Yarmouth, Chatham, Harwich, and Dennis, augmented by the same towns in the 1855 and 1865 Massachusetts State censuses. Only two nonwhites were enumerated among more than 3,600 inhabitants in the 1860 Dennis census.

64. F. W. Bird, Whiting Griswold, and Cyrus Weekes, House No. 26, of 1849, *Report of the Commissioners Relating to the Condition of the Indians in Massachusetts* (Boston: 1849); and John Milton Earle, *Report to the Governor and Council Concerning the Indians of the Commonwealth Under the Act of April 6, 1859* (Boston: William White, 1861).

65. The 1900 U.S. census enumerated 237 persons in Barnstable County as born in Portugal. By 1910 this number had increased to 1,363.

66. The Schomburg Collection was founded by the 1926 donation of the personal collection of Arturo Alfonso Schomburg. See Elinor Des Verney Sinnette, *Arthur Alfonso Schomburg, Black Bibliophile & Collector: A Biography* (New York: New York Public Library, 1989). Also, Elinor Des Verney Sinnette, "Arthur Alfonso Schomburg (1874–1938), Black Bibliophile and Collector" in Elinor Des Verney Sinnette, W. Paul Coates, and Thomas C. Battle, eds., *Black Bibliophiles and Collectors: Preservers of Black History* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1990), 34–45.

and Alain Locke, published bibliographies and wrote letters about early African American women writers.[67] None ever mention Emma Kelley or her novels.[68] The Schomburg's oldest extant catalog is dated 1962 with supplements in 1967, 1972 and 1974.[69] Not until the 1975 update, published in 1976, were *Megda* and Emma Dunham Kelley indexed with the annotation "Negro author."[70]

The Schomburg reported no acquisition record extant for its original copy of *Megda*,[71] which lacks the distinctive bookplate for Arthur Schomburg's personal collection.[72] The volume bears the bookplate for the "Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture,"[73] a name not used until 1972.[74] A bookplate for one of the Schomburg's previous names is not evident.

Emma Kelley is also absent from studies of African American literature through 1948.[75] Her earliest appearance in this context is in the 1955 first edition of the landmark chronology, *A Century of Fiction by American Negroes 1853–1952: A Descriptive Bibliography*, by Maxwell Whiteman.[76] Whiteman's letters to Schomburg Collection curator Jean Blackwell ask for feedback on

67. Alain Locke, ed., "The Negro in Literature: American Fiction before 1900," in *The New Negro: An Interpretation* (New York: Arno Press, 1928), 426–29; and Arthur A. Schomburg, "Notable Early Books by Negroes" and "A Negro Digs Up His Past," in Locke, *The New Negro*, 421–25.

68. Historical Records Survey, Works Projects Administration, New York City, comp., *Calendar of the Manuscripts in the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature* (New York: Andronicus, 1942), 214–15, 249, and 257.

69. Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature and History, *Dictionary Catalog of the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature & History* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1962); ... *First Supplement* (1967); ... *Second Supplement* (1972); ... *Supplement 1974* (1976).

70. Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature and History, *Dictionary Catalog of the Schomburg Collection of Negro Literature & History* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1976), 151. Starting in 1975 this guide has been published annually and represents only New York Public Library holdings.

71. Steven Fullwood, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library, phone communication to author, 7 July 2004.

72. Sinnette, *Arthur Alfonso Schomburg*, 90.

73. Copy of bookplate in *Megda* (1892 edition) at Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, supplied to author 9 July 2004. There is also a bookseller's sticker inside the front cover for "Colesworthy's Book Store, New and Second Hand Books, 66 Cornhill Boston, Mass." Colesworthy's was in business until 1949 when it was bought by the Gloss family and renamed The Brattle Street Book Shop. See *New York Times*, 10 June 1962, page 69. Kenneth Gloss, Brattle Street Book Shop, phone communication and e-mail to author, 1 March 2005, reports there are no records extant from the Colesworthy's era due to a massive fire in 1980.

74. *Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture* (http://www.nypl.org/research/sc/about/history.html).

75. Locke, *The New Negro*, 426–29; Schomburg, "Notable Early Books by Negroes," 421–25; V. F. Calverton, *Anthology of American Literature* (New York: Modern Library Publishers, 1929); Sterling A. Brown, Arthur P. Davis, and Ulysses Lee, eds., *The Negro Caravan: Writings by American Negroes* (New York: Dryden Press, 1941), 1070–71; and Hugh M. Gloster, *Negro Voices in American Fiction* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1948).

76. Maxwell Whiteman, *A Century of Fiction by American Negroes 1853–1952: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Philadelphia: Press of Maurice Jacobs, 1955), 33 and 51. Apparently, Whiteman had seen only the second edition of *Megda*. Whiteman (1914–1995) was a Philadelphia bookseller, African American literature expert, and historian. See Maxwell Whiteman obituary, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 13 May 1995, section E, page 7. Also Maxwell Whiteman to American Antiquarian Society, 25 March 1953, Correspondence, Box 294, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. Whiteman's bookseller's business letterhead reads, "Negro History & Literature." Whiteman published on black genealogy and edited a 46-volume series on African American history reprints in addition to publications on his own Jewish heritage.

an early draft of this book.[77] It is highly likely that it was Whiteman who first assigned Emma Kelley to the African American canon after finding the 1892 edition of *Megda* in 1953. It may be Whiteman's own copy of *Megda* that is in the Schomburg Collection today. Whiteman's papers at Temple University are sealed[78] and documents by and about Blackwell Hutson yield no further clues.[79]

Although identified as a black author in 1955, Emma's place in the canon was not secure until *Megda* was accessioned into the Schomburg Collection in 1976.[80] Emma's second novel, *Four Girls at Cottage City*, was unknown to African American literature studies until its discovery in 1983 by Henry Louis Gates Jr., and ironically it inspired the compilation of the *Schomburg Library of Nineteenth Century Black Women Writers*.[81] To scholars the actual setting of the novel was another coded clue to the black heritage claimed for Emma.[82] Cottage City, on Nantucket, had been a popular resort for the rising black middle class. That demographic shift did not begin until the 1920s, however, more than thirty years after Kelley wrote her novel.[83]

CONCLUSION

This documented biography and genealogy unequivocally proves that Emma Dunham (née Kelley) Hawkins, author of *Megda* and *Four Girls at Cottage City*, lived as white as did all her ancestors as far back as the early 1700s. No known evidence shows that they believed otherwise or that the society in which they moved viewed them as nonwhite. In addition, an *original* photograph contradicts the ambiguous complexion in the one printed in *Megda*. (See cover photo.)

Emma Kelley's goal in writing her novels was to convey to young women moral tales about the path and search to religious faith—nothing else. Scholars

77. Maxwell Whiteman to Jean Blackwell, 15 January 1955 and 16 April 1955, and Blackwell to Whiteman, 11 April 1955, folder 4, box 4, General Correspondence, 1949–1959, T–Z, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Books Collection, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. The author thanks Steven G. Fullwood and Diana Lachatanere for searching for this correspondence. Also see Whiteman, "A Century of Fiction by American Negroes, 1853–1952: A Descriptive Bibliography," typescript, 40 pp., in the same archive. This prepublication draft lists Emma and *Megda*.

78. Thomas Whitehead, Special Collections, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa., e-mail to author, 13 February 2003, and phone communication, 22 February 2005.

79. *Jean Blackwell Hutson An Appreciation March 25, 1984* (New York: The New York Public Library, 1984); and Glendora Johnson-Cooper, "African-American Historical Continuity: Jean Blackwell Hutson and the Schomburg Center For Research in Black Culture," in Suzanne Hildenbrand, ed., *Reclaiming the American Library Past: Writing the Women In* (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publishing, 1986), 26–50. The author thanks Erika Henning-Dyson for finding and copying these references. Unindexed collections of Schomburg donation records and correspondence may yield further information concerning its copy of *Megda*.

80. Dorothy B. Porter, comp., in *The Negro in the United States: A Selected Bibliography* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1970), 176, does not mention Emma. Porter (later Porter-Wesley) was librarian at Howard University, which does not hold an original copy of *Megda*. She was likely uninvolved with the first identification of Emma as African American.

81. Gates, "Foreword," xx.

82. For example, Gwen Athene Tarbox, *The Clubwomen's Daughters* (New York: Garland, 2000), 81.

83. Chris Stoddard, *A Centennial History of Cottage City* (Oak Bluffs, Mass.: Oak Bluffs Historical Commission, 1980).

need no longer weave convoluted arguments about hidden meanings or reconcile the absence of either blacks or the issue of race in her novels at a time when most contemporary black authors were writing of racial uplift and social protest. Emma Kelley's novels should be removed from the African American literature canon.[84] On a more positive note, this research has led the descendants of Emma's sister to consider donating family-owned materials about Emma to Brown University in memory of the late E. Butler Moulton, a graduate in English literature from that institution.[85]

An oft-quoted passage from *Megda* is, "The world may take your reputation from you, but it cannot take your character."[86] Emma Kelley may lose her reputation as a pioneering African American writer, but her character as a woman with strong evangelical religious beliefs, inherited from ancestors who came to the New World in part for their religious convictions, remains intact.

GENEALOGICAL SUMMARY

Ahnentafel of Emma Dunham (née Kelley) Hawkins for Five Generations[87]

All town, state, and federal records cited in this summary follow formats used for white individuals. Furthermore, in addition to the twelve state and federal census records cited above, the fifty-five remaining enumerations of Emma's ancestors identify them as white or do not identify them as nonwhite. The families of Hiram Kelley,[88] Warren Chase (1811–1854),[89] Elihu Kelley,[90] David

84. Racial revisions have already occurred for several poets. See "Appendix E: Poets Erroneously Identified as Afro-Americans," in Joan R. Sherman, *Invisible Poets: Afro-Americans of the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd. ed. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 268. The author thanks Wyatt Day of Swann Galleries for pointing out this reference. For another case see Henry Louis Gates Jr., "Authenticity or the Lesson of Little Tree," *New York Times Book Review*, 24 November 1991, pages 1 and 26–30.

85. Erika Henning-Dyson, e-mail to author, 4 October 2005.

86. Kelley, *Megda*, 60.

87. The author thanks James D. Flynn and Kathleen (née Kuhle) Flynn for their research in Chatham, Yarmouth, and Harwich records and Rachel Onuf, interim New England Yearly Meeting archivist of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

88. Hiram Kelley/Kelly household in the following censuses: 1830 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 400; NA microfilm M19, roll 60; 1840 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 233; NA microfilm M704, roll 173; and 1850 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., pop. sch., Dennis, stamped pp. 472–73, dwell. 365, fam. 414; NA microfilm M432, roll 304. Also, Abbie Nickerson household, 1870 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., pop. sch., Dennis, p. 55, dwell. 480, fams. 549–50; NA microfilm M593, roll 600; and Abigail Kelly [*sic*] household, 1880 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., pop. sch., West Dennis, ED 13, p. 16, dwell. 167, fam. 170; NA microfilm T9, roll 519.

89. Warren Chase household, 1840 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 229; NA microfilm M704, roll 173. Waren [*sic*] Chase Jr. household, 1850 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., pop. sch., Dennis, p. 457, dwell. 243, fam. 275; NA microfilm M432, roll 304. Emeline Chase household, 1860 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., pop. sch., Dennis, p. 61, dwell. 515, fam. 554; NA microfilm M653, roll 486. Also, Emeline Chase household, 1865 Massachusetts state census, Barnstable Co., Dennis, unpaginated, 35th page, dwell. 9, fam. 13; and Emeline Chace [*sic*] household, 1870 U.S. census, Providence Co., R.I., pop. sch., Cumberland, p. 53, dwell. 341, fam. 430.

90. Elihu Kelley household, 1790 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Yarmouth, p. 709; NA microfilm M637, roll. 4. Elihu Killey [*sic*] household, 1810 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 86; NA

Howes,[91] Warren Chase (1789–1869),[92] Silvanus Baker (1788–1875),[93] Eleazer Kelley,[94] Samuel Chase,[95] Joshua Godfrey,[96] Silvanus Baker (1757–1812),[97] and Anthony Phillips,[98] were white in all extant records.

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microfilm M252, roll 17. Elihu Kelley household, 1820 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 105; NA microfilm M33, roll 47. Elihu Killey [*sic*] household, 1830 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 400; NA microfilm M19, roll 60. Also, Elihew [*sic*] Kelley household, 1840 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 233; NA microfilm M704, roll 173.

91. David Howse [*sic*] household, 1800 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 31; NA microfilm M32, roll 13. David Howes household, 1810 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 85; NA microfilm M252, roll 17. David Howes Jr. household, 1820 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 110; NA microfilm M33, roll 47. David Howes household, 1830 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 386; NA microfilm M19, roll 60. David Howes household, 1840 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 238; NA microfilm M704, roll 173.

92. Warren Chase household in the following censuses: 1810 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 84; NA microfilm M252, roll 17. 1820 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 114; NA microfilm M33, roll 47. 1830 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 393; NA microfilm M19, roll 60. 1840 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 230; NA microfilm M704, roll 173. 1850 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., pop. sch., Dennis, p. 458, dwell. 254, fam. 285; NA microfilm M432, roll 304.

93. Selvanus [*sic*] Baker household,1810 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Harwich, p. 18; NA microfilm M252, roll 17. Silvanus Baker household, 1820 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Harwich, p. 143; NA microfilm M33, roll 47. Sylvanus Baker household, 1830 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Harwich, p. 516; NA microfilm M19, roll 60. Sylvanus Baker household, 1840 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Harwich, p. 208; NA microfilm M704, roll 173. Sylvanus Baker household, 1850 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., pop. sch., Harwich, p. 305, dwell. 117, fam. 136; NA microfilm T9, roll 520. Sylvanus Baker household, 1860 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., pop. sch., Harwich, p. 704; dwell. 77, fam. 88; NA microfilm M653, roll 486. Sylvanus Baker household, 1870 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., pop. sch., Harwich, p. 40, dwell. 353, fam. 379; NA microfilm M593, roll 600. Sally Baker household, 1880 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., pop. sch., Harwich, ED 15, p. 33, dwell. 377, fam. 445; NA microfilm M432, roll 303.

94. Eleazer Kelley household, 1790 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Yarmouth, p. 709; NA microfilm M637, roll 4. Eleazer Killey [sic] household, 1800 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 32; NA microfilm M32, roll 13.

95. Samuel Chase household in the following censuses: 1790 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Yarmouth, p. 709; NA microfilm M637, roll 4. 1800 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 31; NA microfilm M32, roll 13. 1810 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 81; NA microfilm M252, roll 17. 1820 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 106; NA microfilm M33, roll 47. 1830 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 401; NA microfilm M19, roll 60. 1840 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Dennis, p. 236; NA microfilm M704, roll 173.

96. Joshua Godfrey household in the following censuses: 1790 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Chatham, p. 164; NA microfilm M637, roll 4. 1800 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Yarmouth, p. 16; NA microfilm M32, roll 13. 1810 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Chatham, p. 59; NA microfilm M252, roll 17. 1820 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Chatham, p. 164; NA microfilm M33, roll 47.

97. Silvanus Baker household, 1790 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Yarmouth, p. 709; NA microfilm M637, roll 4. Silas [*sic*] Baker Jr household, 1800 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Yarmouth, p. 99; NA microfilm M32, roll 13. Silas [*sic*] Baker household, 1810 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Yarmouth, p. 68; NA microfilm M252, roll 17.

98. Anthony Phillips household in the following censuses: 1790 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Harwich, p. 286; NA microfilm M637, roll 4. 1800 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Harwich, p. 12; NA microfilm M32, roll 13. 1810 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Harwich, p. 22; NA microfilm M252, roll 17. 1820 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Harwich, p. 143; NA microfilm M33, roll 47. 1830 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Harwich, p. 516; NA microfilm M19, roll 60. 1840 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., Harwich, p. 211; NA microfilm M704, roll 173. Also, Braddoc G. Phillips household, 1850 U.S. census, Barnstable Co., Mass., pop. sch., Harwich, p. 302, dwell. 97, fam. 111; NA microfilm M432, roll 303.

1. Emma Dunham Kelley,[99] born 11 November 1863 in South Dennis, Massachusetts;[100] died 22 October 1938 in Rumford, Rhode Island.[101] She married **Benjamin Arnon Hawkins** 14 July 1892 in Lincoln, Rhode Island.[102] He was born 10 July 1852 in Smithfield, Rhode Island, to Edwin Hawkins and Elizabeth (née [—?—]), and died 18 November 1929 in East Providence, Rhode Island.[103]

2. Isaac Dunham Kelley, born 7 April 1839 in Dennis, Massachusetts; [104] died 4 April 1863 at sea.[105] He married 21 April 1859 in Dennis:[106]

3. Gabrelia Ann Chase, born 7 March 1841 in Dennis;[107] died 6 September 1924 in East Lonsdale, Rhode Island.[108]

4. Hiram Kelley, born 5 March 1800 in Dennis;[109] died 8 April 1868 in Dennis.[110] He married 10 February 1820 in Dennis:[111]

5. Abigail Howes, born 27 August 1799 in Dennisport, Massachusetts;[112] died 17 October 1888 in Dennisport.[113]

6. Warren Chase, born 3 September 1811 in Dennis;[114] died 20 August 1854 of yellow fever in Savannah, Georgia.[115] He filed an intention to marry on 23 February 1833 in Dennis:[116]

99. Emma had one full sibling, Alice May Kelley, born 5 December 1859 in Dennis, recorded as "Unnamed female Kelley," Massachusetts Register of Births, 1859, 123: 8, no. 87; and Alice May Kelley birth, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis* 1: 71, fiche 25. Emma had one half sibling, Herbert S. Quincy, born possibly 17 January 1868 in New Bedford. See Herbert Smith Quincy death certificate, Pawtucket Certificate Book 10: 52. No record of his birth was found in the Massachusetts Register of Births. Also City Clerk, New Bedford, Mass, in letter to author, 29 September 2004, reports there is no record for this birth in town records from 1861 through 1870.

100. Emma D. Kelley birth, Massachusetts Register of Births, 1863, 159: 7, no. 64.

101. Emma Dunham Hawkins death certificate, East Providence Certificate Book 6: 150.

102. Hawkins-Kelley marriage record, Central Falls Marriage Book 4: 27, Town Clerk, Central Falls, R.I.

103. Benjamin Arnon Hawkins death certificate, East Providence Certificate Book 4: 82.

104. Isaac Kelley had seven siblings, all born in Dennis. See Hiram Kelley family entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis* 1: 188, fiche 3.

105. Isaac Dunham Kelley entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis* 2: 1, no. 40, fiche 34.

106. Kelley-Chase marriage entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis* 2: 2, no. 59, fiche 30.

107. Gabrelia had seven siblings, all born in Dennis. See Warren Chase Jr. family entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis* 2: 247 [pagination errors noted], fiche 5.

108. Gabrelia Ann Quincy death certificate, Cumberland Certificate Book 6: 60. Gabrelia is buried in South Dennis.

109. Hiram had eight siblings, all born in Yarmouth or Dennis. See Elihu Kelley family entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis* 1: 54, fiche 2; and Elihu Kelley family entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth 1665–1890* (Oxford, Mass.: Holbrook Research Institute, Archive Publishing, 1986), 4: 79, fiche 15.

110. Hiram Kelley entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis* 2: 8, no. 11, fiche 34.

111. Kelley-Howes entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis*, Marriages, 1814–55: 29, fiche 23.

112. Abigail had nine siblings, all born in Dennis. See David Howes family entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis* 1: 101, fiche 2.

113. Abigail Kelley entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis*, Deaths 2: 38, no. 23, fiche 34.

114. Warren had nine siblings, all born in Dennis. See Warren Chase family entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis* 1: 142, fiche 3. Warren was the sole survivor when his schooner sank at sea in November 1837, drowning four others including his brother, Daniel. See *Yarmouth Register and Barnstable County Advertiser*, 23 November 1837.

115. Capt. Warren Chase death entry, "Death Cards/Register 1854–1893."

116. Chase-Baker marriage intention, Dennis Marriage Intentions and Returns Book 4, 1810–47, p. 73, Town Clerk, Dennis, Mass.; FHL microfilm 0,945,520, item 2.

7. Emeline Baker, born 8 April 1814 in Harwich, Massachusetts;[117] died 2 September 1879 in Cumberland, Rhode Island.[118]

8. Elihu Kelley, born 28 May 1758 in Dennis;[119] died 26 October 1841 in Dennis.[120] He married probably in 1784 in Yarmouth:[121]

9. Thankful Baxter, born 5 February 1763 in Yarmouth;[122] died 24 September 1839 in Dennis.[123]

10. David Howes, born about 1768, possibly in Chatham;[124] died 5 February 1843.[125] He married 11 December 1788 in Yarmouth:[126]

11. Rebecca Baker, born 23 August 1763 in Yarmouth;[127] died 4 December 1841 in Dennis.[128]

12. Warren Chase, born 13 February 1789 in Dennis;[129] died 23 November 1869 in Dennis.[130] He married 5 April 1808 in Chatham:[131]

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117. Emeline had seven siblings, all born in Harwich. See Silvanus Baker family entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Harwich 1673–1895* (Oxford, Mass.: Holbrook Research Institute, Archive Publishing, 1987) 6: 60, fiche 44. For a transcription see Louise H. Kelley and Dorothy Straw, comps., *Vital Records Town of Harwich Massachusetts 1694–1850* (Harwich, Mass.: Harwich Historical Society, 1982), 437.

118. Emeline Chase death (1879).

119. Elihu had twelve siblings, all born in Dennis, see Eleazer Kelley family entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis* 1: 29, fiche 1.

120. Elihu Kelley death entry, Massachusetts Register of Deaths, 1841, 1: 317.

121. Yarmouth vital records lack marriages for 1784, the most likely year for this marriage. See Eunice Kelley Randall, *David O'Killia: The Immigrant of Old Yarmouth, Massachusetts with His Descendants and Allied Families 1652–1962* (New Bedford, Mass.: Reynolds-DeWalt, 1968), 80. Neither of Thankful Baxter's target parents left wills. Elihu Kelley's will and the death records of his children do not give Thankful's maiden name. See Elihu Kelly will, 30 June 1835, case 1619, Barnstable Co. Probate Record 15: 414, Probate Court, Hyannis, Mass.; transcription by Christine Chirokas. Death notices were not found for either Thankful or her children in the *Yarmouth Register*. A search of the Yarmouth Monthly Meeting records at the Rhode Island Historical Society yielded no record of this marriage.

122. Thankful had nine siblings, all born in Yarmouth. See Cornelius Baxter family entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 3: 167, fiche 7. For a high quality transcription see Robert M. Sherman and Ruth Wilder Sherman, comps., *Vital Records Yarmouth* (Warwick, R.I.: Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of Rhode Island, 1975).

123. Elihu Kelley family entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis* 1: 54, fiche 2.

124. Birth year calculated from age on gravestone. See David Howes entry, "Dennis Port Swan Lake Cemetery up to 1860," *Cape Cod Cemetery Lists* (http://www.capecodgravestones.com/denswan.html). For David's parentage, see Barnstable Co. Probate 15: 1, Register of Probate Office, Barnstable, Mass., which reports the appointment on 14 March 1769 of "Hope Howes of Chatham, guardian to David Howes, minor son of Thomas Howes late of Chatham, yeoman, deceased."

125. David Howes entry, "Dennis Port Swan Lake Cemetery up to 1860," *Cape Cod Cemetery Lists* (http://www.capecodgravestones.com/denswan.html).

126. Howes-Baker entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 2: 360, fiche 14, and 9: 151, fiche 49.

127. Rebecca had two full siblings and two half siblings, all born in Yarmouth. See Samuel Baker Jr. and Rebecka family entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 4: 27, fiche 14.

128. Rebecca Howes death entry, Massachusetts Register of Deaths, 1841, 1: 317; and David Howes family entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis* 1: 101, fiche 2.

129. Warren had twelve siblings, all born in Dennis. See Samuel Chase family entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis* 1: 73, fiche 1.

130. Warren Chase death entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis* 2: 10, no. 49, fiche 34.

131. Chase-Godfrey entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Chatham 1693–1900* (Oxford, Mass.: Holbrook Research Institute, Archive Publishing, 1987), 3: 348, fiche 26 (marriage), and 3: 319, fiche 25 (intention).

13. Patience Godfrey, born 6 November 1790 in Chatham;[132] died 14 March 1869 in Dennis.[133]

14. Silvanus Baker, born 31 July 1788 in Yarmouth;[134] died 27 February 1875 in Harwich.[135] He married:

15. Sally Ann Phillips, born 23 August 1794 in Harwich;[136] died 30 April 1884 in Harwich.[137]

16. Eleazer Kelley, born 1 November 1728 in Yarmouth;[138] to Eleazer O'Killey and Sarah Browning.[139] He married 9 February 1748/49, in Yarmouth:[140]

17. Hannah Baker, born 12 January 1728/29 in Yarmouth, the daughter of Silas Baker and Deliverance O'Killey.[141]

18. Cornelius Baxter, born 30 November 1712 in Yarmouth,[142] to Thomas Baxter and Hannah Crowell; died November 1796.[143] He descends from John Howland of the *Mayflower*.[144] He entered into an intention of marriage 21 February 1746/47 in Yarmouth to:[145]

19. Joanna Marchant, born about 1726 to Samuel Marchant and probably Joanna Gage of Yarmouth.[146]

20. Thomas Howes, born about 1711 probably in Chatham, to Thomas

132. Patience had eight siblings, all born in Chatham. See Joshua Godfrey family entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Chatham* 2: 223–24, fiche 19.

133. Patience Chase death entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis* 2: 9, no. 15, fiche 34.

134. Silvanus had six siblings, all born in Yarmouth. See Selvanus and Phebey Baker family entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 4: 120, fiche 15.

135. Grace Olive Chapman, "Harwichport, Massachusetts Cemetery Inscriptions," 1942, MS 70 HAR 51, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston.

136. Sally Ann had six siblings, all born in Harwich. See Anthony Phillips and his wife Mehitable family entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Harwich* 4: 92, fiche 22.

137. Sally Baker entry, Harwich Death Records, 1884, p. 63, no. 16; and Sally Baker entry, Massachusetts Register of Deaths, 1884, 355: 12.

138. Elieser [*sic*] and Sarah Okilley family entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 3: 92, fiche 7.

139. R. Dudley Kelley, "David Okillea of Yarmouth, Massachusetts, and Some of His Descendants," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 151 (April–July 1997): 131–52 and 313–28. Also, R. Dudley Kelley, "David OKillea of Yarmouth, MA: Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Generations," August 1996, unpublished manuscript, 100 pp., copy graciously supplied by R. Dudley Kelley to author, 28 January 2006. Also, Randall, *David O'Killia*.

140. Okilley-Bakor [*sic*] marriage entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 3: back 56, fiche 9. ("Back" indicates numbering from the back of the book forward.)

141. Silas and Deliverance Baker family, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 3: 92, fiche 7.

142. Thomas Baxter and Hannah Crowell children, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 3: 103, fiche 7.

143. Cornelius Baxter death entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 7: 203, fiche 12.

144. Elizabeth Pearson White, *John Howland of the Mayflower*, 2 vols. (Camden, Maine: Picton Press, 1990), 1: 267.

145. Baxter-Marchant marriage intention, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 3: back 96, fiche 9.

146. Joanna Merchant baptism entry between 16 April 1729 and 18 May 1735, West Yarmouth Church Records, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 105 (April 1951): 86. She is "Joanna Baxter" in her father's will. See Samuel Marchant will, Barnstable Co. Probate Record 9: 278.

Howes and Content Smith;[147] died in Chatham 21 December 1768.[148] He married (2) in Chatham on 10 September 1767:[149]

21. Hope Sears, born 11 February 1730/31 in Chatham, to Paul Sears and Anna (née [Atkins]);[150] died 24 May 1816,[151] having been widow of Nehemiah Doane[152] and wife of Job Chase.[153]

22. Samuel Baker, born 4 June 1732 in Yarmouth to Samuel Baker and Patience Berry.[154] He married 4 December 1755:[155]

23. Rebecca Baker, born 25 April 1738 to Judah Baker and Mercy Burgess;[156] died between August 1763 and 1767.[157]

24. Samuel Chase, born 20 November 1761 to Samuel Chase[158] and Zilpha Burgess;[159] died 29 August 1845 in South Dennis[160] (nephew of **29. Phebe Chase**). He married:

25. Mary "Polly" Nickerson, born 16 October 1765,[161] to John Nickerson and Molly Harden/Harding;[162] died 24 December 1837 in Dennis.[163]

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147. James W. Hawes, *Thomas[1] Howes of Yarmouth, Mass., and some of his descendants, together with the Rev. John Mayo, allied to him by marriage*," Library of Cape Cod History & Genealogy, no. 31 (Yarmouthport, Mass.: C. W. Swift, 1917). Thomas's birth year is calculated from age on tombstone.

148. Thomas Howes entry, "Chatham Old Burial Ground North and South Sections (aka Old Queene Anne Cemetery): 1760–1789," *Cape Cod Cemetery Lists* (http://www.capecodgravestones.com/chatham2.html).

149. Howes-Doane marriage entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Chatham* 2: 146, fiche 18.

150. Paul and Anna Sears family, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Chatham* 2: 91, fiche 17. Also, Leonard H. Smith Jr. and Norma H. Smith, in *Vital Records of the Towns of Eastham and Orleans* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1980), 142, provide a transcription of a record of the Seers [*sic*]-Atkins marriage on 31 January 1729/30.

151. Hope Chase entry, "North Harwich Cemetery (aka Old Baptist Cemetery) up to 1860," *Cape Cod Cemetery Lists* (http://www.capecodgravestones.com/harnorth.html).

152. Doane-Sears marriage entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Chatham* 2: 51, fiche 16; 3: 49, fiche 22; and 2: 7, fiche 16 (intention).

153. Chase-Howes marriage entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Chatham* 3: 67, fiche 22.

154. Samuel and Patiance [*sic*] Baker family, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 3: 80, fiche 6.

155. Baker-Baker marriage entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 3: back 59, fiche 9.

156. Judah and Marcy [*sic*] Baker family, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 3: back 108, fiche 7.

157. Samuell Baker Jr. and Rebecka family, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 4: 27, fiche 14.

158. Chase-Burg [*sic*] marriage intention entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 3: 108, fiche 9.

159. John Carrol Chase and George Walter Chamberlain, "Some of the Descendants of William Chase of Roxbury and Yarmouth, Mass.," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 87 (October 1933): 322. For the entire article, see *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 87 (January–October 1933): 46–55, 127–41, 242–64, and 314–42; and 88 (January–April 1934): 7–22 and 105–28.

160. Samuel Chase obituary, *Yarmouth Register*, Yarmouth Port, Mass., 2 October 1845; and Samuel Chase entry, "South Dennis Congregational Cemetery: 1845–1849," *Cape Cod Cemetery Lists* (http://www.capecodgravestones.com/denniscong5.html).

161. John and Mary Nickerson family, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 4: 46, fiche 14.

162. Nickerson-Harden [*sic*] marriage intention 21 April 1764, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 3: 131, fiche 9. *The Nickerson Family: The Descendants of William Nickerson 1604–1689 First Settler of Chatham, Massachusetts, Part I* (The Nickerson Family Association, 1973); ... *Part II* (Yarmouth Port, Mass.: The Register Press, 1974);... *Part III* (1976).

163. Polly Chase entry, "South Dennis Congregational Cemetery: 1830–1839," *Cape Cod Cemetery Lists* (http://www.capecodgravestones.com/denniscong3.html).

26. Joshua Godfrey, born 24 March 1750/51 in Chatham,[164] to Joshua Godfrey and Phebe Gould;[165] died 12 July 1827 in Chatham.[166] He served in the Revolutionary War.[167] He married 3 November 1774 in Chatham:[168]

27. Naomy Kelley, born 25 October 1753 in Yarmouth[169] to Amos Kelley and Ruth Crowell;[170] died 26 May 1832 in Chatham.[171]

28. Silvanus Baker, born 13 December 1757 in Yarmouth[172] to Silvanus Baker and Jane Crowell;[173] died 12 September 1812 in Yarmouth.[174] He married on 31 August 1778 in Yarmouth:[175]

29. Phebe Chase, born 3 June 1760 in Yarmouth[176] to Rev. Richard Chase and Thankful Berry;[177] died 5 August 1839[178] (aunt of **24. Samuel Chase**).

30. Anthony Phillips, born 22 June 1767 in Harwich[179] to Smalle Phillips and Hapsay or Hephsabah Bassett;[180] died 1 October 1841 in Harwich.[181] He married 5 October 1787 in Harwich:[182]

31. Mehitable Doane, born 31 January 1770 in Harwich[183] to Elisha Doane and Mehitable Nickerson;[184] died 8 March 1855 in Harwich.[185]

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164. Joshua Godfrey birth entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Chatham* 2: 83, fiche 17.

165. Godfrey-Gould marriage entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Chatham Record of Marriages, 1855–1900*, 2: 4A, fiche 51. Elizabeth Pearson White, "The Godfreys of Chatham, Mass.," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 126 (October 1972): 235–39; 127 (January and April 1973): 40–48 and 96–102.

166. Joshua Godfrey death entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Chatham* 3: 3A.

167. *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolutionary War* (Boston, Mass.: The Commonwealth, 1899), 6: 529.

168. Godfrey Jur Killey [*sic*] marriage entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Chatham* 2: 225, fiche 19, and 3: 67, fiche 22.

169. Amos and Ruth Okiley family, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 3: 184, fiche 8.

170. Okilley-Crowell marriage entry, 26 November 1747, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 3: back 46, fiche 9. See note 139 above.

171. Naoma Godfrey death entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Chatham* 4: 3A, fiche 27.

172. Silvanus Baker family, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Dennis* 1: 27, fiche 1.

173. Baker-Crowel marriage entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 3: back 64, fiche 9.

174. Sylvanus Baker, Phebe Baker, widow, file 14,226, *Selected Records from Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, 1800–1900*, microfilm publication M805 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives), roll 42.

175. Baker-Chase marriage entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 4: 130, fiche 16.

176. Richard and Thankfull Chase family, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Yarmouth* 3: 130, fiche 7.

177. Ibid., 3: back 41, fiche 9.

178. Sylvanus Baker, Phebe Baker, widow, file 14,226, *Selected Records from Revolutionary War.*

179. Anthony Phillips birth entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Harwich* 4: 36, fiche 21.

180. Phillips-Bassett marriage intention, 1 October 1763, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Harwich* 2: 187, fiche 11.

181. Anthony Phillips entry, Massachusetts Register of Deaths, 1841, 1: 320.

182. Phillips-Doane marriage entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Harwich* 2: 362, fiche 14.

183. Mehitable Doane birth entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Harwich* 4: 19, fiche 21.

184. Mehitable (née Nickerson) Doane tombstone, "Harwich First Congregational Church Cemetery: 1810–1829," *Cape Cod Cemetery Lists* (http://www.capecodgravestones.com/harwich2.html), "May 1825 (wife of Elisha)" and "age 82;" and Doane-Nickerson marriage entry, *Massachusetts Vital Records: Harwich* 2: 119, fiche 10.

185. Mehetable Phillips death entry, Massachusetts Register of Deaths, 1855, 93: 8.

Developing Family Narrative from Leads in Sources: The Case of James W. and Nancy Parberry

By John Philip Colletta, Ph.D.

Family historians wishing to narrate ancestral events may find details in sources that recapture bygone places and times. Unfamiliar terms, archaic words, regionalisms, place names, local events and personages, social conditions and mores—all used artfully can develop a fascinating and enlightening family narrative.

Narrative family history is more than a collection of biographical abstracts arranged by generation. Rather, it portrays ancestral lives in social, economic, religious, political, and geographic milieus. Such accounts depict a family's characteristics: its customs and lore, artifacts and heirlooms, its unique story. Family historians can create engaging narratives with fundamental storytelling techniques.[1]

Stories generally contain a setting, action, and characters. They also explore some common conflict, theme, or idea. Family historians do not enjoy the novelist's freedom to invent these elements. Genealogists' characters are ancestors whose real lives dictate the story's setting, plot, and predominant conflict, theme, or idea. By first investigating the issues and then writing summaries centering on an ancestor, researchers may develop family narratives that fascinate and enlighten readers while remaining within documentable bounds.

The story of James W. Parberry and his wife, Nancy McMurray, offers an example.[2] Details about their lives provide fodder for a lively and thorough account demonstrating fundamentals of good writing. Proper grammar, usage, spelling, and punctuation lend credibility to the work and help readers focus on

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1. For further suggestions on producing an engaging family narrative, see *NGS Quarterly* 88 (December 2000), devoted to "Putting Family History into Context." Also instructive are Sharon DeBartolo Carmack, *You Can Write Your Family History* (Cincinnati: Betterway, 2003); Lawrence P. Gouldrup, *Writing the Family Narrative* (Salt Lake City: Ancestry, 1987); and Katherine Scott Sturdevant, *Bringing Your Family History to Life through Social History* (Cincinnati: Betterway, 2000). The present article suggests methodology not previously explored.

2. For an account of the early research, see John Philip Colletta, "Tracking a Loner on the Move: J. W. Parberry Exposed by the Genealogical Proof Standard," *NGS Quarterly* 93 (June 2005): 94–109.

the story.[3] Varying the length and structure of sentences and paragraphs avoids monotony. Strong verbs and adjectives render the prose captivating. Especially important is the author's treatment of four elements—setting, action, character, and theme.

DESCRIBING THE SETTING

Description is an important aspect of narrative. Every biographical fact represents an event that transpired in a physical place at a specific moment. Authors enhance their stories by verbally painting each ancestor's spatial and temporal setting.

Unraveling James Parberry's life began with a few brief references in newspaper articles and court records. They reveal that in 1873 Parberry, a veterinarian, lived at Rolling Fork Landing in Issaquena County, Mississippi.[4] Such straightforward information can be stated in a sentence. Reporting facts, however, is not storytelling and usually does not engage readers. Explanation adds significance and interest to the fact. What does it *mean* to live in a cabin at Rolling Fork Landing in 1873? What is a landing? Where was this one? What was it like? Information in sources provokes such questions. In this case, oral and written local history provided answers and led to the following narrative:

> Issaquena County lay in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta, a rugged frontier of virgin forests, dense undergrowth, cypress swamps, cane brakes, and a complex web of waterways. Bears, panthers, deer, ducks, and wild turkey thrived, as well as snakes and mosquitoes. It was an inhospitable place, but one ripe with opportunity after the Civil War. Into the Delta came Northerners and Southerners alike, immigrants, freedmen, veterans in blue and veterans in gray, merchants native-born and foreign-born, Catholics, Protestants, Jews—resolute men and women of energy and ambition. Together they would transform Issaquena County into a vast field of white gold: cotton. This Herculean labor called for oxen, mules, and horses; a veterinarian could make a living.[5]

Just six sentences give readers a sense of the story's unique setting. The writing interlaces physical description and historical context. Exploring other

3. Many references cover the basics of good writing. See, for example, Bruce C. Ross-Larson, *Edit Yourself: A Manual for Everyone Who Works with Words* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982); William Strunk Jr. and E. B. White, *The Elements of Style* (1935; rev. ed., New York: Macmillan, 1962); and Jan Venolia, *Write Right! A Desktop Digest of Punctuation, Grammar, and Style* (Berkeley, Calif.: Ten Speed Press, 1988).

4. "To the Editor of the Daily Times," *Vicksburg Daily Times*, 19 March 1873, page 3; "Local Intelligence," *Vicksburg Daily Times*, 9, 11, and 23 April 1873, page 3; and "Dead Men Tell No Tales," *Vicksburg Daily Herald*, 22 August 1883. Also, "George F. Ring, Original Statement," 11 March 1873, page 4, *George F. Ring v. Franklin Fire Insurance Co.*, Circuit Court of Warren Co. case file 2573, Vicksburg, Miss.; and summons, 2 November 1874, *George F. Ring v. Franklin Fire Insurance Co.*, Circuit Court of Warren Co. case file 2572.

5. John C. Willis, *Forgotten Time: The Yazoo-Mississippi Delta after the Civil War* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000). Also, Alice Wade and Katherine Branton, discussions with author, 1988–98. Ms. Wade and Ms. Branton are sisters and local historians who have resided since birth in the Rolling Fork neighborhood.

questions could expand such a passage: What might the cabin have looked like? How did one become a veterinarian in the nineteenth century?

Venturing an Answer to "Why?"

The closing sentence in the above example returns readers' attention to the main subject, James Parberry, suggesting why he may have chosen to lodge in Issaquena County. "Why" evokes the most intriguing and elusive aspect of historical inquiry. Illuminating a motive enriches the setting, and physical and contextual details that emerge from research often uncover possible motivations.

Deeds show that James Parberry bought and sold land in Holmes County, Mississippi, just one county distant from Issaquena.[6] The 1880 census, which places him in the town of Tchula, provides evidence for his motives.[7]

> What drew Parberry to Tchula? Holmes County was a prosperous agrarian landscape watered by numerous rivers and lakes, much like Issaquena. Tchula, its most populous community, was served by the Yazoo River. It was girdled with the black loamy soil of the Delta, bountiful in cotton. One mile east, however, rolling hills signaled the end of the rich bottom lands and the beginning of the sandier uplands, where more modest yeoman holdings prevailed. Productive fruit and vegetable farms abounded here, and extensive pasturage of native grasses encouraged farmers to supplement their income by raising mules, dairy cattle, and horses. Moreover, dense virgin forests fueled a healthy timber industry, requiring oxen.[8] This profusion of livestock may have attracted a veterinarian.

Published histories and an old map yield the information in the above passage, which opens with a question, proceeds through description and exposition, and ends with a hypothetical answer.

NARRATING THE ACTION

Essential to storytelling is action. Effective narrators develop their story's plot to retain reader interest and emotional involvement. Creating suspense,

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6. Elam to Porberry [*sic*] deed, 17 April 1876, and Parberry to Reid and Parberry to Lockhart deeds, 31 October 1876, Holmes Co. Deed Book 3: 558–61, Chancery Clerk, Lexington, Miss.; microfilm 0,879,474, Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City. Also, George Franklin Cram, *Cram's Railroad and Township Map of Mississippi* (Chicago: Western Map Depot, 1878). The creation of Sharkey County in 1876 and Humphreys County in 1918 would place two more counties between Issaquena and Holmes. Before 1876, however, Yazoo County alone separated the two.

7. 1880 U.S. census, Holmes Co., Miss., population schedule, Tchula City, enumeration district (ED) 10, p. 3 (stamped as p. 260), dwelling 8, family 25, J. W. Parberry; National Archives (NA) microfilm T9, roll 665.

8. Dunbar Rowland, *History of Mississippi: The Heart of the South*, 4 vols. (Chicago-Jackson: S. J. Clarke, 1925), 2: 739–41; *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Goodspeed, 1891), 1: 227; and W. J. Geib, surveyor, *Map of Holmes County* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Soils, 1908). Holmes County lost most of its Yazoo River boundary in 1918 when Humphreys County was created.

surprise, romance, horror, or humor—to name but a handful of possibilities—is appropriate, as life is full of such sensations.

Information in James Parberry's compiled Confederate service record begs for additional inquiry.[9] A standard reference on the Civil War describes his regiment's maneuvers.[10] Much has been written, too, about Parberry's commanding officer, the celebrated John Hunt Morgan.[11] Other leads are place names; sites in Kentucky, Ohio, and Illinois appear in Parberry's file.

Employing "Hooks"

> James Parberry's participation in the Civil War would be action-packed and decisive for his future. He was a man in his prime—mid-thirties, close to six feet tall, swarthy, with gray eyes and a head of dark hair—when he enlisted in Glasgow, Barren County, Kentucky. It was 5 October 1861, the conflict was in its sixth month, and Kentuckians were marching off in both directions, North and South. A native Virginian, Parberry signed up for twelve months' service in Company B, 2nd Regiment, Kentucky Cavalry, Confederate.[12] Within five weeks of his enlistment, Parberry's unit came under the command of the famous John Hunt Morgan, the dashing and daring colonel whose name caused Union troops to spit.[13]

Every episode should begin with a "hook" that grabs the reader's attention. This attention grabber (or the sentence right after it) announces the subject—here, Parberry's military experience. The initial paragraph develops that introductory topic, laying the foundation for the plot to evolve. The above paragraph closes with a phrase enticing readers to stick with the story.

Using Strong Verbs and Adjectives

> Morgan was leading his mounted men on lightning raids through Kentucky, disrupting Federal positions, burning bridges, and destroying rail lines. He even penetrated the counties along the Ohio River, sowing havoc right under the noses of Union generals. Before long, Morgan himself was a general.[14] When Private Parberry's twelve months expired the war was not over, and he stayed on. His blood was up.

9. James W. Parberry, compiled Confederate service record file (private, Company B, 2nd Regiment, Ky. Cavalry), *Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of Kentucky*, microfilm M319 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives), roll 8.

10. U.S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 4 series, 129 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901); online at "American Civil War: Official Records," *eHistory* (http://ehistory.osu.edu/uscw/library/or/index.cfm).

11. J. Stoddard Johnston, *Kentucky*, Confederate Military History, vol. 9 (Atlanta: Confederate Publishing, 1899), 250–52. Also, *Lexington Rifles: "Morgan's Company"* (http://www.lexingtonrifles.com/) contains copies of original sources and a documented history of John Hunt Morgan's command.

12. James W. Parberry, compiled Confederate service record file.

13. Johnston, *Kentucky*, 250–52.

14. Ibid., 251. Morgan became a brigadier general on 7 December 1862.

Strong verbs—in the above example, *disrupting, burning, destroying*—convey images and action. Vivid words elicit the desired reader response. Similarly, in the following paragraph, powerful adjectives define Cincinnati: *thriving, mighty, vast, massive.*

Pacing the Prose

> In July 1863 Morgan's horsemen—4,400 strong—clinched the unimaginable: they crossed the Ohio into Indiana, then reined eastward toward Cincinnati. What a plum! Cincinnati was the thriving "Gateway to the West," a mighty hub of rail and river commerce and communication. Its vast military industry included shipbuilding for the Union Navy. Its massive hog slaughtering—the city was called "Porkopolis"—fed thousands of soldiers and civilians. Governor Todd proclaimed martial law and called out the militia. Residents stocked up on groceries, dry goods, and ammunition, cleaned their firearms, and barred their doors. Business establishments closed. Streets were deserted. The city froze.[15]

The pace of the prose gets faster and faster. The three last sentences—short, shorter, shortest—convey speed and heighten anticipation.

Avoiding Repetition

> But Morgan's Raiders were shrewd. They swept right past the heavily fortified city and proceeded to burn and pillage an erratic swath across southern Ohio. Columns of Yankee cavalry chased in hot pursuit. All along the route, local residents and sharpshooters harried the Southern invaders. Morgan was as swift and evasive as ever. Now, however, safety lay on the southern bank of the Ohio, and the Federal forces were preventing the raiders from crossing the river.[16]

Avoiding repetitive words and phrases is a rudiment of good humanities-style writing. Morgan's Raiders are called *mounted men, horsemen, Southern invaders, Morgan's brigade, Morgan's command,* and *the raiders.* Union forces are referred to as *Federal positions, Yankee cavalry, Federal forces,* and *Union troops.*

Keeping the Ancestor at "Center Stage"

> On 19 July 1863, near Buffington Island, Union troops surrounded Morgan's brigade. That night, Morgan and about four hundred men—the hard-riding Parberry among

15. "July 2–26, 1863—Morgan's Raid in Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio," *War of the Rebellion,* 1st ser., 23 (part 1): 632–820; Lewis Alexander Leonard, *Greater Cincinnati and Its People: A History* (Cincinnati: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1927); and Gerald M. Petty, *Index of the Ohio Squirrel Hunters Roster* (Columbus, Ohio: Petty's Press, 1984).

16. *War of the Rebellion,* 1st ser., 23 (part 1): 632–820.

them—managed to escape along a narrow woods path. The rest of Morgan's command, however, about four thousand horsemen, surrendered.[17]

Recounting the larger context of an ancestor's experience keeps the individual at "center stage." The exploits of Morgan's cavalry here contribute interest because they reveal a life event of Private Parberry. Parberry is the focus, not the cavalry. The phrase, *the hard-riding Parberry among them*, injects the main character into the broader action. This technique is repeated twice in the next paragraph.

Deciding Which Facts to Amplify

Finally, on 26 July 1863, General John Hunt Morgan himself, along with the remnant of his command, including Private Parberry, were captured near Salineville, Ohio. The prisoners were escorted to the Ohio Penitentiary in Columbus. Four months later Morgan and several of his men tunneled their way to freedom. This time Parberry was not among them. From the Ohio Penitentiary, he and other captive raiders were sent to Camp Chase, Ohio, then on to the infamous prison at Camp Douglas in Chicago, where they arrived on 22 August.[18]

Parberry's military record mentions Camp Chase and Camp Douglas, but the two places will not receive equal treatment in this narrative. Family historians elaborate upon selected events and simply state others. The key selection criterion is the event's importance in an ancestor's life. For example, Parberry spent only two days in the unremarkable Camp Chase, but he languished for a year-and-a-half in the notorious military prison, Camp Douglas. The former, therefore, will receive brief mention, but the author will elaborate upon the latter. Authors also consider whether a matter fascinates, lends insight into the ancestor's actions or personality, defines the setting, propels action, or embodies the story's conflict, theme, or idea.

Quoting Period Sources

Quoting period sources authenticates a narrative. Letters, diaries, journals, memoirs, newspapers, some public documents (like land deeds, probate inventories, and depositions), depict prevailing attitudes, mores, and sensibilities. Thus, judiciously selected quotations instruct the reader and bring different voices to a narrative, lending texture and vitality. Bracketed insertions clarify obscure words, as in this excerpt:

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.; George Levy, *To Die in Chicago: Confederate Prisoners at Camp Douglas, 1862–65*, rev. ed. (Gretna, La.: Pelican, 1999), 141–44; and James W. Parberry, compiled Confederate service record file.

> "'Generally they [Morgan's Raiders] are far better looking men than any of the secesh [secession] prisoners we had here before,' a reporter conceded. 'Those butternut suits and shapeless slouched hats, would make an ugly man of anybody. All the colors of Joseph's coat were represented in their wearing apparel: the butternut was worn by the careless quiet looking individuals, who had their horse blankets and tin cups strung across their shoulders. But the keen, black eyed out-and-out raiders of the dare devil stripe, had either a suit of black broadcloth, or a portion of our own soldiers' blue uniform.'"[19]

"Rounding Out" and "Teasing"

The last paragraph of every episode should bring it to a satisfying conclusion. The final line "rounds out" the passage by returning readers to the starting point. The military chapter of Parberry's life comes full circle to his mustering-in place, mentioned in the introductory paragraph. Alternatively, the last line may hint at upcoming subjects. These techniques unify the work and coax readers from episode to episode. A coy "teaser" closes the following selection to keep readers engaged:

> Parberry was transferred to Camp Lee near Richmond, Virginia, where he spent one day in Chimborazo Hospital No. 2 for "debility." He was sent to Lexington, Kentucky, where he was mustered out on 26 February. Parberry was handed eleven dollars to cover the anticipated expenses of the trip back to his mustering-in place.[20] It is doubtful, however, that the veteran used the cash for that purpose.

"Backtracking"

> Prior to volunteering for military service, James Parberry led an unremarkable life as a marginally successful businessman, husband, and father near Woodsonville, Hart County, Kentucky.[21] The family resided on land that Parberry owned on the south side of the Green River.[22] The modest holding lay about twelve miles north of the Barren County line.[23]

The opening sentence above introduces the subject (Parberry's pre-Civil War life) and tells readers that the story will "backtrack" from the 1860s to the 1850s. Because family histories usually contain many biographies, alternating chronological accounts with more creatively structured sections adds variety and

19. Levy, *To Die in Chicago*, 143–44, quoting a Chicago newspaper.

20. James W. Parberry, compiled Confederate service record file.

21. James W. Parberry household, 1860 U.S. census, Hart Co., Ky., pop. sch., Dist. 1, Woodsonville post office, p. 803, dwell. 578, fam. 573; NA microfilm M653, roll 372.

22. James W. Parberry entries, Hart Co. tax lists, 1860–61; microfilm roll 166, Mid-Continent Public Library, Kansas City, Mo. Hart County land records were lost when the courthouse burned in 1928.

23. C. D. Hunter and M. E. Slagel, comps., *Oil and Gas Map of Hart County, Kentucky* (Frankfort, Ky.: Kentucky Geological Survey, 1925). Though this map dates from 1925, it provides detailed representations of Woodsonville and the Louisville-Nashville Railroad, which had not moved since the 1860s.

interest. Alerting readers before time-shifts avoids confusion in nonchronological narratives. For example, the verb tense in the opening line below moves the action to an earlier period.

> Parberry had lived in Barren County since at least 1850. As a young man he boarded with the family of a Methodist minister, George H. Walton, and worked as a hired farm hand.[24] On 2 November 1851 Parberry married Nancy McMurray.[25]

Handling "Gaps"

> After 1852 Parberry and his wife disappear from Barren County records; they do not appear in Hart County records until 1859.[26] Where they lived during the interval is not known. Wherever they were residing during these years, the couple probably had at least two children with Kentucky birthplaces, James W. and George G.[27]

Some portions of an ancestor's life are sure to be better documented than others. Sometimes historical context allows speculation to fill the gap, sometimes it does not.

Invoking the Five Senses

> Hart County's harsh, hilly topography, modest industries, and dirt-poor farm families resembled those of Barren County. Undulating fields of burley tobacco, golden-hued, dominated the landscape. Two steam-powered gristmills wheezed and clattered south of the Green River, one north, where three steam-powered sawmills also operated with a throbbing din. A couple of blacksmiths pounded out farm tools, harness fittings, guns, and wagons; one man carded wool in tranquil solitude. Farmers raised hogs to ship up to the slaughter houses of "Porkopolis."[28]

Life is a sensory experience. Good writers incorporate as much sensory material into their texts as possible. This paragraph evokes color and sound. Other excerpts conjure up texture, taste, and odor.

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24. 1850 U.S. census, Barren Co., Ky., pop. sch., Second Division, p. 449, dwell. 645, fam. 661, James Parberry.

25. Parberry-McMurry marriage license (1 November 1851) and return (2 November 1851), Barren Co. Marriage File 11, Clerk of the County Court, Glasgow, Ky.; FHL microfilm 0,209,763, frames 702–3.

26. James W. Parberry entries, Barren Co., Ky., tax lists, 1850 and 1852, microfilm roll 17; and James W. Parberry entries, Hart Co., Ky., tax lists, 1859–61, microfilm roll 166; both at Mid-Continent Public Library, Kansas City, Mo. A search of birth and death records of these two counties on microfilm at the Family History Library and their tax rolls failed to yield further information on any Parberry.

27. James W. Parberry household, 1860 U.S. census, Hart Co., Ky., pop. sch., Dist. 1, Woodsonville post office, p. 803, dwell. 578, fam. 573.

28. Description of Hart County gleaned from Lewis Collins and Richard H. Collins, *History of Kentucky*, 2 vols. (Covington, Ky.: Collins and Co., 1878), 2: 331–34; 1860 U.S. census, Hart Co., Ky., industry sch.; NA microfilm M1528, roll 33; and Mary Willia Branstetter, telephone conversations with the author, 17, 19, and 28 October 2004. Ms. Branstetter is a local historian and seventy-two-year Hart County resident.

Using a "Set Up"

> In the spring of 1860 Nancy gave birth to a third son, Tiler W.[29] By that fall, Parberry had garnered the wherewithal to purchase two acres, which he would expand to three the following year.[30] His property could not have been far from the ferry that ran across the Green River to the county seat, Munfordville, on the north bank.[31] The Louisville and Nashville Railroad also crossed over the Green River, about a half mile west of the ferry crossing.[32] Perhaps this junction of transportation and commerce—east-west by water, north-south by rail—offered greater opportunity than the agrarian hinterland for Parberry to exercise his entrepreneurial inclinations.

The geographical description foreshadows an upcoming episode and prepares the reader to appreciate it. The passage also sets up a discussion of Parberry's business activities. Advance tip-offs to the reader heighten the impact of soon-to-follow episodes, allowing readers to grasp their significance instantly.

Incorporating Archaic Language

Like quotations from contemporary sources, words and expressions of each ancestor's era and locale add authenticity and color to family chronicles. Letters, diaries, newspapers, memoirs, probate files, affidavits in legal packets, land deeds, city directories, coroners' reports, and many other sources, even maps, contain words, jargon, and phrases that are no longer used or have changed meaning. Defining archaic terms enhances their effectiveness.

Parberry's apparently numerous and diverse livelihoods illustrate the point: *veterinarian*, *farrier*, *trader*, *tavern-license holder*, *grocer*, *leaser of a "stud, jack or bull,"* and *doctor*, among others. Considering the precise historical meaning of such terms led to the following:[33]

> Census data indicate that Parberry was literate, and the occupational activities of his adult years substantiate this fact.[34] His money-making ventures, always small

29. James W. Parberry household, 1860 U.S. census, Hart Co., Ky., pop. sch., Dist. 1, Woodsonville post office, p. 803, dwell. 578, fam. 573.

30. James W. Parberry entry, Hart Co. tax lists, 1860–61. The 1860 U.S. census shows no real estate value for Parberry. See James W. Parberry household, 1860 U.S. census, Hart Co., Ky., pop. sch., Dist. 1, Woodsonville post office, p. 803, dwell. 578, fam. 573. The official census date was 1 June but the enumerator recorded Parberry on 31 July. He must have purchased his land after one of those dates. The loss of the Hart Co. deed records prevents obtaining more specific information about Parberry's acquisition and disposal of the land.

31. According to Mary Willia Branstetter, the ferry was displaced by a wooden bridge in 1901.

32. Collins and Collins, *History of Kentucky*, 2: 332; and Hunter and Slagel, comps., *Oil and Gas Map of Hart County, Kentucky*.

33. For an analysis of Parberry's occupations, see Colletta, "Tracking a Loner on the Move," 104–5.

34. The 1850 and 1860 census column "Persons over 20 yrs. of age who cannot read & write" and the 1880 census columns "Cannot read" and "Cannot write" do not contain a slash mark on Parberry's line. Parberry has not been found in the 1870 census.

scale, revolved primarily around livestock.[35] He bred and sold horses, most likely, though perhaps mules or cattle, and leased out his stud, jack, or bull for mating at five dollars a season.[36] This business required grazing land, which Parberry had, as well as winter feed, which cash, credit, or barter could secure.[37] It also called for considerable expertise in animal husbandry, which Parberry evidently acquired as a farm hand and would later advance as a farrier in the cavalry. Such an unstructured path to veterinary medicine was typical of the time.

Veterinary education in the United States began in a private school in 1852. The Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862 led to establishing veterinary schools in public institutions. To the end of the century, however, self-taught veterinarians outnumbered those holding diplomas from veterinary colleges.[38]

In light of this history and the evidence on Parberry's seemingly disparate occupations, it may be confidently concluded that the young, poor, scarcely literate farm laborer displayed a natural gift for handling animals. That gift he honed through informal self-education—mastering skills at the right hand of a local practitioner—into a respectable career as Dr. James W. Parberry, veterinary surgeon.

Inserting Pertinent "Mini-Essays"

The above passage shows another way to handle issues in genealogical sources. What was a veterinarian in the nineteenth century, for example? The author inserts a "mini-essay" to explore the question, then resumes the plot. As always, though, the main character remains present—paragraphs about Parberry sandwich the succinct history of United States veterinary medicine.

Scholarly studies and Internet sites on myriad historical topics—such as livelihoods, diseases, farming methods, funeral and burial practices, methods of transportation—can help family historians flesh out genealogical narratives. The facts of each ancestor's life suggest subjects to investigate.

Supporting Speculation

The revelation that Parberry had a wife, Nancy, and sons prompted a search of federal censuses for his family when he was living in Mississippi. Nancy was found heading a household in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1870 and

35. Parberry did not appear in the 1860 industry schedule, which recorded enterprises that produced five hundred dollars or more, or the 1860 agricultural schedule, which lists farms with annual produce worth one hundred dollars or more. See 1860 U.S. census, Hart Co., Ky., industry sch. Also see 1860 census Hart Co., Ky., agricultural sch.; NA microfilm M1528, roll 6. Also, Anne Bruner Eales and Robert M. Kvasnicka, eds., *Guide to Genealogical Research in the National Archives of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Trust Fund Board, 2000), 41–42.

36. James W. Parberry entry, Hart Co. tax lists, 1860–61.

37. The 250 bushels of corn that Parberry paid a tax on in 1861 could not have been raised in a single year on his two or three acres. Parberry probably used his land for grazing and secured the corn for cash, credit, or barter.

38. The Veterinary College of Philadelphia, founded in 1852, was the first. See Robert H. Dunlop and David J. Williams, *Veterinary Medicine: An Illustrated History* (St. Louis: Mosby, 1996), 650–54.

Chattanooga, Tennessee, in 1880.[39] Each finding raised new questions: When did Nancy abandon her Kentucky home? Why did she choose Montgomery, then Chattanooga? What happened to her marriage? Historical sources about the three locations plus scholarly works about marriage and divorce in the nineteenth century provided details and insight for the following discussion:

> Whether Nancy took her children to Alabama during her husband's service or afterwards is not known. She may have had no option but to stay at home and endure the war years under Yankee occupation. The Louisville and Nashville Railroad bridge that spanned the Green River between Munfordville and Woodsonville made the area vital to the Union war effort. Control of the bridge meant control of the supply line from the Ohio River down to Tennessee. Already by mid-December 1861—within three months of Parberry's enlistment and just one month after his unit came under the command of John Hunt Morgan—the Rebel fortifications and training camp at Woodsonville had been overtaken by Federal troops. They established their garrison in Munfordville, constructed defensive earthworks below Woodsonville, and set about repairing the bridge the dislodged Confederates had partially destroyed in their wake.[40]

The paragraph states an unresolved question, suggests an explanation, and supports the hypothesis with fact. The importance of Nancy's neighborhood to the Union war effort makes sense to readers who know the local geography from the earlier "set-up." The simple phrase, "within three months of Parberry's enlistment" establishes the immediacy of the larger contemporary events to Nancy's personal predicament.

> Where was a woman with three children to go? Staying at home, Nancy at least had a roof over her head, some winter provisions, a few hogs and chickens, maybe even Parberry's livestock and feed corn (at least, until the Union troops discovered them). On 17 September 1862, in a sudden reversal of fortunes, the Union garrison at Munfordville surrendered to an overwhelming Confederate force. But the hiatus in Yankee occupation lasted only four days. The few Rebel companies left to hold the area were dislodged by Federal forces in superior numbers. The citizens of Woodsonville would remain trapped under Union occupation for the remainder of the war, though Nancy might have found some way to escape.[41]

39. Nancy Parberry household, 1870 U.S. census, Montgomery Co., Ala., pop. sch., city of Montgomery, Ward 5, Montgomery post office, p. 23 (stamped as p. 515), dwell. 145, fam. 185; NA microfilm M593, roll 35. Also, Nancy Parberry household, 1880 U.S. census, Hamilton Co., Tenn., pop. sch., city of Chattanooga, Ward 1, ED 51, p. 16, dwell. 142, fam. 161; NA microfilm T9, roll 1259.

40. "December 17, 1861—Action at Rowlett's Station (Woodsonville), Green River, Ky.: Reports, etc.," *War of the Rebellion*, 1st ser., 7: 14–21. For an excellent synopsis of the skirmishes and battles fought in the Munfordville-Woodsonville area during the Civil War, see *Battle for the Bridge Historic Preserve* (http://www.battleforthebridge.org). Collins and Collins, in *History of Kentucky*, chronicle this same military activity.

41. "September 14–17, 1862—Siege of Munfordville and Woodsonville, Ky.: Reports, etc.," *War of the Rebellion*, 1st ser., 16 (part 1): 959–89.

This passage develops the hypothesis that Nancy remained in Woodsonville during the war, but it reminds the reader that the explanation is speculative.

Discussing a Social Situation

Customs and attitudes, like laws and mores, vary from place to place and era to era. Like archaic language, they require explanation. Twenty-first-century readers may misunderstand an ancestor whose life is presented in only partially correct, or misinterpreted, social context. The dissolution of the Parberry marriage is one example.

> Whenever she made her way to Alabama, whether during Parberry's service or afterwards, one essential point is clear: when the hostilities ended, Nancy and her husband did not resume life together with their children. No divorce proceedings have been found.[42] Did Parberry abandon his family? Or did Nancy leave him?

Here a "mini-essay" about the legal and social status of spouses who separated in the nineteenth century would be well placed; so would mention that husbands more often than wives deserted their spouses and children.[43]

> When Parberry was mustered out of the cavalry, he may have used his eleven-dollar travel allowance for purposes other than returning to his wife and children.

This sentence concludes the husband's part of the divorce/separation discussion and elucidates the earlier "teaser:" "It is doubtful that the veteran used the cash for that purpose, however." Now readers understand.

Striving for Unbiased Narrative

> Nevertheless, it would be rash to declare Nancy the innocent victim. The historical record suggests that she was an uncommonly independent and capable woman.

Now comes the wife's part of the same discussion. Family historians should strive for balanced, unbiased writing. They should not attribute general community attitudes or behavior to particular ancestors. Not every individual followed prevailing norms. Furthermore, genealogists must not allow modern opinions to color their portrayal of ancestors. Evaluating nineteenth-century behavior by twenty-first-century standards will introduce errors. One generation's scandal is often peccadillo to another—and vice versa. Judgments stated in

42. Sources searched include Gladys Benedict Wilson and others, comps., *Divorces, 1811–1878, Barren County, Kentucky, Circuit Court Records*, vol. 5 (Glasgow, Ky.: S. K. L. Gorin, [1990?]); MariLee Beatty Hageness, comp., *Alabama Divorces, 1818–1868* (Anniston, Ala.: M. B. Hageness, 1995); and County Divorce Reports, 1818–1929, Indexes, Department of Vital Statistics, Montgomery, Ala.; FHL microfilm 1,653,551. A 1928 courthouse fire destroyed the Hart Co., Ky., divorce records.

43. Colletta, "Tracking a Loner on the Move," 108. For an in-depth historical treatment of divorce, see Glenda Riley, *Divorce: An American Tradition* (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).

light of an ancestor's contemporary mentality, however, may clarify the social situation.

DEVELOPING CHARACTERS

Novelists freely invent memorable three-dimensional characters. Family historians, however, may struggle to perceive individuality in their accumulated documentation on an ancestor.

Actions Speak Louder Than Words

Researchers often can distill character traits from an ancestor's actions and deduce what the individual was like. But the exercise is delicate. Family storytellers must explain their inferences about a forebear's temperament or personality, moral or ethical stature, foibles or fortes. For example, why would one say that Nancy "was an uncommonly independent and capable woman"?

> Nancy's Montgomery, Alabama, household in 1870 evinces her self-sufficiency. It includes herself, one of her sons, two black male laborers, and one black female domestic.[44] During Reconstruction, one way that war widows—who were numerous—were able to earn a living and feed their children was by taking in as boarders the ex-slaves—equally plentiful—who gravitated to the cities. This would appear to be Nancy's situation. But the practice was hardly unique to widows. Next-door to Nancy, a white family of five also housed a black day laborer and three black domestic servants, as well as a butcher who was white. In Nancy's neighborhood (ten pages above and below her name in the census) no fewer than forty-one white households included at least one black or mulatto laborer or servant.[45] Lacking other means of support, Nancy was doing what she needed to do to survive.
>
> But why did she choose to set up housekeeping in Montgomery? Normally, a woman escaping from a husband or displaced by war would seek asylum with relatives. But there is no evidence that Nancy had any family in Montgomery—at least, no kin named Parberry, McMurray, or Irwin.[46] Nor does it appear that any of her Kentucky neighbors moved there.[47] During Reconstruction many war refugees flocked to

44. 1870 U.S. census, Montgomery Co., Ala., pop. sch., city of Montgomery, Ward 5, Montgomery post office, p. 23 (stamped as p. 515), dwell. 145, fam. 185.

45. Ibid., pp. 13–33 (stamped as pp. 510–20), dwells. 82–207, fams. 101–355.

46. Sources searched for the names Parberry, McMurray, and Irwin were Montgomery city directories for 1866, 1873, 1878, and 1880 (1867–72 do not exist, 1874–77 and 1879 could not be found); Montgomery Co., Ala., General Index to Conveyances, 1820–1869; FHL microfilm 1,763,224; Montgomery Co., Ala., General Index to Deeds, 1869–1901; FHL microfilm 1,763,225; and 1870 U.S. census, Montgomery Co., Ala., pop. sch., city of Montgomery, Ward 5, Montgomery post office, pp. 8–38 (stamped as pp. 508–23), dwells. 47–235, fams. 56–282.

47. Line-by-line search of 1870 U.S. census, Montgomery Co., Ala., pop. sch., city of Montgomery, Ward 5, Montgomery post office, pp. 1–43 (stamped as pp. 504–37), dwells. 1–407, fams. 1–482; compared with a line-by-line search of 1860 U.S census, Hart Co., Ky., pop. sch., District 1 (Bear Wallow, Glen Brook, Green River, Horse Cave, Monroe, Rio, Rowlets Station, Three Springs, and Woodsonville post offices), pp. 1–93 (stamped as pp. 721–813), dwells. 1–647, fams. 1–642.

Montgomery, which offered jobs and prosperity.[48] Perhaps Nancy was one among thousands who took advantage of the city's opportunities.

Using Qualifiers

The discussion of Nancy's predicament here is qualified—*this would appear, no evidence that, nor does it appear*. Concern for historical accuracy requires genealogists to qualify speculative statements. Lacking documentation, family historians must temper assertions. Modifiers—*probably, presumably, it is likely, ostensibly, perhaps*, and the like—serve well.

The 1880 census taker recorded Nancy's marital status as "widow."[49] Nancy probably applied the term to herself colloquially, as nineteenth-century divorced, separated, or abandoned Southern women did.[50] On the other hand, if Parberry had not come home when discharged, Nancy might have assumed he had been slain on the battlefield.

Presenting Multifaceted Ancestors

What is clear is that Nancy did not find the protection and financial security of a new husband following her separation from Parberry. Her continued single state may reflect her independent spirit and attest to her self-reliance. Therefore, it would be unfair to assign to Parberry alone the responsibility for his family's dissolution.

Analyzing the historical record to understand Nancy's position as a single mother in postbellum Southern society led to a hypothesis about her temperament. Tentative though it may be, it enriches the family narrative, acknowledging Nancy's complex, individual, character.

A simple way to present ancestors as multifaceted individuals is to vary the nouns that designate them. *James W. Parberry, Dr. J. W. Parberry, Parberry, Private Parberry, the veterinarian, animal doctor, Virginia native, veteran, drifter*—these appellations all identify the same man, but they are not employed arbitrarily. Context determines the most appropriate designation. For instance, *Private Parberry* is an unsuitable appellation for Parberry living in Mississippi, who by then was a veteran. *Drifter* would be inappropriate until the story establishes Parberry as such. Every person has multiple attributes. Storytellers depict believable characters, ancestors included, as multifaceted individuals.

48. William Warren Rogers Jr., *Confederate Home Front: Montgomery during the Civil War* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999).

49. Nancy Parberry household, 1880 U.S. census, Hamilton Co., Tenn., pop. sch., city of Chattanooga, Ward 1, ED 51, p. 16, dwell. 142, fam. 161.

50. *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary: Complete Text Reproduced Micrographically* (Oxford, U.K.: Oxford University Press, 1971), s.v. "Widow."

ESTABLISHING THE THEME

Perceptive genealogists may arrange the events of an ancestor's life chronologically, but they also see conflicts, themes, and ideas as vehicles for crafting a personal story. Family historians should ask: What typified this life? Ambition? Happiness? Security? Success? Failure? Hardship? Courage? Good fortune? Struggle? Nonconformism? Conformism? They can unify the narrative around its strongest characteristic—announcing it initially, developing it throughout the narrative, and restating it at the end.

> After the census taker found James Parberry residing in Tchula, Mississippi, in the summer of 1880, the animal doctor vanished. No clue has been found to elucidate his fate.[51] The drifter apparently returned once again to the road. Coincidentally, a few years after her enumeration in Chattanooga in 1880, Nancy also disappeared.[52] Like many nineteenth-century Americans, neither she nor James appears to have led a settled life.

CONCLUSION

To narrate is to tell a story. Family historians, although restricted to working with the documented past, may nonetheless weave good stories from details in their sources. They can use uncovered facts to develop accurate, vivid, and engaging narratives. The case study in this article illustrates a sampling of the many literary techniques available to family historians.

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51. For efforts to locate Parberry after 1880, see Colletta, "Tracking a Loner on the Move," 99.

52. Nancy was found in Chattanooga city directories for 1881, 1884–85, and 1886–87. See *Chattanooga Directory 1881* (Chattanooga: Norwood and Kline Bros.), 288; FHL microfilm 1,376,658. Also, *Norwood's Directory of Chattanooga[,] Tennessee: 1884–85* (Chattanooga: Norwood and Co.), 192; and *Norwood's Directory of Chattanooga[,] Tennessee, the Portal City of the South: 1886–7* (Norwood, Connelly and Co.), 304; both on FHL microfilm 2,165,942. A search of indexes to Chattanooga death and marriage records through 1889 and the 1900 and 1910 U.S. censuses, nationwide, failed to locate Nancy.

A Man in Waiting?

John S. Lafavre, age twenty-four, the enumerator for the 1856 Iowa state census of Jones Township, Union County, Iowa (vol. 63, p. 671, line 1; microfilm 1,021,313, Family History Library, Salt Lake City), devoted the first page of that enumeration to himself. His stated profession, trade, or occupation:

"Waiting on the Ladies and Assessor of Jones Township."

—*Contributed by Ronald A. Hill, Ph.D., CG, FASG*

Genealogical Research in Illinois

By Diane Renner Walsh, CG

"Illinois has had a longer and more interesting history than any other state west of the Alleghenies. It was not accidental that the white settlement of the mid-continent began on the east bank of the Mississippi River and that the largest non-coastal city took root and flourished at the southwestern corner of Lake Michigan. As geographical and geological heritages, the flat prairie has soil of unusual fertility, convenient water routes, and readily available mineral resources. Because of them, the settlers came early, in increasing numbers, over several routes, and from varied national and racial backgrounds."[1]

Pioneers from every point of the American compass, Europeans, and formerly enslaved Africans and their descendants all settled Illinois.[2] Extensive genealogical records, online indexes, and finding aids enable researchers to learn about ancestors in the state's diverse populations.

HISTORY AND SETTLEMENT

Cahokia mound builders (AD 700–1400), Illini Indians, and related tribes populated the Mississippi River Valley and eventually concentrated in southwestern Illinois.[3] French Canadians settled the area after explorations by Father Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet in 1673.[4] From 1717 to 1763 Louisiana administered Illinois, where French inhabitants engaged primarily in the fur trade and farming.[5] In 1763 England gained control of land east of the

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1. Robert P. Howard, *Illinois: A History of the Prairie State* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans, 1972), xxxiii.

2. For overviews of Illinois history, see Lois A. Carrier, *Illinois: Crossroads of a Continent* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993); James E. Davis, *Frontier Illinois* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998); Howard, *Illinois: A History*; and Ellen M. Whitney, comp., and Janice A. Petterchak and Sandra M. Stark, eds., *Illinois History: An Annotated Bibliography* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1995).

3. Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, *Cahokia Mounds – Collinsville* (http://state.il.us/hpa/hs/Mounds.htm). Only the Kaskaskia and Peoria tribes existed in the early 1800s. See "American Indian Tribes of Illinois," *MuseumLink Illinois* (http://www.museum.state.il.us/muslink/nat_amer/post/index.html). Also, Robert E. Warren and James S. Oliver, "Contraction of Illinois Territory, 1650–1832," map, *MuseumLink Illinois* (http://www.museum.state.il.us/muslink/nat_amer/post/htmls/popups/id_terr_map.html).

4. Clarence W. Alvord, *The Illinois Country, 1673–1818*, Centennial History of Illinois, vol. 1 (1920; reprint, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987). For a concise Illinois history emphasizing national and international effects on Illinois life and legislation, see Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Story of Illinois* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949).

5. For French settlement, see Carl J. Ekberg, *French Roots in the Illinois Country: The Mississipi Frontier in Colonial Times* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998); Carl J. Ekberg, François Vallé and His World: Upper Louisiana Before Louis and Clark (Columbia.: University of Missouri Press, 2002); and B. Pierre Lebeau, "The French Colonial Period In the Illinois Country, 1673–1765: A Select Bibliography," in Center for French Colonial Studies, *Resources* (http://www2.noctrl.edu/academics/departments/history/department_site/cfcs/cfcsresources.html). For Indian-European interactions, see Davis, *Frontier Illinois*, 24–42.

Mississippi River. Many residents of Illinois French villages, preferring Spanish rule to English, moved across the river to Ste. Genevieve and environs.[6]

AMERICAN PERIOD

American forces took Kaskaskia from the British in 1778.[7] Some soldiers returned with their families and lived at Bellfontaine, in present-day Monroe County, Illinois. Virginians settled nearby, at New Design in 1786 and 1793, and populated fertile bottom lands along the Mississippi River. In 1784 Virginia yielded claim to her "Illinois County," which became part of the Northwest Territory, where slavery was prohibited.[8] Unsure how the law would affect them, some French slave owners moved across the Mississippi. Others stayed in Illinois, reassured that the ordinance barred transporting enslaved persons into the territory.[9] The area was part of Indiana Territory from 1800 until 1809, when Illinois Territory was established.[10]

After the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 the United States government began clearing titles to land in the long-populated Mississippi River Valley. The Ohio River and Mississippi River were principal routes for pioneers migrating to Illinois. Marylanders, Pennsylvanians, and Virginians hauled wagons over the National Road from Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling, Virginia, and down the Ohio. Others made their way to Cincinnati or Louisville and took flatboats to Shawneetown, the Illinois jumping-off point. Pioneers then took the Goshen Road to Alton, Carlyle, Edwardsville, and Kaskaskia. Settlers also entered Illinois through Kentucky and Tennessee via the Wilderness Road and Cumberland Gap from North Carolina. In 1838 the National Road extended almost to Illinois, and by 1848 it traversed the state.[11]

Illinois migrations swelled between 1830 and 1860. German and Swiss farmers, intellectuals, laborers, and merchants replaced Illinois pioneers'

6. For administrative documents outlining the difficult transition from French to British rule, see Clarence W. Alvord and Clarence E. Carter, eds., *The Critical Period, 1763–1765*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library vol. 10, British series, vol. 1 (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library [ISHL], 1915); and Robert de Berardinis, "A Primer for Archival Research of the Illinois French," *Illinois State Genealogical Society [ISGS] Quarterly* 33 (Spring 2001): 15–24.

7. Alvord, *The Illinois Country*, 323 and 327.

8. Ibid., 334–35. A publication devoted to the administration of the Northwest, Indiana, and Illinois territories, brimming with thousands of settlers' names, is Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1934–62), particularly *Northwest Territory* (vols. 1–2), *Indiana Territory* (vols. 7–8), and *Illinois Territory* (vols. 16–17).

9. Carrier, *Illinois: Crossroads*, 32–33 and 42–44.

10. Carter, ed., *Illinois Territory*, 16: 6. For Illinois records in Indiana Territory, see Eric Pumroy and Paul Brockman, *A Guide to Manuscript Collections of the Indiana Historical Society and Indiana State Library* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1986).

11. Howard, *Illinois: History*, 112; and Norman Moline and James Schebler, "Movement," *Illinois History Teacher* 1, no. 1 (1994): 24–36; electronic edition, *Illinois Periodicals Online* (http://www.lib.niu.edu/ipo/1994/ihtlist94.html). Also, Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier* (New York: Macmillan, 1969), 294–95.

descendants, many of whom moved west.[12] New York and New England families arriving via the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes accompanied Irish laborers recruited to work on the Illinois and Michigan Canal in northern Illinois.[13] Railroad expansion in the mid-1800s spurred settlement in the state's interior, facilitated coal transportation, and led to large-scale mining.[14]

Hard times accompanied the growth. Financial panic delayed rail and canal construction. Although farm equipment boosted harvests, railroad fees prevented farmers from sending their grain to elevators.[15] Their outcry led to America's first governmental regulation of commerce—an 1870 Illinois law upheld by the United States Supreme Court.[16]

Between 1870 and 1900 the state rebounded. Within a decade of the devastating 1871 fire in Chicago, the city—heart of the state's transportation system—had become the country's largest meat-processing center.[17] East St. Louis, home of the National Stockyards, was a terminus for rail lines until 1874, when the Eads Bridge spanned the Mississippi to St. Louis.[18] Iron and steel production, agricultural equipment manufacturing, and mining and quarry operations gradually surpassed agriculture as the state's leading industry.[19]

ARCHIVES, LIBRARIES, AND SOCIETIES

Four online catalogs give researchers access to Illinois repositories:

- *I-Share* (http://library.ilcso.illinois.edu/ilcso/cgi-bin/welcome) catalogs holdings at the Illinois State Library and sixty-five Illinois college and private libraries, including the Newberry Library, Southern Illinois University libraries, and University of Illinois library.
- "Statewide Illinois Library Catalog" (SILC) integrates WorldCat and the Illinois Library System's online catalogs. Guests may use SILC through "Find-It! Illinois" (http://www.finditillinois.org).
- *Every Library in Illinois* (http://www.eliillinois.org) provides contact information for all Illinois libraries.

12. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *Illinois' German Heritage* (Milford, Ohio: Little Miami Publishing, 2005); and Margaret Pierce, "Illinois Migration," in *Taking Genealogy Into the Nineties: 1990 Conference Syllabus, Illinois State Genealogical Society* (Springfield: ISGS, 1990), 77.

13. James E. Davis, in *Frontier Illinois*, 224–26, points out that 240 steamers docked at Chicago in 1836.

14. Davis, *Frontier Illinois*, 365–69; and Carrier, *Illinois: Crossroads*, 141.

15. Carrier, *Illinois: Crossroads*, 130–40.

16. Ibid., 132–33; and Howard, Illinois: A History, 362–64.

17. Carrier, *Illinois: Crossroads*, 135–39. Useful Chicago genealogical guides are Grace DuMelle, *Finding Your Chicago Ancestors: A Beginner's Guide to Family History in the City and Cook County* (Chicago: Lake Claremont Press, 2005); and Loretto Dennis Szucs, *Chicago and Cook County: A Guide to Research* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Ancestry, 1996).

18. Carlton J. Corliss, *Main Line of Mid-America: The Story of the Illinois Central* (New York: Creative Age Press, 1950), 282.

19. Carrier, *Illinois: Crossroads*, 143.

- *Horizon Information Portal* (http://www.rpls.ws/newsearch/hip2.html) lists holdings of the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library (ALPL), the Illinois State Museum, and other libraries.

Illinois manuscript collections may be found via the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections.*[20]

ABRAHAM LINCOLN PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY (ALPL)

Previously the Illinois State Historical Library, ALPL (112 North Sixth Street, Springfield 62701;[21] http://www.alplm.org/home.html) houses over twelve million Illinois and Lincoln artifacts, including 350,000 photographs; 175,000 publications, maps, and manuscripts; and microfilmed newspapers for purchase or interlibrary loan. Its collections tell about citizens, cities, towns, agriculture, industry, religion, and transportation. *Horizon Information Portal* identifies most ALPL publications and manuscript collections.

ALPL features published volumes, including cemetery inventories and indexes to biographies in Illinois county histories, federal and state censuses through 1880, and some county land, probate, and vital records. City directories, family genealogies, and books on Midwest settlement, the Northwest Territory, and overland journeys round out ALPL's holdings. Its manuscripts division has a card catalog and finding aids for larger collections and special subject areas.

ALPL has published an indexed series of transcribed original documents and laws concerning French Cahokia and Kaskaskia, Illinois territorial periods, and early American settlement.[22] The volumes include biographies of early settlers and statesmen. ALPL also holds indexes of its *Journal of Illinois History* (formerly *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*), from 1907 through 1967, and *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society.*[23]

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY (CHS)

CHS (Clark Street at North Avenue, Chicago 60614-6071; http://www.chicagohistory.org/chshome.html) houses about twenty million items—

20. The Library of Congress, *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections: NUCMC* (http://www.loc.gov/coll/nucmc/); and Mary McCampbell Bell, Clifford Dwyer, and William Abbot Henderson, "Finding Manuscript Collections: NUCMC, NIDS, and RLIN," *NGS Quarterly* 77 (September 1989): 208–18.

21. Unless otherwise specified, all repository locations are in Illinois.

22. *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library*, various series (Springfield: ISHL, 1903–).

23. James N. Adams, *General Index to Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society: Volumes I to XXV: April, 1908 to January, 1933* ([Springfield]: State of Illinois, 1949); and James N. Adams and Cynthia H. Smith, *Cumulative Index to the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* [covers vols. 26–60] (Springfield: ISHL, 1968). ALPL's unpublished indexes include a cumulative index to vols. 61–93 dated May 2001 and a binder of annual indexes for vols. 88–92 dated 2002. Gwen Podeschi, ALPL, in personal communication to author, 18 November 2004, listed the above indexes. For *Journal of Illinois History* contents since its beginning, see "Complete Your Collection of *The Journal of Illinois History*," *Illinois Historic Preservation Agency* (http://www.state.il.us/hpa/JournalBack.htm). Also see James N. Adams, *Index to the Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society and Other Publications of the Illinois State Historical Library* (Springfield: ISHL, 1953).

photographs, drawings, diaries, letters, costumes, textiles, sound recordings, films, books, newspapers, and artifacts. A newspaper clipping file organized by surname and topic covers the 1930s to the present. CHS collections include materials from the Chicago Division of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 1925–69; Illinois Manufacturers' Association, 1893–1986; and District 31 United Steelworkers of America, 1934–79. More than fifty-five thousand newspaper photographs are online.[24]

CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY

Chicago Public Library (400 State Street, Chicago 60605; http://www.chipublib.org/001hwlc/001hwlc.html), the official repository for city documents and ordinances, maintains clippings from forty newspapers dated 1956 to the present.

ILLINOIS DIGITAL ARCHIVES (IDA)

IDA (http://www.idaillinois.org:1066/index.php) provides digital images of Illinois documents, historical books, journals, magazines, manuscripts, and monographs contributed by libraries statewide. Access is through "Find-It! Illinois" (http://www.finditillinois.org).

ILLINOIS HISTORICAL SURVEY

Illinois Historical Survey (346 Library, University of Illinois, 1408 Gregory Drive, Urbana 61801; http://www.library.uiuc.edu/ihx/) houses materials used to prepare *Centennial History of Illinois* and *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Society*. Its manuscript collections emphasize colonial and territorial periods and labor history in the late 1800s and early 1900s.[25] Of interest to genealogists are Grand Army of the Republic post records and registers of Baptist, Presbyterian, and Quaker churches.

THE ILLINOIS REGIONAL ARCHIVES DEPOSITORY (IRAD)

Seven depositories comprise IRAD, the state's storehouse for records released from county or local government offices.[26] Researchers can visit the depositories or request staff research for the cost of photocopies.[27]

IRAD holds Genealogical Society of Utah microfilms of Illinois records. Fact sheets identify the facility housing each county's records. For each county, they

24. "Photographs from the Chicago Daily News 1902–1933," *American Memory* (http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/ndlpcoop/ichihtml/cdnhome.html).

25. "Illinois Historical Survey Collections," *Library Gateway* (http://www.library.uiuc.edu/ihx/collections index.htm).

26. "Illinois Regional Archives Depository System," *Illinois State Archives* [ISA] (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/irad/iradhome.html).

27. "IRAD Research Policy," ISA (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/irad/refpol.html).

provide a courthouse photograph, contact information, short history, precinct or township map, and links to pertinent databases.[28] IRAD's administrative histories and descriptions of 550 record categories are particularly helpful.[29] Each depository has records guides in several formats.[30] The IRAD facilities and the counties they serve are the following:

EASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY IRAD REGION (Booth Library, Eastern Illinois University, 600 Lincoln Avenue, Charleston 61920): Clark, Clay, Coles, Crawford, Cumberland, Douglas, Edgar, Edwards, Effingham, Jasper, Lawrence, Moultrie, Richland, Shelby, Wabash, Wayne

ILLINOIS STATE UNIVERSITY IRAD REGION (Milner Library, Illinois State University, Campus Box 8900, Normal 61790-8900): Champaign, DeWitt, Ford, Grundy, Iroquois, Kankakee, Livingston, Logan, Marshall, McLean, Piatt, Tazewell, Vermilion, Woodford

NORTHEASTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY IRAD REGION (Ronald Williams Library, 5500 North St. Louis Avenue, Chicago 60625-4699): Cook and city of Chicago

NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY IRAD REGION (Regional History Center, Founders Memorial Library, Room 400, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb 60115): Boone, Bureau, Carroll, DeKalb, DuPage, Jo Daviess, Kane, Kendall, Lake, LaSalle, Lee, McHenry, Ogle, Putnam, Stephenson, Whiteside, Will, Winnebago

SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY IRAD REGION (Special Collections, Morris Library—6632, Carbondale 62901-6632): Alexander, Clinton, Franklin, Gallatin, Hamilton, Hardin, Jackson, Jefferson, Johnson, Madison, Marion, Massac, Monroe, Perry, Pope, Pulaski, Randolph, St. Clair, Saline, Union, Washington, White, Williamson

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT SPRINGFIELD IRAD REGION (LIB 144, University of Illinois at Springfield; One University Plaza, MS BRK 140; Springfield 62703-5407): Bond, Cass, Christian, Fayette, Greene, Jersey, Macon, Macoupin, Mason, Menard, Montgomery, Morgan, Sangamon, Scott

WESTERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY IRAD REGION (University Library, Western Illinois University, 1 University Circle, Macomb 61455): Adams, Brown, Calhoun, Fulton, Hancock, Henderson, Henry, Knox, McDonough, Mercer, Peoria, Pike, Rock Island, Schuyler, Stark, Warren

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28. "County Fact Sheets," *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/irad/iradregn.html).

29. "Administrative Histories," *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/irad/adminhist.html); and "Record Descriptions," *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/irad/recdesc.html).

30. Barbara S. Heflin, ed., *A Summary Guide to Local Governmental Records in the Illinois Regional Archives*, 2nd ed. (Springfield: ISA, Office of the Secretary of State, 1999); and "Guide to Local Government Records in IRAD," *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/irad/iradholdings.html).

ILLINOIS STATE ARCHIVES (ISA)

ISA (Norton Building, Capitol Complex, Springfield 62756; http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/archives.html) holds state and some federal records but not manuscript, newspaper, or other nonofficial sources. ISA manages IRAD. Information and databases for both entities are on the ISA Web site—a source of confusion for some researchers. A guide to ISA holdings is online and in print.[31] Its collections include published inventories and original records gathered by the Historical Records Survey, which located and described federal, state, county, municipal, and church archives throughout Illinois.[32] ISA also holds historical records of state hospitals, penal institutions, and boards that regulate, examine, or license architects, barbers, dental examiners, mine operators, nurses, pharmacists, and veterinarians.

ISA's Perrin collection contains miscellaneous court records, contracts, deeds, donations, marriages, and wills from old French Cahokia and early St. Clair County, for which a variety of finding aids and calendars are available.[33] "Name Index to Early Illinois Records," on microfilm at the ISA and Family History Library (FHL) in Salt Lake City, includes abstracts from parts of the Perrin collection.[34]

ISA produced a pamphlet series about its African American, census, death, land, military, and probate records.[35] ISA online databases include Illinois marriages (1763–1900), deaths (1877–1950), public land sales (from 1814) statewide, and Illinois war veterans (nineteenth-century) and veterans' home residents (twentieth-century).[36]

ILLINOIS STATE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY (ISGS)

ISGS (Post Office Box 10195, Springfield 62791–0195; http://www.rootsweb.com/~ilsgs/) provides uncertified photocopies of Illinois death records 1916 through 1950 for a fee, coordinates data entry for the statewide marriage index, houses a finding aid for cemetery locations in Illinois, and disseminates genealogical and historical societies' contact information.

31. Robert E. Bailey and Elaine Evans, eds., *Descriptive Inventory of the Archives of the State of Illinois*, 2nd ed. (Springfield: Secretary of State, 1997); Web edition, *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/isaholdings.html).

32. Illinois Historical Records Survey of Illinois of the Work Progress Administration, record group (RG) 954, ISA, Springfield. The survey operated from 1936 through 1943.

33. See also Diane Renner Walsh, "Court Records," in *St. Clair County, Illinois Research and Resources: A Genealogist's Guide* (Belleville: St. Clair County Genealogical Society, 1998), 40–42.

34. Karl R. Moore and Melissa Wright, "Tracing the French in Early Illinois: A List of Resources at the Illinois State Archives," in *Taking Genealogy Into the Nineties*, 7–10. Family History Library microfilms are available through a network of more than four thousand local Family History Centers. See "About the Family History Library," *FamilySearch* (http://www.familysearch.org/Eng/Library/FHL/frameset_library.asp).

35. "Genealogy in the Illinois State Archives," *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/services.html).

36. "Online Databases," *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/databases.html).

ILLINOIS STATE LIBRARY (ISL)

ISL (Gwendolyn Brooks Building, 300 South Second Street, Springfield 62701; http://www.sos.state.il.us/departments/library/home.html) maintains a sizeable map collection, largely available through interlibrary loan. It is a depository for federal and Illinois government publications, including those published with state funds by Illinois universities. ISL is the lending arm of ISA; the *I-Share* online catalog identifies its holdings.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES AND RECORDS ADMINISTRATION
GREAT LAKES REGION

The National Archives Great Lakes Region (7358 South Pulaski Road, Chicago 60629-5898; http://www.archives.gov/great-lakes/chicago/) has more than sixty-four thousand cubic feet of historical records dating from 1800 to the 1980s, including records of U.S. District Courts and some eighty-five federal agencies. The staff provides limited assistance in some indexed collections, and researchers may visit in person. Print and online finding aids are available.[37]

OTHER LIBRARIES

Several Illinois libraries hold specialized collections containing material of genealogical value. They include the following:

LOVEJOY LIBRARY (The Louisa H. Bowen University Archives and Special Collections, Box 1063, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville 62026–1063; http://www.library.siue.edu/lib/) is a repository for nineteenth-century Madison County naturalization papers and a special collection on Mormons.

NEWBERRY LIBRARY (60 West Walton, Chicago 60610-3305; http://www.newberry.org), a privately funded research library open to the public, focuses on genealogy. Its collection is noncirculating, but collection guides and "Quick Search" services for Chicago ward and enumeration district numbers, city directories, the Cook County birth and death index 1871–1916, obituaries from Chicago area newspapers before 1965, and a few church registers are available to genealogists by mail.[38]

SWENSON CENTER (Augustana College, 639 Thirty-eighth Street, Rock Island 61201–2296; http://www.augustana.edu/swenson/) is the North American agent for Svensk Arkivinformation, a division of the Swedish National Archives. The center arranges purchase of Swedish parish records on microfiche and provides resources for the study of Swedish immigration to North America.

37. Glenn Longacre and Nancy Malan, comps., *Guide to Records in the National Archives–Great Lakes Region* (National Archives and Records Administration, 1996); and National Archives Great Lakes Region Chicago, *Guide to Archival Holdings at NARA's Great Lakes Region (Chicago)* (http://www.archives.gov/great-lakes/chicago/holdings/index.html).

38. "Quick Search Services," *The Newberry Library* (http://www.newberry.org/genealogy/quicksearch.html).

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS URBANA-CHAMPAIGN (246A Main Library, 1408 West Gregory Drive, Urbana 61801) holdings are catalogued in *I-Share*. Guides to dissertations on microfilm and special collections are available.[39] Collections include Civil War materials, several hundred dictionaries of German dialects, photographs of steamboats, and scrapbooks about river captains.

MAJOR RESOURCES

ATLASES, GAZETTEERS, AND MAPS

Origin and Evolution of Illinois Counties provides a map showing creation dates for all counties, transcriptions of laws establishing them, and boundary descriptions.[40] At least two Web sites provide digitized Illinois maps.[41] A printed source identifies pre-1900 maps at ALPL, CHS, Newberry Library, and University of Illinois.[42] ISL has the state's largest collection of circulating maps and atlases.

Place Names

When dealing with an unfamiliar city, post office, prairie, river, stream, or town, researchers can turn to *Illinois Place Names*. It contains almost fourteen thousand entries drawn from records of the United States Post Office Department through 1931 and county histories, atlases, and newspapers.[43] Also helpful is *Indian Place Names in Illinois*.[44]

County Plats and Landownership Maps

County plat books (1870 through 1930) contain detailed township maps and generally show landowners at the time of publication. Reprints by local societies often are indexed.

39. Maynard Brichford, Robert Sutton, and Dennis Walle, *Manuscripts Guide to Collections at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976); and "Collection Description: Major-Golden Guide to Specialized Collections," *Library Gateway: University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign* (http://www.library.uiuc.edu/administration/collections/collections/descriptions/specialized_collections.htm).

40. Secretary of State of Illinois, *Origin and Evolution of Illinois Counties* ([Springfield]: State of Illinois, 1999). Many versions of this publication exist. An online version without legal and boundary descriptions and derived from an earlier edition of the book is Michael L. Hébert, *Illinois County Boundaries: 1790–Present* (http://www.rootsweb.com/~ilcumber/ilctybnd/). Also see Gordon Den Boer, comp., *Atlas of Historical County Boundaries, Illinois* (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1997).

41. "Historical Maps Online," *The University of Illinois Library and the University of Illinois Press* (http://images.library.uiuc.edu/projects/maps/index.html); and Library of Congress, "Map Collections: 1500–2004," *American Memory* (http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gmdhtml/gmdhome.html).

42. David A. Cobb and Marsha L. Selmer, comps., Robert W. Karrow Jr., ed., *Illinois*, Checklist of Printed Maps of the Middle West to 1900, vol. 4 (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1981).

43. James N. Adams, comp., William E. Keller, ed., *Illinois Place Names* (Springfield: ISHL, 1989); and John Mason Peck, *A Gazetteer of Illinois in Three Parts: Containing a General View of the State, a General View of Each County, and a Particular Description of Each Town, Settlement, Stream, Prairie, Bottom, Bluff, etc.; Alphabetically Arranged* (1837; reprint, Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1993).

44. Virgil J. Vogel, *Indian Place Names in Illinois* (Springfield: ISHL, 1963).

Map collections at ISL are available via interlibrary loan. Library of Congress finding aids outline most of the collection.[45] The ISL Web site lists its microfilmed pre-2001 landownership maps, atlases, and Sanborn fire insurance maps.[46] Aerial photos, U.S. Geological Survey topographic quadrangles, Library of Congress maps on microfiche, and some census enumeration-district maps round out ISL collections. Most of its maps can be located in *I-Share*.

The Newberry Library has three hundred thousand noncirculating maps and atlases and offers reproductions in various formats.[47] Resources include the Newberry Library Cartographic Catalog (NLCC); the *State, Provincial, and County Atlases and County Landownership Maps of the United States and Canada*, with bibliographic information for about two hundred fifty Illinois county atlases in the library's collection; and *Checklist of Chicago Maps in the Newberry Library*.[48] NLCC references only about 13 percent of the map collection—researchers consult card catalogs and reference guides for the remainder.[49] ALPL staff will search its indexed county landownership atlases for ancestors and will provide photocopies if the condition of the original allows.

Transportation Guides

ALPL houses nineteenth-century transportation guides, early settlers' gazetteers, and about three thousand maps from the mid-1700s. Some may circulate or be photocopied.

Federal Township Plats

ISA has digitized federal township plats for the entire state.[50] These 3,457 hand-drawn maps show Illinois landscapes during preparation for federal land sales. Researchers can borrow ISL and FHL microfilms of original field notes and surveys used to create the plats.

BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

Beyond the ALPL indexes above, genealogical and historical societies have prepared every-name indexes to biographical sketch books and offer look-ups.

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45. Richard W. Stephenson, comp., *Land Ownership Maps: A Checklist of Nineteenth Century United States County Maps in the Library of Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1967); and Clara E. Le Gear, comp., *United States Atlases: A List of National, State, County, City, and Regional Atlases in the Library of Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1950).

46. "Illinois County Landownership Maps and Atlases," *ISL* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/library/what_we_have/map_resources/landownership_atlases.html).

47. "Photoduplication Services Price List," *Newberry Library* (http://www.newberry.org/collections/photodup.html).

48. "Map and History of Cartography Collections," *Newberry Library* (http://www.newberry.org/collections/mapoverview.html).

49. Patrick Morris, map specialist at the Newberry Library, conversation with author, 27 October 2004.

50. "Federal Township Plats of Illinois 1804–1891," *CyberdriveIllinois* (http://landplats.ilsos.net/Flash/Welcome.html).

BIRTH AND OTHER VITAL RECORDS

Adoption Records

IRAD holds some historical indenture and adoption records, and ISGS maintains a list of "Orphan Train" adoptees in Illinois. The Illinois Adoption Registry facilitates contact between people involved in adoption.[51]

Birth and Death Records

A few counties recorded "proofs" of births and deaths as early as 1838, but most county clerks maintain birth and death records filed since 1877. Registration gaps persisted until 1916 when registrars received incentives for filing at state and county levels.[52]

Counties and the Illinois Department of Public Health (IDPH) hold most Illinois birth and death certificates, but some are buried in county probate records. IRAD also has some Illinois birth and death indexes, registers, and certificates. Microfilm copies are at several libraries and archives. ISA has an online death index, covering 1916 through 1950, and is developing a pre-1916 death index.[53] County clerks issue copies of birth and death records from 1877 to the present, IDPH issues them for any Illinois county from 1916 to the present, and ISGS issues them for 1916 through 1947. Births must have preceded the request by more than seventy-five years and deaths by more than twenty years.[54] Fees vary. County office Web sites provide contact information.[55]

Although the county coroner's office was established in 1818, permanent inquest records were not required until 1869.[56] IRAD has coroner's records for several counties. ISA's Perrin collection contains St. Clair County inquests from 1819 through 1847 and a published transcription.[57] An index of Cook County coroner's records is online.[58] Newspaper accounts and criminal court files also

51. Illinois Department of Public Health (IDPH), "Illinois Adoption Registry and Medical Information Exchange," *Illinois Vital Records* (http:// www.idph.state.il.us/vitalrecords/vital/adoptbroch.htm).

52. "Database of Illinois Death Certificates, 1916–1950," *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/idphdeathindex.html#background).

53. "Database of Illinois Death Certificates, 1916–1950," *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/idphdeathindex.html); and "Illinois Statewide Death Index, Pre-1916," *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/GenealogyMWeb/deathsrch.html).

54. Vital Records Act, *Illinois Compiled Statutes*, chap. 410, act 535 (http://www.ilga.gov/legislation/ilcs/ilcs3.asp?ActID=1573&ChapAct=410%26nbsp%3BILCS%26nbsp%3B535%2F&ChapterID=35&ChapterName=PUBLIC+HEALTH&ActName=Vital+Records+Act%2E).

55. IDPH, "Genealogy" (http://www.idph.state.il.us/vitalrecords/genealogicalinfo.htm) and "County Vital Records Web sites or County Clerk Addresses" (http://www.idph.state.il.us/vitalrecords/countylisting.htm), *Illinois Vital Records*.

56. "Coroner," Administrative Histories, *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/irad/coroner.html).

57. Lori Lovett, comp., "St. Clair County Coroner's Papers, 1819–1847," *St. Clair County Genealogical Society Quarterly* 11, no. 3 (1988): 150–62.

58. "Cook County Coroner's Inquest Record Index, 1872–1911," *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/cookinqt.html).

contain coroners' reports. Federal mortality census schedules for 1850–80 have been microfilmed and published.

Cemetery Locations and Inventories

The Geographic Names Information System (GNIS) identifies many Illinois cemeteries.[59] ISGS coordinates efforts to document additional burial sites. Illinois has seven national cemeteries—at Alton, Danville, Elwood (Abraham Lincoln), Mound City, Quincy, Rock Island, and Springfield (Camp Butler). The Department of Veterans Affairs has an online searchable database of burials.[60] Numerous cemetery inventories preserve vital statistics from tombstones that have since deteriorated beyond recognition.

Divorce Records

The clerk of the Circuit Court in each county maintains divorce records. IRAD holds some county divorce proceedings in records of the chancery division of the Circuit Court. IDPH has an index (by husband's name only) and will verify post-1961 divorces if the county is unknown.[61] During the territorial era and through 1837, the Illinois General Assembly considered some divorce petitions.[62]

Marriage Records

From their formation counties have maintained marriage records. Researchers may obtain copies from county clerks. Marriage license applications since late 1877 generally include parents' names. IDPH will verify marriages from 1962 to the present when the county is unknown, but researchers must obtain certificates from counties.[63] Some libraries and archives, the FHL, and IRAD hold marriage indexes and copies of applications, licenses, registers, and certificates. ISA has indexed about one million Illinois marriages.[64] Also, many individuals and organizations have transcribed, indexed, or published marriage records for many Illinois counties.

59. For a cemetery search form, see "The New U.S. and Territories Query," *Geographic Names Information System (GNIS)* (http://geonames.usgs.gov/redirect.html).

60. Department of Veterans Affairs National Cemetery Administration, "Nationwide Gravesite Locator," *Burial and Memorial Benefits* (http://gravelocator.cem.va.gov/j2ee/servlet/NGL_v1).

61. IDPH, "Divorce Records," *Illinois Vital Records* (http://www.idph.state.il.us/vitalrecords/divorceinfo.htm).

62. Kim Efird, "Divorce Documents in the Illinois General Assembly Files and Journals," *ISGS Quarterly* 17 (Summer–Winter 1985): 65–72, 136–41, and 223–29.

63. IDPH, "Marriage Records," *Illinois Vital Records* (http://www.idph.state.il.us/vitalrecords/marriageinfo.htm).

64. "Illinois Statewide Marriage Index, 1763–1900," *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/marriage.html).

Kaskaskia Manuscripts and the Perrin collection contain some French-period marriage records.[65] Those in the latter source appear in ISA's marriage index.

BUSINESS RECORDS

Early business ledgers, daybooks, and journals at ALPL and Henderson County Public Library (110 Hill Crest Drive, Biggsville 61418) provide snapshots of trade in nineteenth-century Illinois.[66] A guide is available.[67]

CENSUS

ISA's *Name Index to Early Illinois Records* is a statewide index to the 1820, 1830, 1840, and 1850 federal censuses; 1820, 1825, 1830, 1835, 1840, 1845, and 1855 state censuses; and 1810 and 1818 territorial censuses.[68] It is available through interlibrary loan, for purchase, and at the FHL, ISA, and ISL. ISA also has a partial card index to the 1865 state census.[69]

French and Territorial Enumerations

French colonial censuses dated 1726, 1732, and 1752 name settlers in Illinois.[70] Randolph County residents appear on a census made in 1807, when Illinois was part of Indiana Territory.[71]

State Censuses

Illinois state censuses name only household heads and enumerate others in age categories. The 1820, 1855, and 1865 schedules have survived reasonably intact, but most returns for 1825, 1830, 1835, and 1845 are missing, and almost

65. Lawrie Cena Dean and Margaret Kimball Brown, *Kaskaskia Manuscripts, 1714–1816: A Calendar of Civil Documents in Colonial Illinois*, microfilm publication, 14 rolls (Springfield: ISA, [1976–79]). Most of the original documents are at the Randolph County courthouse, in Chester; some are at the Chicago Historical Society. See Margaret Kimball Brown, "The Kaskaskia Manuscripts," *Illinois Libraries* 62 (April 1980): 312.

66. See for example, the ledgers of fur trader and statesman Pierre Menard, calendared in Kathrine Wagner Seineke, ed., *Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Pierre Menard Collection in the Illinois State Historical Library* (Springfield: ISHS, 1972); and John Leslie Tevebaugh, *Merchant on the Western Frontier: William Morrison of Kaskaskia, 1790–1837* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1971). One of Morrison's ledger books has been digitized, see Chester Public Library, *William Morrison Ledger* (http://digsrvr.shawls.lib.il.us/cht/).

67. Melinda F. Kwedar, James R. Allen, and John A. Patterson, "Illinois General Store Manuscripts, 1825–1845: A Bibliography," *Illinois Libraries* 62 (April 1980): 303–9.

68. *Name Index to Early Illinois Records* (Springfield: ISA, 1975); Margaret Cross Norton, *Illinois Census Returns: 1810, 1818*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. 24, Statistical series, vol. 2 (Springfield: ISHL, 1935); and Margaret Cross Norton, ed., *Illinois Census Returns: 1820*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. 26, Statistical series, vol. 3 (Springfield: ISHL, 1934). Only Randolph County is intact for 1810. Missing from the 1818 enumeration are Edwards County and surnames A–E and part of F from St. Clair County.

69. "Genealogical Research Series Pamphlet 5: State Census Records," ISA (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/research_series/rseries5.html).

70. Robert de Berardinis, "The 1726 Census of Illinois," *ISGS Quarterly* 34 (Summer 2002): 70–78; Robert de Berardinis, "1732 French Census of Illinois," *ISGS Quarterly* 32 (Fall 2000): 155–64; and Robert de Berardinis, "The 1752 French Census of Illinois," *ISGS Quarterly* 32 (Winter 2000): 195–201.

71. *Census of Indiana Territory for 1807* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1980).

half of the 1840 state census has been lost. The 1855 census has ninety (of one hundred) county schedules and includes information beyond what is on federal population schedules (for example, values of manufactured materials, livestock, and products of coal mines, and pounds of wool). The 1865 census adds the amount of coal produced and the numbers of distilleries and flour, grist, and saw mills. All but 3 of the state's 102 county schedules are extant for 1865. As noted above, ISA has indexed some state censuses. Researchers can borrow microfilm of surviving schedules from ISL and elsewhere.

Military Census

ISA preserves the Civil War enumeration conducted by enrolling officers. Entries include name, age, country or state of birth, occupation, and remarks about military assignment or exemption. These papers often include lists of volunteers and enlistment certificates, organized by township.[72]

Federal Schedules

Decennial enumerations are complete for Illinois from 1820 through 1930, except for 1890.[73] Original 1880 population schedules are at ISA.[74] The 1850 Edgar County census specifies residents' counties of birth.[75]

ISA has originals and microfilm of the 1850–80 agriculture, industry, and mortality schedules; 1880 schedule of "defective, dependent, and delinquent" inhabitants; and social statistics for 1850–70.[76] Microfilms of the special schedules are available on interlibrary loan; many are indexed or published.

CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS RECORDS

French missionaries opened Catholic missions in the Mississippi River Valley in the late 1600s, and churches were established in Cahokia and Kaskaskia by 1703. Baptist and Methodist circuit riders followed the American settlers who arrived in 1779.[77] By 1850 all major religions were represented.

Churches or synagogues generally hold records of members. District or state religious organizations can help determine where records are located. Registers for extinct congregations may be at a central archives or a church near the

72. Military Censuses 1861–1863, record series (RS) 301.029, Adjutant General, RG 301, ISA.

73. The 1890 federal census of Illinois was destroyed except for one township in McDonough County.

74. Federal Census Records, RG 951, ISA.

75. A series of articles focuses on approximately one-fourth of these families. See O. Kenneth Baker, "Virginia (and W. Va.) Origins of Settlers in Edgar Co., Illinois, as Revealed by the 1850 Census," *NGS Quarterly* 36 (September 1948): 73–76; and O. Kenneth Baker, "Migrations from Virginia to Edgar County, Illinois, as Revealed by the 1850 Census Schedules for 200 Families," *NGS Quarterly* 38 (March and June 1950): 1–5 and 41–43.

76. "Genealogical Research Series Pamphlet 4: Federal Census Records," *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/research_series/rseries4.html).

77. Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Story of Illinois* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949), 70.

one closed. An in-house guide at ALPL describes its manuscript collections—denominational accounts, minute books, membership lists, and registers.

Baptists

The first Baptist church in Illinois was founded in 1796 at New Design in today's Monroe County. Several publications detail the histories of early Illinois Baptist churches and organizations.[78] ALPL has a vast collection of Baptist association minutes, early Baptist church histories, and some church records.[79]

The Southern Baptist Historical Society and Archives (901 Commerce Street; Nashville, TN 37203-3630; http://www.sbhla.org/info.htm) has microfilm of the records of thirty-five Illinois Baptist churches and fifteen Illinois Baptist serial publications, including the *Baptist Banner* (1877–79 and 1887–89), *Illinois Baptist* (1906–99), and *Watchman of the Prairies* (1847–53).

Billy Graham Center

Billy Graham Center Archives (Wheaton College; 500 College Avenue, Third Floor; Wheaton 60187-5593; http://www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/archhp1.html) holds more than five hundred collections about evangelism. The material includes correspondence, diaries, church membership files, oral histories, and photographs.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints

Mormons came to Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1839. Two Illinois repositories hold significant collections of LDS materials:

LOVEJOY LIBRARY (The Louisa H. Bowen University Archives and Special Collections (Box 1063, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville 62026–1063; http://www.library.siue.edu/lib/) holds 105 reels of microfilm, with an annotated catalog, on Mormon history in Illinois from 1839 through 1848, the largest collection outside Utah.[80]

CENTER FOR HANCOCK COUNTY HISTORY: THE MORMON COLLECTION (Western Illinois University Libraries, Archives and Special Collections, 1 University Circle,

78. Rufus Babcock, ed., *Forty Years of Pioneer Life: Memoirs of John Mason Peck, DD* (1864; reprint, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965). The John Mason Peck Collection, collection M-111, is preserved at the Saint Louis Mercantile Library (Thomas Jefferson Library Building; 8001 Natural Bridge Road; St. Louis, MO 63121-4499; http://www.umsl.edu/mercantile/). Also, Myron D. Dillow, *Harvesttime on the Prairie* (Franklin, Tenn.: Providence House, 1996); L. H. Moore, *Southern Baptists in Illinois* (Nashville: Benson Printing, 1957); and William W. Sweet, *The Baptists 1783–1830: A Collection of Source Material*, Religion on the American Frontier, vol. 1 (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1964).

79. Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, "Manuscripts," *ALPL* (http://www.illinoishistory.gov/lib/manuscript.htm).

80. Stanley Buchholz Kimball, *Sources of Mormon History of Illinois, 1839–1848* (Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University, 1966).

Macomb, 61455-1390; http://www.wiu.edu/library/units/archives/archives_web.sphp?id=102) has a large collection about Mormons in Nauvoo.

Jewish

The oldest Illinois Jewish congregation, KAM Isaiah Israel in Chicago, was established in 1847. Synagogues at Quincy in 1856 and Peoria in 1859 followed.[81] Two histories examine early Jews in Chicago.[82]

The state's Jewish congregations are autonomous. Generally a lay person keeps the congregation's records or they are deposited in private archives.[83] Holdings of the Jewish Federation of Southern Illinois (3914 West Main Street, Belleville 62220), a charitable organization encompassing several temples and synagogues in southwestern Illinois, include the *Jewish Community Newsletter* (1941–).

Lutheran

The earliest Lutheran congregations in Illinois were established in Monroe, Randolph, and Washington counties by 1846. They joined the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States after its formation in 1847.[84] Three facilities hold many of their records:

CONCORDIA HISTORICAL INSTITUTE (804 Seminary Place, St. Louis, MO 63105; http://chi.lcms.org/) holds records of extinct Lutheran churches in Illinois.

ELCA REGION 5 ARCHIVES (333 Wartburg Place, Dubuque, IA 52003-7797; http://www.elca.org/archives/regsyn.html).

THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA (ELCA, 8765 West Higgins Road, Chicago 60631-4192; http://www.elca.org/) preserves some congregational records for Illinois churches and personal papers from pastors of ELCA and its predecessors. Holding mainly records of Danish, German, Norwegian, and Swedish congregations, ECLA has microfilm for fewer than 10 percent of ELCA-related congregations.[85] Microfilm may be borrowed or purchased.

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81. Rabbi Lane Steinger, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, St. Louis Regional Office; Monty Karrol, president, Temple B'nai Sholom, Quincy; and Bonnie Fenton, president, Congregation Anshai Emeth, Peoria; conversations with author, 8 November 2004.

82. Hyman L. Meites, *History of the Jews of Chicago* (1924; reprint, Chicago: Chicago Jewish Historical Society, 1990); and Irving Cutler, *The Jews of Chicago: From Shtetl to Suburb* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996).

83. For example, the Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives (3101 Clifton Avenue; Cincinnati, Ohio 45223; http://www.americanjewisharchives.org/aja/general/about.html) has minutes, cashbooks, and membership applications of B'nai B'rith, Grand Prairie Lodge No. 281 in Champaign for 1867–1930 and records of the Loeb Farm School for Jewish Children in Chicago for 1941 through 1963.

84. E. M. Biegener, "Early History of Lutheranism in Illinois," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 75 (Spring 2002): 15–30.

85. "Congregational Records on File at the ELCA Archives" (http://www.elca.org/archives/congregational records.html) and "Genealogy Help from the ELCA Archives" (http://www.elca.org/archives/geneal.html), *Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America.*

Methodist

The state's first Methodist, the Reverend Joseph Lillard, appeared in southwestern Illinois in 1793.[86] The United Methodist Church, created in 1968, superseded the Evangelical United Brethren Church and the Methodist Church.[87] The majority of microfilmed Illinois Methodist (North Conference) congregational records are available through the FHL. Some records have been published.[88] The following hold membership and baptismal registers for extinct churches:

ILLINOIS GREAT RIVERS CONFERENCE (IGRC, Archives and Special Collections, Pfeiffer Library, MacMurray College, 447 East College Avenue, Jacksonville 62650; http://www.igrc.org/archives/index.html), formed from the merged Central Illinois and Illinois Southern conferences, preserves records of IGRC, its member churches, the Evangelical United Brethren Church, and their predecessor denominations in Illinois. It holds membership and baptismal records of closed churches, church histories, ministers' biographical files, and records from a few active congregations. Some Illinois Central Conference records, 1832–1957, are at ALPL.

GARRETT-EVANGELICAL THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY ARCHIVES (2121 Sheridan Road, Evanston 60201) holds records of the Northern Illinois Conference and has a good collection of Methodist newspapers and periodicals.

THE HOLMAN LIBRARY (McKendree College, 701 College Road, Lebanon 62254; http://www.gcah.org/Conference/umac/igrs.htm) houses Southern Illinois Conference records created before the 1997 merger; partial inventories are available.

PITTS THEOLOGY LIBRARY ARCHIVES (Emory University; Atlanta, GA 30322; http://www.pitts.emory.edu/SpecColl/archives.html) holds records of the Illinois Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for 1867 through 1917.

Presbyterian

About 1811 Irish Presbyterians organized in Randolph County.[89] By 1825 Illinois had two Presbyterian and fourteen Cumberland Presbyterian churches.[90]

86. See James Leaton, *History of Methodism in Illinois, from 1793 to 1832* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Walden and Stowe, 1883); J. Gordon Melton, *Log Cabins to Steeples: The Complete Story of the United Methodist Way in Illinois* ([Chicago]: Commissions on Archives and History, Northern, Central, and Southern Illinois Conferences, [1974]); and William Warren Sweet, *The Methodists, A Collection of Source Materials*, Religion on the American Frontier, vol. 4 (New York: Cooper Square, 1964).

87. "About Our Church," *United Methodist Church* (http://www.umc.org/site/c.gjJTJbMUIuE/b.505357/k.98B7/About_Our_Church.htm).

88. For example, Darrell McLain, *Records of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, Aurora, Illinois* (Naperville: Fox Valley Genealogical Society, 1998); and Martha Mae Schmidt, *Records of German Methodist/Jackson Street Methodist Church ... First Methodist Episcopal Church ... Union United Methodist Church ... Belleville, Illinois, 1840–1998* (Belleville: St. Clair County Genealogical Society, 1999).

89. PCA Historical Center, *Bethel Reformed Presbyterian Church, Sparta, Ill.* (http://www.pcahistory.org/churches/bethelrpc.html).

90. Theodore Calvin Pease, *The Frontier State: 1818–1848* (1918; reprint, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 29.

ALPL holds some Presbyterian ministers' papers and congregational records.[91] Other repositories include the following:

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN AMERICA HISTORICAL CENTER (12330 Conway Road; St. Louis, MO 63141; http://www.pcahistory.org/churches/illinois.html) has Reformed Presbyterian Church records.

PRESBYTERIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY (425 Lombard Street; Philadelphia, PA 19147; http://www.history.pcusa.org/) preserves Illinois church registers and session minutes.[92]

HISTORICAL FOUNDATION OF THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AND THE CUMBERLAND PRESYBTERIAN CHURCH OF AMERICA (1978 Union Avenue; Memphis, TN 38104; http://www.cumberland.org/hfcpc/) identifies Illinois churches belonging to the Cumberland Presbyterian Church and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in America and houses some of their records.[93]

Roman Catholic

The state's first Catholic churches were missions administered by the Diocese of Quebec. Holy Family Church, established at Cahokia in 1699, was the first permanent Catholic Church in Illinois, but registers for its first one hundred years are missing.[94] The earliest Illinois registers are from Kaskaskia's Mission of the Immaculate Conception; some have been translated.[95] Belleville Public Library Archives (121 East Washington Street, Belleville 62220) holds abstracts and family group sheets compiled from Kaskaskia and Holy Family registers and Diocese of Belleville registers through 1930.[96]

The six Illinois diocesan archives hold registers of extinct parishes and provide contact information for extant churches. Research policies vary by diocese.

91. For example, records of Pinckneyville United Presbyterian Church, Hopewell United Presbyterian Church (1831–1951), the Presbyterian Church at Canton (1828–88), and Cherry Grove Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Knox County (1835–53).

92. For example, baptisms 1867–90, marriages 1898–1907, and membership 1875–1907 from First Presbyterian Church, East St. Louis; and session minutes 1902–70 and baptisms 1925–68 from Marshall Memorial Presbyterian Church, Lebanon.

93. Holdings include J. B. Logan, *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church in Illinois: Sketches of the First Ministers, Churches, Presbyteries and Synods* (Alton: Perrin and Smith, 1878).

94. For histories see, for example, Betty Burnett, *A Time of Favor: The Story of the Catholic Family of Southern Illinois* (St. Louis: Patrice Press, 1987); and Joseph J. Thompson, comp., *Diocese of Springfield in Illinois* (Springfield: Hartman, 1928).

95. Margaret Kimball Brown and Lawrie Cena Dean, *The Village of Chartres 1720–1765* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977); and Natalia Belting, *Kaskaskia Under the French Regime* (1948; reprint, New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1975), 121. The Missouri Historical Society (225 South Skinker Boulevard; St. Louis, MO 63105) has some early Kaskaskia transcriptions and translations.

96. "Descriptive Lists: Parish Registers of the Catholic Diocese of Belleville in Southern Illinois," *St. Clair County (Illinois) Genealogical Society* (http://www.compu-type.net/rengen/stclair/cathaid.htm).

ARCHDIOCESE OF CHICAGO (Joseph Cardinal Bernardin Archives and Records Center, 711 West Monroe, Chicago 60661; http://archives.archchicago.org/). Microfilms of the archdiocese's pre-1916 parish registers are available through the archdiocesan archives, FHL, and Newberry Library.[97]

DIOCESE OF BELLEVILLE (222 South Third Street, Belleville 62220; http://www.diobelle.org/) encompasses twenty-eight counties. It holds abstracts and family group sheets compiled from Kaskaskia and Holy Family parish registers. Microfilms of its churches' sacramental registers through 1930 are at the Belleville Public Library Archives.

DIOCESE OF JOLIET (425 Summit Street, Joliet 60435; http://www.dioceseofjoliet.org/).

DIOCESE OF PEORIA (607 Northeast Madison Avenue, Peoria 61603; http://www.cdop.org/diocesan_offices/index.cfm).

DIOCESE OF ROCKFORD (Post Office Box 7044, Rockford 61125; http://www.rockforddiocese.org/).

DIOCESE OF SPRINGFIELD (Catholic Pastoral Center, Post Office Box 3187, Springfield 62708-3187; http://archives.dio.org/).

United Church of Christ

Several denominations, including the Evangelical Synod of North America and the Reformed Church in the United States, formed the United Church of Christ.[98] Repositories holding Illinois records include the following:

ILLINOIS CONFERENCE OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST (1840 Westchester Boulevard, Suite 200; Westchester 60154; http://www.ilucc.org/), the umbrella group for northern Illinois congregations, can help researchers locate member churches.

EDEN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY (Luhr Library; 475 East Lockwood; Webster Groves, MO 63119) preserves Illinois church registers of the Evangelical Synod of North America, Evangelical and Reformed Church, and United Church of Christ, including those in Illinois. A collection guide is available.[99]

COURT AND OTHER LEGAL RECORDS

The century-long governance of Illinois by France, Britain, Virginia, and territorial legislatures created a mix of records that challenges researchers.[100]

97. Julie A. Satzik, Archdiocesan Archives and Records Center, e-mail to author, 2 November 2004.

98. "About the UCC," *United Church of Christ* (http://www.ucc.org/aboutus).

99. "Archives of the Evangelical Synod at Eden Theological Seminary," *Eden Theological Seminary* (http://www.eden.edu/Archives/edenarch.html).

100. Henry Putney Beers, in *The French & British in the Old Northwest. A Bibliographical Guide to Archive and Manuscript Sources* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1964), 10, 23–33, and 109–113, presents a thorough history of the government and records of this period. Also Henry Putney Beers, *French and Spanish Records of Louisiana: A Bibliographical Guide to Archive and Manuscript Sources* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 9; and Moore and Wright, "Tracing the French in Early Illinois," 7–10.

French commandants conducted censuses, inspected plantations, and organized militia. Their records and those of the Kaskaskia notary are the earliest in Illinois. Summaries and calendars of pre-1766 Kaskaskia records are available in English.[101]

After French governance ended, Illinois residents tried to retain its legal system. English common law took hold, however. Judges held court in Peoria (for one year), Cahokia, and Kaskaskia. ISA's Perrin collection houses the principal court records from this era, except for post-1765 Kaskaskia manuscripts and other early Randolph County records. Holdings include old French Cahokia and early St. Clair County records, such as court proceedings, marks and brands, and marriage contracts, some now published.[102] Administrative documents for the twenty-eight years preceding statehood have been transcribed and published.[103] Finding aids describe the content of county court records and provide administrative histories of the numerous courts and county boards.[104] American-period court records, are indexed by defendant or plaintiff.

General Assembly

In 1812 the General Assembly was established with powers to appoint judges and create and abolish local courts. Into the 1860s it responded to petitions for divorce, licenses to operate ferries or grist mills, name changes, adoptions, and incorporation.[105] Some records have been abstracted and published.[106] ALPL has a bibliography of published territorial laws and statutes passed by the General Assembly through 1914.[107] ISA has records of the General Assembly and bills and resolutions of the state Senate and House of Representatives.[108]

101. Dean and Brown, *Kaskaskia Manuscripts, 1714–1816*. For translations of later documents see Clarence W. Alvord, ed., *Kaskaskia Records 1778–1790*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. 5, Virginia series, vol. 2 (Springfield: ISHL, 1909).

102. Clarence W. Alvord, *Cahokia Records, 1778–1790*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. 2, Virginia series, vol. 1 (Springfield: ISHL, 1907); and Peggy Sapp, *St. Clair County Marks and Brands 1796–1797 and Tavern Licenses Granted 1808–1814* (Springfield: FolkWorks Research, 1993).

103. Carter, *Illinois Territory*.

104. "Administrative Histories," *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/irad/adminhist.html); Roy C. Turnbaugh, *Guide to County Records in the Illinois Regional Archives* (Springfield: ISA, 1983); and "A Short History of the Illinois Judicial Systems," *Supreme Court of Illinois* (http://www.state.il.us/court/SupremeCourt/History.htm).

105. Carrier, *Illinois: Crossroads*, 132.

106. ISGS has abstracted and published some records of the General Assembly (1783–1840). See "Genealogical Abstractions of Public Laws Enacted by the Eleventh General Assembly Published 1840," *ISGS Quarterly* 8 (Fall 1976): 117–22; Jean G. Wilson, "Genealogical Abstracts from Early Laws for Illinois," *ISGS Quarterly* 9 (Spring–Winter 1977): 1–6, 61–67, and 181–89; and Kim Efird, "Petitions to the Illinois General Assembly," *ISGS Quarterly* 18 (Summer–Winter 1986): 91–93, 147–55, and 215–17, *ISGS Quarterly* 19 (Spring–Fall 1987): 11–16, 102–6, and 158–61, and *ISGS Quarterly* 20 (Spring 1988): 27–31.

107. Solon Justus Buck, *Travel and Description, 1765–1865: Together with a List of County Histories, Atlases, and Biographical Collections and a List of Territorial and State Laws*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. 9, Biographical series, vol. 2 (Springfield: ISHL, 1914), 385–430.

108. General Assembly, RG 600, ISA.

The Supreme Court and Appellate Courts

In 1814 the General Assembly established the Illinois Supreme Court, the state's highest court. Until 1848 four judges intermittently rode a circuit. The Supreme Court heard circuit court appeals until 1877, when appellate courts were established. ISA preserves Supreme Court case files (1820–1970).[109] Each appellate court—Cook County, Elgin, Mount Vernon, Ottawa, and Springfield—maintains its own records. Their opinions from 1996 are online.[110]

Justice of the Peace Courts

From 1819 through 1962 Justice of the Peace Courts heard all civil suits and small claims, handled misdemeanor cases, and examined prisoners. Written court records were not required, but justices began keeping dockets in 1827. County circuit clerk offices and IRAD house the surviving records.

County Courts

In 1779 Virginia established county courts in Illinois. The Court of Common Pleas, the Court of General Quarter Sessions, Justice of the Peace Courts, and Probate Courts comprised district courts. Only the last two remained after 1790. By 1848 County Courts assumed misdemeanor cases, and their jurisdiction later expanded to include delinquent county and township taxes and small civil suits. When County Courts were abolished in 1964, the Circuit Court assumed their duties and surviving records.

Circuit Courts

Circuit Courts and the office of Clerk of the Circuit Court, which heard cases at law and equity and appeals from Justice of the Peace Courts, were established in 1818. The Circuit Court's chancery division heard cases involving divorce, injury, wills, property foreclosures, and partitions. In 1964 the Circuit Court, currently comprised of twenty-two judicial circuits, inherited the jurisdictions, duties, and records of all lower courts. IRAD and the circuit clerks' offices maintain surviving case files for the Circuit Court and the extinct lower courts.

Chicago's exponential population growth often drove changes in the Illinois judicial system. In 1859 the city's expanding needs led to establishing the Superior Court of Chicago, since 1870 called the Superior Court of Cook County.[111] The Great Chicago Fire of 1871 destroyed prior records, except a few

109. Case Files, RS 901.001, Supreme Court of Illinois, RG 901, ISA.

110. Supreme Court of Illinois, "Illinois Supreme Court and Appellate Court Opinions," *Illinois Court Documents* (http://www.state.il.us/court/Opinions/Search.htm); and Southern Illinois University, "State and Local Legal Web Sites: Illinois Cases and Other Court Resources," *School of Law Library* (http://www.law.siu.edu/lawlib/illaw/ilcourts.htm).

111. "A Short History of the Illinois Judicial Systems," *Supreme Court of Illinois* (http://www.state.il.us/court/SupremeCourt/History.htm).

wills and municipal proceedings.[112] Past holdings of the Circuit Court of Cook County and former lower courts are in Cook County's archives.[113] IRAD also has Cook County court records.

Laws

Illinois adopted constitutions in 1818, 1848, 1870, and 1970.[114] Several ALPL publications provide transcriptions, interpretations, and a bibliography of the state's early laws.[115] Illinois laws passed since 1969, called "Public Acts," are cited by year and act number (for example, P.A. 87-879). Citations to earlier statutes use the year and a *Laws of the State of Illinois* page reference (for example, "L. 1921, p. 42").[116] Laws since 1937 have been cumulated in *Illinois Compiled Statutes* (formerly *Illinois Revised Statutes*).[117]

ETHNIC RECORDS

The French brought slaves to Illinois in the 1700s. Illinois was officially a free state, but laws passed in 1805 and 1819 provoked conflict over slavery.[118] ISA has extracted names of about thirty-four hundred Africans and a few Indians from records of enslaved and free servants, masters, witnesses, and others in the French, English, and American eras of Illinois through 1863.[119]

112. Chicago City Council Proceedings Files Index 1833–1871, ISA (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/chicago_proceedings/proceedings_intro.html).

113. Clerk of Circuit Court, Cook County, Archives Department (50 West Washington, Room 1113; Chicago 60602; http://www.cookcountyclerkofcourt.org/Archives_/archives_.htm).

114. The 1870 Illinois Constitution and a synopsis of key elements for the constitutions of 1818 and 1848 are in *Illinois Blue Book* (Springfield: Philips Bros., 1900); digital image, *Find-It! Illinois* (http://www.eliillinois.org/00001_00/html/BB/1900/), 82–132. See also Paul Powell, *Constitution of the State of Illinois Adopted May 13, 1870* ([Springfield], [196–]); and *Constitution of the State of Illinois: Adopted at special election on December 15, 1970* (http://www.ilga.gov/commission/lrb/conmain.htm).

115. Theodore Calvin Pease, ed., *The Laws of the Northwest Territory, 1788–1800*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. 17, Law series, vol. 1 (Springfield: ISHL, 1925); Francis S. Philbrick, ed., *The Laws of Indiana Territory 1800–1809*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. 21, Law series, vol. 2 (Springfield: ISHL, 1930); Francis S. Philbrick, ed., *The Laws of Illinois Territory, 1809–1818*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. 25, Law series, vol. 5 (Springfield: ISHL, 1950); Francis S. Philbrick, ed., *Pope's Digest, 1815*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vols. 28 and 30, Law series, vols. 3–4 (Springfield: ISHL, 1938, 1940); and Buck, *Travel and Description 1765–1865*. Probate laws for 1856 are summarized in Elijah M. Haines, *The Probate Manual* (1856; reprint, [Galesburg]: Michael John Neill, 2004).

116. "How to Research an Illinois Legislative History," *Supreme Court of Illinois* (http://www.state.il.us/court/SupremeCourt/Library_Research.htm); "Illinois Legislative History," *Albert E. Jenner, Jr. Memorial Law Library* (http://library.law.uiuc.edu/sub/leghistory.htm); and *Laws of the State of Illinois* (Vandalia: State Printers, 1834–).

117. State of Illinois, *Illinois Compiled Statutes* (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing, 1992–); and *Illinois Revised Statutes* (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing, 1937–91).

118. Howard, *Illinois: A History*, 129–32; and Carrier, *Illinois: Crossroads*, 42–43 and 95–96.

119. "Database of Servitude and Emancipation Records (1722–1863)," ISA (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/servant.html); N. Dwight Harris, *The History of Negro Servitude in Illinois: And of the Slavery Agitation in That State, 1719–1864* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1904); and Mason M. Fishback, "Illinois Legislation on Slavery and Free Negroes, 1818–1865," in *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society* (Springfield: ISHL, 1904), 414–32.

German and Polish immigrants comprised the largest groups constructing the Illinois and Michigan Canal and Illinois Central Railroad. Irish workers recruited from Kentucky, Ohio, New England, and New York also worked on the projects. One agent brought one thousand men directly from Ireland.[120]

By the 1890s eastern and southern European immigrants settled in Chicago and East St. Louis, where work was plentiful.[121] Ethnic newspapers served many of them. ALPL holdings include materials on Native Americans and other ethnic groups, migration patterns, and fraternal and religious organizations. Research guides are available from the ALPL and Newberry Library.[122]

LAND RECORDS

County Land Records

Land ownership research begins in the county and works back to a possible federal land sale or claim. Each county recorder of deeds—in small counties, the clerk and recorder—holds land records. Some counties kept tract books that index transactions by lot or parcel. IRAD and the FHL have microfilmed deed, mortgage, and plat indexes and books for many Illinois counties.

Public Land Sales

Illinois is a public land state. Beginning in 1814, the federal government issued 550,000 patents, initially under a credit system.[123] In 1820 Congress replaced credit with a cash system for public land sales.[124] Ten federal district land offices recorded the purchases in Illinois.[125] These transactions usually do not appear in county records. ISA has the registers.

Details of public land transactions—including military bounty-land warrants and most railroad and canal lands—appear in an ISA database.[126] Tracts issued by the state to individual counties are excluded. The Bureau of Land Management, Eastern States Office (7450 Boston Boulevard; Springfield, VA 22153-3121; http://www.glorecords.blm.gov/) maintains an online database that includes

120. Carrier, *Illinois: Crossroads*, 87–88; and Joshua Morris, "Construction of the Illinois Central: Giant Feat of Labor," *Illinois History* 48 (December 1994): 20–21.

121. Howard, *Illinois: A History*, 391–92.

122. "Ethnic and National Groups," *Newberry Library* (http://www.newberry.org/genealogy/ethnic.html). Slavic American Imprints at Lovejoy Library are catalogued online in *I-share*.

123. Jennifer Spencer, Bureau of Land Management Eastern States Office; and Barbara Heflin, ISA; conversations with author, 2001. For a map of Illinois public domain land sales by year for 1814 to 1870, see Erich K. Schroeder, "The Public Domain Lands in Illinois, 1813–1870," *Illinois State Museum* (http://www.museum.state.il.us/research/GISlab/posters/schroeder1994.html).

124. U.S. General Land Office Records for Illinois, RG 952, ISA.

125. Land district offices were established chronologically at Kaskaskia, Shawneetown, Edwardsville, Vandalia, Palestine, Springfield, Quincy, Danville, Chicago, and Dixon (originally at Galena). E. Wade Hone, in *Land and Property Research in the United States* (Salt Lake City: Ancestry, 1997), 325–34, provides useful maps of each Illinois land office's coverage.

126. "Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales," *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/data lan.html).

Illinois land patents issued from 1820 and bounty lands patented in the Illinois Military Tract from 1817.

Land Granted before 1814

Before federal public land sales began in 1814, the first U.S. government land office (established at Kaskaskia in 1804) adjudicated settlers' land claims granted by French, British, and Virginia governments. Most confirmed claims have been published.[127] Squatter and preemption claims filed under 1807 and 1813 acts of Congress are at the National Archives.[128] A finding aid covering Illinois land grants, sales, preemptions, and squatters from 1678 through 1814, includes a useful abstract and index of these early and scattered records.[129]

Internal Improvements

The federal government granted or sold land to the state for internal improvements, school lands, and a seminary. Most of the transactions are indexed.[130] The Illinois and Michigan Canal, the state's first major internal improvement project, opened in 1848. ISA has eighty-nine volumes identifying canal workers between 1840 and 1927, but only a few years are indexed.[131]

Military Tract

Between October 1817 and January 1819 the federal government issued seventeen thousand patents to 3.5 million acres of bounty land in Northwestern Illinois for veterans of the War of 1812. Nearly half of the recipients sold their patents, however, and few of them settled in the Military Tract. Before 1842, military bounty-land warrants could be used only in the Military Tract. Later laws allowed warrantees to patent land anywhere in the public domain.[132] An index to warrants is available.[133]

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127. *American State Papers: Documents Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States*, 38 vols. (Greenville, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1994). For an index of the "public lands" subseries, see Phillip W. McMullin, *Grassroots of America: A Computerized Index to the American State Papers, Land Grants and Claims 1789–1837* (1972; reprint, Greenville, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1994).

128. Raymond H. Hammes, ed., "Squatters in Illinois: The First Americans to Settle Outside the American Bottom after the Revolutionary War," *Illinois Libraries* 59 (May 1977): 319–83.

129. Raymond H. Hammes Collection of Illinois Records, various titles, microfilms 1,543,598 and 1,535,995, Family History Library, Salt Lake City. Several libraries hold this microfilm collection.

130. "Illinois Public Domain Land Tract Sales," *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/data_lan.html).

131. Time Books: 1840–1927, RS 491.044, Illinois and Michigan Canal, RG 491, ISA; and "Illinois and Michigan Canal: A Northeastern Illinois Landmark," *RootsWeb* (http://www.rootsweb.com/~ilcanal/).

132. Theodore L. Carlson, *The Illinois Military Tract: A Study of Land Occupation, Utilization and Tenure* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951), 25 and 40–45; and Lowell M. Volkel, *War of 1812 Bounty Lands in Illinois* (Thomson, Ill.: Heritage House, 1977), iii–xiv.

133. April Leigh Helm, Matthew L. Helm, Nicole L. Hoch, and Beverly M. Sanders, *War of 1812 Military Bounty Land Warrants 1815–1858*, CD-ROM (Champaign: FamilyToolbox.net, 2003).

MILITARY AND VETERANS' RECORDS

ISA online databases identify Illinois soldiers in the War of 1812, Winnebago War, Black Hawk War, Mexican War, Civil War (Illinois and Missouri Regiments and U.S. Navy), and Spanish-American War, veterans in the 1929 Illinois "Roll of Honor," and Illinois Soldiers' and Sailors' Home residents.[134] County recorders of deeds hold copies of discharge papers that returning soldiers voluntarily filed from the Civil War forward. The Illinois Department of Veterans' Affairs (Post Office Box 19432, Springfield 62794–9432) maintains records of all Illinois veterans buried after 1955. For earlier veterans' burials, see *Honor Roll of Veterans Buried in Illinois*.[135]

Illinois soldiers also may be identified in federal records.[136] Some Coast Guard and Naval Reserve records for Illinois facilities are available.[137]

Eighteenth-Century Troops

ISGS has published articles on French troops in Illinois.[138] Several publications address the Kaskaskia campaign during the American Revolution.[139]

State Militia in Indian Wars and the National Guard

The Illinois territorial governor, as acting commander-in-chief of the militia, appointed militia officers below the rank of general.[140] Subsequent governors inherited this authority. A published list of militiamen eligible for federal land exists.[141] ISA databases and the muster roll of the Third Infantry Regiment of

134. Online Databases, *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/databases.html).

135. Illinois Department of Veterans' Affairs, *The Honor Roll of Veterans Buried in Illinois* ([Springfield]: Illinois Veterans Commission, 1956–).

136. Robert B. Matchette and others, *Guide to Federal Records in the National Archives of the United States*, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1995).

137. "Record Group 24: Records of the Bureau of Naval Personnel" (http://www.archives.gov/great-lakes/chicago/holdings/rg-001-049.html#24); and "Record Group 26: Records of the U.S. Coast Guard," *Guide to Archival Holdings at NARA's Great Lakes Region (Chicago)* (http://www.archives.gov/great-lakes/chicago/holdings/rg-001-049.html#26).

138. Robert de Berardinis, "Tables of the 1757 Muster Rolls of the French Troops in Illinois," *ISGS Quarterly* 33 (Winter 2001): 211–18, and *ISGS Quarterly* 34 (Spring 2002): 33–40; Robert de Berardinis, "December 1757 Muster Rolls of French Troops in Illinois," *ISGS Quarterly* 32 (Fall and Winter 2000): 74–82 and 201; Robert de Berardinis, "Replacement French Troops in Illinois, 1759: 'Rôll du détachement qui monte aux Illinois,' 31 Jan 1759," ISGS *Quarterly* 32 (Spring 2001): 4–8; Robert de Berardinis, "The 1762 Pay Book of French Troops in Illinois," *ISGS Quarterly* 31 (Fall 1999): 235–42; and Winston deVille, *Louisiana Troops 1720–1770* (1965; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1999).

139. James Alton James, ed., *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771–1781*, and *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1781–1874*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vols. 8, 19, Virginia series, vols. 3–4 (Springfield: ISHL, 1912); Margery Harding, comp., *George Rogers Clark and His Men: Military Records, 1778–1784* (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1981); and Milo Quaife, ed., *The Conquest of Illinois* (1920; reprint, Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2001).

140. "RG 100.000: Records of the Illinois Territory," *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/di/100_002.htm#A1).

141. Raymond H. Hammes, "Illinois Militiamen, 1 August 1790," *Illinois Libraries* 59 (May 1977): 308–19.

the Illinois militia identify the militiamen.[142] Illinois Rangers, Illinois Cavalry, Illinois Mounted Riflemen, and Mounted Spies served during the War of 1812.[143] The largest attack on Illinois soil occurred in 1812 when Indians ambushed troops and families at Fort Dearborn (Chicago). Militiamen from Morgan County and Sangamon County served in the twentieth regiment during the Winnebago War, also called the Fever River Expedition. ISA has the unit's muster rolls.[144] A comprehensive index is available.[145]

The Black Hawk War ended in 1832.[146] The most accurate roster of more than ten thousand Illinois soldiers who served is extracted from records at ALPL.[147] Illinois militiamen in 1812, Winnebago, and Black Hawk wars were not eligible for bounty lands until 1852. An 1855 law allowed veterans to claim bounty land if they had served fourteen days or participated in battle.[148]

ISA has unindexed descriptive rolls of officers, noncommissioned officers, enlisted men, and band members of the First Infantry Regiment of the National Guard (formerly militia) from 1880 through 1904. Discharge records, available from 1877 through 1883, also are unindexed.[149]

Mexican War

Illinois contributed four regiments and four independent companies to the Mexican War. *Report of the Adjutant General* excludes two other regiments, which did not see action, but the National Archives holds their records.[150]

Civil War

More than 259,000 Illinois residents served in the Civil War, a number surpassed by only New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.[151] Many military and

142. "Online Databases," *ISA* (http://www.sos.state.il.us/departments/archives/databases.html); and Militia Muster Roll, RS 100.013, Records of the Illinois Territory, RG 100, ISA.

143. See Robert J. Holden, "Governor Ninian Edwards and the War of 1812: The Military Role of a Territorial Governor," in *Selected Papers in Illinois History* (Springfield: ISHS, 1982), 2–4.

144. Militia Files: 1826–1859, RS 301.004, Adjutant General, RG 301, ISA. See also *Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Michigan and Illinois Volunteers who Served in the Winnebago Indian Disturbances of 1827*, microfilm M1505 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives).

145. Virgil D. White, *Index to Volunteer Soldiers in Indian Wars and Disturbances, 1815–1858* (Waynesboro, Tenn.: National Historical Publishing Co., 1994).

146. Janice A. Petterchak "A Chronology of Illinois History," *ALPL* (http://www.state.il.us/hpa/lib/ILChronology.htm); and Carrier, *Illinois: Crossroads*, 50–52.

147. Ellen M. Whitney, comp., *The Black Hawk War, 1831–1832*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. 35 (Springfield: ISHL, 1970–78).

148. Volkel, *War of 1812 Bounty Lands in Illinois*, iii.

149. Record of Discharges, RS 301.097; and Veterans' Roll, RS 301.098; both in Adjutant General, RG 301, ISA.

150. J. N. Reece, *Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Illinois: Reports for the Years 1861–65*, 9 vols. (Springfield: Phillips Brothers, 1900–1902); and "Database of Illinois Mexican War Veterans," *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/mexwar.html). For National Archives records, see *Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served During the Mexican War*, microfilm publication M616, 41 rolls (Washington, D.C.: National Archives).

151. Carrier, *Illinois: Crossroads*, 96.

pension records at the National Archives pertain to Illinois citizens. ISA holds rolls detailing each soldier's rank, age, physical description, occupation, marital status, residence, service data, and injuries or death. Some records of foreign-born soldiers pinpoint birthplaces abroad.[152]

ALPL preserves many regimental histories and an exceptional collection of Civil War broadsides, diaries, letters, and photographs.[153] A printed list of pensioners in 1883 is available.[154]

The Grand Army of the Republic, founded in Illinois in 1866 as a social outlet for Civil War veterans, became a powerful voice in national politics. Sixty-three percent of the thirty-two thousand members who died in Illinois had served in Illinois regiments. Their death records are an important source of vital statistics on soldiers before statewide death registration began in 1916.[155]

Spanish-American War

Muster rolls at ISA provide the soldier's age, birthplace, eye and hair color, complexion, height, marital status, occupation, and nearest relative's name and address.[156] The John A. Logan Collection in the ALPL audio-visual department has more than thirteen boxes containing photographs of soldiers, especially the lower ranks, in Cuba and the Spanish-American War.[157]

World Wars and Later

ISA has bonus applications filed by Illinois veterans who served in or near combat zones in the world wars and later.[158] Files more than seventy-five years old are public. They include the veteran's name and military branch, service information, filing address, awarded benefit, and pay date. Approximately 80 percent of the original files survived a 1934 fire at Springfield and substitute for Army and Air Force military personnel files destroyed in a 1973 fire at the National Personnel Records Center. Some compiled veterans' memoirs and

152. "Illinois Civil War Muster and Descriptive Rolls Database" *ISA* (http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/datcivil.html). Also, Muster and Descriptive Rolls, RS 301.020; Record Requests for Discharge Certificates, RS 301.065; and Register of Illinois Soldiers in Tennessee Hospitals, 1865, RS 301.059; all in Adjutant General, RG 301, ISA.

153. William J. Burton, *Descriptive Bibliography of Civil War Manuscripts in Illinois* (Springfield: Northwestern University Press, 1966).

154. *List of Pensioners on the Roll January 1, 1883* (1883; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1970).

155. Dennis Northcutt and Thomas Brooks, comps., *Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Illinois: Transcription of the Death Rolls, 1879–1947* ([St. Louis, Mo.]: the authors, 2003).

156. Muster In Rolls, RS 301.087; and Muster Out Rolls, RS 301.089; both in Adjutant General, RG 301, ISA.

157. Mary Michaels, ALPL Audio-visual Department, conversation with author, 1 Dec 2004.

158. Abstract of World War I Bonus Applications, 1923–1927, RS 503.002, Service Recognition Board (World War I), RG 503, ISA; and Abstract of World War II Bonus Applications, 1947–1953, RS 504.006, Service Recognition Board (World War II), RG 504, ISA.

biographies exist for entire counties.[159] The ALPL audio-visual department has some oral histories of World War II veterans.[160]

Soldiers' and Sailors' Home

ISA maintains historical records and an online database for the state-run Illinois Soldiers' and Sailors' Home, at Quincy—now the Illinois Veteran's Home (IVH, 1707 North 12th Street, Quincy 62301).[161] Upon written request, IVH will provide copies of inmate death records (1886–1930). These specify the resident's admission and death dates, state or country of birth, military branch or unit, and burial location. ISA provides photocopies of residents' case files more than seventy-five years old.[162] Records of residents of the federally supported Soldiers' Home at Danville are available on microfilm.[163]

NATURALIZATION

Naturalizations before 1906 could be filed in any court that maintained a record, whether a circuit, county, criminal, or probate court at any level—local, state, or federal. Courthouses, IRAD, and various archives hold the records. Most naturalization documents from 1906, when the federal government standardized the process, are at the U.S. District Court. Many indexed records to 1950 are at the National Archives Great Lakes Region.[164] They include naturalization papers from the Northern District (Chicago) for 1872–1991, Central District (Peoria) for 1908–54, Central District (Danville) for 1906–62, and Southern District (Springfield) for 1856–1974.[165] The District Court at East St. Louis has an index to declarations and petitions, 1944 to the present, and provides copies of papers it issued before 1944.[166] Records not yet at National Archives (Great Lakes) should be in the respective District Court.

159. For example, see *Jo Daviess County Honor Roll: An Illustrated Historical Biography Compiled from Private Authentic Records* (Galena: M. J. and A. J. Weber, 1920).

160. Mary Michaels, ALPL Audio-visual Department, conversation with author, 1 Dec 2004.

161. "Database of Illinois Soldiers' and Sailors' Home Residents (1887–1916)," ISA (http://www.cyberdrive illinois.com/departments/archives/quincyhome.html).

162. Veterans' Case Files, RS 259.002, Illinois Veterans' Home, RG 259, ISA.

163. *Historical Registers of National Homes for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers, 1866–1938*, microfilm M1749 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives). Rolls 81–82 contain the Danville A–Z index and rolls 83–91 contain the registers. Also see Danville National Home for Disabled Volunteer Soldiers Register of Members: 1898–1934, RS 955.003, U.S. Veterans' Administration, RG 955, ISA; and Records of the Veterans Administration, National Archives and Records Administration Great Lakes Region, RG 15.

164. *Soundex Index to Naturalization Petitions for the United States District and Circuit Courts, Northern District of Illinois and Immigration and Naturalization Service District 9, 1840–1950*, microfilm M1285 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives).

165. "Naturalization Records From U.S. District Courts (RG 21) in Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin, held in the National Archives, Chicago," *National Archives Great Lakes Region* (http:// www.archives.gov/great-lakes/chicago/finding-aids/naturalization-records.html).

166. Marsha Shepard, Clerk of the District Court at East St. Louis, conversation with author, 17 October 1994. The court's address is 750 Missouri Avenue; East St. Louis, IL 62201.

NEWSPAPERS

The Illinois Newspaper Project is the primary resource for identifying Illinois newspapers from 1814 to the present.[167] ALPL, a central repository for Illinois newspapers, lists its holdings online.[168] Microfilms can be purchased or borrowed through interlibrary loan. The staff will photocopy articles for a fee. Many local libraries provide newspaper abstracts and indexes.[169]

PRISON RECORDS

The state's first prison, at Alton, was completed in 1831. It closed in 1860, when the Joliet prison opened.[170] Menard Penitentiary, at Chester, was built in 1877. ISA holds historical prison records and registers of prisoners.[171]

SCHOOL RECORDS

Early Illinois schools were private. In 1825 the General Assembly passed the first public school law, in 1836 it levied optional school taxes, and in 1883 it first legislated compulsory school attendance.[172]

Records of McKendree College, established in 1829, are at its Holman Library (701 College Road, Lebanon 62254). Many records of Shurtleff College, established in 1827 as Rock Spring Seminary, are at Louisa H. Bowen University Archives and Special Collections (Lovejoy Library, Campus Box 1063, Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville 62026). Course catalogues name students by class.[173] Jacksonville Female Academy, the state's first educational institution for women, was chartered in 1835. Its 1836–1903 catalogs, which list students and their addresses, are online.[174]

ALPL has historical material related to education in its Jonathan Baldwin Turner Papers (1836–95) and records of Monticello College (1794–1971). Records of Kaskaskia Academy of the Visitation (later Menard Academy),

167. *Illinois Newspaper Project Herald* (http://www.library.uiuc.edu/inp/).

168. "Newspaper Index, *Illinois Historic Preservation Agency* (http://www.state.il.us/hpa/lib/newspaperhtm); and *Newspapers in the Illinois State Historical Library* (Springfield: ISHL, 1998).

169. For example, the Newberry Library has an index of death notices in Czech, Polish, and Slovak newspapers and the Sam Fink index to newspaper marriage notices 1833–71 and newspaper death notices 1856–89—sources for vital statistics before Chicago's 1871 fire. The Hayner Public Library (326 Belle Street, Alton 62002) has a subject and personal name index to the *Alton Telegraph* 1836–1933, and the Belleville Public Library (121 East Washington Street, Belleville 62220) has obituaries indexed for nearly all St. Clair County newspapers since the early 1800s.

170. Petterchak, "Chronology of Illinois History."

171. Department of Corrections, RG 243, ISA. Access to some records is restricted by "Freedom of Information Act," *Illinois Compiled Statues*, chap. 5, sec. 140; and "Unified Code of Corrections," *Illinois Compiled Statutes*, chap. 730, sec. 5.

172. Howard, *Illinois: A History*, 173–75; and Petterchak, "Chronology of Illinois History."

173. Howard, *Illinois: A History*, 177; and Amanda Bahr-Evola, archive specialist at the Lovejoy Library, e-mail message to author, 12 November 2004. The records do not include pupil lists or detailed financial records. ALPL also holds some Shurtleff College records.

174. "Jacksonville Female Academy," *Illinois Alive!* (http://history.alliancelibrarysystem.com/IllinoisAlive/files/ic/htm1/ic000000.cfm).

established in 1833, are at Visitation Academy (3020 North Ballas Road; St. Louis, MO 63131).[175] IRAD has some twentieth-century education records.

TAX RECORDS

In the early 1800s nonresident landowners' taxes went to the state, but revenues from local owners of land and personal property, including enslaved and indentured servants, remained in the counties.[176] Some lists have been published.[177] In 1815 the first poll taxes were assessed, on males aged twenty-one through fifty.[178] The age ranges varied over the years.[179] In 1825 the state instituted county road and school taxes.[180] Taxes could be paid in currency or, through 1869, labor on road construction or repair.[181] Minutes and proceedings of the county commission or board of supervisors name road workers. Tax lists from about 1824 (with gaps) appear in assessors' and collectors books. IRAD depositories and county treasurer's offices hold surviving records.

District assessors compiled federal taxes during the Civil War, paid mainly by manufacturing companies. The records have been microfilmed.[182] The National Archives (Great Lakes Region) holds original assessment lists for Chicago (1895–1971), Peoria (1910–19), and Springfield (1905–17), largely for corporations, but individuals appear on some lists.[183]

CONCLUSION

Early settlers may have first believed the Illinois prairie lands would be unproductive but they eventually learned otherwise. The state's three-century history—one of people from many ethnic groups and nationalities, including tradesmen, entrepreneurs, scallywags, preachers, schoolteachers, lawmakers, farmers, and river men—shaped this "Land of Lincoln." Repositories in small towns and bustling cities hold secrets to the past, alongside online resources, microfilmed records, and manuscripts in the state's archives and courthouses.

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175. Academy of the Visitation, *Centennial Souvenir: The Academy of the Visitation* (St. Louis: Saint Francis de Sales Press, 1933).

176. Howard, *Illinois: A History*, 117; and Robert Murray Haig, "A History of the General Property Tax in Illinois," *University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences* 3 (March and June 1914): 19.

177. Mary Parker, "Lands Taxed, Assessor's Book, 1826," *St. Clair County Genealogical Society Quarterly* 23, nos. 1–3 (2000): 1–18, 55–71, and 103–27.

178. Philbrick, *Pope's Digest, 1815*, 58.

179. M. K. McKay, "History of the Poll Tax in Illinois," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 12 (April 1919): 41–44.

180. Haig, "History of the General Property Tax in Illinois," 51–53.

181. Philbrick, *Pope's Digest, 1815*, 58; McKay, "History of the Poll Tax in Illinois," 41–44; "19th Century Road Records," *ISGS Newsletter* 25 (May/June 2004): 1; and Haig, "A History of the General Property Tax in Illinois," 119.

182. *Internal Revenue Assessment Lists for Illinois, 1862–1866*, microfilm M764 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives).

183. Longacre and Malan, "Record Group 58: Records of the Internal Revenue Service," in *Guide to Records in the National Archives–Great Lakes Region*, 5–16.

Reviews

FAMILY HISTORIES

Akee Tree: A Descendant's Search for his Ancestors on the Eskridge Plantations. By Stephen Hanks. Published by PepperBird Books; 4515 North Interstate Avenue, Suite 4; Portland, OR 97217; 2005. ISBN 0-976-58660-6. 448 pp. Charts, illustrations. Paperback. $28.00.

Akee Tree begins as an interesting search for African American roots. Hanks started off right in 1989, collecting oral history and family records and then visiting the library to learn how to do genealogical research. When his ancestors were listed under one name in the 1880 census and a different one in 1870 he assumed that his ancestors had *changed* their surname from Campbell to Crockett. He did not recognize the difference between the creator of a record and the person named in it. Census takers did not identify their informants. Some enumerators of former slaves recorded their own assumptions rather than asking for names.

Despite extensive historical research, unexplained contradictions remain in the text. For example, one relative said his ancestors were Creek, but evidence suggests that they lived on Choctaw land. The lack of clarification in the text suggests that Hanks did not realize the contradiction.

Hanks discusses Freedmen's Bureau records and the Kansas State Historical Society together. Because the discussion is not footnoted, readers could infer that Freedmen's Bureau records are housed at the historical society instead of the National Archives.

Some chapters cover topics unrelated to the chapter title. Chapter three, for example, contains a long section concerning a seventeenth-century Liberian family. Nothing indicates whether the information came from oral history, historical research, or imagination. The chapter then covers the author and his family in Portland, Oregon, and includes a history of the 1960s and 1970s. Chapter six gives vivid details of life aboard a slave ship and life as a slave in America, as if written for a novel.

On page 458 of the 459-page book, Hanks attempts to explain what is fact and what is not: "In case the reader might wonder which parts of the story are fact, and which parts are purely fiction ... whatever is backed up by factual documentation ... is considered as being actual fact." He then admits he did not find the slave ship and he invented ancestors. Because the book lacks footnotes, readers must guess which information is factual.

Akee Tree needed a good editor. Hanks writes well enough to hold readers' interest but loses them with too much meandering. There are grammatical errors and the book lacks a table of contents, index, footnotes, photo captions, chapter headings, appendix numbers, and properly cited sources.

Akee Tree tries, unsuccessfully, to combine autobiography, biography, and fiction with a search for roots. If Hanks had stuck to one genre, this might have been a great book.

Tony Burroughs
Chicago, Illinois

Fendall Hall: A True Story of Good Times and Bad Times on the Chattahoochee River. By Charles M. Crook. Published by author; 2432 Hawthorn Drive; Montgomery, AL 36111; 2004. ISBN 1-56837-398-8. 733 pp. Appendix, illustrations, index, maps. Hardback. No charge (shipping: $7.00).

This large tome relates a Young family's history, beginning with its immigrant ancestor, who was transported from Scotland to New Jersey in 1685 for being a Covenanter. It continues through a 2002 family reunion in Eufaula, Alabama. Family charts show descendants of Edward Brown Young (born 1802 in New York City) and his wife, Ann Fendall Beall (born 1810 in Warren County, Georgia). The author draws upon historical events to set each generation's story in context.

The book centers on the lives and 1824–25 migration of two brothers, Edward Brown Young and William Henry Young, who moved from New York City to Eufaula, a town on the Chattahoochee River. In the 1850s Edward built an Italianate mansion for his wife. Later generations named it Fendall Hall after her middle name.

The brothers become successful businessmen and bankers. When the Civil War began, the Youngs took their chances with the South. The family preserved many letters written from "the front," which allowed the author to publish transcriptions describing personal movements and actions during battle. Information about the war fills about three hundred pages.

This well written book contains 1,056 endnotes, which reference a wide variety of materials. Most, however, are secondary sources ranging from family hearsay to local histories and historical society quarterlies providing information that the author regrettably did not verify. The notes also should have been more closely proofread—*genealogy* and *genealogical* are consistently misspelled. Illustrations are mainly photographs of people and Fendall Hall. All names, places, and terms are indexed.

The book's greatest value is, of course, to Young family descendants, who live in twenty states. The transcribed letters should help Civil War historians document battles and regimental histories.

Richard A. Smallwood Sr.
Huntsville, Alabama

The McCartys of the Northern Neck: 350 Years of a Virginia Family. By William M. McCarty and Kathleen Much. Printed by Gateway Press; 2005. Order from William M. McCarty, M.D.; 23 Glebe Road; Montross, VA 22520; or Kathleen Much; 128 Hillside Avenue; Menlo Park, CA 94025-6538. ISBN 0-9767155-0-3. xx, 600 pp. Appendixes, bibliography, charts, illustrations, index, maps, photographs. Hardback. $75.00.

Reviewers face the difficult task of critiquing without discouraging. Such balance is difficult when reviewing the work of self-edited authors—who appear particularly often in the genealogical world. Happily, *McCartys of the Northern Neck* presents no such dilemma.

This family history documents a family in Virginia's Northern Neck, beginning with Daniel McCarty (16??–1694), the immigrant, who appeared in Rappahannock County by 1675. The authors trace his descendants through eight generations and discuss each in considerable detail. Appendixes cover the most recent four generations in lesser detail. Separate chapters address many collateral families. The authors describe the McCartys as a family that "remained on the fringe of perceived greatness," whose members appear "only as footnotes in treatises dealing with more familiar historical figures." (p. xiii)—a characterization that could aptly describe most colonial Virginia families.

The authors use a numbering system described by Virginia Easley DeMarce in "Heresy by the Number" (*National Genealogical Society Newsletter* 19 [May–June 1993]: 65–67). It closely resembles the Henry system, which identifies individuals by a series of numbers representing their ancestors' birth order in each generation. This system becomes unwieldy when applied to more than a few generations. The authors circumvent this drawback by sometimes omitting all but birth-order numbers of descendants in the generation under discussion. They

prefix identifying numbers of collateral family members with their surname's initial letter.

The authors intersperse charts, maps, and photographs throughout the text and effectively identify historical objects, structures, sites, and geographical areas associated with the McCartys. Genealogical "trees" graphically depict relationships. Footnotes, used sparingly, mainly provide explanatory notes and references to derivative sources. Citations to original sources are abbreviated and embedded in the text. An extensive bibliography lists derivative sources more fully.

The authors do not claim to have an every-name index, but it does include both personal and place names. Women are listed under their maiden names, when known. The index employs a unique referencing system: bolded page numbers refer to photographs or figures, and italicized items refer to diagrams or charts.

Bearing all the marks of a typical family history, this volume is much more. Interspersed among chapters of genealogical material—and often incorporated within them—is historical background that is perhaps the work's real jewel. Indeed, the first two chapters explain major economic, legal, and political issues affecting colonial Virginia and the Northern Neck. Not until chapter three, with the stage set for understanding the McCarty family in context, do readers find the opening narrative of Daniel McCarty the immigrant.

The authors have produced a literate and readable family history—a notable achievement. Their work is well conceived, well written, well edited, and well worth a place in the library of anyone researching Virginia's Northern Neck.

Donald W. Moore, CG
Virginia Beach, Virginia

The Making and Unmaking of a Revolutionary Family: The Tuckers of Virginia, 1752–1830. By Phillip Hamilton. Published by University of Virginia Press; Post Office Box 400318; Charlottesville, VA22904-4318; 2003. ISBN: 0-8139-2164-3. xi, 250 pp. Chart, illustrations, index. Hardback. $35.00.

Not a genealogy of the Tucker Family as the title might imply, this volume is a social history. A collection of letters motivated in-depth study of a family that settled in Virginia in the 1770s.

The book opens with St. George Tucker's migration from Bermuda to America just before the Revolutionary War, continues beyond his death, and tracks the decline of the family fortune. When St. George Tucker married into the powerful Randolph family of Virginia, he became stepfather to three Randolph children. Because his wife was a Bland by birth, he benefited from relations with two important families. Tucker directed his efforts from his marriage forward to establishing a dynasty, but the Revolutionary War frustrated his ambitions. His family dispersed, as did many others.

Although focused on St. George Tucker, the book gives a glimpse at his children's lives. It is an easy read for anyone interested in America's post-Revolutionary years.

Margaret Ruth Amundson, CG
Frederick, Maryland

Joseph Vick of Lower Parish, Isle of Wight County, Virginia, and His Descendants. Vol. 1. By John D. Beatty and Di Ann Vick. Published by Genus Publishing; 4727 Wilshire Boulevard, no. 300; Los Angeles, CA 90010; 2004. ISBN 0-9748672-0-9. x, 562 pp. Appendixes, illustrations, index. Hardback. $49.95.

First impressions are important and this dark brown leather-bound volume printed on high quality paper gives the impression that it has been lavished with a great deal of care and attention to detail. Further inspection supports the conclusion. Numerous

portraits, landscapes, and silhouettes inserted in the middle of the volume include extended descriptions identifying the subjects. The authors follow the descendants of Joseph Vick—who died in Isle of Wight County, Virginia, before 1704—through the first five generations as they leave Virginia and spread throughout the South. Most members of generation five were born in the early 1800s; a note in the final chapter verifies that other volumes will cover later generations.

Source citations, which reflect a great deal of research in original records, appear as endnotes following each family presentation. Citations are generally thorough, although an occasional reference, such as the one to "Warren Co. Will Book A: 65," should include additional detail. Both Virginia and Mississippi sources appear in this series of notes, and each has a Warren County. Careful analysis solves the issue, but mentioning the state would have avoided the question. The compilers provide the source of most but not all information.

An introduction to each generation provides an historical and social overview of the time period that helps explain the actions and movements of family members. The authors limit discussion of historical details to those affecting the family. Details in biographical sketches include arguments for the identification of unproven children.

The final chapter includes brief descriptions of two Vicks who have not been connected in the family tree and information, discovered just prior to publication, verifying two probable links. An alphabetical list of slaves owned by Vicks and a list of "Free Persons of Color Surnamed Vick" found in the census comprise the first appendix. A second appendix includes all the Vicks who had no known children and who could not be connected to one of the established lines. Research continues and the authors plan to publish additional material in the Vick family newsletter and in a possible revision of the current volume. Certainly this volume, which incorporates the work of earlier researchers, provides a solid foundation for further research.

Barbara Vines Little, CG
Orange, Virginia

IMMIGRATION

The Family Tree Guide to Finding Your Ellis Island Ancestors. By Sharon DeBartolo Carmack. Published by Family Tree Books; 4700 East Galbraith Road; Cincinnati, OH 45236; 2005. ISBN 1-55870-694-1. 160 pp. Bibliography, illustrations, index. Paperback. $19.99.

This is the newest in a crowded field of books about Ellis Island. It nevertheless fills a need. Its topics include ships and manifests, transatlantic voyages, the "human" aspect of immigration, and sources for research and additional information. Brief and easily read, the book provides essential material.

One section of this guide describes unindexed and unmicrofilmed Ellis Island medical records scattered in repositories across the United States. Another section tells of more information about passengers contained in records of detainees, found at the end of each passenger manifest after 1903. These records are difficult to find when using the Ellis Island Web site. It is easier to locate them, as well as to search for passengers, information on the ship and its journey, and the passengers' ethnicity, by examining the records on microfilm.

The author briefly mentions the 1885 outlawing of the labor contracts that had brought many immigrants to work in mines and on railroads. While many immigrants continued to come to America under such contracts, some disguised their names, occupations, and destinations, making them difficult to find on ship manifests.

The section on the passengers' voyage and arrival in the United States is well done, but including the approximate length of the crossing at various times would have been helpful. A minor but disturbing issue is

redundancy. While putting certain data into two applicable areas is useful, the wording should vary.

The book is aimed at beginning and experienced genealogists alike. Its author challenges them not only to research and read but also to compile their ancestors' stories in writing or in scrapbooks. She also gives readers a broad overview of research possibilities in Ellis Island records and many leads for tracing immigrant ancestors.

June C. DeLalio, CG
Dix Hills, New York

Italians to America: Lists of Passengers Arriving at U.S. Ports; vol. 17, *Passengers Arriving at New York April 1901–September 1901*; and vol. 18, *Passengers Arriving at New York October 1901–March 1902*. Edited by Ira A. Glazier and P. William Filby. Published by Scarecrow Press; 4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200; Lanham, MD 20706; http://www.scarecrowpress.com; 2004. 552 and 544 pp. ISBN 0-8420-5092-2 and 0-8420-59093-0. Index, map. Hardback. $90.00 (shipping: $4.00) per volume.

These books are part of a series that began in 1992. At that time, they were a tremendous breakthrough for people tracing Italian ancestors because they covered unindexed passenger lists and provided an easy way to find Italians coming to the United States.

The introduction is the same as in the former books. It gives excellent background regarding Italian emigrants from 1881 through 1915. Their destination early in this period usually was not North America. Only with the economic collapse of South American countries in the 1880s and 1890s did huge numbers start to come to the United States. At the same time, the immigrants' origins shifted from northern to southern Italy.

The compilers list each ship by arrival date and provide an alphabetical index. These volumes, covering 1901–2, provide information such as each passenger's village and province of origin, which was not available for earlier years.

Some people may ignore this series and rely on the Ellis Island Web site. That would be a mistake. Searching for names and variations in the book index takes only a few seconds. Searches on the Web site can take much longer especially if the surname has many variations. Using book and Web site together will be most productive. In addition, the book includes several ships that arrived in 1901 but inexplicably are not included in the Web site.

While these volumes are pricey for individuals, most genealogical libraries and research facilities have complete sets. Dr. Glazier's addition of books to this series is a wonderful complement to the Ellis Island Web site. Future volumes would be improved by either abandoning the town codes or changing the format so the codes are more readable.

June C. DeLalio, CG
Dix Hills, New York

METHODOLOGY

About Genealogical Standards of Evidence: A Guide for Genealogists. Second edition. By Brenda Dougall Merriman. Published by Ontario Genealogical Society; Suite 102; 40 Orchard View Boulevard; Toronto, ON, Canada M4R 1B9; 2004. ISBN 0-7779-2135-9. 94 pp. Illustrations. Paperback. $13.44 (shipping: $6.50).

Good things, it is often said, come in small packages, and this volume is an example. In fewer than one hundred pages, Merriman explains how the genealogical community developed research standards, what the standards are, and how to apply them. The book accomplishes its purpose—to supplement educational courses, reinforce researchers, and provide a reference for compilers. Her

purpose does not include teaching research methods, because this instruction is widely available.

Merriman points out that genealogists identify ancestors by gleaning information from many sources. From several approaches to documenting the birth of Robert Kent, readers learn to distinguish original from derivative sources, primary from secondary information, and direct from indirect evidence. Only by carefully considering each aspect can family historians determine the probable validity of genealogical data. Merriman describes the use of the Genealogical Proof Standard (GPS) and stresses the need for every genealogist to cite sources completely.

The author also discusses Canadian lineage societies and opportunities for genealogical education, certification, and accreditation in the United States and Canada. Perhaps most useful is the book's lengthy section devoted to examples. Here readers will find a wide variety of records with commentaries about their value and limitations. The examples are Canadian; most, however, have counterparts in other countries. Comments, which apply to records used by most genealogists, provide those interested in high quality research a compelling reason to add this work to their reference shelf.

Kay Haviland Freilich, CG, CGL
Wayne, Pennsylvania

REGIONAL SOURCES

1805 Georgia Land Lottery: Fortunate Drawers and Grantees. Compiled by Paul K. Graham. Published by Genealogy Company; Post Office Box 1091; Decatur, GA 30031-1091; 2004. ISBN 0-9755312-0-4. ix, 278 pp. Index. Hardback. $35.00 (shipping: $3.00).

The 1805 Land Lottery was the first of eight lotteries whereby the state of Georgia distributed land. A previous work, Virginia S. Wood and Ralph V. Wood's *1805 Georgia Land Lottery* (Cambridge, Mass.: Greenwood Press, 1964), includes all participants (the majority of the state's heads of households) and serves as an excellent substitute for Georgia's missing 1800 and 1810 census records. So why produce another 1805 land lottery book? Paul Graham draws on his background as a former title examiner and experienced property and probate researcher to lay the foundation for tracing land in county deed books and using land records to study migration and neighborhood patterns. Although Graham's book follows land rather than individuals, it contains a full name index (also available in its entirety on his Web site at http://www.1805georgialandlottery.com). Unlike the earlier book, Graham's compilation includes fractional lots and reverted lots (those where the drawer neglected to take up the option and the land reverted to the state).

The book's introduction presents the Georgia land lottery system and the records it produced in language that novices will understand. The author conveniently pulls together and discusses the limitations and strengths of the original land lottery documents, executive orders, and laws that relate to the individual land lots. Footnotes throughout the book provide clarity, and notes following each section often include transcriptions of original documents.

The book is arranged by county, district, and land lot rather than by surname. Listed are the fortunate drawer, grantee (sometimes the same as the drawer), county of residence of both, the grant date, and a reference to the grant book and page number. Also included are transcriptions of eighty-eight original documents, executive orders, and laws. The author thoughtfully included the name of the county and district in the header for each page.

Graham has taken an old subject and given it a new focus that may open up research possibilities for many researchers. This well researched compilation will be a

valuable addition to repositories emphasizing Georgia research.
Barbara Smallwood Stock
Marietta, Georgia

Family Maps of Leake County, Mississippi: With Homesteads, Roads, Waterways, Towns, Cemeteries, Railroads, and More. By Gregory A. Boyd. Published by Arphax Publishing; 2210 Research Park Boulevard; Norman, OK 73069; http://www.arphax.com/; 2005. ISBN 1-4203-0000-8. 221 pp. Appendixes, indexes, maps. Paperback. $29.95.

Federal land research in Mississippi presents a formidable and multi-stepped challenge that can discourage researchers. Tract books entries are indexed only by legal land description, based on the state's five principal baselines and meridians, and reproduced on twenty-five rolls of microfilm. The goal of *Family Maps of Leake County* is to ease and expedite Leake County land research by mapping land ownership in the county's sixteen townships. This volume is one of an ongoing series that, as of this writing, covers various counties in fourteen states. Boyd is adding counties continuously and intends to produce volumes for every county in every public land state.

For each township, the compiler provides an every-name index to original landowners and a "map group" composed of three maps: a patent map showing the original land entries, a road map illustrating routes to towns, and a historical map naming rivers, railroads, large bodies of water, communities, and cemeteries. Six pages of instructions for using the book define abbreviations and terms used by surveyors and attorneys. The compiler does not identify the sources of the road and historical maps.

Boyd used the Bureau of Land Management's (BLM) General Land Office online database as his source for the patents. His works contain the patentees that the BLM has entered to date in its database—an extraordinary feat, to be sure. Readers must understand, however, that the BLM database is a work in progress that does not include all patents. Therefore, the microfilmed tract books identify some patentees who are not found in *Family Maps*.

That said, *Family Maps* is a good place to begin researching a Leake County family. Its three maps of each township illustrate different community elements. They provide researchers with an uncluttered view of the land on which their subjects lived. The every-name index is a tool that was previously unavailable to locate ancestors in the area. The road maps name secondary roads not found on other maps
Jane J. Williams, CG
Walnut Grove, Mississippi

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These microfilm publications are part of a five-year, multiseries project made possible by the United States Congress through the Freedmen's Bureau Records Preservation Act of 2000 (Public Law 106-444). When completed, all the field records for 15 states and the District of Columbia will be available on microfilm. For availabilty, view the microfilm locator on the NARA web site at *www.archives.gov*.

Marriage Records of the Office of the Commissioner, Washington Headquarters of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1861–1869

Microfilm Publication M1875, 5 Rolls

Contains hundreds of marriage records of newly liberated African Americans in the post–Civil War era collected from 1861 through 1869 by the Freedmen's Bureau in its field offices in the Southern States and the District of Columbia, and sent to the Washington, DC, headquarters. Records include unbound marriage certificates, marriage licenses, monthly reports of marriages, and other proofs of marriage. Record type and quantity varies with each state.

Records of the Field Offices for the State of North Carolina, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872

Microfilm Publication M1909, 78 Rolls

Reproduces the previously unfilmed records of the Assistant Commissioner, his staff officers, and subordinate field offices of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. Records are organized by staff office and then by the 44 subordinate field offices. They include correspondence, annual and monthly reports on bureau activities and the condition of freedmen, freedmen contracts, census records, orders sent, court papers and reports, and records relating to freedmen's claims and homesteads.*

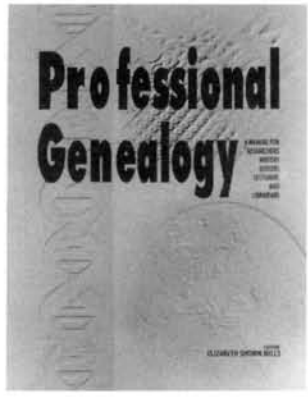
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Professional Genealogy

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Elizabeth Shown Mills, Editor



GENEALOGY—the search for "roots"—is a global obsession. The millennium has fueled curiosity about the past and our personal place in history, the Internet is erasing barriers to international communication and record access, and genetic science dangles promises of marvelous new ways to link peoples and cultures. A millennial survey by a marketing research leader found that nearly half of all Americans have created a "family tree," that more than a third have traveled to an ancestral place, and that nearly as many have written some form of family history. But, as *Time Digital* has cautioned, amid "the forest of genealogy software programs and websites . . . it's easy to go barking up the wrong family tree."

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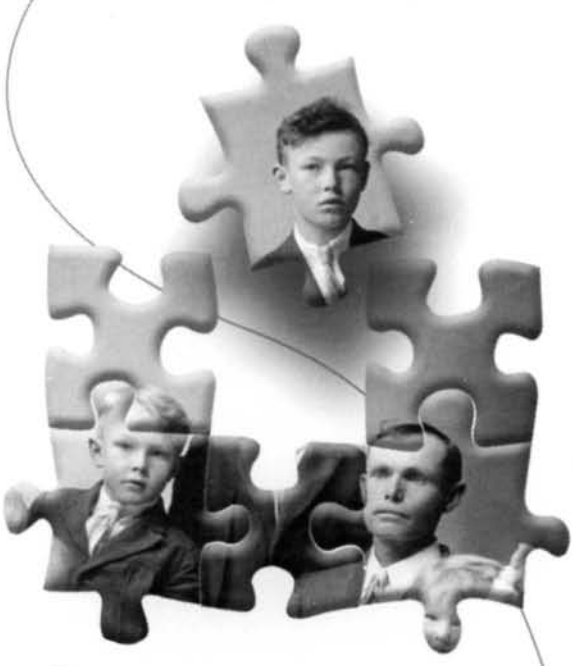
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Two things a parent must give a child.  *One is ROOTS. The other is WINGS.*

National Genealogical Society Quarterly



Volume 94, No. 2, June 2006

The
National Genealogical Society
presents . . .

Faces of America

On the Cover:

JOHN DAVIDSON
(1807–after 1865)

Family traditions can be totally wrong yet still contribute an important kernel of truth. In this issue's lead article, a Civil War army photograph of John Davidson's son, George W. Davidson (1844–1923), played a central role in reconnecting far-flung branches of a family divided by death and debt in early nineteenth-century Baltimore. A search for George's photograph proved fruitless, despite good evidence that a family member had sent packets from three albums in 1967, "returning to descendants photos of their ancestors." Instead, a cousin discovered this signed photograph of George's father, "John Davidson, Crawfordsville, Indiana."

Despite inaccurate oral history about George and John's relatives, creative use of the occupational search feature for the 1880 United States census index and research in original records resulted in rediscovering much of the family. When John Davidson was age seven, his mother died and he fell under the guardianship of his autocratic maternal aunt Julia Ann (née Pierpoint) Ensey. John's father, a cooper beset with desperate debts, left Baltimore never to be mentioned in records again. John and all but the youngest of his siblings made their way west and surfaced one by one in Ohio and Indiana, where they plied the cooper's trade. Baby brother Henry remained with Aunt Julia, who inexplicably changed his surname to Davis.

In 1864, John's son George W. Davidson, a soldier from Crawfordsville, Indiana, was discharged from his regiment in Baltimore. He contacted relatives there and gave them his Union Army photograph. Generations later, fading memories confused George W. with his grandfather of the same name, and partial truths made a jumble of the facts. The elder George would have been an unlikely soldier in his mid-eighties at the end of the Civil War, and no evidence suggests he ever made it to Crawfordsville. Davis family historians had guessed that George Davidson had taken his young children directly to Indiana. The public record suggests that not George, but his children, took a significantly slower migration punctuated by mysterious disappearances.

The connection between the Crawfordsville Davidsons and the Baltimore Davises endured through 1921, when a Davidson attended a Davis funeral in Los Angeles. Even though the photograph of George was not found, the erroneous oral record led to an unexpected bonus—the image of John Davidson, which bears a haunting resemblance to Walter Swindell Davis (1887–1973), a great-grandson of John's Father, George Davidson (about 1780–after 1814).

Credits:

The studio and photographer are unknown; the original photograph is in the hands of a Davis family member who wishes to remain anonymous.

National Genealogical Society Quarterly

A Journal for Today's Family Historian

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FEATURE ARTICLES

Job[1] Davidson, Cooper in Baltimore, Maryland, and His Long Lost Descendants in Ohio and Indiana: Using Occupation and Birthplace as Census Finding Aids
Helen Hinchliff, Ph.D., CG, FASG 85

A Son Proved ... an Ancestor Disproved: Thomas Caldwell of Lunenburg County, Virginia 101
Carmen J. Finley, Ph.D., CG

Linguistic Analysis as a Genealogical Tool: The Camaur Case Study 113
Richard Camaur, J.D., CG

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Joseph Workman: Reflections of a Former Bondsman
Ruth Randall 125

Finding Original Materials by Using the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections
Mary McCampbell Bell, CG 133

BIBLE RECORDS

Burt Family Bible 143
Free Family Bible 146

REVIEWS 148

COMMUNICATIONS 82

EDITORS' CORNER

The "Compleat" Genealogist 83

NGS ADMINISTRATION 84

SIDELIGHTS

Perjury Charged in Naturalization 112
Slaveholding among the Creeks 124
$500 Reward for Phillip Hattox 132
A Soundexer's Warning 147

UPDATE

A Case of Mistaken Racial Identity 142

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REVIEWS

Douhan. *The Ancestry of Russell Makepeace of Marion, Massachusetts, 1904–1986: A Descendant of Thomas Makepeace of Dorchester, Massachusetts.* By Helen Schatvet Ullmann, CG, FASG. 148

Benson. *The Read Family of Salem, Massachusetts.* By Joyce Pendery, CG. 148

Styles. *Turner and Banks, Pioneer Families of Western North Carolina: Descendants of Joseph and Mary Turner, Descendants of Rachel Ruth Turner and Andrew E. Banks from 1738 to 2002.* By Jeffrey L. Haines, CG. 149

Irvine. *Trace Your Orkney Ancestors: A Guide to Sources for Orcadian Family and Local History.* By Norman Douglas Nicol, Ph.D. 150

Kane and Aiken. *The American Counties: Origins of County Names, Dates of Creation, and Population Data, 1950–2000.* By Sandra M. Hewlett, CG. 150

Thompson. *Cambridge Cameos: Stories of Life in Seventeenth-Century New England.* By Joan A. Hunter, M.L.S., CG. 151

Boyd. *Family Maps of Ste. Genevieve County, Missouri: Deluxe Edition with Homesteads, Roads, Waterways, Towns, Cemeteries, Railroads, and More.* By Patricia Walls Stamm, CG, CGL. 151

Anderson. *The Great Migration: Immigrants to New England, 1634–1635, vol 4, I–L.* By Marya Castro Myers, CG. 152

Haberstroh and DeGrazia. *Voices of the Irish Immigrant: Information Wanted Ads in* The Truth Teller, *New York City, 1825–1844.* By Donn Devine, CG, CGL. 153

Grannum and Taylor. *Wills and Other Probate Records: A Practical Guide to Researching Your Ancestors' Last Documents.* By Jeffrey L. Haines, CG. 154

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EDITORS' CORNER

The "Compleat" Genealogist

In *The Compleat Angler* (1653–76), a manual on the principles and pleasures of fishing, Izaak Walton wrote that the pastime requires "an inquiring, searching, observing wit, ... a large measure of hope and patience, and a love and propensity to the art itself" (chapter 1 at http://darkwing.uoregon.edu/~rbear/walton/walton1.html). Sir Izaak might have been describing the avocation of family history. Like fishing, it requires endurance, skill, specialized knowledge, and sufficient intelligence to understand the invisible (underwater phenomena in one case and past events in the other). Either activity can provide a living, but unpaid enthusiasts, motivated by occasional success, greatly outnumber professionals and rival them in skill.

Walton's angler thoroughly understands fish habits and uses that knowledge to locate and catch his prey. The similarly "compleat" genealogist also has mastered myriad skills:

1. *Locating sources.* Finding records may be as simple as plugging a name into a database, but the search might be much more sophisticated. Looking also for relatives and associates and mining records of a geographic area often yield valuable results. The most effective searches are creative and broad. Using occupations as search terms, as author Helen Hinchliff demonstrates in this issue; or categories of records that might contain an ancestor's name, as Mary Bell recommends, can lead to material that might otherwise be overlooked. Examining records near the one of interest and reading potentially helpful documents line by line, page by page, help ensure that useful material is found.
2. *Interpreting records.* Accepting relationships stated in compilations and original records limits findings to the obvious. Skillful use of sources entails plumbing them for hidden possibilities. This issue's author Carmen Finley shows how interpreting records through land platting can document unrecorded transactions. Richard Camaur explains genealogical implications of a surname's history. Such masterful use of records requires understanding "indirect evidence" and gleaning from it every possible bit of information.
3. *Advancing family histories.* Combining a researched lineage with one from a published compilation can add generations to a pedigree. Without proof, however, the appended ancestors could be total strangers. Correlated records of high quality underpin proof of relationships, identities, and events. In this issue Ruth Randall demonstrates the point by assembling evidence to reconstruct the life of a man who may have been freed from slavery. Carmen Finley builds a case to identify a son not named in his father's will and disprove a long-accepted lineage.

Like Walton's knowledgeable fisherman, the "compleat" genealogist aspires to master the art and science of pursuing an elusive quarry—fish in the one endeavor and correct ancestors in the other—and relishes the effort. Sir Izaak observed (ibid.) that fishing is "so like the mathematics that it can never be fully learnt" and "having once got and practised it, then doubt not but angling will prove to be so pleasant, that it will ... be, like virtue, a reward to itself." Genealogical pursuit is similarly perpetual and satisfying.

—Thomas W. Jones
and Melinde Lutz Sanborn
NGSQ, JUNE 2006

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Job[1] Davidson, Cooper in Baltimore, Maryland, and His Long Lost Descendants in Ohio and Indiana: Using Occupation and Birthplace as Census Finding Aids

By Helen Hinchliff, Ph.D., CG, FASG

Occupation and birthplace can be powerful census finding aids especially when the surname is common.

Genealogists who trace back to the progenitor often wonder what happened to collateral relatives. A case in point is that of the children and all but one of the grandchildren of Job[1] Davidson and Elizabeth (née Miller) Davidson.[1] All were born and grew up in Baltimore in the late eighteenth century but abruptly vanished from Baltimore records after 1814.[2]

Before that fateful year, there was plenty of evidence of the Davidson family. A hint of a name change came from a family tradition. Supposedly, Job's son George lost his wife in 1814, months after childbirth, and "moved west to Crawfordsville, Indiana, [and] the baby [Henry] was taken in by his mother's sister, Julia Ann (née Pierpoint) Ensey who ... was a positive, dominating woman by all accounts, and not liking the name of Davidson, she arbitrarily, without court sanction, changed her nephew's name to Davis."[3]

The only other traditional lore about George Davidson held that he had enlisted in the Civil War from Indiana. As proof, some of Henry[3] Davis's descendants described a photograph they had seen of George in his Civil War uniform.[4]

© Helen Hinchliff, Ph.D., CG, FASG; 122 Desmond Crescent; Salt Spring Island, BC V8K 2S1; Canada. Dr. Hinchliff is a seventh-generation descendant of Job[1] Davidson through his great-grandson, Frank E.[4] Davis of Baltimore, Maryland, and Los Angeles, California.

1. James "Davison" and Harriot Davidson entries, in Baptism Register, 232 and 274, St. Paul's Protestant Episcopal Church, Baltimore, Md.; microfilm 0,013,696, Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City, Utah. James was baptized on 13 March 1791 and Harriot on 22 September 1793. Also, Job "Daidson" will, Baltimore Co. Wills 8:192, Maryland State Archives (MSA), Annapolis; FHL microfilm 0,013,593. Job named his heirs in the following order: George, Harriot, Henry, and Eliza.

2. As the result of a court case, on 13 January 1814, the Millers and Davidsons were ordered to reconvey to Mark Pringle an undivided four-fifths of a lot left to them by Elizabeth (née Miller) Davidson's father, Nicholas Miller. The reconveyance was granted to Pringle on 3 February 1814. See Baltimore Co. Land Records WG no. 126:403–408, MSA; FHL microfilm 0,013,405.

3. Dorothy (Davis) Conant, *Francis Earlougher Davis, 1839–1921* ([Los Angeles, Calif.]: privately printed, [1967]), p. 1 of "Father's Lineage." Conant divided her work into two separately numbered parts. "Father's Lineage" is part 2. Conant (1891–1983) was a fifth-generation descendant of Job (Francis Earlougher[4] Davis, Henry Harrison[3] Davis, George[2] Davidson, Job[1]).

4. Ibid., "Father's Lineage," 3.

Henry and all his descendants used the surname *Davis*; however, the rest of the story seems preposterous. Crawfordsville, Indiana, didn't exist in 1814, the road west from Baltimore deteriorated into a track for pack animals unsuitable for traversing with young children, and George would have been in his mid-eighties during the Civil War. Still, George Davidson vanished from Maryland public records after 1815 as did his older children after 1818.

Numerous searches for a George Davidson (or Davis) family in Indiana, Pennsylvania, and Ohio located dozens of Davidsons in census indexes, but no family constellation fitting this George was identified. Information was insufficient to identify potential families headed by his grown sons. Land and probate indexes were checked in Montgomery County, Indiana (Crawfordsville), but this George was not found.

THE 1880 CENSUS INDEX

Census schedules and indexes are now available on the Internet, and 1850 and later enumerations can be searched by state of birth. For 1880 they are also searchable by occupation.[5] This becomes extremely useful when the occupation is unusual and passed down through a family.

Job[1] Davidson was a cooper, a maker of wooden casks. Historically, sons of coopers were exceptionally likely to become coopers; "its secrets have been passed on from father to son for thousands of years. It is a family trade."[6]

A March 2005 search of the 1880 census on Ancestry.com, combining the surname *Davis* with the occupation "cooper" yielded no likely descendants of Job[1] Davidson; however, the combination of *Davidson* and "cooper" was successful. Five individuals were located, and all were subsequently identified as Job's descendants. (See table 1.) Additional census searches from 1850 through 1910, using place of birth as a search feature, yielded four additional *Davidson* coopers who were also found to be Job's progeny. In all, forty-two previously unknown descendants of Job[1] Davidson were identified.

Occupation and birthplace are powerful census finding aids. Because regular updates are performed on Ancestry.com, such searches should be repeated periodically.[7] In September 2005, a second examination of the 1880 census combining *Davidson* and "cooper" yielded sixteen additional individuals, none of whom proved to descend from Job[1] Davidson. A third search in October 2005 demonstrated Ancestry.com's ongoing corrections. In September, one "Geo. Davidison" [*sic*] had been listed among twenty-one entries, but had been dropped by October.

5. Jan Nutter Alpert, "More Tips from Ancestry.com from the NGS Winter Warm Up Recently in Phoenix," *UpFront with NGS* 4, no. 3 (http://archiver.rootsweb.com/th/read/NGS/2005-02/1107337875 : 1 February 2005 issue).

6. Kenneth Kilby, *The Cooper and His Trade* (1971; reprint, Fresno, Calif.: Linden Publishing Co., 1989), 42.

7. Beau Sharbrough, e-mail message to author, 7 October 2005.

Table 1

Coopers Surnamed Davidson in 1880 by Approximate Year of Birth, State of Birth, and Residence

NAME	YEAR OF BIRTH	STATE OF BIRTH	RESIDENCE
Job	1816	Maryland	Springfield, Clark Co., Ohio
A[lexander]	1829	Maryland	San Francisco, San Francisco Co., California
Samuel	1838	Ohio	Lafayette, Tippecanoe Co., Indiana
George	1844	Ohio	Crawfordsville, Montgomery Co., Indiana
George M.	1863	Indiana	Lafayette, Tippecanoe Co., Indiana

Source: A search of Ancestry.com 1880 census index in March 2005.

Because *Davidson* is sometimes written as *Davison* or *Davisson*, a search was undertaken, using a wild card, for "Davi*son." It yielded six additional coopers, all surnamed *Davison*.[8] None descended from Job[1] Davidson.

JOB[1] DAVIDSON

Job[1] Davidson, born no earlier than 1750[9] and of unknown origin, first appeared in a 1774 tax list, living alone in Baltimore East Hundred.[10] Like many Baltimore residents at that time, he had likely come as an indentured servant from the British Isles.[11] Family tradition claimed he had been a foundling.[12]

Job Davidson left no records associating him with other Davidsons in Baltimore; however, he made a special friend in Marcus McCausland, a brewer and merchant. Brewers usually employed their own coopers, called "wet coopers," to assure a steady supply of beer barrels.[13]

8. When using the occupational search feature on Ancestry.com, it is better to use the exact search rather than the ranked search, to avoid numerous false positives.

9. Job Davis entry, Baltimore Co. Commissioners of the Tax, Militia Registration, 1794, p. 38, C 385-1, 2/14/13/43, accession 1435, MSA. Militia men were 18 to 45 years of age. Job's surname was recorded here as *Davis*. On the same page he appeared as Job Davidson, master of Chas. Miller, cooper.

10. Henry C. Peden Jr., *Inhabitants of Baltimore County, 1763–1774* (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1989), 93.

11. Nathan W. Murphy, "Origins of Colonial Chesapeake Indentured Servants: American and English Sources," *NGS Quarterly* 93 (March 2005): 5–24.

12. In 1940, Annie (née Swindell) Davis, the widow of Job's great-grandson, Frank E.[4] Davis, told her then ten-year-old granddaughter, Charlotte[6] (née Davis) Levin, that the earliest member of the Davis family had been a foundling. Levin remembered this statement because "It was the first time I had ever heard the word *foundling*." Charlotte Levin, telephone conversation with author, 5 January 2004.

13. Kilby, *The Cooper and His Trade*, 42 and 163–64. Watertight barrels were also put to other uses.

Job Davidson married in Baltimore on 17 May 1778 Elizabeth Miller,[14] daughter of Nicholas Miller.[15] Elizabeth's father named Job Davidson as his executor, leaving him his house and many legacies to pay. In 1796, when the youngest Miller child reached his majority, Job was unable to pay off his in-laws.[16] To accomplish this, on 25 November 1796, he sold his father-in-law's house to Marcus McCausland for one thousand dollars.[17] About 1800 Job moved his family from Baltimore City to Baltimore County.[18]

In his will of 20 April 1807, Job named as executors his "friends" Marcus "McCauslind" and George Ackerman and left one shilling to his eldest son George and the balance to his other surviving children: Harriot, Henry, and Eliza Davidson.[19] On 26 January 1814 Marcus McCausland, "guardian for the infants Harriott Davidson, Eliza Davidson, and Henry Davidson," reconveyed to Mark Pringle four undivided fifth parts of the property left by their grandfather to Job Davidson in trust for his heirs; similarly, on 3 February 1814, George Davidson and his adult Miller relatives also reconveyed this property to Pringle. Thereafter, no clues to the fates of George or Henry Davidson were found until the 1880 census search identified two of George's grandsons, a great-grandson, and two of Henry's sons, all coopers.

GEORGE[2] DAVIDSON AND HIS COOPER DESCENDANTS

George[2] Davidson was born say 1780 in Baltimore, Maryland.[20] No record gives his occupation; yet the history of his father's and sons' trade suggests he may well have been a cooper. George would have begun training with his father about 1794, at age fourteen.[21] On 5 April 1806 in Baltimore, George[2] Davidson married Faithful Pierpoint, born 5 September 1782[22] in Baltimore County, the

14. Davidson-Miller marriage, Baltimore Co. Marriage Licenses, 1777-1832, no. 124, MSA; FHL microfilm 0,013,693. They were married by Thomas Chase, rector of St. Paul's [Anglican] Church. See Francis F. Beirne, *St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, A Chronicle of the Mother Church* (Baltimore: St. Paul's Parish, 1967), 274.

15. Nicholas Miller will, Baltimore Co. Wills 3:459, MSA; FHL microfilm 0,013,591.

16. [blank] *Tingas on behalf of Miller Orphans v. Job Davidson*, Baltimore Co. Orphans Court Proceedings 3:194, MSA; FHL microfilm 0,013,685.

17. Davidson to McCausland, Baltimore Co. Land Records WG, no. YY:298–301, MSA; FHL microfilm 0,013,362. Elizabeth Davidson did not release her right of dower, suggesting that she had died by 1796.

18. Richard J. Cox, *A Name Index to the Baltimore City Tax Records, 1798–1808* (Baltimore: City Archives and Records Management Office, 1981), 46–47. Job Davidson was assessed in 1799–1800 (p. 74 of original records).

19. Job "Daidson" will, Baltimore Co. Wills 8:192; FHL microfilm 0,013,593. The will was proved on 12 June 1807. Although the property conveyances were recorded, there was no inventory or distribution.

20. No baptismal record was found. This date is arbitrary, a year or two after his parents' marriage.

21. Kilby, *The Cooper and His Trade*, 15.

22. Pierpoint family records on the flyleaf of John Ray, *The Wisdom of God*, 12th ed. (London: printed for John Rivington in St. Pauls Churchyard, John Ward in Cornhill, and Joseph Richardson in Paternoster Row, 1759). The location of this book is unknown; however, two photocopied sets of these records survive: (1) a photocopy of the original, with some words missing due to frayed paper, and (2) a photocopy of a transcription of the original records made by Dorothy (née Davis) Conant at an unknown later date. A comparison of the transcript to the original photocopy shows great precision, the only apparent change being to capitalize the names, some of which had been in lower case. Photocopies of both sets are in the author's files.

eldest daughter of John and Mary (née Hush) Pierpoint.[23] George and Faithful had six children before she died on 11 October 1814.[24] Faithful's sister, Julia Ann Pierpoint, successfully applied on 10 February 1818 (the day after she married William Ensey[25]) to become guardian of "James, John, Elizabeth, Thomas and Henry Davis, infant children of Faithful Davis deceased."[26]

George already had left the area. When his mother-in-law died in 1816, he owed her estate $248.85, a debt described as "desperate."[27] No further record of George[2] Davidson has been found; however, his son John and four of John's descendants were identified because they were coopers.

John[3] Davidson

John[3] Davidson, born in Baltimore County, Maryland, 9 October 1807,[28] was the eldest son of George[2] Davidson and Faithful Pierpoint. He was not found in the 1880 occupational search, but was found through his son George [W.][4] Davidson. John married Elizabeth Kloff, a Pennsylvania woman,[29] and had a son Henry[4] Davidson born in Pennsylvania[30] on 25 November 1830[31] or 1829.[32] These facts may point to George[2] Davidson's location after Baltimore.

John Davidson was the first of the Baltimore Davidsons to move to Ohio, where his daughter Elizabeth was born[33] on 18 April 1833.[34] Son Samuel later reported that he was born in Clark County, Ohio, on 6 September 1838.[35] By

23. Davidson-Pierpoint marriage, p. 420, no. 20, in Eliza Hay Leisenring, comp., "Transcript of church records, 1784–1855, of the Zion German Lutheran Church, Baltimore, 1784–1855," manuscript, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore; FHL microfilm 0,013,701.

24. Pierpoint family record.

25. Ensey-Pierpoint marriage, 9 February 1818, Marriages 2:32, First Methodist Episcopal Church, Baltimore; FHL microfilm 0,013,697, item 3.

26. Baltimore Co. Orphans Court Proceedings 10:88 and 94, MSA; FHL microfilm 0,013,687.

27. Mary Pierpoint inventory, Baltimore Co. Inventories 30:115, MSA; FHL microfilm 0,013,667.

28. John Davidson birth entry, Pierpoint family record.

29. George W. Davidson certified copy of death certificate, Los Angeles, Calif., no. 329, in George W. Davidson (Private, Co. G, 11th Indiana Infantry) pension application file, widow's certificate WC 929,618; Case Files of Approved Pension Applications of Widows and other Dependents of Veterans of the Army and Navy who Served Mainly in the Civil War and the War with Spain ("Civil War and Later Widows' Certificates"), 1861–1934, Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, Record Group (RG) 15, National Archives (NA), Washington, D.C.

30. John Davidson household, 1850 U.S. census, Miami Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Washington Twp., p. 351, dwell./fam. 528; NA microfilm M432, roll 711. Henry, a cooper, was twenty-one years old and born in Pennsylvania.

31. "Complete copy of John Davidson's family Bible," in George W. Davidson pension application file, widow's certificate WC 929,618. George stated: "The bible is my mother's old bible it has gone through a fire. My sister Lucretia date of the year she was born in, was all burned off but it was written below ... This is the only record of the family we have[;] all the family are dead except one brother and myself."

32. According to the 1850 census, Henry was twenty-one and likely born in 1829. George W. Davidson reported 1834 as the Bible's publication date. The entry was made at least four years after Henry's birth.

33. 1850 U.S. census, Miami Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Washington Twp., p. 351, dwell./fam. 528.

34. John Davidson family Bible, in George W. Davidson pension application file, widow's certificate WC 929,618.

35. Samuel Davidson Civil War Service Record, Company B, 120th Indiana Infantry Regiment; FHL microfilm 1,570,136.

1840, John had moved to Piqua Township, in neighboring Miami County, Ohio.[36] In 1850 they still lived in Piqua, where John, a cooper, was forty-two.[37] After 1850 John and three of his sons moved to Crawfordsville, Indiana,[38] where Samuel M., George W., and Thomas A. Davidson[39] were found in later censuses. On 1 January 1860 in Crawfordsville[40] John took as his second wife Susan (née Fender) Linn[41] and later that year, he was enumerated as age fifty-two, born in Maryland, and a cooper.[42] Neither John nor Susan Davidson was found in later censuses.

Henry[4] Davidson

In 1850 Henry[4] Davidson, apparently the eldest son of John[3] and Elizabeth (née Kloff) Davidson, was enumerated as a cooper living in his father's household in Washington, Miami County, Ohio.[43] He was not found in later censuses.

Samuel Mitchell[4] Davidson

Samuel Mitchell[4] Davidson, born 6 September 1838 in Clark County, Ohio,[44] was the second son of John[3] and Elizabeth (née Kloff) Davidson. In Crawfordsville, Indiana, on 9 September 1858, he married Mary Ann Miller.[45] In 1860 Samuel, a cooper, and Mary Ann were enumerated there.[46]

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36. John Davison household, 1840 U.S. census, Miami Co., Ohio, Piqua Twp., p. 340, line 28; NA microfilm M704, roll 415. This entry was found on Ancestry.com using the wild card "Davi*son."

37. John Davidson household, 1850 U.S. census, Miami Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Washington Twp., p. 351, dwell./fam. 528.

38. George W. Davidson pension application file, widow's certificate WC 929,618.

39. Thomas A. Davidson was not found in 1880; however, in 1900 and thereafter he was enumerated as a farmer. See Thomas A. Davidson household, 1900 U.S. census, Montgomery Co., Ind., pop. sch., Union Twp., ED 110, sheet 7B, dwell. 159, fam. 162; NA microfilm T623, roll 394. Thomas reported a birth date of March 1847, matching the 2 March 1847 date in the John Davidson family Bible. On 20 March 1923, in Hendrick Co., Ind, he filed an affidavit that Laura A. (née Ensminger) Davidson was the first and only wife of his brother George W. Davidson. George W. Davidson pension application file, widow's certificate WC 929,618.

40. Davidson-Linn marriage, Montgomery Co. Marriages 5:327, Clerk of the Circuit Court, Crawfordsville, Indiana.

41. Susan Fender was the wife of John Linn, who purchased land in Montgomery County in 1832. See *Montgomery County, Indiana, Original Entry Record Book, Dates 1821 & Later* (Kokomo, Ind.: Selby Publishing, 1979), 9. Also, Linn-Fender marriage, 13 September 1843, Marriages of Montgomery Co., Ind. 2:258, Clerk of the Montgomery Circuit Court. They were living in Walnut Twp., Montgomery Co., Ind., in 1850. See John Lynn household, 1850 U.S. census, Montgomery Co., Ind., pop. sch., Walnut Twp., p. 498, dwell. 341, fam. 353; NA microfilm M432, roll 161.

42. John Davidson household, 1860 U.S. census, Montgomery Co., Ind., pop. sch., Walnut Grove Twp., p. 471, dwell. 635, fam. 227; NA microfilm M653, roll 283.

43. John Davidson household, 1850 U.S. census, Miami Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Washington Twp., p. 351, dwell./fam. 528. His age is given as 21. This census does not provide family relationships.

44. John Davidson family Bible, in George W. Davidson pension application file, widow's certificate WC 929,618, gives his middle name as "Mitchel."

45. Davidson-Miller marriage, Montgomery Co. Marriages 5:188, Clerk of the Circuit Court.

46. Samuel M. Davison household, 1860 U.S. census, Montgomery Co., Ind., pop. sch., Crawfordsville, Ward 4, p. 175, dwell. 263, fam. 226; NA microfilm M653, roll 283. Jane C. Miller, a domestic living with them, was perhaps Mary Ann's sister. This entry was found on Ancestry.com using the wild card "Davi*son."

Although sound of body on 25 December 1863 when he enrolled for three years in Company B of the 120th Indiana Infantry, twenty-five-year-old Samuel Davidson, cooper, contracted scurvy, rheumatism, and diarrhea while marching through Georgia.[47] He mustered out at Louisville, Kentucky, on 18 May 1865.[48]

Samuel found no work in Crawfordsville's single cooper shop. In 1870, living in nearby Lafayette, Indiana, he rented rooms from another cooper, John H. Franklin.[49] Lafayette boasted thirteen cooperages and Samuel found work with A. W. Abbott, one of the larger shops there.[50]

Samuel Davidson applied for a pension at his earliest opportunity. His five-foot eleven-inch frame carried only 134 pounds, but on 24 August 1881 the examining surgeons ruled his disability "doubtful." Over the next year Samuel lost 5 pounds and developed chronic bronchitis. His disability was then deemed total. Samuel Davidson died in Lafayette, Tippecanoe County, Indiana, 16 December 1900.[51]

George M.[5] *Davidson*

George M.[5] Davidson, born in January 1863,[52] was the younger son of Samuel[4] and Mary Ann (née Miller) Davidson and the youngest Davidson found in the 1880 census. George lived with his parents helping to look after his ailing father and did whatever coopering work he could. By 1885 only four cooperages remained in Lafayette, and the coopers formed a benevolent association.[53] In 1900 George, unemployed for twelve months, struggled to supplement his mother's widow's pension while the cooper shops dwindled to two.[54]

By the turn of the twentieth century, wooden casks were being replaced by steel drums, burlap bags, and wooden crates. In 1907, forty-four-year-old George

47. Samuel M. Davidson pension application file (Sergeant, Company B, 120th Indiana Infantry), widow's certificate WC 517,217; Case Files of Approved Pension Applications of Widows and other Dependents of Veterans of the Army and Navy who Served Mainly in the Civil War and the War with Spain ("Civil War and Later Widows' Certificates"), 1861–1934, Records of the Department of Veteran's Affairs, RG 15, National Archives.

48. Affidavits of Francis S. Miller, comrade and brother-in-law; William D. Snow, comrade; Matison Doherty, comrade; Richard S. Pearson, comrade; Ebenezer P. McCloskey, 1st Lieutenant; Esaias H. Cox, 2nd Lieutenant; and Robert G. Harrison, Assistant Surgeon; in Samuel M. Davidson pension application file (Sergeant, Company B, 120th Indiana Infantry), widow's certificate WC 517,217. Also, Sam M. Davidson household, 1870 U.S. census, Tippecanoe Co., Ind., pop. sch., Lafayette, p. 144, dwell. 296, fam. 405; NA microfilm M593, roll 362.

50. Samuel Davidson entry, *Burch & Polk's Lafayette Directory, 1871/72* (Burch and Polk, 1871), 63; A. W. Abbott's advertising was in bold face, 70. During the 1860s, there were only two directories for Lafayette—1867 and 1869—but Samuel's name did not appear in either. There was no directory published for 1870.

51. Sam'l M. Davidson entry, *Indiana Deaths, 1882–1920*, Lafayette City Health Office, S-12L:32; FHL CD-ROM no. 9, pt. 216.

52. Samuel Davidson household, 1900 U.S. census, Tippecanoe Co., Ind., pop. sch., Lafayette, ED 103, sheet 2B, 1600 North Thirteenth Street, dwell./fam. 40; NA microfilm T623, roll 405.

53. Coopers' entries, *Kramer Publishing and Advertising Company's City Directory of Lafayette, Indiana, 1885–1886* (Lafayette, Ind.: Kramer Publishing and Advertising Co., [1885]), 403.

54. George M. Davidson and coopers' entries, in *R. L. Polk's Lafayette directory for 1903–1904* (Lafayette, Ind.: R.L. Polk, 1904), 122 and 404.

Davidson was a [plumber's] apprentice;[55] by 1909, he was able to report his new occupation.[56] The 1910 and 1920 censuses show that he continued as a plumber[57] or steam fitter.[58] He lived with his mother until her death on 10 February 1923.[59] His name does not appear in the 1930 census.

George W.[4] Davidson

George W.[4] Davidson, born 29 July 1844, in Piqua, Miami County, Ohio,[60] was the third son of John[3] and Elizabeth (née Kloff) Davidson[61] who trained to be a cooper. He, too, was found in the occupational search of the 1880 census.

On 23 July 1861, George W. Davidson, cooper, enlisted in Company G of the Eleventh Indiana Regiment for three years.[62] On 26 July 1865, he mustered out in Baltimore, Maryland, where he tracked down descendants of his father's younger brother. (See cover story).

Back in Crawfordsville, Indiana, George W. Davidson had difficulty restarting his life. By February 1866 he was "wearing goggles over his eyes and his hearing was bad and he complained of a crippled back"[*sic*].[63] George gave up coopering and tried his hand at farm labor for two years in Miami County, Ohio, where he was enumerated in 1870.[64] Perhaps he joined his brother Samuel in 1871 or 1872.[65] He then returned to Crawfordsville where on 13 March 1873 he married Laura Alice Ensminger[66] and was enumerated as a cooper in 1880.[67]

George W. Davidson applied for a pension on 15 February 1882 based on a disabled back from typhoid fever contracted in Helena, Arkansas, and partial

55. George M. Davidson entry, *R. L. Polk's Lafayette Directory, 1907* (Lafayette, Ind.: R. L. Polk, 1907), 134.

56. George M. Davidson entry, *R. L. Polk's Lafayette Directory, 1910*, (Lafayette, Ind.: R. L. Polk, 1910), 151.

57. Mary Davidson household, 1910 U.S. census, Tippecanoe Co., Ind., pop. sch., Lafayette, ED 182, sheet 75A, 1006 Robert Street, dwell./fam. 2; NA microfilm T624, roll 382.

58. Mary Davidson household, 1920 U.S. census, Tippecanoe Co., Ind., pop. sch., Lafayette, ED 168, sheet 6B, 1006 Robert Street, dwell. 153, fam. 162; NA microfilm T625, roll 469.

59. Mary Ann Davidson entry, Tippecanoe Co., Indiana, death records, 1921–40, CH–12:54, Tippecanoe County Health Department, Lafayette, Indiana. Mary Ann Davidson was eighty-three years old.

60. John Davidson's family Bible, in George W. Davidson pension application file, widow's certificate WC 929,618.

61. Ibid.

62. George W. Davidson pension application file, widow's certificate WC 929,618.

63. Affidavit of Richard S. Pearson, of Crawfordsville, 27 Aug. 1889, ibid.

64. Samuel Day household, 1870 U.S. census, Miami Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Spring Creek Twp., Fletcher post office, p. 551, dwell./fam. 79; NA microfilm M593, roll 1244. George Davidson, age twenty-five, appeared on line 35. This George W. Davidson reported that after the Civil War he had lived for two years in Piqua, Ohio. See "Declaration for Invalid Army Pension, 15 Feb. 1882," in George W. Davidson pension application file, widow's certificate WC 929,618. Fletcher is six miles east of Piqua.

65."Declaration for Invalid Army Pension, 15 Feb. 1882," in George W. Davidson pension application file, widow's certificate WC 929,618. George also lived a year in Tippecanoe County before his marriage.

66. Davidson-Ensminger marriage, Marriages of Montgomery Co., Ind. 8:32, Clerk of the Montgomery Circuit Court. Her middle name "Alice" appears in his pension file.

67. George Davidson household, 1880 U.S. census, Montgomery Co., Ind., pop. sch., Crawfordsville, ED 97, sheet 15, William Street, dwell. 185, fam. 187; NA microfilm T623, roll 405.

blindness in his left eye due to splinters from his gunstock shattered by a rebel bullet during the siege of Vicksburg.[68] Unable to perform manual labor, he received regular increases in his pension. In October 1887 he "quit his avocation (cooper) because of his disabilities."[69]

In 1892 George moved his family to Shelby, Oceana County, Michigan, where they remained for nineteen years.[70] In 1900 George W. Davidson was enumerated as a farmer.[71] George may have been substantially disabled, but he and Laura were not poor. In 1900 they owned their farm, employed a domestic servant, and were able to send their two sons to college.[72]

In 1912 George and Laura retired to Exeter, Tulare County, a small farming town in California's Great Central Valley.[73] George W. Davidson died on 8 January 1923 at the home of his son Charles in Watts, Los Angeles County. He was buried at the Odd Fellows Cemetery in Los Angeles.[74] Laura A. Davidson died in Los Angeles on 26 April 1933.[75]

HENRY^2 DAVIDSON AND HIS COOPER SONS

Henry^2 Davidson, born in Baltimore, Maryland, about 1794,[76] did not appear in the 1880 census, having died in 1842; nevertheless, he was easily identified through his son Job^4 Davidson, one of the five coopers found in the March 2005 census search. He probably was a cooper, as were four of his six sons.

Henry married in Frederick, Maryland, on 12 September 1815, Nancy Lavelly.[77] By 1816 they had moved to Hagerstown, where their eldest son Job^3 was born. They were enumerated there in 1820[78] and 1830.[79]

68. "Declaration for Invalid Army Pension, 15 Feb. 1882" and "Examining Surgeon's Certificate, 12 April 1882," in George W. Davidson pension application file, widow's certificate WC 929,618.

69. "Invalid Pension Reissue to Allow Additional Disability," ibid.

70. Affidavit of Charles L. Churchill, on behalf of Laura A. Davidson, widow, 6 March 1923, in George W. Davidson pension application file, widow's certificate WC 929,618.

71. George W. Davidson household, 1900 U.S. census, Oceana Co., Mich., pop. sch., Shelby Twp., ED 113, sheet 14B, dwell. 343, fam. 350; NA microfilm T623, roll 736.

72. Charles Davidson household, 1900 U.S. census, Mecosta Co., Mich., pop. sch., Big Rapids, ED 94, sheet 14A, dwell. 316, fam. 334; NA microfilm T623, roll 730, Also, George W. Davison household, 1910 U.S. census, Oceana Co., Mich., pop. sch., village of Shelby, ED 133, sheet 13B, dwell. 231, fam. 266; NA microfilm T624, roll 669. Frank E. Davidson was enumerated here although attending Mecosta College.

73. "Physician's affidavit," in George W. Davidson pension application file, widow's certificate WC 929,618. George's attending physician reported in 1915 that he had known him since January 1912.

74. "Certificate of death," ibid. Also, Charles B. Davidson household, 1920 U.S. census, Los Angeles Co., Calif., pop. sch., Watts City, ED 564, sheet 7A, dwell. 174, fam. 176; NA microfilm, T625, roll 119.

75. George W. Davidson pension file, widow's certificate WC 929,618.

76. The year 1794 seems probable because he was still a minor in January 1814. See McCausland to Pringle, 3 February 1814, Baltimore Co. Land Records WG no. 126:403–408, MSA; FHL microfilm 0,013,405.

77. Davis-Lavelly marriage license, Frederick County Marriage Licenses, vol. 4, CM471-1, MSA. This was a unique recording of his surname as *Davis*. Entry found by searching all "Henry" and "Nancy" licenses.

78. Henry Davidson household, 1820 U.S. census, Washington Co., Md., Hagerstown, p. 260, line 5; NA microfilm M33, roll 46. Ancestry.com indexed him as "Henry darillen (unknown)." The entry was found on Ancestry.com by searching all Henrys living in Hagerstown in 1820.

79. H. Davidson household, 1830 U.S. census, Washington Co., Md., Hagerstown, p. 203, line 17; NA microfilm M19, roll 58.

On 18 July 1825 Henry and Nancy Davidson purchased the house and lot they had been occupying on Franklin Street.[80] Ten years later they sold it, at a profit of one hundred dollars.[81] They then moved to Clark County, Ohio, and purchased lot 1 on High Street in Lowry's addition to the town of Springfield, the town where his nephew John Davidson lived.[82] The Henry and Job Davidson families were enumerated in Springfield in 1840.[83]

On 10 May 1842 Henry purchased lot 7 on High Street for five hundred dollars,[84] which he financed with a three-hundred-dollar mortgage.[85] However, that December Henry had a sudden illness or accident. His will, signed on 23 December, was proved on 6 January 1843.[86] Henry named Nancy and Job as his executors and left his property to Nancy who was to support and educate their underage children—Emily Ann, Otho, Alexander, and Othelia Ann. At Nancy's death or remarriage, his property was to be divided among his children, including the older ones William H., John, and Upton. Nancy died during the spring of 1863.[87]

Job[3] Davidson

Job[3] Davidson, born in Hagerstown, Maryland, on either 12 June 1816[88] or 15 July 1816,[89] was the eldest son of Henry and Nancy (née Lavelly) Davidson. He was one of five Davidsons found in an occupational search of the 1880 census.

About 1838 Job married his apparent first wife, Rachel (née [—?—]),[90] born in Maryland about 1814.[91] On 15 April 1842 Job bought the east half of lot 44

80. Keishner to Davidson, Washington Co. Deeds KK:487, Clerk of the Circuit Court, Hagerstown, Md.; FHL microfilm 0,014,624. The purchase price was $900.

81. Davidson to Marteny, Washington Co. Deeds, RR:422; FHL microfilm 0,014,630. The sale was made on 28 August 1835.

82. Ross to Davidson, Clark Co. Deeds P:317, Recorder, Springfield, Ohio; FHL microfilm 0,546,400. The purchase was made on 27 October 1835 and the price was $700. Henry Davidson household, 1840 U.S. census, Clark Co., Ohio, Springfield, p. 41, line 6; NA microfilm M704, roll 383. Job Davidson household, ibid., line 8.

83. 1840 U.S. census, Clark Co., Ohio, Springfield, p. 41, lines 6 (Henry Davidson household) and 8 (Job Davidson household); NA microfilm M704, roll 383.

84. Christie to Davidson, Clark Co. Deeds U:23; FHL microfilm 0,546,403.

85. Henry Davidson mortgage, Clark Co. Mortgages 2:485, Recorder, Springfield, Ohio; FHL microfilm, 0,549,508.

86. Henry Davidson will, Clark Co. Wills 2:177, Probate Court, Springfield, Ohio; FHL microfilm 0,466,666.

87. Estate of Henry Davidson, deceased, Clark Co. Settlements 4:569, Probate Court, Springfield, Ohio; FHL microfilm 0,467,337. William D. Hill, the administrator of Henry and Nancy Davidson's estates, began filing settlement documents on 6 May 1863.

88. Job Davidson baptism entry, Louise L. Miller, transc., "Records of St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church, Hagerstown, Maryland: Births and Baptisms, 1767–1900," typescript, p. 146; FHL microfilm 0,859,283. Job was baptized in October 1817 along with his brother Wm. Henry Davidson.

89. Job Davidson death certificate, Clark Co. Death Records, 2:94, 3rd Ward, entry 11; FHL microfilm 0,466,665. Job Davidson's widow reported his birthplace and age at death as 78 years, 5 months, and 20 days.

90. "Jobb" Davidson household, U.S. 1850 census, Clark Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Springfield, p. 179, dwell. 280, fam. 289; NA microfilm M432, roll 666. C.H.B. Davidson was 11 years old.

91. Ibid. Rachel's age was given as thirty-six years and her birthplace as Maryland.

on Washington Street in Lowry's addition to Springfield,[92] one block south of his father's shop on High Street.

At his father's death Job shared executor duties with his mother but was soon beset by many trials. His father's property could not be sold in his mother's lifetime, but when his younger brothers needed their shares, Job obliged them.[93] Job's apparent only child with Rachel, Charles H. B. Davidson,[94] died by 1853,[95] and on 13 February 1854 Rachel composed her will. She died that May.[96]

On 29 August 1854 Job sold lot 44 for fourteen hundred dollars.[97] In September, he bought a lot in a newer part of town for only two hundred and fifty dollars but sold it the following March at a loss.[98] According to his 1894 affidavit, Job "was in Maryland in 1854 and 1855."[99] Perhaps his memory was off a year. Job returned and married Rebecca C. Remley on 18 May 1856 in Greene County, Ohio.[100] While living in Indiana from 1856 to 1858,[101] they had a daughter Mary. Back in Springfield by 1859, Job worked for his brother Upton, who managed the Davidson cooper shop, one of six in town.[102] In 1860 Job, Rebecca, and their daughter Mary were living with his mother.[103]

In 1863 Job and his brother William H. Davidson, a tailor, purchased the family cooper shop.[104] Job's name was listed in boldface in the Springfield directory as its owner.[105] However, he lost the shop during the war or soon

92. Kinney to Davidson, Clark Co. Deeds W:283; FHL microfilm 0,546,404.

93. Otho W. Davidson to Job Davidson, Clark Co. Deeds W:559; FHL microfilm 0,546,404. On 2 December 1846, Laura Davidson, a.k.a. "Laura Black" gave assent to quitting all claim to the estate of Henry Davidson. See Alexander Davidson to Job Davidson, Clark Co., Mortgage Index [5:263]; FHL microfilm 0,548,191.

94. 1850 U.S. census, Clark Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Springfield, p. 179.

95. In 1853 Job's brother Upton honored his nephew's memory by naming a son for him. Rachel Davidson will, Clark Co. Wills 2:581; FHL microfilm 0,466,666.

96. Rachel Davidson will, Clark Co. Wills 2:581; FHL microfilm 0,466,666. Rachel left $200 to Charles, the son of her husband's brother Upton "who has been named for my deceased son."

97. Davidson to Runyon, Clark Co. Deeds 31:409; FHL microfilm 0,546,409.

98. Brunner to Davidson, Clark Co. Deeds 31:305; FHL microfilm 0,546,409; Davidson to Steelman, Clark Co. Deeds 34:145; FHL microfilm 0,546,410.

99. Affidavit of Job Davidson, Upton Davidson pension application file, widow's certificate WC 438,127; Case Files of Approved Pension Applications of Widows and other Dependents of Veterans of the Army and Navy who Served Mainly in the Civil War and the War with Spain ("Civil War and Later Widows' Certificates"), 1861–1934, Records of the Veterans Administration, RG 15, National Archives.

100. Davidson-Remley marriage, Greene County, Ohio, Marriage Records 1:540; FHL microfilm 0,535,124.

101. Affidavit of Job Davidson, Upton Davidson pension application file, widow's certificate WC 439,128.

102. Upton and Job Davidson entries, *Williams' Springfield & Urbana directory...* (C. S. Williams, 1859).

103. Nancy Davidson household, 1860 U.S. census, Clark Co., Ohio, Springfield, p. 383, dwell. 182, fam. 204; NA microfilm M653, roll 943.

104. William D. Hill, administrator of Henry Davidson's estate, to Job Davidson, Clark Co. Deeds 41:347; FHL microfilm 0,546,414.

105. *Williams' Springfield Directory for 1863–64* (Springfield, Ohio: Williams and Co., 1863).

after. In 1870 Rebecca C. Rebecca Davidson owned $2500 in real estate and $200 in personal estate while Job had nothing but his occupation of cooper.[106] Throughout the 1870s Job worked as a cooper for Warder & Barnett, a flouring mill,[107] constructing flour barrels.

In 1880 Job and his family lived with his daughter and son-in-law.[108] He worked as a cooper throughout the 1880s.[109] By 1890 Job Davidson retired and Rebecca supported them by operating a boarding house.[110] His will, of 5 December 1888, named his wife Rebecca C. Davidson, daughters Mary Olive Munson and Frances Bell Duffey, and son Harry C. Davidson.[111] He died on 4 January 1895 of old age.[112] Rebecca operated her boarding house until she married John T. Gold on 12 April 1897.[113] She was enumerated in 1900[114] and 1910.[115]

Upton³ Davidson

Upton Davidson, born 31 August 1821,[116] was the second son of Henry and Nancy (née Lavelly) Davidson. He was not found in the 1880 occupational search because that year he was enumerated as a machinist, despite having been described as a cooper in the censuses from 1850 through 1870. On 9 November 1843 Upton married Priscilla W. Peck,[117] daughter of Baker W. Peck.[118] She was

106. Job Davidson household, 1870 U.S. census, Clark Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Springfield, p. 245, dwell. 99, fam. 115; NA microfilm M593, roll 1180.

107. *Bailey's Springfield Directory for 1871–72* (Springfield, Ohio: Bailey's, 1871), 29, 123–24; *Swartz and Co.'s Springfield Directory, 1876* (Springfield, Ohio: Swartz and Co., 1876), 81; *T. H. Edwards and Co.'s Springfield Directory 1877–1878* (Springfield, Ohio: T. H. Edwards and Co., 1877), 45.

108. Joseph Offett and Job Davidson households, 1880 U.S. census, Clark Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Springfield, ED 52, sheet 34, dwell. 281, fam. 315–16; NA microfilm T9, roll 999.

109. *Williams' Springfield Directory for 1884–85* (Springfield, Ohio: Williams and Co., 1884–88), 104, 103, 121, and 111, respectively.

110. *Williams' Springfield City Directory for 1890–91* (Springfield, Ohio: Williams and Co., 1890), 114.

111. Job Davidson will, Clark Co. Wills 12:105; FHL microfilm 0,466,671.

112. Job Davidson death certificate, Clark Co. Death Records 2:94; FHL microfilm 0,466,665.

113. Davidson-Gold marriage, Clark Co. Marriages 17:45; FHL microfilm 0,465,395.

114. John T. Gold household, 1900 U.S. census, Clark Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Springfield, ED 24, sheet 11B, 209 W. North Street, dwell. 251, fam. 270; NA microfilm T623, roll 1246. Gold was born in January 1853; Rebecca reported her birth date as January 1850, obviously, a fabrication because she married Job Davidson in 1856. Her granddaughter Florence Duffey, age fourteen, was living in the household and her son Harry C. Davidson was living at 207 W. North Street. John T. Gold was Harry's father-in-law.

115. John T. Gold household, 1910 U.S. census, Clark Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Springfield, ED 37, sheet 5B, dwell. 124, fam. 124; NA microfilm T624, roll 1158. Rebecca's age was recorded as sixty. Other sources indicate she was about seventy-eight years old.

116. This birth date was calculated from his age at death of seventy-five years, two months, and seven days on 7 November 1896. Upton Davidson death certificate, Clark Co. Death Records 2:98; FHL microfilm 0,466,665.

117. Davidson-Peck marriage, Clark Co. Marriages 2:430; FHL microfilm 0,466,399. Both were reported to have been "of age as per her brother."

118. Oliver S. Kelley household, 1860 U.S. census, Clark Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Springfield, p. 393, dwell. 341, fam. 366; NA microfilm 653, roll 43. Oliver S. Kelley deposition, 21 July 1897, filed on behalf of Priscilla W. Davidson, in Upton Davidson pension application file, widow's certificate WC 438127.

born in Springfield on 26 December 1819.[119] Upton and Priscilla had seven sons, not one of whom became a cooper.

From at least 1852 through 1859 Upton operated the Davidson cooper shop.[120] A feud between Job and Upton erupted after Job took over the cooperage in 1863.[121]

On 15 February 1865, despite being forty-three years of age, Upton volunteered for service in the Civil War, earning a bounty of one hundred dollars. He enlisted in Company D of the Fifty-eighth Infantry Regiment of Ohio and was mustered out on 16 September 1865 in Vicksburg, Mississippi.[122] He returned after the War and at first worked as a cooper; however, in 1876 he was a woodworker[123] and in 1879 he was a carpenter.[124] In 1880 Upton was a "machinist,"[125] thus missing the occupational search.

In 1889 Upton applied for a pension, claiming that he contracted rheumatism, catarrh, slight deafness in both ears, and irritable heart during war service in Oxford, Mississippi. His claim was initially rejected for lack of proof that his condition was based on military service.[126] In 1894 Upton appealed. All but one affidavit supported him; his brother Job testified that Upton had suffered from rheumatism in 1849 and suggested the condition might run in the family. Upton replied that he had sprained his ankle in 1849 and that "My brother Job and I do not get along well. He would do all he could against me."[127]

Ultimately, on 7 November 1894, Upton was granted a pension backdated to 17 June 1889.[128] He died of "nervous prostration" on 7 November 1896.[129]

Otho W.[3] *Davidson*

Otho W. Davidson, born in Hagerstown, Maryland, probably in October 1825,[130] was the third son of Henry[2] and Nancy (née Lavelly) Davidson to

119. This birth date was calculated from Priscilla's reported age at death of eighty-three years, one month, and sixteen days. She died on 11 February 1903. See Priscilla Davidson death certificate, Clark Co. Death Records 2:104; FHL microfilm 0,466,665.

120. *Directory of the City of Springfield, 1852* (Springfield, Ohio: John W. Kees and Co., 1852); *Williams' Springfield and Urbana Directory, 1859–60* (C. S. Williams, 1859).

121. Oliver S. Kelly deposition, on behalf of Priscilla W. Davidson, Upton Davidson pension application file, widow's certificate WC 438,127.

122. Upton Davidson entry, loose papers, Muster and Descriptive Roll of a Detachment of United States Recruits forwarded by Capt. A. C. Denel, Provost Marshal 4th District Station, Urbana, Ohio, for the 58th Regiment, Ohio Volunteer Infantry, Company D, dated 16 February 1865; FHL microfilm 0,213,004.

123. *Swartz & Co.'s Springfield Directory, 1876*, 81.

124. *T. H. Edwards & Co.'s Springfield City Directory for 1879–80*, 68.

125. Upton Davidson household, 1880 U.S. census, Clark Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Springfield, E.D. 49, sheet 53, South Market Street, dwell. 465, fam. 541; NA microfilm T9, roll 999.

126. Upton Davidson pension application file, widow's certificate WC 438,127.

127. Job Davidson affidavit, 24 August 1894; Upton Davidson affidavit 25 August 1894; ibid.

128. Upton Davidson pension application file, invalid petition 30 October 1894; ibid.

129. Upton Davidson death certificate, Clark Co. Death Records 2:98; FHL microfilm 0,466,665.

130. Otho's age was variously reported in censuses and at his death, as documented below.

become a cooper. He was not found in the 1880 search because he had already died.

Otho was prone to trouble. On 16 October 1846 he married Laura Black,[131] who was born in Ohio in 1828.[132] They already had a two-year-old son.[133] When Otho needed money, his eldest brother, Job, forwarded his share in their father's estate. On 2 December 1846, Otho and Laura signed a quitclaim to Job, relinquishing all interest in the estate of Henry[2] Davidson.[134]

The following year Otho was accused of murdering Halsey I. Peck, brother of Upton's wife, Priscilla. The jury found him not guilty, outraging many townspeople, who apparently thought otherwise—and they held "a meeting of indignation."[135]

In 1860 Otho was a thirty-three-year-old cooper.[136] In 1863–64 Otho Davidson, cooper, boarded with Job Davidson.[137]

On 10 July 1863 Otho enlisted as a private in Company C, 129th Infantry Regiment, mustering out on 4 March 1864.[138] He re-enlisted as a corporal on 2 May 1864 in Company K, 168th Ohio Regiment, reporting his occupation as cooper; he mustered out on 8 September 1864.[139] On 20 February 1865 he re-enlisted into the Fifty-eighth Ohio Regiment, again with his occupation identified as that of cooper; he mustered out on 23 October 1865.[140]

Laura Davidson separated from Otho by 1863.[141] After the war she continued to live apart from him, maintaining her own household in Cincinnati for the

131. Davidson-Black marriage, Clark Co., Ohio, Marriages 3:48; FHL microfilm 0,466,399.

132. Otho Davidson household, 1850 U.S. census, Clark Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Springfield, p. 186, dwell. 390, fam. 401; NA microfilm M432, roll 666. Laura Davidson, twenty-two, was born in Ohio. In 1860, Laura Davidson, twenty-six, was born in Virginia. See Otho Davidson household, 1860 U.S. census, Clark Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Springfield, p. 375, dwell. 61, fam. 64; NA microfilm M653, roll 943. In 1870 Laura Davidson, "28," was born in Ohio. See Laura Davidson household, 1870 U.S. census, Hamilton Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Cincinnati, p. 94, dwell. 809, fam. 771; NA microfilm M593, roll 1215.

133. 1850 U.S. census, Clark Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Springfield, p. 186, dwell. 390, fam. 401. His son George[4] Davidson was six years old.

134. Otho W. Davidson to Job Davidson, Clark Co. Deeds W:559; FHL microfilm 0,546,404.

135. "Davidson Acquitted," *Lima Argus*, Lima, Ohio, 30 March 1847; and *The Ohio Repository*, Canton, Ohio, 1 April 1847.

136. Otho Davidson household, 1860 U.S. census, Clark Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Springfield, p. 375, dwell. 61, fam. 64; NA microfilm M653, roll 943.

137. *Williams' Springfield Directory, City Guide and Business Mirror; For 1863–4* (Springfield, Ohio: Williams and Co., 1863), 30.

138. Otho Davidson entry, Muster Out Roll, Company C, 129th Infantry Regiment of Ohio; FHL microfilm 0,223,888.

139. Otho Davidson entry, Muster and Descriptive Roll of Company K, 168th Ohio Volunteer Infantry; FHL microfilm 0,284,876. Otho reported that he was thirty-four years old, was born in Washington Co., Md., and was a cooper.

140. Otho Davidson entry, Muster and Descriptive Roll of the 58th Regiment (no company reported), Ohio Volunteer Infantry; FHL microfilm 0,213,004. Otho was born in Hagerstown, Md., 34 years old, and a cooper. This unindexed entry was found during a search for the enlistment of Upton Davidson, also unindexed.

141. *Williams' Cincinnati Directory City Guide and Business Mirror, for year commencing June, 1863* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Williams and Co., 1863), 141, and *1864*, 101.

next ten years.[142] Of most interest is that she reported no occupation and identified herself as a "widow." She may have called herself a widow, but Otho was certainly not dead.[143] In 1870 Otho Davidson lived alone in a rented room in Springfield and worked as a journeyman cooper.[144] He died on 25 February 1871 of consumption.[145]

Alexander[3] *Davidson*

In 1880 A. Davidson, a cooper, lived in San Francisco.[146] One of the five Davidsons from the original occupational search, the facts that he was a cooper born in Maryland and that Henry[2] Davidson had an untraced son named Alexander suggested that he was the youngest son of Henry and Nancy (née Lavelly) Davidson. He was likely born in Hagerstown, Maryland, about 1829. Alexander Davidson was in Springfield on 6 February 1852 to sign a security mortgage to Job[3] Davidson for $496.[147] In 1860 he was in Marysville, California,[148] near Sierra Nevada gold country. By 1862 he had moved to San Francisco where he boarded at the Columbia Hotel and worked as a cooper with "Alex." Murdoch, a job he held through 1868.[149] In this decade he met and presumably married a woman with whom he had a daughter, Ophelia, born in about 1864.[150] In 1867 Alexander Davidson, cooper, was on the San Francisco voters' list.[151] In 1870 six-year-old Ophelia Davidson lived in the San Francisco

142. *Williams' Cincinnati Directory*, 1863–1881, 141 (1863), 101 (1864), 131 (1866), 150 (1867), 151 (1868), 169 (1869), 172 (1870), 190 (1871), 245 (1872), 251 (1874), 247 (1875), 264 (1876) and 262 (1877). Not present in 1865, 1873, and 1878–82 and not in "Alterations and Removals" in 1878 and 1879.

143. Laura Davidson household, 1870 U.S. census, Hamilton Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Cincinnati, p. 94, dwell. 809, fam. 771; NA microfilm M593, roll 1215. Laura was "28," Alice was sixteen, Florence was eleven, and Mattie was eight. Laura could neither read nor write. She probably couldn't count either; she had aged six years since 1850.

144. John Slingore household, 1870 U.S. census, Clark Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Springfield, p. 24, dwell. 159, fam. 174; NA microfilm M593, roll 943.

145. Otho Davidson death certificate, Clark Co., Death Records 1:43, entry 26; FHL microfilm 0,466,665. He died of consumption reportedly at age 47; however, his reported age fluctuated over the years: 1850 census (24), 1860 census (33), 1863 enlistment (33), 1864 enlistment (34), 1865 enlistment (35), 1870 census (38), 1871 death (47). Otho may have contracted tuberculosis during the Civil War and, to protect herself and her children, Laura may have opted to live apart from him.

146. A. Davidson household, 1880 U.S. census, San Francisco Co., Calif., pop. sch., San Francisco, ED 167, sheet 15, dwell. 127, fam. 144; NA microfilm T9, roll 77.

147. Alexander Davidson to Job Davidson, Clark Co. Mortgage Index [5:236]; FHL microfilm 0,548,191.

148. Samuel Gifford household, 1860 U.S. census, Yuba Co., Calif., pop. sch., Marysville, Ward 1, p. 862, dwell. 168, fam. 173; NA microfilm M653, roll 72. Alexander Davidson, thirty-one, cooper, was born in Maryland and lived with Gifford.

149. *The San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing October, 1862* (San Francisco: Henry G. Langley, 1862), 123; also 117 (1863); 127 (1864); 143 (1865); 157 (1866); 171 (1867). No directory was published in 1870.

150. A. Davidson household, 1880 U.S. census, San Francisco Co., Calif., pop. sch., San Francisco, ED 167, sheet 15, dwell. 127, fam. 144. Ophelia was sixteen years old. No marriage for Alexander or birth record for Ophelia has been found in either Yuba Co. or San Francisco.

151. *Great Register of San Francisco, 1867* (www.sfgenealogy.com/sf/1867g/sfgr67da.htm).

household of Michael McPhail, but Alexander was not found.[152] He reappeared in the San Francisco directories in 1871 as a cooper with Cutting and Co., where he was made foreman cooper in 1873. He became foreman cooper for Pacific Barrel and Keg Factory in 1880. That year sixteen-year-old Ophelia Davidson was enumerated as the daughter of A. Davidson, cooper. By then he had married Nellie (née [—?–]).[153]

In 1881 Alexander Davidson became the foreman of the Mattullath Manufacturing Company for two years; in 1883 he worked independently; in 1884 he teamed up with a Mr. Noyes and in 1885 he was foreman of the Coos Bay Stave and Lumber Company's cooperage. From 1876 through 1885 his residence was 327 Capp Street.[154] Alexander disappeared from San Francisco city directories in 1886.[155] Nellie Davidson, widow, lived in San Francisco through 1903.[156]

CONCLUSION

This case study using occupation combined with surname to find long lost ancestors in the 1880 census illustrates the value of this research tool, particularly when combined with place of birth in censuses beginning in 1850. It is sobering to observe that had the occupational search tool been available only for the 1900 census, not a single "lost" Davidson would have been found. The trade was becoming so unusual then that only two of Job's descendants were still identified with it—Samuel M.[4] and his son George M.[5] Davidson. Ironically, in 1900 the enumerator mistakenly spelled their occupation as "copper."

It is clear from these results that looking under only one form of a name is not a successful strategy all the time. Finally, this study shows that even when family tradition seems far-fetched, kernels of verifiable truth often lurk within, as an autographed photograph of John[3] Davidson of Crawfordsville, Indiana, has attested.

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152. Michael McPhail household, 1870 U.S. census, San Francisco Co., Calif., pop. sch., San Francisco, 12th Ward, p. 738, dwell. 397, fam. 364; NA microfilm M593, roll 85. No relationship with this family has been found.

153. 1880 U.S. census, San Francisco Co., Calif., pop. sch., San Francisco, ED 167, sheet 15, dwell. 127, fam. 144. Nellie was reportedly born in England and was twenty-two years old; Alexander was fifty-one.

154. *San Francisco City Directory* (San Francisco: Henry G. Langley, 1871–85).

155. *Langley's San Francisco Directory 1886* (San Francisco: W. H. L. Corran, 1886), 394. Others named *Alexander Davidson* appeared but were not this Alexander.

156. *Crocker Langley San Francisco Directory for the Year Commencing 1903* (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker and Co. [1903]), 535.

A Son Proved ... an Ancestor Disproved: Thomas Caldwell of Lunenburg County, Virginia

By Carmen J. Finley, Ph.D, CG

Common research shortcuts can result in claims of erroneous ancestry. Such shortcuts include trusting poorly documented conclusions, disregarding original records, bypassing land descriptions, overlooking indirect evidence, and fusing people of the same name. Avoiding these pitfalls requires research and reasoning that may be laborious and time consuming but may also be rewarding.

Assumptions easily lead researchers astray. The inexperienced may assume that a will names all the testator's children, published conclusions about an ancestor are always correct, records bearing the same name in the same place and time refer to one person, and land descriptions are irrelevant. Such common assumptions may be valid, but researchers risk error when they do not verify them using reliable sources. Furthermore, absent trustworthy direct evidence, the researcher must apply deductive reasoning to indirect evidence. Thomas Caldwell provides an example.

WIDELY HELD BELIEFS

Many Caldwell researchers claim descent from Thomas Caldwell. They allege that Thomas, father of several children, was a son of John Caldwell and Margaret (née Phillips) Caldwell, a couple who settled in Virginia between 1738 and 1740. Published information about this son varies, as summarized in tables 1 and 2. Most of the tabulated Internet sources contain little or no supporting documentation. Several print publications, with at least some source citations, address John and Margaret's family, but only the three cited in table 2 mention their son Thomas. Author Marie Lorraine Epps Anderson provides the most documentation on the family. She lists seven children—William, Thomas,

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Table 1

Internet Information concerning Thomas Caldwell, Son of John and Margaret

BIRTH DATE	DEATH DATE	PLACE OF DEATH	NO. OF CHILDREN
1706 (56)	1760 (1)	Charlotte County (20)	1 (10)
1707 (1)	1768 (1)	Lunenburg County (19)	2 (1)
1708 (2)	1769 (2)	Cub Creek (with	3 (1)
1710 (2)	1770 (44)	no county specified) (8)	4 (6)
1766 (1)	1747 or 1770 (1)		6 (1)
			7 (7)

Note: Data are from seventy-three contributors to *WorldConnect* (http://worldconnect.rootsweb.com/) as of 1 May 2006. Numerals in parentheses show the number of contributors specifying each fact.

David, Margaret, John, Robert, and James—but says little about Thomas.[1] Furthermore, the source closest to an original that directly documents a son Thomas of John and Margaret is a published copy of an 1825 letter from their grandson. He wrote: "Our grandfather's children were William, Thomas, David, Margaret, John, Robert and James."[2]

From conflicting conclusions, poor documentation, and absence of direct evidence in original sources flow the following questions about Thomas and his relationship to John and Margaret:

- Did John and Margaret have a son Thomas?
- If so, what were his birth and death dates?
- Where did he die?
- Did he have children, and if so, who were they?
- If John and Margaret had a son Thomas, was he the Thomas whom Caldwell descendants claim as ancestor?

THOMAS'S ALLEGED FATHER

In Pennsylvania on 11 April 1738 John Caldwell petitioned the Donegal Presbytery for permission to move, with other families of the presbytery, to "back parts of Virginia." The Philadelphia Synod adopted the petition and Virginia's

1. Marie Lorraine Epps Anderson, *Caldwell* (College Station, Tex.: Mrs. John Q. Anderson, 1959), 33 and 35.

2. Elizabeth Venable Gaines, *Cub Creek Church and Congregation: 1738–1838* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1931), 90–91.

Table 2

Printed Information concerning Thomas Caldwell, Son of John and Margaret

AUTHOR	BIRTH DATE	DEATH DATE	PLACE OF DEATH	NUMBER OF CHILDREN
Anderson[a]	1706	1770	Virginia	4
Anjou[b]	b.c. 1720	1747	[not given]	[not given]
Terry[c]	1706	1747	Lunenburg County	5

[a]Marie Lorraine Epps Anderson, *Caldwell* (College Station, Tex.: Mrs. John Q. Anderson, 1959), 33 and 35.

[b]Gustav Anjou, "Caldwell: 1273–1871," undated typescript, page 188; microfilm 0,908,834, item 1, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. The abbreviation *b.c.* for "born circa," means born "about" or "approximately."

[c]Imogene McCreight Fitzgerald Terry, comp., *Our Caldwell Kith and Kin* (Tyler, Tex.: Sunshine Press, 1995), 16.

governor, William Gooch, approved the Presbyterian settlement under the Act of Toleration.[3]

Before moving Caldwell scouted the territory. His explorations led to the erection of Presbyterian meetinghouses at Cub Creek (in present-day Charlotte County), Buffalo and Walkers (Prince Edward County), and Hat Creek and Concord (Campbell County).[4]

John settled first at Buck Mountain, now in Albemarle County. He lived there in 1740, when Rev. John Craig baptized children of William "Calwall," Thomas Dougherty, and Israel Pickens at John Caldwell's home. Craig had come from Tinkling Spring Church, twenty-five to thirty miles west, in Augusta County. He and Caldwell had been friends in Pennsylvania.[5]

Within a few years, Caldwell moved south to Brunswick County. On 17 January 1743 "John Caldwell of Brunswick County[in] Gentleman" signed an agreement with "William Byrd ... Esq[r]" for Caldwell to settle inhabitants on the Dan River.[6]

The Cub Creek Settlement

On 1 March 1744, Caldwell patented 1,085 acres on both sides of Cub Creek,

3. Howard McKnight Wilson, *The Tinkling Spring, Headwater of Freedom; A Study of the Church and Her People, 1732–1952*, 2nd ed. (Verona, Va.: Tinkling Spring and Hermitage Presbyterian Churches, 1974), 42. The English "Toleration Act of 1689," which permitted dissenters from the Church of England to congregate and absent themselves from Anglican parish activities, became part of Virginia law in 1699. See William Waller Hening, comp., *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619* (Philadelphia: Thomas Desilver, 1823), 3:171.

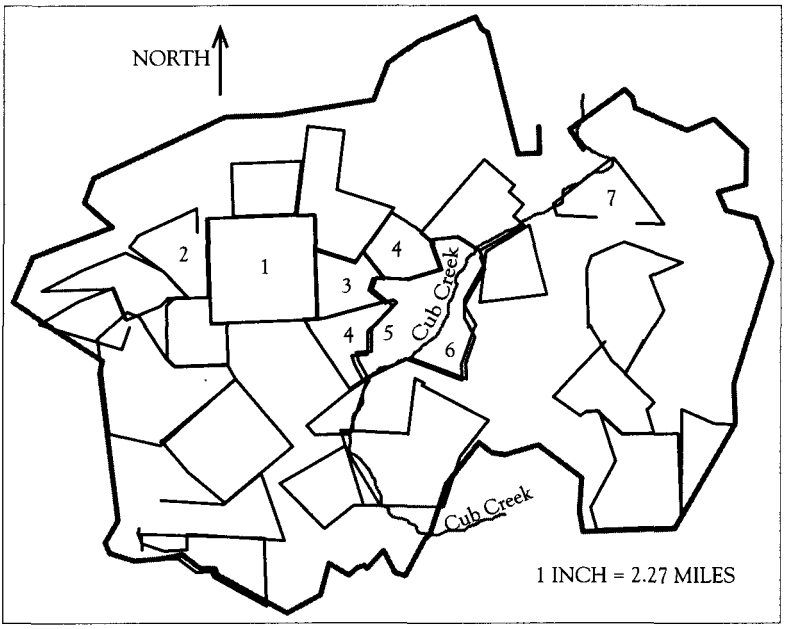
4. Gaines, *Cub Creek Church and Congregation*, 10.

5. Wilson, *Tinkling Spring*, 82, 451, 474, and 480.

6. Byrd-Caldwell agreement, manuscript Ch.A.2.85, Rare Books and Manuscripts Dept., Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass. This paper was found by James Caldwell Palmer.

Figure 1

Selected Plats in Cub Creek Area of Charlotte County, Virginia



Note: The large plat encompassing the others contains 31,700 acres that Richard Kennon and William Kennon Jr. patented in 1743. See Virginia Land Office Patent Book 23:647–49, digital image, "Virginia Land Office Patents and Grants/Northern Neck Grants and Surveys," *Library of Virginia* (http://lvaimage.lib.va.us/LONN/LO-1/021/). Other than those numbered 5–7, the plats represent property that the Kennons sold on 1 January 1745 to seventeen persons who made up "Caldwell's Settlement." See Brunswick Co. Deed Book 4:1–7 and 20–73, County Clerk, Lawrenceville, Va.; Brunswick Co. microfilm 3, Library of Virginia, Richmond. Also, Carmen J. Finley, "Caldwell's Settlement at Cub Creek," *Magazine of Virginia Genealogy* 41 (February 2003): 18–23. Most of the plats are based on work by Dennis Hudgins, who mapped 444 tracts in Charlotte County (land formerly in Lunenburg County and previously in Brunswick County). See Hudgins, "Charlotte Co., Virginia," in "Deed Data Pool," *Direct Line Software* (http://users.rcn.com/deeds/charlott.gz : downloaded 27 March 2006). See text for explanation of the lot numbers.

north of the Staunton (Roanoke) River.[7] See plats 5–6 in figure 1. Caldwell's title to the property, however, was not cleared until after his death. On 5 June 1752, Richard Kennon and William Kennon Jr. deeded Robert Caldwell and David Caldwell the 1,085 acres that John Caldwell had patented, because "prior to the issuing of Caldwell's patent, the Kennons had obtained an Order of the

7. John "Calwell" patent, Virginia Land Office Patent Book 27:128–30, digital image, "Virginia Land Office Patents and Grants/Northern Neck Grants and Surveys," *Library of Virginia* (http://lvaimage.lib.va.us/LONN/LO-1/025/). The section of the Roanoke River that "flows through South Central Virginia is known locally and on most maps as the Staunton." See "Staunton Scenic River Tour," *Old Halifax* (http://www.oldhalifax.com/county/StauntonRiverTour.htm).

Council Board for 37,000 acres which included the said 1085 acres and also obtained a patent for the same."[8]

On 1 January 1745, Richard Kennon and William Kennon Jr. sold land near John Caldwell's 1744 patent to John Caldwell and sixteen other men.[9] Called "Cub Creek" or "Caldwell's Settlement," the community comprised about two hundred souls, covered five or six square miles, and lay on Cub Creek, Turnip Creek, and Wallace Creek.[10] In 1745, when the settlers obtained their land, it was in Brunswick County. The next year, however, it fell into the new county of Lunenburg. Since 1765 it has been in Charlotte County.[11] The grantees included David Caldwell (plat 4 in figure 1—270 and 314 acres), John Caldwell (plats 1 and 2—1,000 and 400 acres), and William Caldwell (plat 3—310½ acres)—but no Thomas Caldwell.[12]

John Caldwell's Will

John Caldwell's will, written on 26 November 1748, was ordered recorded in the April 1751 court in Lunenburg County. He named his son David Caldwell executor and made the following bequests to his sons:

- William Caldwell, "400 acres of land where he now lives" (plat 2 in figure 1)
- John Caldwell, "400 acres known by the name of the Flag Spring" and 100 acres "where my mill now stands" (half of plat 1)[13]
- James Caldwell,"500 acres whereon I now live" (half of plat 1)
- David Caldwell, "500 acres of land lying on East side of Cub Creek being part of 1,080 acres by est'n and likewise 100 acres on west side of Cub

8. Kennon and Kennon to Caldwell and Caldwell, Lunenburg Co. Deed Book 4:105, County Clerk, Lunenburg, Va.; Lunenburg Co. microfilm 2, Library of Virginia (LVA), Richmond. The deed says "37,000 acres of Land or thereabouts" but the patent, dated 1 March 1743, states "31,700 acres on the north side of Stanton [*sic*] River and on both sides of Cubb Creek." See Richard Kennon and William Kennon Jr. patent, Virginia Land Office Patent Book 23:647–49, digital image, "Virginia Land Office Patents and Grants/ Northern Neck Grants and Surveys," *Library of Virginia* (http:// lvaimage.lib.va.us/LONN/LO-1/021/).

9. Kennon and Kennon to others, Brunswick Co. Deed Book 4:1–7 and 20–73, County Clerk, Lawrenceville, Va.; LVA Brunswick Co. microfilm 3. For further information, see Carmen J. Finley, "Caldwell's Settlement at Cub Creek," *Magazine of Virginia Genealogy* 41 (February 2003): 18.

10. Gaines, *Cub Creek Church and Congregation*, 10; and Finley, *The Finleys of Early Sonoma County*, 35–44.

11. Hening, comp., *Statutes at Large*, 5:383–85 (Lunenburg County's formation) and 8:41–42 (Charlotte County's formation).

12. Kennon and Kennon to others, Brunswick Co. Deed Book 4:58–62 (William Caldwell), 66–70 (John Caldwell), and 70–73 (David Caldwell). The deed to David Caldwell conveyed two tracts.

13. On 6 November 1769 John Caldwell sold this land to William Hubbard. See Charlotte Co. Deed Book 2:236, County Court, Charlotte Courthouse, Va.; LVA Charlotte Co. microfilm 1. The sale adds credence to the theory that the younger John went to Mill Creek, Newberry District (old 96th District), South Carolina, with William Caldwell's widow, Rebecca, and her family in 1770. In a letter dated 11 May 1825, John Rodgers, grandson of the elder John Caldwell, writes "Uncle John and William's widow and her family moved to South Carolina. Uncle John was killed by the Indians. Our friend, John C. Calhoun, is a grandson of Uncle William." See Gaines, *Cub Creek Church and Congregation*, 91.

Creek, beginning at the mouth of Louse Creek" (plat 6 and part of plat 5)

- Robert Caldwell, "all 600 acres of land lying on the west side of Cub Creek part of it being of the aforesaid 1,080 acres," adjoining John Stuart (most of plat 5)[14]

The bequests do not mention Thomas, identified as John's offspring in the derivative sources discussed above. Does this mean John did not have a son Thomas? Or was Thomas omitted from the will?

THOMAS CALDWELL

Several Thomas Caldwells left records between 1742 and 1770 in the contiguous counties of Amelia, Charlotte (formerly Lunenburg), and Prince Edward (formerly Amelia). See table 3. As explained below, associates and land records of the second of these Thomases identify him as a son of the Cub Creek John Caldwell.

Thomas Caldwell Who Died before September 1747

At the September 1747 court in Lunenburg County, Jane Caldwell, Thomas's widow, relinquished her role as administratrix of his estate to "William Caldwell, Gent." "John Caldwell, Gent.," provided security.[15] They probably were the men of those names who had been sworn in as justices of the peace and justices in the Chancery Court at the first sitting of the Lunenburg County court, May 1746.[16] Israel Pickens, John Stewart, and Andrew Cunningham valued Thomas's personal property at sixty-five pounds and five shillings. The inventory, recorded on 7 March 1747[/48], did not include land, as was customary for estate inventories at this time in Virginia.[17] The appraisers were among the Cub Creek settlers who purchased land on 1 January 1745 from the Kennons.[18] In sum, records of the Thomas Caldwell who had died by September 1747 place him in the Cub Creek settlement and associate him with John Caldwell.

14. John Caldwell will (1748), Lunenburg Co. Deed Book 1:498–500; LVA Lunenburg Co. microfilm 1. John's bequests from his 1,085-acre tract total 1,200 acres.

15. Administrator appointment order for Thomas Caldwell estate, Lunenburg Co. Order Book 1:263, County Court, Lunenburg, Va.; LVA Lunenburg Co. microfilm 25.

16. Justice appointment orders, Lunenburg Co. Order Book 1:1.

17. Thomas Caldwell estate appraisal, Lunenburg Co. Will Book 1:1, Circuit Court, Lunenburg, Va.; LVA Lunenburg Co. microfilm 19. In addition to usual household and farm items, Thomas's personal property included shoemaker's tools. The appraisal followed the appointment (as would be expected) because calendar years before 1752 began on 25 March; therefore, 7 March 1747[/48] followed September 1747. See Donald Lines Jacobus, "Dates and the Calendar," in *Genealogy as Pastime and Profession*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1968), 113.

18. Kennon and Kennon to others, Brunswick Co. Deed Book 4:27–31 (Pickens), 37–41 (Cunningham), and 55–58 (Stewart).

Table 3

Thomas Caldwell Records in Amelia County, Charlotte County, and Prince Edward County, Virginia, 1742–74

THOMAS CALDWELL IDENTITY	EVENTS, DATES, RELATIONSHIPS
Son of George Caldwell	George Caldwell's will, dated 27 December 1742[a]
Death before September 1747	Relinquishment by Jane Caldwell, widow, of her role as administratrix of Thomas's estate to "William Caldwell, Gent."; security provided by "John Caldwell, Gent."[b]
Son of William Caldwell	William Caldwell's will, dated 22 December 1750[c]
Grantee of John and Lettitia Caldwell	Deed for two hundred acres of a four-hundred-acre tract on both sides of Fort Creek in 1760[d]
Son of David Caldwell	David Caldwell's will, dated 14 October 1765[e]
Death in 1771–72	Wife Elizabeth; daughters Sarah and Violet; sons George, Thomas, Paul, and Henry[f]
Death in 1773–74	Only heir was his brother, John Caldwell[g]

[a]Amelia Co. Will Book 1:23, County Court, Amelia, Va.; Amelia Co. microfilm 28, Library of Virginia (LVA), Richmond.

[b]Lunenburg Co. Order Book 1:263, County Court, Lunenburg, Va.; LVA Lunenburg Co. microfilm 25.

[c]Ibid., 501.

[d]Prince Edward Co. Deed Book 1:158–59, County Clerk, Farmville, Va.; LVA Prince Edward Co. microfilm 1.

[e]Charlotte Co. Will Book 1:15, County Court, Charlotte Court House, Va.; LVA Charlotte Co. microfilm 16.

[f]Prince Edward Co. Will Book 1:128–29, County Court, Farmville, Va.; LVA Prince Edward Co. microfilm 15.

[g]Ibid., 162–63. "Thomas Caldwell Senr." left "all that I am possessed with" to his brother John.

Margaret Caldwell's Cub Creek Property

On 14 October 1747 Richard Kennon and William Kennon Jr. deeded 304 acres on Cub Creek to "Margaret Caldwell[,] Daughter of Thomas Caldwell[,] Deceased." Witnesses were William Caldwell, David Caldwell, and Richard Davis.[19] The property's description places it in the northeast portion of the Cub Creek settlement. See plat 7 in figure 1.[20]

19. Kennon and Kennon to Caldwell, Lunenburg Co. Deed Book 5:158–59.

20. Because the description contained two meander lines, the plat could not be drawn; however, estimations were made to create the lines of best fit up Cub Creek and Sandy Creek.

In November 1760 Margaret Caldwell, orphan of Thomas Caldwell, deceased, chose "Paul Carrington, Gent.," to be her guardian. Carrington and Clement Read Jr. provided security.[21] (Contrary to what might be expected, Carrington was not Margaret's stepfather.)[22] Assuming, as is likely, that Margaret was not yet twenty-one when she chose her guardian, she was born after November 1739 and was under age eight in 1747, when she received 304 acres on Cub Creek. If she chose her guardian at age fourteen—the age at which common law permitted minors to choose guardians—she was age one in 1747.[23]

Why would the Kennons deed land to a child? As mentioned, on 1 January 1745 seventeen individuals obtained deeds from the Kennons, who had patented land in the Cub Creek area. See figure 1.[24] Thomas was not among those grantees but the Kennon deed suggests that he nevertheless possessed rights to 304 acres in the northeastern section of their patent (plat 7 in figure 1).

On 2 June 1762, John Brent took out a bond to marry Margaret Caldwell.[25] About a year later, on 11 July 1763, the couple sold five hundred acres "on the lower side of Cub Creek" to David Caldwell, who was living on the land. The deed identifies Margaret as "daughter of Thomas Caldwell, deceased" and says Thomas "Died without making any will [and] not having any Issue Except the said Margarett" and "by Reason of the above Named Thomas Caldwell Setling the said Land it is reported that his heir is entitled to the said land."[26] Margaret released her dower rights to the property.[27] At the 11 August 1763 court Paul Carrington, Margaret's guardian before her marriage, produced a payment receipt from her husband.[28] As table 4 shows, the metes and bounds of the tract match those of the eastern portion of the 1,085-acre tract that John Caldwell had patented in 1744 and devised to his son David in 1748. See plat 6 in figure 1. David was his father's executor, which may explain why the rights revealed in the deed had not been recorded.

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21. Margaret Caldwell guardian appointment order, Lunenburg Co. Order Book 6:unnumbered page between 187 and 188.

22. Robert Henry took out a bond on 11 February 1754 to marry "Jane Cladwell [*sic*], Widow." Carrington, who became Margaret's guardian, was bondsman for this marriage and Margaret's. See Lunenburg County Marriage Bonds (typescript): 1 (Robert Henry and Jane "Cladwell") and 3 (John Brent and Margaret Caldwell), County Clerk, Lunenburg, Va. The county's marriage bonds are missing, and only a typescript survives. See Emma R. Matheny and Helen K. Yates, comps., *Marriages of Lunenburg County, Virginia: 1746–1853* (1967; reprint, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1979), i–iii.

23. William Blacksone, *Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England* (Oxford, U.K., 1765–69), 1:450; digital image, *The Avalon Project at Yale Law School* (http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/blackstone/bk1ch17.htm).

24. For the Kennon patent, see Virginia Land Office Patent Book 23:647–49. For their sale to the Cub Creek settlers, see Brunswick Co. Deed Book 4:1–7 and 20–73. For an analysis of these transactions, see Finley, "Caldwell's Settlement at Cub Creek," 18–23.

25. John Brent marriage bond, Lunenburg County Marriage Bonds:3.

26. Brent to Caldwell, Lunenburg Co. Deed Book 9:171–73. Witnesses were Wm. Terell Mills, George Pattillo, George Caldwell, and James Mitchell.

27. Margaret Brent dower release, ibid., 286.

28. John Brent receipt, Lunenburg Co. Order Book 9:144.

Table 4

Comparison of Metes and Bounds Extracted From a Patent and Deed

PART OF 1748 PATENT TO JOHN "CALWELL" FOR 1,085 ACRES[a]	1763 DEED FROM JOHN AND MARGARET BRENT TO DAVID CALDWELL FOR 500 ACRES[b]
A hickory on Cub Creek	A hickory on Cub Creek
South 20 east, 48 poles	South 20 east, 48 poles
A white oak	A white oak
South 31 west, 160 poles	South 31 west, 160 poles
A red oak	An oak
South 2 west, 70 poles	
A red oak	
South 29 east, 84 poles	South 29 east, 84 poles
A dogwood in a branch	A dogwood on a branch
South 21 west, 106 poles	South 21 west, 160 poles
A red oak	A red oak
South, 60 poles	South, 60 poles
A red oak	A red oak
North 67 west, 226 poles	North 67 west, 226 poles
A hickory on Cub Creek	A hickory on Cub Creek
Down the creek as it meanders	Up the creek and its meanders
The beginning point	The beginning point

Note: Metes-and-bounds land descriptions consist of a series of alternating points and lines defining a tract's boundaries. Each point typically is a landmark (such as "a white oak"), and each line consists of its compass direction (such as "south 20 east," meaning twenty degrees southeast) and length (such as "48 poles"). See E. Wade Hone, *Land and Property Research in the United States* (Salt Lake City: Ancestry, 1997), 61–62. The surveyor or recorder of the 1763 deed apparently missed one line (south 2 west, 70 poles to a red oak). Another line differs in the number of poles (106/160), which probably resulted from an accidental transposition of numbers. Otherwise, the plats are identical. They correspond to plat 6 in figure 1.

[a]Virginia Land Office Patent Book 27:128–30, digital image, "Virginia Land Office Patents and Grants/Northern Neck Grants and Surveys," *Library of Virginia* (http://lvaimage.lib.va.us/LONN/LO-1/025/). The patent provides metes and bounds for two tracts across Cub Creek from each other (plats 5–6 in figure 1). Those listed above are for the easternmost tract (plat 6).

[b]Lunenburg Co. Deed Book 9:171–73; County Clerk, Lunenburg, Va.; Lunenburg Co. microfilm 4, Library of Virginia, Richmond.

The following timeline helps clarify how John Brent and Margaret (née Caldwell) Brent obtained this property and why they sold it to David Caldwell:

1 March 1744	John Caldwell patented 1,085 acres lying on both sides of Cub Creek (plats 5–6 in figure 1).[29]
Probably 1744–47	Thomas settled on part of the land (plat 6).[30]
Before September 1747	Thomas died.[31]
26 November 1748	John Caldwell wrote a will devising 500 and 600 acres on Cub Creek (plats 5–6 in figure 1) to his sons David and Robert. David received the 500 acres east of the creek (plat 6).[32]
5 June 1752	Richard Kennon and William Kennon Jr. deeded 1,085 acres to Robert Caldwell and David Caldwell, clearing the Caldwells' title to land that their father, John Caldwell, had patented in 1744 and devised to them in 1748 (plats 5–6).[33]
On or after 2 June 1762	Margaret Caldwell married John Brent.[34]
11 July 1763	John and Margaret Brent, as heirs of Thomas Caldwell, sold David Caldwell 500 acres that David had inherited from his father in 1750 and the Kennons had deeded him in 1752 (plat 6).[35]

A 1748 will and a 1762 deed document David Caldwell's ownership of the 500-acre tract shown as plat 6 in figure 1, yet he paid John and Margaret Brent fifty pounds for it in 1763. Why would he buy land that he already owned? Margaret's father, Thomas Caldwell, apparently had a claim to the tract, having settled on it probably in the three years between John Caldwell's patent and Thomas's death. The deed says Thomas's orphan "is entitled to the said land."[36] When the will and deed were written, Thomas's rights to the property apparently had been overlooked, but the claim surfaced after Margaret's marriage. The 1763 deed shows that David Caldwell recognized the rights of Thomas's heirs to the land, and the instrument cleared David's title to it.

These events again tie Thomas Caldwell of the 1747 inventory to John Caldwell, the Cub Creek pioneer. Thomas was a generation younger than John, because Thomas had a child under eight years old—perhaps just one year old—when he died (before September 1747), and John's children were adults when he wrote his will (26 November 1748). Thomas's child was "entitled" to part of John's land. They apparently were father and son. Thomas's death before

29. John "Calwell" patent, Virginia Land Office Patent Book 27:128–30.
30. Brent to Caldwell, Lunenburg Co. Deed Book 9:171–73.
31. Administrator appointment order for Thomas Caldwell estate, Lunenburg Co. Order Book 1:263.
32. John Caldwell will (1748), Lunenburg Co. Deed Book 1: 498–500.
33. Kennon and Kennon to Caldwell and Caldwell, Lunenburg Co. Deed Book 4:105.
34. John Brent marriage bond, Lunenburg Marriage Bonds:3.
35. Brent to Caldwell, Lunenburg Co. Deed Book 9:171–73.
36. Ibid.

John wrote his will explains why Thomas is not mentioned in the will. Albeit by a circuitous route, Thomas's daughter received a share of John's estate. A derivative source, reporting that "John Brent, who married the granddaughter of John Caldwell, was a justice from 1771 until his death in 1781," reinforces the conclusion.[37]

Thomas Caldwell's Other Land

On 5 June 1745 Thomas Caldwell patented 334 acres in Brunswick County south of the Bannister River, and William Caldwell patented 404 acres north of the river.[38] On 1 June 1750 John Caldwell was granted 288 acres south of the Bannister River,[39] about forty miles from Cub Creek. On 5 March 1777 John and Margaret Brent sold the land that Thomas had patented, which means that he was the Cub Creek Thomas who died before September 1747.[40]

A previous author linked the Bannister River Thomas Caldwell to John Caldwell, the Cub Creek settler. Listing Thomas as the second child of John Caldwell and Margaret Phillips, Gustav Anjou reported:

> Thomas, b.c.1720, had a grant of 354 acres land in Co. Brunswick, on s.s.of Bannister river, for 35a.June 5,1746. Patents Va.25:81
>
> He died the following year, and an inventory was sworn to before William Caldwell, March 7,1737,Lunenburg wills, I.1...Paid Mr.John Caldwell 6.15.0.
>
> The widow went to Kentucky.[41]

Anjou is infamous for genealogical fraud, but some of his work is credible.[42] Nevertheless, the preceding quotation contains inaccuracies—specifically, the acreage and dates of the patent and inventory.

CONCLUSION

Most published information concerning Thomas Caldwell's place and date of death and his children—summarized in tables 1 and 2—is fiction. Many

37. Timothy S. Ailsworth and others, comps., *Charlotte County, Rich Indeed: A History from Prehistoric Times through the Civil War* (Charlotte Court House, Va.: Charlotte County Board of Supervisors, 1979), 44.

38. Virginia Land Office Patent Book 25:81–82 (Thomas Caldwell) and 101–2 (William Caldwell), digital images, "Virginia Land Office Patents and Grants/Northern Neck Grants and Surveys," *Library of Virginia* (http://lvaimage.lib.va.us/LONN/LO-1/023/).

39. John Caldwell patent, Virginia Land Office Patent Book 29:200–201, digital image, "Virginia Land Office Patents and Grants/Northern Neck Grants and Surveys," Library of Virginia (http://lvaimage.lib.va.us/LONN/LO-1/027/).

40. Brent to Donelson, Pittsylvania Co. Deed Book 4:339, County Court, Chatham, Va.; LVA Pittsylvania Co. microfilm 2.

41. Gustav Anjou, "Caldwell: 1273–1871," typescript, page 188; microfilm 0,908,834, item 1, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah. The ellipsis marks and unconventional spacing are in the original typescript.

42. Robert Charles Anderson, "We Wuz Robbed! The Modus Operandi of Gustave Anjou," *Genealogical Journal* 19 (March–June 1991):47–58; and Gordon L. Remington, "Gustave Anjou in Cyberspace: Using the Internet to Debunk a Myth," *Association of Professional Genealogists Quarterly* 18 (December 2003): 151–55.

Caldwell descendants identify Thomas Caldwell who died in 1770 in Charlotte or Lunenburg County as their ancestor. They assert that he was the father of several children and a son of John Caldwell and Margaret (née Phillips) Caldwell. This article shows, however, that their son Thomas died in 1747 and any descent from him is through his only child, Margaret (née Caldwell) Brent. Presumed descendants of Thomas Caldwell who reportedly had several children and died in 1770 must prove that such a man existed and look elsewhere for his parents.

Previous Caldwell researchers fell into several common genealogical snares: fusing people with the same name, disregarding original records and land descriptions, overlooking indirect evidence, and trusting other researchers' poorly documented conclusions. As a result, at least part of their purported ancestry is erroneous. Avoiding these pitfalls—and disproving others' incorrect conclusions—requires careful research and reasoning, which may be laborious and time consuming but also may be rewarding. In this case, tracking land ownership, platting metes-and-bounds land descriptions, and correlating the results yielded credible evidence of relationships, including the identification of a son not named in his father's will.

Perjury Charged in Naturalization

[Translated from "Des Meineids bei der Naturalisirung," *Der Deutsche Correspondent* (The German Correspondent), Baltimore, Maryland, 22 October 1880, page 4, column 4]

Perjury is charged in the naturalization of the alleged minor immigrant Christoph Schmidt. Yesterday, Peter Volz of number 113 Saratoga Street stood before Federal Commisioner Rogers. Special Federal Marshal John B. Herold said that Volz had appeared as Christoph Schmidt on 22 September 1880 in the registration office of the sixth ward [of Baltimore], his prepared citizenship papers were submitted and he swore before the registrar that he had resided here for ten years and was now 32 years of age. William H. Robinson, a colleague of Herold's confirmed his declaration. Christoph Schmidt declared that he lived at number 132 North Bond Street and since 1870 had immigrated from Germany. He was questioned by Judge Carey as to whether he had resided in the United States for five years, that being confirmed, he was given his citizenship papers. The accused, Volz had no lawyer, which is why Charles J. McAllesse volunteered to serve in that position. Commissioner Rogers denied the offer because McAllese is not a member of the bar. The suspect put up $1000 through William Doyle of number 140 Park Avenue on Monday for the purpose of the proceedings of the grand jury of the Federal District Court.

—*Translated and contributed by Gary B. Ruppert,* M.D.

Linguistic Analysis as a Genealogical Tool: The Camaur Case Study

By Richard Camaur, J.D., CG

A linguistic approach yields valuable insights into long-forgotten forces that created today's common, and not so common, surnames.

Recognizing a surname as it changes through the centuries may not be a straightforward proposition. Contending with archaic handwriting is challenging enough, but consider the effects of warring neighbors who speak different languages, embrace different religions, and follow different customs. Add to that the gradual evolution of sounds in any language over time and you have a problem tailor-made for linguistic genealogy.

Just such a problem arose in research on the rare surname *Camaur*, first found in the town of Cormòns, in northeastern Italy, once part of Austria. Initial reports in 1989 from the pastor of the parish church at Cormòns included his opinion that the surname *Camaur* did not appear in parish records until the mid-1600s. He was technically correct, but he failed to consider surname variations.

Abstracted Cormòns parish records reveal surnames with similar sounds, for example, *Copmaul*, *Comaul*, *Camaul*, *Comaur*, and *Camaur*. The latter was first recorded in 1664.[1] Were the other surnames precursors of *Camaur*? Cormòns is located in the province of Gorizia (formerly the Austrian county *Görz und Gradisca*). Since the beginning of recorded history, the area has been a cultural and linguistic crossroads. The local language is Friulian.[2] German, Italian, and Slovene, however, have been spoken in the area for centuries. The earliest Cormòns parish records, which date from 1565, are in Italian with a strong Venetian influence.[3]

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1. Gian-Domenico Camaur baptismal record, 1 March 1664, Libro di nati [Book of births] (1664), Parrocchia Sant'Adalberto, Cormòns parish archives, Cormòns, Italy.

2. Kenneth Katzner, *The Languages of the World* (1975; revised 3rd ed., London: Routledge, 2002), 77; and Research Centre of Multilingualism, *Friulian in Italy* (http://www.uoc.edu/euromosaic/web/homean/index1.html : accessed 20 May 2006). Friulian is a Celtic/Latin fusion.

3. See, in general, registers of births, marriages, and deaths, Parrocchia Sant'Adalberto.

RECORDED SURNAME APPLICATIONS

Table 1 depicts name variations found in documents between the late fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. These surnames coexisted and could be interchangeably applied to one person, even in the same document.[4]

Table 1

Distribution of Surname Variations

VARIANT SPELLING	LOCATION	YEAR
Kappenmaul	Schwarzenegg (Sesana)	1398
Copmaul	Cormòns	1425
Cappnmaul	Cormòns	1484
Cobmaul	Cormòns	1485
Capmaul	Vysnouitsch (Visnovico)	1500s
Chotmau	Cormòns	1511
Cobmaur	Cormòns	1518
Chotmaul	Cormòns	1526
Kobmaul	Cormòns	1559
Copmaull	Cormòns	1576
Cutmaul	Cormòns	1576
Colmaulo	Cormòns	1613
Comauro	Cormòns	1619
Copmauri	Cormòns	1621
Comaur	Cormòns	1629
Colmaulo	Cormòns	1662
Camaul	Cormòns	1663
Camauli	San Marco	1666
Comauli	Piuma	1673
Camaur	Cormòns	1664
Camaur	Unterweißenbach	1683
Comaur	Unterweißenbach	1704
Kamaur	Maestrich	1737
Komaur	Unterweißenbach	1750
Camauër	Maestrich (?)	1778

Note: Examples not from the Cormòns parish registers are fully cited in the text.

4. See, for example, multiple spellings in the following: Zuan Comaur marriage record, 27 February 1629 in Cormòns, Libro IIdo de copulati dall'anno il di 6 giugno 1628–1663 28 9re [Second book of marriages from 6 June 1628 through 28 November 1663], page 4, Parrocchia Sant'Adalberto. See Francesco Comaul baptismal record, son of Alberto, 2 August 1695, Nati IX dall'anno 1691 fino all anno 1700 [Ninth (book) of births from the year 1691 until the year 1700], unpaginated, Parrocchia Sant'Adalberto. Later, Alberto Comaur, a widower, remarried on 4 February 1699. See Libro III de' copulati dal 22 9re 1664 – al 27 9re 1723 [Third book of marriages from 22 November 1664 to 27 November 1723], unpaginated, Parrocchia Sant'Adalberto. Alberto Camaul and Lucia baptised their son Antonio, 6 July 1709. See Nati X Dall'Anno 1701 fino l'Anno 1716 [Tenth (book) of Births of the year 1701 until the year 1716], unpaginated, Parrocchia Sant'Adalberto. Alberto Camaur died on 27 August 1723. See VI Morti Dall'Anno 1719 fino all'Anno 1744 [Sixth (book) of deaths of the year 1719 until the year 1744], unpaginated, Parrocchia Sant'Adalberto.

An interesting sociopolitical footnote to table 1 is the fact that the surnames listed were documented in territories controlled at one time or another by Austria or its predecessor, the Count of Gorizia.[5]

By the mid-1700s the *Camaur* form was the norm while the other variations gradually disappeared from Cormòns. Table 2 identifies variations of the surnames applied to individuals in Cormòns.

Table 2

Surname Variations in Cormòns

SURNAME	GIVEN NAME	EVENT	DATE
Cobmaul	Gaspar	Witness	19 April 1475
Cappnmaul	Gaspar	Witness	10 February 1484
Cobmaur	Federicus	Receipt of payment	26 November 1518
Copmaul	Federicus	Transfer of land	11 August 1550
Comaul	Gian Paolo	Baptismal record	13 May 1609
Comauro	Hortensio	Baptismal record	8 January 1613
Comauro	Elisabetta	Baptismal record	10 March 1619
Comaur	Zuan	Marriage record	27 February 1629
Comaulo	Sabida	Baptismal record	27 October 1636
Camaul	Giovanni	Baptismal record	2 December 1655
Comauli	Mattia	Baptismal record	24 February 1661
Comaul	Alberto	Death record	27 August 1723
Camaur	Gian Domenico	Baptismal record	1 March 1664
Comaur	Giovanni Battista	Baptismal record	11 October 1672

Note: References for these entries appear throughout the text.

Even when spelled differently in records, the surname *Copmaul* was apparently intended. For example, Ludwig Schviz von Schivizhoffen, who abstracted and published vital records of the gentry in the County of Gorizia, uniformly reported the family name as *von Copmaul* even when the church records rendered it as *Comaul* or *Comaulo*.[6]

5. For example, Maestricht, the capital of Limburg Province in The Netherlands, was part of the Austrian Netherlands in the 1700s.

6. Ludwig Schiviz von Schivizhoffen, comp., *Der Adel in den Matriken der Graftschaft Görz und Gradiska* [The aristocracy in the registers of the county of Görz and Gradiska] (Görz, Austria: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1904), 29–32, 292, 377-78, and 422. For example, von Schivizhoffen identified a baptized child as "Cristoforus, Sohn des Hortensius von Copmaul," but the baptismal record identifies him as "Christoforo Comaulo" and his father as "Hortensio Comaulo." See baptismal record of Christoforo Comaulo son of Hortensio and Laura [—?—], 15 May 1645, IV Nati Dall'Anno 1638 fino all'Anno 1648 [Fourth (book) of births from the year 1638 until the year 1648] (arranged chronologically), Parrocchia Sant'Adalberto.

LINGUISTICS APPLIED TO GENEALOGY

Consideration of the name changes that might lead from *Kappenmaul* to *Camaur* is the task for "linguistic genealogy"—linguistic analysis applied to genealogical problems. The analysis examines different aspects of language (such as phonetics, phonology, morphology, and semantics) to determine changes that affected surnames over several centuries. A full examination of Camaur surname origins would require applying linguistic analysis to regional and dialectical forms of Friulian, German, and Italian over five centuries. Such analysis is well beyond the scope of this article; however, less comprehensive analysis reveals the surname's probable origins and suggests undocumented relationships.

Linguistic principles have been applied to surname assessments. George Redmonds has successfully adapted an approach to surname analysis first described in 1960 by British genealogist Anthony Wagner, who fifteen years later, elaborated on it using English pedigrees.[7] By evaluating surname origins and etymology, understanding can be reached of change caused by social, historical, and cultural forces.[8] Author Roger Minert has used phonetic analysis and correlation to explain surname changes.[9]

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

The surname *Kappenmaul* was first recorded in 1398 in Sesana, in the fiefdom of the Count of Gorizia (today, Slovenia).[10] The name is of German origin and means "hooded" or "cowled jaws of a beast."[11] A grant of a coat of arms and

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7. Anthony Wagner, *English Genealogy* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960); and Anthony Wagner, *Pedigree and Progress: Essays in the Genealogical Interpretation of History* (London; Phillimore, 1975).

8. George Redmonds, *Names and History, People, Places and Things* (New York: Hambledon and London, 2004), 19–20; and George Redmonds, *Surnames and Genealogy: A New Approach* (Lancashire, U.K.: Federation of Family History Societies, 2002), xv. Redmonds specifically treats surnames in Yorkshire, England.

9. Roger P. Minert, *Spelling Variations in German Names: Solving Family History Problems through Applications of German and English Phonetics* (Woods Cross, Utah: GRT Publications, 2000), 2–10.

10. Mertlein des Kappenmaul, "Raytung, Goriski Ubarialni Dohodki in Obracuni," Objavik Miklo Kos, comp., *Srednjeveski Urbarji za Slovenijo* [Report, Gorica area land registry income and accounts published by Miklo Kos, compiler, Medieval land register for Slovenia](Ljubljana, Slovenia: Izdala Slovenska Akademija Znannosti in Umetnosti, 1954), 118–21. Kappenmaul, overseer of the Schwarzenegg estate near Sesana, wrote the report in German in 1398.

11. The noun *die Kappe* (also *Cappe*) translates as cap or monk's cowl. The verb kappen means to decorate with a cowl. See Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* [German Dictionary] (Leipzig, Ger.: S. Heizel, 1878), 5:188–98. *Das Maul* translates as an animal's mouth or, in a vulgar sense, a person's. See Harold J. Betteridge, *Cassell's German-English, English-German Dictionary*, rev. ed. (New York: McMillan, 1978), s.v. "Kappenmaul." The combination of two words is an example of the morphological process known as compounding. See Victoria A. Fromkin, ed., *Linguistics: An Introduction to Linguistic Theory* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2000), 60–61.

patent of nobility to Hieronymus Copmaul of Cormòns in 1592 by the Archduke Ernst of Austria reflects this meaning. The central heraldic figure is a wolf with mouth open, teeth bared, and garbed in a monk's cowl. [12]

Kappenmaul may have originated as a nickname, like many surnames.[13] One candidate for the nickname was Heinrich der Maul, who figured prominently in a 1313 feud among vassals of the Count of Gorizia and was sometimes described as *Copmaul*. [14]

In the late 1600s the surname *Cappnmaul* was still recorded in Cormòns.[15] Table 1 lists most of its variant spellings between the late 1300s and 1700s, showing that several existed simultaneously. The surname *Camaur* appeared for the first time in Cormòns parish in 1664, and *Copmaul*, *Comauli*, and *Comaul* were used in documents reconfirming a grant of nobility to the brothers Hortensius and Leonardo Comaul of Cormòns in 1667.[16] Both *Cappnmaul* and *Cobmaul* were used in the late 1400s.[17] In 1518 Federicus *Cobmaul* of Cormòns acknowledged receipt of eighteen ducats in a document executed in Cormòns.[18]

Some variations suggest that foreign scribes with no familiarity with some sounds attempted to record surnames as if they contained sounds in their own language.[19] A speaker of German, for example, might have recorded *Kappenmaul*

12. See the reconfirmation of 1592 civil order of nobility by Holy Roman Emperor Leopold conferred upon Leonardo Copmaul and Hortensio Copmaul, kinsmen (*fratibus*), 28 February 1667, Allgemeines Domenicomeines Verwaltungarchiv, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna. See also file papers entitled "Copmaul Adelstand" [Noble social position of Copmaul], Allgemeines Verwaltung Archiv, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna.

13. Suzanne McVetty, "Anatomy of a Surname," in *Last Name Meanings* (http://www.last- names.net/Articles/Anatomy.asp : accessed 12 February 2005).

14. See Carl Freiherren von Czoernig, *Görz, Oesterreich's Nizza; das Land Görz und Gradisca* [Gorizia, Austria's Nice: the Province Görz and Gradiska](Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, K.u.K. Hof- und Universitäsbuchhändler, 1873), 534n. Wordplay on the meaning of a surname can be the basis for heraldic design.

15. Decree of vice-captain of Gorizia, 10 February 1484, document no. 55, Savio-Fonda collection, Archivio Storico, Musei Provinciali, Gorizia, Italy. "Gaspar Cappnmaul de Cormono" witnessed the decree.

16. See reconfirmation of 1592 civil order, 28 February 1667, Allgemeines Domenicomeines Verwaltungarchiv, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Vienna.

17. Leonard, son of Leonardo of Castronuovo, grant of lease to Domenico, son of Domenico of Vicentina, witnessed by the noble Gaspar, formerly Janzili, Cobmaul, 19 April 1475, document no. 53, parchments collection, Archivio Storico, Musei Provinciali, Gorizia.

18. Fredericus Cobmaul receipt, 26 November 1518, document no. 92, Savio-Fonda collection, Archivio Storico, Musei Provinciali, Gorizia.

19. For a discussion of the characters used to transcribe sounds by speech scientists and the uses of the International Phonetic Alphabet, see International Phonetic Association, *Handbook of the International Phonetic Association: A Guide to the use of the International Phonetic Alphabet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 3–21. Famous examples of this would include the rendering of Eastern European names at Ellis Island by American-speaking immigration officials.

or *Cappnmaul* more accurately than a Friulian or Italian who was tutored in Latin and had no working knowledge of German. Similarly, a German-speaking scribe from southern Austria could have easily interpreted an /a/ sound for an /o/.[20] In fact, *Copmaul* may have been a Slovenian interpretation of *Kappenmaul*, because the Slovenian given name *Janzilo* was recorded with the surname *Copmaul* when it surfaced in Cormòns in the early 1400s.[21]

ORTHOGRAPHIC CHANGES

Some spelling variations lasted for centuries while others were transitory and quickly abandoned. *Camaulo* and *Comaulo* are examples of the latter and may represent a fashionable trend for ecclesiastical authorities to "Latinize" German surnames. However, as table 1 demonstrates, *Comauli* and *Camauli* became permanent name forms in parts of Gorizia other than Cormòns. (The isolated appearance of the form *Chotmaul* might have reflected one person's speech impediment or a brief period in which a foreign scribe was doing the recording.)[22]

The surname *Camaur* also appeared in the Catholic marriage registers of Unterweißenbach in Upper Austria in 1683.[23] The appearance of this form in a German-speaking area, well after the phonological change represented by *Cappenmaul* to *Camaur*, suggests a migration from Cormòns to the environs of Unterweißenbach.

Camaur as an orthographic form may have reflected an ecclesiastical bias. *Camauro* is an Italian word defining the red cap outlined with white fur carried

20. Peter Ladefoged and Ian Maddieson, *The Sounds of the World's Languages* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2004), 289–90 and 293; and Heinz Pohl, *Die Kärntner (und österreichischen) Mundarten* [The Kaerntner and Austrian Dialects] (http://members.chello.at/heinz.pohl/Mundarten.htm : accessed 19 June 2005). The latter includes a comparison of Austrian and Bavarian dialectal sounds.

21. Janzili is a diminutive of Janzel. Janzil and Janzilo are forms of the given name Janez, a Slovene dialectical form for John. Matjar Jancal (Yugoslav Consul General), interview by author, 8 February 1990; memorandum of conversation held by author.

22. Receipt of one hundred ducats from Federicus Chotmaul of Cormòns, 13 March 1526, document no. 103, Savio-Fonda collection, Archivio Storico, Musei Provinciali, Gorizia. Other reasons might also account for this isolate. It is common among European languages—particularly the Romance languages—for the hard /k/ sound of /c/ to become a softer /ch/, or even /sh/ sound, e.g., castellus to chateau. In any language, the sounds represented here by /r/ and /l/, both known as liquid consonants, are interchangeable, as can be seen in people whose ability to speak has been damaged by stroke or other injuries to the language center of the brain. This produces, for example, such things as "litter" for "little" and "bettle" for "better." In the instance cited here, the phonological changes represented by the orthography may indicate more about the speech of the scribe than about the subject at hand. Personal communication, George F. Sanborn Jr., 5 May 2006.

23. Johann Baumgartner and Magdalena Camaur marriage record, 27 July 1683, Register Hochzeiten 2:67, Katholische Pfarramt, Unterweißenbach, Upper Austria, Austria.

by the popes in the 1500s and 1600s.[24] Parish priests may have referred to this familiar ecclesiastical term when they recorded *Comaul*, *Camaul* and *Comaur* as *Camaur* in baptismal, marriage, and death registers. *Camaur*, *Camauër*, *Comauli*, and *Camauli* are surname variations that continue to exist to the present.

Some orthographic changes were prompted by Fascist policies encouraging "Italianization" of "foreign-sounding" surnames after the Italian annexation of Austrian territory following World War I.[25] Following this principle, almost certainly, *Coceancig* became *Coceani* or *Cociani*; *Zuppel*, *Zuppello*; and *Zarnettig*, *Zarnetti*.

PHONETIC ANALYSIS

Changes in the sounds and sound sequences over time can result from external sources, such as contacts between speakers of different languages applying the phonetic habits of their native languages.[26] Table 3 demonstrates that orthographic changes over time reflect similar, if not identical, representations of speech.[27] Four sounds and sound patterns remain constant, representing the unique "signature" of the surname, namely: (1) the consonants C or *K*, representing one sound; (2) the letter *m*; (3) the vowels *a* and *u*, which are combined as a diphthong, resembling the */ow/* in *cow*. The letter C is followed by either an *a* or an *o*, indicating that the sound was historically unstressed. Furthermore, the */ah/* sound approximates an */oh/* sound, represented as a front vowel with a rounded lip position of the Kärntener dialect of southern Austria.[28] A scribe unfamiliar with such dialects could interpret *Camaur* as *Comaur*.[29]

Phonological analysis demonstrates that some surnames in Gorizia Province, such as *Comar*, do not share the same stem sounds and are unrelated to Camaur. Comar is likely related to Cumar and Kumar, all found in Cormòns.[30]

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24. Piero Ribera, comp., *Cassell's Italian Dictionary* (New York: Macmillan, 1983), s.v. "camauro."

25. Dennison I. Russinow, *Italy's Austrian Heritage 1919–1946* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 199.

26. Nina Spada and Patsy M. Lightbown, "Second Language Acquisition," in Norbert Schmitt, *An Introduction to Applied Linguistics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 115–16 and 122.

27. See International Phonetic Association, *Handbook of the International Phonetic Association*, 3–21.

28. Heinz Dieter Pohl, *Die Kärntner (und österreichischen) Mundarten* [The Kaerntner and Austrian Dialects] (http://members.chello.at/heinz.pohl/Mundarten.htm : accessed 19 June 2005); and Ladefoged and Maddieson, *Sounds of the World's Languages*, 289–90 and 293.

29. For example, Zuan Comaur and Madalena Maghet marriage record, 27 February 1629 in Cormòns, Libro de copulati dall'anno il di 6 giugno 1628–1663 28 9re [Book of marriages from 6 June 1628 to 28 November 1628], 2:4, Parrocchia Sant'Adalberto.

30. Telephone listings for Comar in *Società Italiano per l'Esecizio delle Telecommunicazioni, Gorizia e provincia 1992–93* [Italian telephone book for Gorizia area, 1992–93], 70, 72, and 84.

Table 3

Cappnmaul to Camaur:
Interrelation of Phonetic and Orthographic Changes

Initial voiceless velar stop	Unstressed vowel	Voiceless bilabial plosive	Voiced nasal	Voiced bilabial nasal	Stressed diphthong	Voiced alveolar sound
C	A	PP	N	M	AU	L
C	O	P	*	M	AU	L
C	O	B	*	M	AU	R
C	O	*	*	M	AU	L
C	A	*	*	M	AU	L
C	O	*	*	M	AU	R
C	A	*	*	M	AU	R

* Orthographic omissions

Other surnames in Cormòns with orthographic variations suggest similar developmental patterns. For example, linguistic interpretation suggests relationships among individuals in Cormòns bearing the surnames of *Macor*, *Macori*, and *Macorig* and *Maur*, *Mauric*, *Mauri*, *Mauro*, and *Mavric* as well as probable Slovenian origins.[31]

The most flexible part of the *Camaur* family name until the mid-eighteenth century was the ending sound attached to the stem. As early as 1511, the final *l* was occasionally dropped; and, by 1518, the last consonant was interpreted as *r* instead of *l*.[32] Because vocal production of the /l/ and /r/ is similar, the sounds are easily confused.[33] The confusion suggests that the name's ending sound was weak and unstressed. Other ending sounds, such as /o/ or /l/, may have been added to stress the /l/ or /r/ sounds. For example, in 1694 an Italian scribe's rendering of the surname *Camaule* probably was an attempt to emphasize the /l/

31. The forms Macor, Macori, etc., could be variations of the surname under consideration. In many regional dialects, including those heard in vales and cantons in northern Italy and Switzerland, consonants are transposed. For example, Camor can become Macor. Coupled with the liquid consonant problem of /r/ and /l/, such transposing of consonants can lead to many variations that are linguistically predictable as long as other examples of these shifts in the same dialect are found.

32. See Federicus and Alexander, sons of Gaspar Chotmaul petition to reclaim land in the vicinity of Raiana, 23 December 1511, document no. 82 (Chotmau), and Federicus Cobmaur acknowledges receipt of 18 ducats from Michael of Vidrignano, 26 November 1518, document no. 92 (Cobmaur), Savio-Fonda collection, Archivio Storico, Musei Provinciali, Gorizia.

33. The /l/ and /r/ sounds are voiced alveolar (upper gum ridge) sounds. See Geoffrey K. Pullam and William A. Ladusaw, *Phonetic Symbol Guide*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 103–109, 160–64, and 166–67.

sound.[34] As noted before, several of the name forms with the ending *i*, such as *Comauli*, *Comauri*, and *Camauli*, became permanent, like *Camaur*, in the mid-1700s. Later, however, *Camaur* was the only form of the family name in the Cormòns area.[35] As table 4 indicates, *Camauli*, *Comauri* and *Comauli* are found in places other than Cormòns.

The variations depicted in table 4 represent related surnames that are derived from the same phonetic stem, /k'amaʊ/, or /khamaʊ/. The combination of four sounds, namely, /k/, /a/, /m/, and /aʊ/ has remained constant over the centuries and, together as /k'maʊ/, represent the phonological stem of the family name. The application of /n/ and /p/ in the early forms *Kappenmaul*, *Cappnmaul*, *Capmaul*, and *Copmaul* disappeared from the stem. The /n/ and /m/ are closely related nasal sounds; and /p/ is a voiceless sound[36] which, as suggested by the written form *Chotmaul*, may have become an aspirated sound before disappearing entirely. Such early forms were likely to survive as long as the articulator and interpreter understood their Germanic origin and meaning. Once the combination of sounds lacked meaning to either the articulator or interpreter, the auditory interpretations gave way to different written forms.

Table 4

Contemporary Name Variations

SPELLING	LOCATION
Camauer	Argentina, United States
Camauër	Belgium
Camauli	Gorizia, Trieste, Cervignano
Comauli	Gorizia, Genoa
Comauri	Trieste
Komauli	Gorizia, Trieste
Komavli	Ljubljana
Camaur	Cormòns, Trieste, Austria, United States

Note: These examples were taken from online and hardcopy telephone books.

34. Adele Brandi (Director, Archivio di Stato, Gorizia), letters to author, 25 March 1986 and 2 May 1986. See also, Serie Notai [Notaries Series], b15, fasc. 149, 26, Archivio Notarile, Archivio di Stato, Gorizia.

35. For example, Anna Maria, daughter of Daniele Camaul, death record, 25 November 1740, VI Morti Dall'Anno 1719 fino all'Anno 1744 [Sixth book of deaths from the year 1719 until the year 1744] (arranged chronologically), Parrocchia Sant'Adalberto.

36. Geoffrey K. Pullum and William A. Ladusaw, *Phonetic Symbol Guide*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 111–26 and 151.

OTHER FACTORS

Linguistic genealogy must also take into account factors such as geographic proximity. The name variations in table 2 are all found within an area adequate to accommodate movements of an extended family, given travel limitations before 1700. Historical analysis suggests ties among families separated by distance.

In addition to *Camaur*, surnames such as *Camauli*, *Comauli*, and *Comauri* are found in the telephone white pages for Gorizia and Trieste. *Camaur* occurs in Cormòns, Trieste, Austria, and the United States. Similar surnames, *Camauer* or *Camauër* (the use of ër is applied to approximate the same ending sound as *er* in French pronunciation), are found in telephone white pages of Belgium, Sweden, and the United States (table 4). Application of phonetic analysis suggests that the Camaur lines in Trieste, Austria, and the United States are all descended from the same phonetic ancestor.

One such example is the *Camauër* family of modern-day Belgium. Is the similarity between the *Camaur* family of Cormòns and the *Camauër* family just a coincidence? Linguistic genealogy provides an assessment and a clue.

Camauër became a standard transcribed form in the mid-eighteenth century but under much different conditions. A variation, *Camauer*, is found not only in Belgium but in The Netherlands and Argentina.[37] Recorded versions of *Camauër* first appeared in the Austrian Netherlands, which lay in what is approximately present-day Belgium and part of The Netherlands.[38]

Some documentary evidence suggests that the progenitor of the Camauër family may have been Antonio Camaul, born in Cormòns in 1709.[39] Catholic church records in the vicinity of Maestricht record the attempts of Flemish-speaking Catholic clergy to transcribe the sound */k'maur/* as *Camhouwer* and *Camawer*.[40] However, it was also recorded in a baptismal record in Maestricht

37. L. G. J. van Booma (Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, Prins Willem Alexanderhof, Den Haag, The Netherlands) letter to author, 22 March 1999; and "Telexplorer," *Guia de soluciones* [on line white pages for Argentina] (http://www.telexplorer.com.ar/telexplorer/? : accessed 21 May 2006). The listings include eighteen Camauer entries.

38. See, for example, Antonius Camauer and Maria Theresia Vernié marriage record, 3 May 1778, unknown Roman Catholic parish in Maastricht, The Netherlands; photocopy provided by Bernard Camauër. Helena Camauër and Elizabetha Camauër witnessed the baptism of Josephus, son of Joannes Gaspar Camauër and Maria Anna [Poré], 24 October 1776, baptismal record No. 240, unknown Roman Catholic parish; photocopy provided by Bernard Camauër.

39. Antonio Camaul, [son of] Adalberto and Lucia, baptismal record, 6 July 1709, Nati Dall'Anno 1701–1716 [Births of the year 1701 to 1716], vol. 10, unpaginated, Parrocchia Sant'Adalberto. The author did not find a marriage or death record for Antonio in Cormòns.

40. Bernard Camauër (Brussels, Belgium), letter to author, 2 December 1985, conveying photocopies of some baptismal records from Catholic parishes in Maestricht, The Netherlands, and Namur, Belgium.

as *Kamaur*.[41] *Kamaur* was sometimes substituted for *Camaur* in Austrian army records.[42]

Language and historical considerations are important in understanding Cormòns parish registers. Although the earliest are in Italian, the subjects of the records probably did not speak Italian because most Cormòns inhabitants spoke Friulian. Some records give a Friulian version, but another record about the same individual is in Italian or Venetian. In this regard, it is significant that the parish of Cormòns, although in Austria, was under the ecclesiastical authority of the Patriarchate of Aquiliea in Venetian territory.[43]

CONCLUSION

Linguistic analysis provides credible evidence that today's *Camaur* and *Camauër* surnames evolved from *Kappenmaul* or *Cappnmaul* surnames of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. *Kappenmaul* was the earliest recorded form representing a sound order that became the starting point for successive sound changes. Phonological analysis reveals a common stem and a presumption of descent that is not contradicted.

Written versions of unusual surnames represent a scribe's attempts to record unfamiliar sounds. Therefore, different orthographic forms are common and should be examined in the context of phonetic and phonological development. The failure to analyze each form can result in discarding valuable data.

A comprehensive chronological list of orthographic variations is essential to begin phonetic analysis. In this Camaur case, documentary evidence might establish relationships suggested by linguistic analysis.

One cautionary note: Linguistic methodology requires knowledge of the languages involved, including local dialects. Without such knowledge, the genealogist must consult a historical linguist, philologist, or sophisticated speaker, particularly one who is educated in the phonetics, phonology, morphology, and regional applications of the language. In the foregoing analysis, a native Italian speaker fluent in the dialects of Calabria or Liguria, or a German speaker fluent in the Viennese dialect, would have been inappropriate.

A few basic conclusions aid in the understanding of the "building-blocks" assessment of the Camaur surname as evaluated by linguistic analysis:

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41. Agnes Kamaur baptismal record, 26 February 1737, St. Catherine's Parish, Maestricht, The Netherlands; photocopy supplied by Bernard Camauër.

42. Haupt-Grundbuchblatt, Josef Kamaur (Cormòns, Gradisca District), 1886, Atti militari del esercito Austro-Ungarico [Military records of the Austro-Hungarian army], Archivio di Stato, Trieste, Italy.

43. Giorgio Nazzi, *Storia di Cormòns* [History of Cormòns] (Cormòns: Editrice Tipografia Moretti, 1933), 69.

- Historical and cultural background, indispensable to genealogical and linguistic analysis, may explain the origins of a surname.
- Orthographic changes reflect changes in sound perceptions, especially after a surname loses its original meaning.
- Combinations of sounds may point to related surnames and individuals.
- The process of "linguistic genealogy" can help verify relationships and provide clues for further research.

The circumstantial evidence yielded by linguistic analysis suggests relationships among the families in Gorizia with similar names, the Camaurs found in Unterweißenbach, and the Camauers of Belgium and Argentina. George Redmonds's methodology in the study of Yorkshire surnames can be applied to surnames of other European origins. Such analysis can provide provocative evidence of relationship but will not by itself yield a firm genealogical conclusion

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Slaveholding Among the Creeks

[From *Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1881*, microfilm publication M234 (Washington, D.C. : National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.), roll 2, frames 84–87.]

3 March 1817

Alexander Arbuthnott [a trader from the Bahamas] to Commanding Officer, Ft. Gaines [Creek Nation]

Peter McQueen, an unfortunate Indian Chief who was some years since obliged to fly from his town of Tuckybatche on the Tallapoohatchee River [because of his leadership of the Red Stick faction during the War of 1812], asks for the return of "a Negro man named Joe (taken from him since the peace), which he states to be in Fort Gaines. When McQueen left Tuckybatche, his property was considerable, both in negroes and cattle; of the former, ten grown negroes were taken by a halfbreed man named Barney, nine of which he learns were sold and one girl is still in possession of said Barney. Twenty able Negroes were taken by a chief named Colonel or Auchi Hatche, who acts also as an interpreter .... Should they be given up by the persons holding them, there is one faithful negro among them, named Charles, who will bring them to him [McQueen] at Okoloknee River.

—*Contributed by Elizabeth Shown Mills*, CG, CGL, FNGS, FASG

Notes and Documents

Joseph Workman: Reflections of a Former Bondsman

By Ruth Randall

Evolution of the "peculiar institution" in Pennsylvania, rare documents, and an old man's memories enrich our understanding of how to research the African American experience.

Most people hear the word "slavery" and conjure up thoughts of cotton fields and the rural South. Rarely do we associate the "peculiar institution" with Northern states. In Pennsylvania, William Penn's vision of a community where people of varied languages and customs could live together, men and women could follow the religion of their choice, and men could participate fully in their government, excluded those of African descent.[1] This exclusion produced documents full of valuable detail about enslaved people.

The unique development of slavery in Pennsylvania was shaped by its leaders. Benjamin Franklin and William Penn were among many prominent owners of human chattel.[2] In 1701, Penn proposed to free slaves after a specific number of years and set aside for them a six-thousand-acre township—"Freetown"— a plan which the General Assembly quashed.[3] In 1712, William Southeby, one of many Quakers who abhorred slavery, petitioned unsuccessfully for the emancipation of all slaves.[4]

On 5 March 1725/26, Pennsylvania passed *An Act for the Better Regulating of Negroes* in the province, otherwise known as the "Black Codes." Section 8

© Ruth Randall; 12428 Prospect Avenue, NE; Albuquerque, NM 87112-3649. Ms. Randall is a retired human resources specialist who has worked for several years as a volunteer in a local Family History Center. She mentors those searching for enslaved ancestors. The author thanks Rebecca Robinson Davis for sharing Joseph Workman's letter, which made this work possible.

1. Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and its Aftermath* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), x.

2. Ibid., xiv and 11. Franklin owned five slaves and Penn owned twelve.

3. John B. B. Trussell Jr., *William Penn: Architect of a Nation* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1980), 56.

4. Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, x.

of the statute forbade the cohabitation of whites with "any Negro" even if they were married to one another. White violators of that law could be fined thirty pounds or "sold for a servant not exceeding seven years." Free Negro violators could be enslaved for marrying a white person. Offspring of free blacks could be bound out to service until the daughters reached the age of twenty-one and the sons twenty-four, respectively.[5]

By 1775 many Pennsylvanians believed that slavery directly contradicted their abhorrence of British rule.[6] The Constitution of Pennsylvania, completed in 1776, declared "that all men are born equally free and independent." Unfortunately, it did not nullify the "Black Codes" of 1725/26.

After years of debate, on 1 March 1780 Pennsylvania established *An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery*, outlawing the enslavement of any child born in the commonwealth unless the child was born to a slave mother.[7] Such a child, called a "term slave," would be enslaved until age twenty-eight.[8] The effects of this law persisted until the late 1800s with complicated results. For instance, an enslaved infant female in 1780, when *An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery* became law, could have borne a child in 1820 at age forty. That child would not have been free until 1848, sixty-eight years after the passage of the law.

The law of gradual emancipation had a twofold objective: to abolish slavery over time and to appease those who wished to preserve their investments. On 29 March 1788 the law was amended to eradicate loopholes. It required owners to register the births of "term slaves" and not separate them from their parents.[9]

A LETTER ILLUMINATES THE PAST

On 5 February 1885, more than a century after the *Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery* became law, Joseph Workman put pen to paper responding to a letter from a grandson of Thomas Ramsay Sr.[10] Joseph, apparently a term slave in a branch of the Ramsay family, is believed to have addressed his missive to James Cross Ramsay Jr., a resident of Springhill Township, Fayette County, Pennsylvania.[11] Workman's letter is a brief, poignant autobiography spanning his youth to a respectable old age.[12]

5. "An Act for the Better Regulating of Negroes in This Province," 5 March 1725/26, *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania*, secs. 292.001–013.

6. Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, xii.

7. "An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery," *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania*, secs. 881.001–014.

8. "Frequently asked Questions-Slavery," in *Afrolumens Project: Central Pennsylvania African American History for Everyone* (http://www.afrolumens.org/slavery/faq.html : accessed 18 March 2004).

9. Act of 1780 Amended. "An Act to Explain and Amend an Act Entitled 'An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery,'" *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania*, secs. 394.002–006.

10. Lowell M. Duffey and Marcia P. Peura, in *Cross, Duffey and Ramsay Lines* (Hanceville, Ala.: privately printed, 1998), provide a well-documented account of Thomas Ramsay Sr. and his descendants.

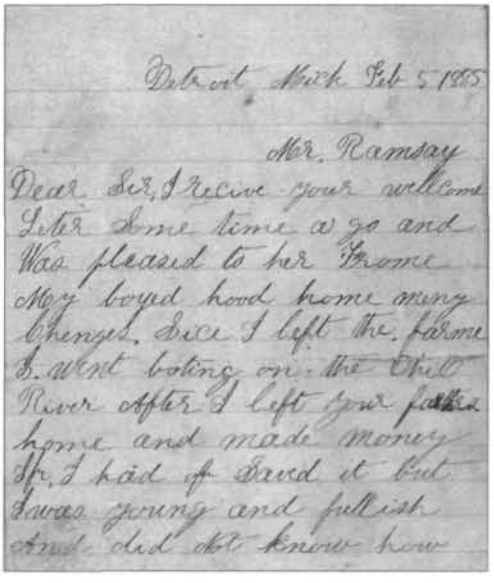
11. Memorial card for James C. Ramsay (31 January 1830–20 February 1916), owned by his great-granddaughter, Rebecca Robinson Davis, Rio Rancho, New Mexico. The chain of custody of this letter and its content support the identification of the recipient.

12. Joseph Workman, letter to "Mr. Ramsey"; in possession of Rebecca Robinson Davis.

Detroit Mich Feb 5 1885[13]
Mr. Ramsay

Dear Sir, I recive your wellcome
Leter Some time a go and
Was pleased to her Frome
My boyed hood home meny
Chenges. Sice I left the farme
I went boting on the Ohio
River[14] *After I left your fathers*[15]
home and made money
If I had of Saved it but
I was young and fullish
And did Not know how
to keep it Spent as fast as
Made then I went to the
Mexcoe Ware[16] *I thought a gradel*
of your Mother your Farther
I thought was to hard on me
What Caused me to leave
I wanted to see my Mother[17]
And I went to hunt for
her and Never found her
I herd after that that She
Was Ded. I often think of your
Grand Farthers Christmas
Diners allways had on Newyrs
Rost beff and plumb puding

First Page of Joseph Workman's Letter


Detroit Mich Feb 5 1885
Mr. Ramsay
Dear Sir, I recive your wellcome
Leter Some time a go and
Was pleased to her Frome
My boyed hood home meny
Chenges. Sice I left the farme
I went boting on the Ohio
River after I left your fathers
home and made money
If I had of Saved it but
I was young and fullish
And did Not know how

Note: Courtesy of Rebecca Robinson Davis.

13. See *1884 Detroit City Directory* (Detroit: J. W. Weeks, 1884), 1,292. The Joseph Workman entry reports that he lives in a house at "229 Maple."

14. Workman married in Jefferson County, in southeastern Indiana near the Ohio River. See Joseph Workman-Jane Lewis marriage license, 20 August 1844, Jefferson Co. Marriage Record 1841–1845:454, County Clerk, Madison, Ind.; microfilm 549,402, Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City. Joseph gave his occupation as sailor in the 1850 census. See George DeBaptiste household, 1850 U.S. census, Wayne County, Mich., population schedule, Detroit, p. 152B; National Archives (NA) microfilm publication M432, roll 365.

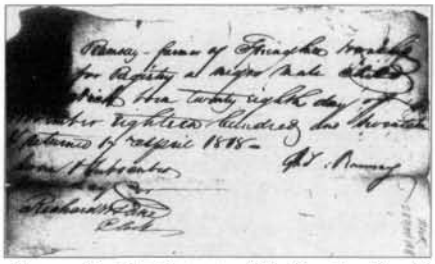
15. For further detail about James C. Ramsay Sr., M.D., 12 March 1791–28 September 1843, and other members of the Ramsay family, see Duffey and Peura, *Cross, Duffey and Ramsay Lines*, 347.

16. Attempts to verify Workman's claimed service have been unsuccessful. Service in the Navy seems most likely. See B. Davis Schwartz Memorial Library, "African American Freedom Fighters: Soldiers for Liberty," *Long Island University* (http://www.liunet.edu/cwis/cwp/library/aaffsfl.htm : accessed 18 April 2005). A search of the index to service records, both naval and army, was also negative for the name Joseph Workman and variants. See *Index to Rendezvous Reports, Before and After the Civil War (1846–1861, 1865–1884)*; NA microfilm T1098, roll 32.

17. If Joseph was a term slave, his mother would have been a slave in 1780. The only further information concerning her is from the 1880 census entry for Joseph Workman, in which he indicates that his parents were born in Pennsylvania. See Joseph Workman entry, 1880 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., pop. sch., Detroit, enumeration district (ED) 312, p. 537, dwell. 279, fam. 316; NA microfilm T9, roll 614.

For Diner[18] *Reve Ramasay*[19] *Came*
to See me Thankgiven and
brot a nice large turky. and
One for Christmas diner were
Up to Rev Ramasay hous to
See the Old Clock[20] *it Looked*
Just as it did when it Set
In the Large Room. What
has be come of Joseph Ramsay[21]
Family he lived on the mounte
Gale River and your Brother
Samel[22] *family I never newe, Easter*[23]
I newe Elick[24] *Nick*[25] *an Dan*[26]
When I left they all belonged
To the old man he bout the
Grand Farther and Dauter[27]

Birth Record of "Nick"



Source: Registration no. 121, Fayette Co. Birth Returns for Negroes and Mulattoes, 1788–1826, nos. 87–139, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg; microfilm 1,449,141, frame 72, Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

18. The offering of a fine meal was in all likelihood an extension of the practice of Southern planters providing their slaves during the holiday season with some of the "best food from the private stock, the same food that would ordinarily be shared only with family and invited guests." That practice was a carryover of "what landed gentlemen in Europe had long been expected to do for their dependents." It was also a means of appeasing the slaves and thereby averting thoughts of possible rebellions. Stephen Nissenbaum, *The Battle for Christmas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Vintage Books Edition, November 1997), 271.

19. See *Detroit City Directory, 1890* (Detroit: R. L. Polk, 1890). See entry for "Rev. Wm. W. Ramsay, pastor, Central Methodist Episcopal Church, 21 Adams Avenue."

20. Rebecca Robinson Davis owns a photograph of the grandfather clock. According to the contents of an undated letter by Mrs. Davis's mother, Millie Sackett Robinson, "Pa (John Cross Ramsay Jr.) sold a Grand Father clock to a Dr. Ramsay from Ohio .... Pa used to get letters from him .... The letter had to be written to Pa as the clock was sold to Rev. Ramsay by Pa. I never saw the clock, it was sold when money was scarce." Letter owned by Rebecca Robinson Davis.

21. [Jo]seph Ramsey household, 1820 U.S. census, Greene Co., Pa., Dunkard Twp., p. 330; NA microfilm M33, roll 98. Joseph and Samuel Ramsay were recorded two households apart. Greene County and Fayette County are separated by the Monongahela River.

22. [Sa]muel Ramsey household, 1820 U.S. census, Greene Co., Pa., Dunkard Township, p. 330; NA microfilm M33, roll 98.

23. Attempts by the author to identify "Easter" (or Esther) were unsuccessful.

24. "Negro male child" named "Alek," registration no. 103, 14 September 1815, by Thomas Ramsay, in Fayette Co. Birth Returns for Negroes and Mulattoes, 1788–1826, nos. 87–139, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg; FHL microfilm 1,449,141, frame 32. There were several children's births recorded into Workman households in Fayette County during this time period, but none named Joseph.

25. "Negro male child" named "Nick," registration no. 121, 17 April 1818, ibid.; frame 72.

26. "Negro male child" named "Dan," registration no. 142, 7 February 1821, ibid.; frame 103.

27. Alek and Dan's relationship as brothers is likely given that their mothers' names were "Bell" and "Bella," respectively, on their birth registrations. (Nick's mother's name is not on his birth registration.) As cited above, Thomas Ramsay registered the births of Alek, Nick, and Dan. In 1830 the James C. Ramsey and Thomas Ramsey households did not include any slaves. See James C. Ramsey and Thomas Ramsey households, 1830 U.S. census, Fayette Co., Pa., Springhill, p. 150; NA microfilm M19, roll 162. In the category "Free Colored Persons," Thomas Ramsey had one male under ten and two males between ten and twenty-four, which correspond to the ages of Nick, Dan, and Aleck. Bell apparently is not in either household, nor is her unnamed father. There is a sixteen to twenty-four-year-old free black female in James's household, who could conceivably be Bell with the tick mark in the wrong age column.

Frome Virginer, I never Seen your Unkel, Warlick Ramsay and Unkel tomas Ramsay but I have Seen his cot haing up in the Closet and pistels in the Larg Room up Stirs[28] *Can You tell me who Agnes and Tomes Ramsay*[29] *who lived With your Grand Farther Some five years be for I left I reclet henry MCleary*[30] *he lived on hill I thought he was Dead. Give him my love and tell him I am living And am qute and old man My hair, is quite grey. Now I have A wife*[31] *and one Dauter*[32] *I had One Son*[33] *he Did 7 hears a go he was 16 years old When he Dide I was Sorey to her that you had Lost your Wife*[34] *I hope that*

Ramsay Slave House, Fayette County, Pennsylvania



Note: Courtesy of Rebecca Robinson Davis.

28. The Ramsays used the same names in multiple generations. If the men meant were sons of Thomas Ramsay Sr., both Warwick and Thomas Ramsay died in the War of 1812. See Duffey and Peura, *Cross, Duffey and Ramsay Lines*, 347.

29. Agnes and Thomas were two children of Thomas Ramsay Sr.'s deceased son, Charles Ramsay, named in the 4 May 1832 codicil to Thomas's will. See Thomas Ramsay will (26 September 1818), Fayette County Wills No. 1, vol. 3:182, Register of Wills, Uniontown, Pa.; FHL microfilm 0,861,066.

30. Henry McClary was a neighbor of the Ramsays. See Henry M'Clary household, 1820 U.S. census, Fayette Co., Pa., p. 110; NA microfilm M33, roll 103.

31. Joseph Workman-Jane Lewis marriage license, 20 August 1844, Jefferson Co. Marriage Record, 1841–1845:454, County Clerk, Madison, Ind.; FHL microfilm 549,402. Madison is on the Ohio River. Jane appeared as Joseph's widow in the Detroit city directories, beginning in 1887. See *Detroit City Directory for 1887* (Detroit: R. L. Polk, 1887), 1,461, which lists Jane L. Workman as "col'd, wid Joseph," residing at "222 Maple" and states that "Joseph Workman died Aug. 26 1886." His death record is not found among the properly registered deaths in Wayne County. Also, "Anne" Workman entry, 1900 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., pop. sch., Detroit, Ward 3, ED 27, sheet 2B, 596 Antome Street, dwell. 42, fam. 49, line 95; NA microfilmT623, roll 748. Jane (incorrectly called "Anne"), resided at the Phyllis Wheatley Home, with her unmarried daughter, Anne. The census entry for this institution is incomplete and somewhat garbled. Jane Workman is last seen in the 1904 Detroit city directory, residing at the Phyllis Wheatley Home, widow of "Benjamin." See *Detroit City Directory for the Year Commencing August 1st 1904* (Detroit: R. L. Polk, 1904), 2,457.

32. Joseph Workman household, 1880 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., pop. sch., Detroit, ED 312, sheet 31, dwell. 279, fam. 316. In addition to Workman, the home included his wife Jane, born in Virginia, age forty-six and keeping house, and their daughter Anne, born in Indiana, age twenty-two, a seamstress. Workman's occupation is "janitor in bank."

33. Joseph Workman household, 1870 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., pop. sch., Detroit, p. 194, dwell. 1,495, fam. 1,620; NA microfilm M593, roll 715. The household, all "mulatto," included Joseph Workman, born in Pennsylvania, Jane Workman, born in Virginia, Anne Workman, born in Indiana, and nine-year-old "Cashes" [Cassius], born in Michigan. Efforts to determine the exact date (approximately 1878) and cause of Cassius's death were unsuccessful.

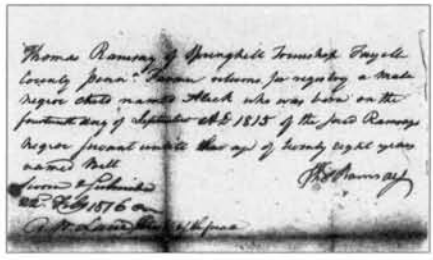
34. James C. Ramsay Jr.'s wife, Mary H. Scott, died 28 April 1868 in Springhill Twp., Fayette Co., Pa. See Duffey and Peura, *Cross, Duffey and Ramsay Lines*, 366.

your Children will be a comforte
to you I shall neve for get
your Grand Farthe you
must all ways keep his
Grave looking Green I sould
Lik to See the farm once
Mor Frome yours truly
Joseph Workman

I Send you Some Detroit papers

[I presume this to be
A Slave of the Thomas Ramsay family][35]

Birth Record of "Aleck"



Source: Registration no. 103, Fayette Co. Birth Returns for Negroes and Mulattoes, 1788–1826, nos. 87–139, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg; microfilm 1,449,141, frame 32, Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

COMMENTARY

The correspondence between James Cross Ramsay Jr. and Workman may have been instigated by the Reverend William W. Ramsay, who resided for a time in Detroit during his tenure as pastor at the Central Methodist Episcopal Church. The two men may have had a chance encounter in the Detroit National Bank, where Workman was employed as a janitor.[36]

It is easy to envision the questions in Ramsay's letter. "What became of you after you left the farm?" "What caused you to leave?" "Do you have a family?" "Did you ever meet my Uncle Warwick or Uncle Thomas?" "Old Henry McClary sends his regards, do you remember him?" Workman's answers are a treasure trove for both genealogists and social historians.

Beyond the facts that the two men came from the same place and had not been in contact for at least forty years, there are few clues to their previous relationship. Notwithstanding the presumptive note written decades later by a Ramsay descendant, Joseph Workman might not have been anyone's slave. Described as a Pennsylvania-born mulatto in the 1850, 1860, and 1870 censuses and as a black in the 1880 census,[37] Joseph was likely born about 1818, give or

35. Note penned on original letter by Millie Sackett Robinson, granddaughter of James C. Ramsay Jr.

36. *1884 Detroit City Directory*, 1,292. See entry for "Joseph Workman (Col'd) janitor, Det. National Bank, h 222 Maple."

37. Joseph Woorkman [sic] household, 1850 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., pop. sch., Detroit, p. 152B, dwell./fam. 270. Also, Joseph Workman household, 1860 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., pop. sch., Detroit, p. 548, dwell. 345, fam. 369; NA microfilm M653, roll 566. Also, Joseph Workman household, 1870 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., pop. sch., Detroit, p. 194, dwell. 1,495, fam. 1,620; and Joseph Workman household, 1880 U.S. census, Wayne Co, Mich, pop. sch., Detroit, ED 312, sheet 31, dwell. 279, fam. 316. Ramsay clearly had no idea how old Joseph was, or he would not have asked if Joseph knew his two uncles, both killed in the War of 1812, years before Joseph's birth. The 1870 and 1880 censuses give a believable estimate of his age, 52 and 61, respectively.

take a year.[38] Birth returns for term slaves exist for this period in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, but none was filed for Joseph.

Workman's respectful salutation to the younger Ramsay demonstrates a line of demarcation defined by race. Even so, it did not prevent Joseph from chiding Ramsay about keeping his grandfather's grave green. Disparity in their ages and racial attitudes of the time make it unlikely that the men were friends in their youth, so what explains the implied cordiality between them? James C. Ramsay Jr., the son of a physician, probably enjoyed a privileged life. Perhaps Joseph Workman served as a manservant in his father's household. Workman's familiarity with the layout of the interior of the Ramsay home, his fond memory of the senior James Ramsay's wife, and his knowledge of Ramsay's extended family and neighbors suggest that he was at least a domestic servant.

If he had been a term slave, did treatment by James C. Ramsay Sr. prompt Workman to leave before he was free? If his mother had been enslaved, does Joseph's wanting to find her imply that the senior Ramsay had improperly separated mother and child?

Many formerly enslaved people searched for family and friends from whom they had been involuntarily separated.[39] Bondswomen cherished family and were protective of their offspring.[40] Was Joseph's mother the property of a Workman family who took her elsewhere? Was Joseph an adult when he and his mother were separated or did someone violate the provisions of Section 6 of the *Act to Explain and Amend an Act Entitled 'An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery'*? Might Workman's mother, upon receiving her freedom, have bound her son out as an indentured servant, thus ensuring some element of security for him?[41]

Workman's designation as mulatto and his position in the Ramsay household spark curiosity about his paternity.[42] Did something about Workman's physical appearance cause the Reverend Ramsay to recognize him? Workman was the maiden name of Charles Ramsey's wife. Charles, a son of Thomas Ramsay Sr., resided with his wife Jane in Columbiana County, Ohio. Other Workman families lived near the Ramsays in Fayette County, Pennsylvania. Joseph Workman has

38. Joseph Workman household, 1860 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., pop. sch., Detroit, p. 548, dwell. 345, fam. 369. In this census Joseph's age is stated as thirty, an unlikely number given his recall of Thomas Ramsay who died in 1833. See Thomas Ramsay will (1833), Fayette Co. Wills No. 1, vol. 3:361. Also, Joseph Woorkman [*sic*] household, 1850 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., pop. sch., Detroit, p. 152B, dwell./fam. 270. Joseph is thirty-eight years old, i.e., born about 1812.

39. Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), 149 and 284–85.

40. Ibid., 319.

41. Nash and Soderlund, in *Freedom by Degrees*, 179, suggest that, "for some black parents just emerging from slavery indenturing their children was an option."

42. DeWitt S. Dykes Jr., in "Mixed-Race Ancestry," in Paula K. Byers, ed., *African American Genealogical Sourcebook* (Detroit: Gale Research, 1995), 9, says that, when tracing mixed-race ancestry, "one can look for evidence of domestic service or special relationship to the slave owner's family."

not been connected to any of these people of the same surname. Research to determine if, or how, the Ramsays acquired him is inconclusive.

Workman's language contrasts sharply with that in slave narratives collected by the Federal Writers Project in the mid-1930s.[43] His written words are untarnished by the biased ear of a second person and are free of the stereotypical speech patterns ascribed to former bonds people. His errors in spelling and grammar are not atypical of his era.[44]

Unlike Southern states, Pennsylvania did not implement laws that forbade slaves to learn to read and write.[45] During the mid-1700s, Episcopalians and Quakers started schools for black children. However, those places of learning were more prevalent in urban areas than rural settings like the Thomas Ramsay home.[46] Perhaps a member of the Ramsay household taught Workman to read and write.

Workman's letter, a matter-of-fact narrative of his experiences, portrays a successful transition from boyhood home to a life of adventure and self-reliance. It is free of apologies and pleadings for acceptance or affirmation.

Mementos such as photographs and letters passed down through several generations and tucked away in boxes and drawers may open doorways to the past. Joseph Workman's missive is one such letter, written over a century ago, that provides a glimpse into the complexities of slavery.

43. *Born in Slavery: Slave Narratives from the Federal Writers Project, 1936–1938* (http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/snhtml/snhome.html).

44. Dykes, in "Mixed-Race Ancestry," 10, says that "spelling was not as standardized before the mid-1800s" and "names and terms were often spelled phonetically (according to the writer's impression of what a word should look like)."

45. Pennsylvania law is silent on any restrictions regarding the education of Negroes and mulattoes, free or otherwise.

46. Nash and Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees*, 29.

$500 Reward for Phillip Hattox
For the murder of Jethro Jackson of Upson County, Georgia

[*Alabama Sentinel*, Tuscaloosa, 21 March 1829]

Hattox is said to be 6 feet high "or a little over," with dark hair, grey eyes. He was "of a yellow complexion, and well proportioned, 28 or 29 years old ... and a down look, from a contusion received on the head from a fallen limb.... On one of his knees (supposed to be the right), there is a scar caused from the cut of a drawing knife, presumed not yet healed, having been but recently done.... [He] wants a foretooth [and is] also inclined to be a little bow legged." Posted at Upson County, Georgia, 23 February 1829, by Edmund, Robert, Mark, and Alburtus Jackson and Wm. H. Saunders.

—*Contributed by Elizabeth Shown Mills*, CG, CGL, FNGS, FASG

Notes and Documents

Finding Original Materials by Using the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections

By Mary McCampbell Bell, CG

Strategically targeted searches of the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections will locate invaluable biographical, genealogical, and historical information in manuscript repositories across the United States.

Family historians routinely use documents in courthouses and on microfilm. Equally valuable—but harder to locate and access—are manuscripts, photographs, and other original sources in archives, historical societies, and library special collections. About 3,250 repositories in the United States and Canada house these materials, most unmicrofilmed.[1] Collections of particular value to genealogists include:

- personal materials like diaries, letters, papers, and photographs;
- family Bibles and genealogical compilations;
- records kept by bankers, clergy, lawyers, merchants, military officials, physicians, public servants, and undertakers; and
- public and private records once housed in churches, city halls, commercial buildings, courthouses, notaries' offices, private homes, and public institutions.

Genealogists will find in these materials family information and documentation available nowhere else. The greatest challenge is learning how to find specific items. Drilling down to the desired information requires understanding the organization, strengths, and limitations of multitiered finding aids, including the following:

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1. Terry Abraham, comp., *Repositories of Primary Sources* (http://www.uidaho.edu/special-collections/Other.Repositories.html : accessed 30 April 2006).

- *The National Inventory of Documentary Sources* (NIDS) comprises about fifty-four thousand guides, registers, and indexes to manuscript collections in libraries and archives in the United States.[2] Each item details the contents of a manuscript collection, such as the guide to the "Alston-DeGraffenried Family Papers" at the North Carolina State Archives. NIDS is on microfiche and online. A previous *NGS Quarterly* article describes its use for genealogical research.[3]
- *Repositories of Primary Sources* links to more than five thousand manuscript repository Web sites worldwide. Although the site does not have a search engine, links are arranged geographically and many linked repositories have search engines. Many also have online collection guides, inventories, indexes, and registers.[4] For example, the site's "Indiana" link leads to additional repository Web sites, including "University of Notre Dame Archives." The latter's "Collections" link leads to online collection guides, including one for "Parish History Collection."[5]

NUCMC

Far more comprehensive than either of the above—but providing comparatively brief collection descriptions—is the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, or NUCMC. Since 1959 it has cataloged more than two million American manuscript collections of all sizes. Many of the materials predate 1959. The catalog has two divisions:

- Materials cataloged before 1986 are published in print form. Twenty-nine volumes, available in many libraries, contain more than one million entries.[6] The *NGS Quarterly* has published a guide for genealogists.[7]
- Materials cataloged since 1986 are in two online databases—the Online Computer Library Center (OCLC) catalog, containing about eight hundred thousand records, and the Research Libraries Group Union Catalog (RLG), with

2. *National Inventory of Documentary Sources in the United States* (Teaneck, N.J.: Chadywck-Healey, 1983–), microfiche. For descriptive information, see "National Inventory of Documentary Sources in the United States," *ProQuest Information and Learning* (http://proquest.com/products_umi/descriptions/National-Inventory-of-Documentary-Sources-in-the-United-States-260.shtml : accessed 3 May 2006). Similar finding aids exist for other countries. See, for example, *National Inventory of Documentary Sources in Canada* (Alexandria, Va.: Chadwyck-Healey, 1993–), microfiche, which contains finding aids to collections in national, provincial, academic, and regional archives, libraries, and historical societies.

3. Mary McCampbell Bell, Clifford Dwyer, and William Abbott Henderson, "Finding Manuscript Collections: NUCMC, NIDS, and RLIN," *NGS Quarterly* 77 (September 1989): 213–14.

4. Abraham, comp., *Repositories of Primary Sources*.

5. "Parish History Collection," *University of Notre Dame Archives* (http://archives.nd.edu/findaids/ead/html/PHC.htm : accessed 6 May 2006). The collection contains historical materials from Roman Catholic parishes throughout the United States.

6. *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*, 29 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1959–93).

7. Bell, Dwyer, and Henderson, "Finding Manuscript Collections," 208–13.

about three hundred thousand records.[8] Researchers should search both OCLC and RLG because most entries appear in only one catalog. A recent genealogical article about online NUCMC searching is available.[9]

NUCMC entries between 1986 and 1994 are published in both print and online catalogs, but researchers who bypass the printed volumes may overlook most collections cataloged before 1986. Those include major university and archives collections and about half the manuscript holdings cataloged in NUCMC.[10]

SCOPE

NUCMC originally cataloged collections containing two types of items:

- Documents "regularly available to the public" in a repository dissociated with the institution that created the items
- Materials that would not "normally" be in an archival institution's holdings (like family papers in a state archives)[11]

NUCMC cataloging today is broad, with several types of materials included:

- Groups of papers "usually having a common source and formed by or around an individual, a family, or a corporate entity, or devoted to a single theme"
- Copies of most handwritten, typewritten, or photocopied documents
- Oral histories, taped or transcribed
- Additions and updates to collections previously cataloged by NUCMC[12]

GUIDES AND INDEXES

Three categories of finding aids for the printed NUCMC help researchers avoid volume-by-volume searches:

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8. OCLC is a membership organization serving forty-one thousand libraries worldwide, and RLG is an international corporation of more than 160 universities, libraries, archives, and historical societies. See "About Searching Manuscript Collections," *NUCMC: National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* (http://www.loc.gov/coll/nucmc/about-searching.html : accessed 13 May 2006); and *RLG* (http://www.rlg.org/ : accessed 13 May 2006). If RLG members approve, OCLC and RLG will merge on 1 July 2006 and begin combining the two catalogs. See "RLG to Combine with OCLC," *RLG* (http://www.rlg.org/en/page.php?Page_ID=20942 : accessed 5 May 2006).

9. Amy Johnson Crow, "Using NUCMC," *Genealogical Computing* (April–June 2005): 15–18.

10. Some pre-1986 materials have been recataloged electronically but most are cataloged only in the printed volumes. See "Frequently Asked Questions," *NUCMC* (http://loc.gov/coll/nucmc/newfaqs.html : accessed 2 May 2006).

11. *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, Information Circular No. 4 (Revised)* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress Special Materials Cataloging Division, Manuscript Section, 1982).

12. "Participation in the NUCMC Program," *NUCMC* (http:loc.gov/coll/nucmc/eligible.html : accessed 6 May 2006).

- Comprehensive personal name and subject indexes cover materials cataloged from 1959 through 1984.[13] Only names in NUCMC collection descriptions—which may be a fraction of those in a collection's materials—are indexed.
- Cumulative indexes, published periodically through 1990, cover subjects of collection descriptions, such as "Cemeteries" and "Cholera." The entries distinguish subjects of an entire collection from those that are part of a collection. For example, the First Baptist Church of Charlottesville, Virginia, may have two index entries, indicating that two collections have materials concerning the church. Only the collection referenced by the single underlined or italicized index entry, however, consists entirely of the church's records.[14]
- Cumulative repository guides, published periodically through 1989 and bound with the annual catalogs and indexes, list repositories and the collections they reported. (Analogous information is not available from the online catalog, which may hinder research for collections cataloged after 1989.)

ONLINE SEARCHES

Several commercial and public facilities offer searches of online NUCMC materials:

- *ArchivesUSA*, a commercial database, contains several manuscript finding aids, including NIDS, part of NUCMC, and collection descriptions received from repositories. It references more than 5,596 repositories, contains 154,678 collection descriptions, and provides links to more than 5,000 online finding aids. It offers the only option for online searches of NUCMC cataloging before 1986. Institutions, rather than individuals, subscribe to *ArchivesUSA*.[15] At this writing it is not widely available—typically a few libraries in most states have subscriptions for patron use.
- FirstSearch, an interface to OCLC, provides access to more than fifty-nine million records. Most libraries have it.[16]
- The Library of Congress provides free online searches of both OCLC and RLG cataloging from 1986 to date via the NUCMC Web page (http://www.loc.gov/coll/nucmc/). The site offers three options for searching each catalog:

    1. "Word List," which searches for any term in a collection's name, title, notes, or subject field, regardless of the order of the search terms. (For example,

13. *Index to Personal Names in the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, 1959–1984*, 2 vols. (Alexandria, Va.: Chadwyck-Healey, 1988); and *Index to Subjects and Corporate Names in the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, 1959–1984*, 3 vols. (Alexandria, Va.: Chadwyck-Healey, 1994).

14. "Index: 1967–1969," in *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* (Alexandria, Va.: Chadwyck-Healey, 1969), 358.

15. *ArchivesUSA* (http://archives.chadwyck.com/infopage/ausa_abt.htm : accessed 6 May 2006).

16. "FirstSearch: Online Reference," *OCLC: A Worldwide Library Cooperative* (http://www.oclc.org/firstsearch/ : accessed 5 May 2006); and Birdie Monk Holsclaw, "FirstSearch for Professional Genealogists," *Association of Professional Genealogists Quarterly* 14 (June 1999): 56–61.

searching OCLC for "undertakers new york" and "new york undertakers" yields entries for the same sixteen collections.)

2. "Left-anchored Phrase," which searches for an exact match to a phrase (such as "Bible records collections").
3. "Advanced," which searches for up to three words or phrases in specified fields (like "subject" or "title") and allows the Boolean search operators *and*, *or*, and *and not*. (For example, searching RLG for "merchant *and* North Carolina" in the "notes" field yields entries for seventy-one collections. Adding "*and* Raleigh" in the subject field narrows the result to two catalog entries.)

RESULTS OF NUCMC SEARCHES

Online NUCMC searches yield catalog entries with words or phrases matching the search terms. Searches of the printed volumes lead to entries containing indexed names and subjects. In either case, the entries include the following information:

- *Title*, such as "John W. Jordon account book."
- *Location*, such as "Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries." Printed NUCMC entries name repositories, but online entries code them. The first four letters of a control number at the bottom of RLG entries are a code for the institution, which can be identified on a separate Web page. (For example "NCDG" is the RLG code for Duke University).[17] OCLC repository codes are three letters found after "$a" in line 040 of the "tagged display" of the catalog entry and must be decoded on a "Participating Institutions Search" Web page. (In OCLC, "NDD" is the code for Duke University.)[18]
- *Subjects*, such as "Tailors—Georgia," "Clothing trade—Georgia—Accounting," and "Taliaferro County."[19]
- *Size*, usually numbers of items, leaves, linear feet, or volumes. (Item refers to the smallest unit of manuscript description, but an item could be a diary, a twenty-page letter, or a multivolume set of ledgers.)[20]
- *Description*, which includes names, locations, dates, and other information of genealogical and historical interest. For a sample collection description, see table 1.

17. "RLG Library Identifiers," *RLG* (http://www.rlg.org/en/page.php?Page_ID=824 : accessed 6 May 2006).

18. "Participating Institutions Search," *OCLC* (http://www.oclc.org/contacts/libraries/default.htm : accessed 6 May 2006).

19. Examples drawn from entry for John W. Jordon, "Account Book, 1819–1830," one of two results of a word-list search for "georgia tailors" at "Search the RLG Union Catalog," *NUCMC* (http://www.loc.gov/coll/nucmc/rlinsearch.html : accessed 6 May 2006).

20. *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections Information Circular No. 5 (Revised)* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress Special Materials Cataloging Division, Manuscript Section, 1982), 3; and "Participation in the NUCMC Program."

Table 1

Sample NUCMC Collection Description

Author:	McCalla, John Moore, 1793–1873
Title:	Papers, 1785–1917
Description:	1,853 items
Notes:	Correspondence, receipt books, scrapbooks, family cookbook, and other papers, relating to the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln, Civil War politics, local Kentucky politics (1820–1870), the Mexican War, presidential politics, especially Polk's election (1844), the American Colonization Society, American Party, and Henry Clay. Includes a journal of John Moore McCalla, Jr., describing a journey to Liberia in 1860 and letters from former McCalla slaves in Liberia, and letters of John M. McCalla, Sr.'s father, Dr. Andrew J. McCalla, including several discussing the treatment of the insane and the Eastern Lunatic Asylum in Lexington, Ky.
Location:	Duke University

Source: Quoted from entry for John Moore McCalla, "Papers, 1785–1917," result of a word-list search for "McCalla John" at "Search the RLG Union Catalog," *NUCMC: National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections* (http://www.loc.gov/coll/nucmc/rlinsearch.html : accessed 5 May 2006).

After finding NUCMC entries of interest, researchers assess the descriptions to determine each collection's potential relevance to their research. A collection guide may aid this assessment. For example, the guide to the collection described in table 1 says it includes "militia rosters, accounts, courts-martial papers."[21] As mentioned previously, collection guides can be found using NIDS and *Repositories of Primary Sources*. Not all collections have guides, and not all collection guides are online, however. If a guide is not online, contacting the repository holding the collection might yield further information (and perhaps a photocopy of a guide if one exists). After determining that a collection may be relevant, examining the materials, usually on-site, is the next step. Contacting the repository beforehand is advised.

21. Richard C. Davis and others, eds., *Guide to the Cataloged Collections in the Manuscript Department of the William R. Perkins Library, Duke University* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: Clio Books, 1980), 338.

FINDING RELEVANT COLLECTIONS

Successfully searching NUCMC requires more than simply entering ancestral names—an approach that would guarantee the least number of positive results. Tapping NUCMC's potential requires searches strategically planned to maximize desired results.

SEARCH BROADLY

Manuscript collections contain much to interest family historians, but NUCMC collection descriptions do not include all names and details in the collections. Consequently, broad searches of printed and online NUCMC are more likely than focused ones to locate relevant materials. The examples below show how topical searches yield materials identifying possible subjects of a family historian's research that are unnamed in NUCMC collection descriptions. The footnotes reference printed volumes where collection descriptions appear or show searches that located online collection descriptions.

Allied Families

Buried in family papers might be records—perhaps even a will—of a relative with a different surname from that of a targeted ancestor. For example, a NUCMC entry describes a genealogical collection as "mainly relating to a Hawes family," but the collection contains wills of relatives with other surnames—Christopher Robinson of Middlesex County, Virginia, and Molly Tunstall of King William County, Virginia—dated 1692 and 1796, respectively.[22] Although *Robinson* and *Tunstall* don't appear in the Hawes NUCMC entry, Robinson and Tunstall researchers aware of a Hawes alliance might benefit from examining collections of Hawes papers.

Business Records

Merchants' account books and other records often contain useful information for family historians. For example, the ledger of Robert Prentis of Williamsburg contains the account of William Green, showing that Green's wife was a daughter of Richard Packe, who died in September 1733. A 1745 entry notes that Packe's daughter Sarah married John Garland.[23]

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22. Christopher Robinson and Molly Tunstall wills, "Elizabeth Hawes Ryland Papers, 1692–1846," Personal Papers Collection, accession 24193, Library of Virginia, Richmond. The collection description appears in *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*, no. 65-1003. Entries in NUCMC volumes are arranged by collection number. The first part of the number is the year of the volume in which the entry appears—1965 in this case. The present article cites printed NUCMC entries by collection number rather than volume and page number.

23. Robert Prentis ledger, box 4, "Papers of Webb and Prentis families, 1735–1942," MSS 4136-d, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville. The collection description leading to this source appears in *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*, no. 81-387.

Historians' Papers

John Walter Wayland, chairman of the history department of Madison College in Harrisonburg, Virginia (now James Madison University), studied the origins of German families in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley and wrote several books on the region. NUCMC identifies collections of his papers in two repositories, one comprising three linear feet of material and the other containing forty-five hundred items. They preserve Wayland's correspondence and notes on the history and genealogy of Rockingham County, Virginia, and the Shenandoah Valley.[24]

Lawyers' Papers

Very few lawyers' papers survive from the 1700s, but many exist from the mid-1800s. They may be especially useful where county courthouse records were burned or destroyed:

- The 1,077-item collection of "Aylett Family Papers 1780–1942" includes documents of two lawyers from King William County, Virginia, where few pre-Civil War records survive. They include deeds, wills, and court case papers.[25]
- The collection of "Dabney Family Papers, 1742–1928" was found via a NUCMC description saying "accounts 1825–1887 and other papers of Charles William Dabney, lawyer of Hanover County" and "powers of attorney; decrees; deeds; wills; agreements; affidavits; business papers; legal papers."[26] On-site examination reveals that one folder concerns William Ashley's Hanover County estate, contested in a lawsuit by Nicholas Davis, John Lewis, and others. It contains letters written in the 1830s to people as far away as Limestone County and Madison County, Alabama.[27]
- Emerson R. Wright, a lawyer, practiced in a Vermont probate district where the records burned in 1852 and only fragments remain.[28] A NUCMC entry says that Wright's papers contain ledgers (1842–45) from his law practice.[29] A collection description on the repository's Web site provides further information about them.[30]

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24. *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*, nos. 67-224 and 69-1322.

25. Ibid., no. 70-2040.

26. Ibid., no. 67-674.

27. William Ashley estate papers, "Dabney Family Papers, 1742–1928," MSS1/D1124/b/2842–2856, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

28. Scott Andrew Bartley and Alice Eichholz, "Vermont," in Alice Eichholz, ed., *Red Book: American State, County, and Town Sources*, 3rd. ed. (Salt Lake City: Ancestry, 1992), 686.

29. Entry for Emerson R. Wright, "Papers: 1838–1895," one of fourteen results of a phrase search for "practice of law -- vermont" at "Search the RLG Union Catalog" (accessed 6 May 2006).

30. "Papers of Emerson R. Wright, 1838–1895," *Henry Sheldon Museum of Vermont History* (http://biblio.middlebury.edu/search/Ywright&searchscope=16&SORT=D/Ywright&searchscope=16&SORT=D/13%2C24%2C24%2CB/frameset&FF=Ywright&searchscope=16&SORT=D&13%2C13%2C : accessed 6 May 2006).

Marriage Records

A marriage record not found in county records might survive in a minister's papers. For example, a search for Augusta County, Virginia, marriage records yields a NUCMC collection description of "marriage licenses 1802–1803."[31] On-site research reveals fifty-two original marriage licenses, including several containing more information than the county's published marriage records. For example, the published account of Joseph Henry's 1802 marriage to Lucy Shumate does not show the marital status of either party or Lucy's parentage, but the license in the manuscript collection states that the groom was a widower and the bride was a spinster daughter of Bailey Shumate of Albemarle County.[32]

An online RLG search for "marriages kentucky" yields twelve hits. They include the papers of a Baptist minister in Warren County, Kentucky, who recorded baptisms and marriages in his diary (1851–54), and a Methodist minister who kept a register of marriages (1834–40), probably in Butler County and Logan County, Kentucky.[33]

Military Records

Documenting pre–Civil War military service may be challenging, especially for ancestors who served in local militia units. Manuscript collections, which contain records from all major United States conflicts and many minor engagements, may help. Searching for local militia captains' papers may be fruitful because they often took muster or pay rolls home with them, as evidenced by these entries from the printed NUCMC catalog:

- A collection at the New York Historical Society includes "Enlistments in Capt. Joseph Stedham's Company, Dover, Delaware (1776); list of Capt. Knowleton's Company of Volunteers of Ashford, Conn. (1775); returns (1779–81) of the 1st New York Regiment of Infantry of Col. Goose Van Schaick."[34]
- The University of West Virginia library has a collection containing "Revolutionary War list of soldiers, claims, rejected claims, bounty warrants, and pensions;

31. Entry for "Papers of the McCue Family: 1777–1920," one of fifty-seven results of a "title, notes, and subject fields" word-list search for "augusta marriage" at "Search the OCLC Catalog," *NUCMC* (http://www.loc.gov/coll/nucmc/oclcsearch.html : 6 May 2006). The entry links to an online collection guide. See "A Guide to the McCue Family Papers ca. 1767–1944," in *Virginia Heritage: Guide to Manuscript and Archival Collections in Virginia* (http://ead.lib.virginia.edu/vivaead/published/uvasc/vivadoc.pl?file=viu01216.xml : accessed 8 May 2006).

32. "Marriage licenses 1801–1818 chiefly Augusta County," box 18, "McCue Family Papers ca 1767–1944," MSS 4,406, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library; and John Vogt and T. William Kethley Jr., *Augusta County Marriages: 1748–1850* (Athens, Ga.: Iberian, 1986), 107 and 375.

33. Entries for Benjamin S. Reynolds, "Papers, 1819–1845," and John G. Durham, "Papers, 1813–1896," two of twelve results of a word-list search for "marriages kentucky" at "Search the RLG Union Catalog" (6 May 2006).

34. *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*, no. 61-581.

Revolutionary War ledger of Thomas Green containing his clients' claims for service; War of 1812 muster and pay rolls; Confederate soldiers' service records."[35]

CHOOSE SEARCH TERMS CAREFULLY

Family historians searching intuitively might fail because they are unfamiliar with terms used by manuscript catalogers.[36] For example, a word search for "idaho lawyer's papers" turns up no results because "lawyer's papers" is not a Library of Congress subject heading; but a search for "idaho lawyers" identifies forty-six collections.[37] Searches for "law firms," and "practice of law" also are likely to succeed.

Searching for specific terms also may identify relevant collections. For example, business records include accounts, cashbooks, day-books, invoices, journals, ledgers, memorandum volumes, receipts, and letters—all terms that can be searched.[38] A search for the more general "business records" might not turn up a collection description in which the word "ledgers" appears.

CONCLUSION

NUCMC helps researchers find most manuscript collections in the United States. Searches of the print and online catalog yield collection descriptions that often lead to detailed guides and ultimately to original material in an archive, historical society, or library special collections department. There family historians will find biographical data on ancestors, documents to verify lineages, and background material on families. Well-designed strategies that include searching broadly and using appropriate terminology will produce the best results.

35. Ibid., no. 66-987.

36. Kenneth W. Duckett, *Modern Manuscripts: A Practical Manual for Their Management, Care and Use* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1975), 337–44.

37. Results of a word-list search for "idaho lawyers" at "Search the RLG Union Catalog" (6 May 2006).

38. Albert F. Voke, "Accounting Methods of Colonial Merchants in Virginia," *The Journal of Accountancy* 41 (July 1926): 7. Duckett, in *Modern Manuscripts*, 338, provides an extensive list of business record types based on Edwin A. Thompson, *A Glossary of American Historical and Literary Manuscript Terms* (Washington, D.C.: privately printed, 1965).

Update: A Case of Mistaken Racial Identity—Finding Emma Dunham (née Kelley) Hawkins

NGS *Quarterly* 94 (March 2006): 15. Cottage City is on Martha's Vineyard. The author thanks Catherine Merwin Mayhew for catching the geographical error.

Bible Records

Burt Family Bible

Contributed by Donna J. Redhead Gruber, CG*

[*The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, Translated Out of the Original Tongues, and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised* (Philadelphia: John Edwin Potter, 1863).]

MARRIAGES
Ebenezer Burt and Isabel Rankin June 9th 1831
Ebenezer Burt & Mary A Guthrie Aug" 4th 1841.
Silas Burt & Annie E Mouser Apr 19th 1855
John Burt & Nancy Mitchell Oct 27th 1859.
Oliver Mitchell & Elisabeth Jane Burt Dec. 29th 1859
Mathew H Burt & Evaline Sayers Sept 6th 1860
Joseph Guthrie Burt & Thankful J Cass March 7th 1866
Ebenezer D. Burt [&] Flora L Clark October 10th 1872
W. W. Burt [&] Susan K. Sampsell July 30th 1873
James T. Hammond [&] Margret A Burt Sept 1st 1875
Robert G. Burt [&] Jane Carothers Oct. 1st 1870
James McKibben [&] Ellenora Burt Oct 15th 1878

BIRTHS
Ebenezer Burt May 3d 1811.
Isabel Burt Nov 15th 1809

*Donna J. Redhead Gruber, CG; 12748 Stratton Road; West Salem, OH 44287-9310. Ms. Gruber has the Bible on loan from Sally (née Shirk) Price. Ms. Price received it from her mother, Elva (née Willcox) Shirk, daughter of William C. Willcox and Grace Luella Burt. Grace Luella Burt received it from her father, Ebenezer D. Burt, who received it from Ebenezer Burt, the original owner. This is part of the National Genealogical Society's growing collection of donated, scanned, and rescued Bible and family records. Carla and Dennis Ridenour scanned the document as part of the society's ongoing effort to preserve Bible records from across the country. For further information on this activity, see Cyndi Howells, "The National Genealogical Society Digital Bible Archives Project," *NGS Quarterly* 90 (December 2002): 301–3.

Mary Ann Burt June 11th 1817.
Silas Burt Aug 17th 1833.
Mathew Hamilton Burt April 9th 1835
John F Burt June 10th 1837.
Elisabeth J Burt Feb 17th 1839
Joseph G Burt April 17th 1844
William Warner Burt June 9th 1845
Ebenezer D Burt Sept 20.th 1846.
William W Burt July 14th 1848
Thomas W Burt July 14th 1848
Robert George Burt Aug 24th 1850
Margaret Ann Burt Jan'y 18th 1852
Isaac Newton Burt Aug 18th 1853
Elenora Burt Apr 11th 1855

BIRTHS
Ebenezer Burt and Mary J Smith Married May 7th 1885.
Marriages [heading written by hand, on the "Births" page]
Ebenezer D Burt [&] Elva Riley Mar 13th 1890
Elza J. Howser [&] Tillie Clark Burt Dec 9th 1897
William C. Willcox [&] Grace L Burt Mar 10th 1901
Births [heading written by hand on the "Births" page]
Elva S Riley Aug 14th 1864
Tillie C. Burt Aug 20th 1874
Grace L Burt Feb 14th 1876
Lula Iloe Burt Jan 3rd 1895

DEATHS
Isabel Burt Dec 1st 1840. Aged 32 y & 15 days
William Warner Burt Sept 27th 1847. Aged 2 y 3 mo. 18 days
Isaac Newton Burt April 15th 1855. Aged 1 y. 8mo 28 days
Matthew H Burt Jan'y 11th 1863. Aged 27 y. 9mo. 2 d
Elisabeth J. Mitchell March 9th 1871 Aged 32y. 20 d
Thomas W. Burt June 17th 1872. Aged 24 y 3d
Magie. A. Hammond Aug. 22nd 1876 Aged 24y 4d
Robert G Burt June 23· 1909
Mary A Burt died April 23 1884 aged 66 years 10 – 12
Silas Burt - March 9th 1891 Agd 57yr 6 mo & 19 day
Ebenezer Burt April 5th 1891, age 79 years and 11 months and 2 days
Ebenezer Burt - April 5th 1891 aged 79 years 11 months and 2 days [*sic*]

Flora L Clark Burt Mar 7th 1887
Tillie C Burt May 9th 1898
Elenora Burt McKibbin Nov 22 1910
Her Husband James W. McKibbin Nov 27 1910
Ebenezer D. Burt Sept 27 1913
W W Burt - April 12 1914

[INSERTED CLIPPING, UNIDENTIFIED NEWSPAPER, NO DATE]

Burt—Suddenly at his home, Iberia, Ohio, Sabbath morning, April 5, 1891, Ebenezer Burt, age 79 years, 11 months and 2 days.

A good man and a great has fallen in Israel. Father Burt was born in Washington co., but moved to Ohio while yet a mere boy. He professed faith in Christ quite young, and tried to live devotedly to Christ during his long pilgrimage. He will be much missed in the community, both for his sterling worth and his kindly deeds. Being of a genial disposition, he made friends with all, especially with the young. He never seemed to grow old, either in disposition or service for Christ. To the very day of his death he sustained a lively, active interest in the Church, and he was especially active in reclaiming young men from the world. Almost his last conversation with his pastor, to whom he attached himself most deeply, was in reference to the interests of some young men for whom he was working and praying. He departed, as he had often hoped, while at work. Early Sabbath morning, without a struggle, he went to meet his Lord for whom he had been long waiting. Preparing to attend the earthly sanctuary, God called up to the sanctuary service above. A fitting close to such a life and such a soul. "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last days be like his." Pastor.

[INSERTED CLIPPING, UNIDENTIFIED NEWSPAPER, NO DATE]

"Death Loves a Shining Mark."

Departed this life March 7th 1887, at her home, near Caledonia, Flora L., wife of E. D. Burt, in the 33d year of her age.

She was an affectionate wife, a loving mother, and, above all, an exemplary Christian woman. But, ere much of the sorrow of this world had touched her heart, He that doeth all things well called her to her eternal home. Her sickness, of a few brief days, she bore with Christian fortitude. She did not fear death, but often talked of it calmly, and making many arrangements for the future interest of dear ones.

She was united in marriage to her surviving husband October 10th 1872. She leaves two bright little girls, aged parents, brothers and sisters, and a large circle of friends to mourn their loss, but to rejoice amid their sorrow, her happiness is eternal in the skies.

Funeral services were conducted by Rev. A. Pollock. The remains were interred in Zook's Cemetery, there to await the resurrection.

When the noon-day sun was shining
And they took her cherished form.
Then they bore it to the churchyard
And consigned it to the worm.
Well, what matter? It was only
The clay dress our darling wore,
God hath called her as His own,
She hath need of this no more.
Folded her hands, and o'er her breast
We scattered flowers, pure and white
Kissed our mama's brow and whispered
Once again a last good-bye.

S. K. Burt

[Also included in the Bible are two unidentified photographs, which the contributor believes may be portraits of Ebenezer Burt and Mary Ann Guthrie.]

Free Family Bible

Contributed by Nancy Jackson*

[*The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments; Translated Out of the Original Tongues and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised. With Canne's Marginal References. Together with the Apochrypha and Concordance, to which are added, an Index, a Table of Texts, and, what has never before been added, an Account of the Lives and Martyrdom of the Apostles and Evangelists. With Plates. The Text Corrected According to the Standard of the American Bible Society* (Hartford: Silas Andrus and Son, 1856).]

MARRIAGES
Lewis Free and Susan Anne Grant were united in marriage February 13th. 1851
Charles Edwin Free and Sarah Jane Downs December 24th. 1875
M. Franklin Free and Elizabeth Sommers Oct. 15, 1879
Phebe Anna Free and Israel Luther Gettz March 1884

*Nancy Jackson; 105 Hampstead Place; West Chester, PA 19382. This is part of the National Genealogical Society's growing collection of donated, scanned, and rescued Bible and family records. Carla and Dennis Ridenour scanned the document as part of the society's ongoing effort to preserve Bible records from across the country.

BIRTHS
Lewis Free was born Oct 22nd A.D. 1825
Susan Ann Free(s) wife of Lewis Free(s) was born Dec. 25th 1825.
Children of the above named——
Charles Edwin Free was born Nov. 24th 1851.
Morris Franklin Free was born Sep. 20th. 1853.
Phebe Anna Free was born Sep 21st. 1856.

DEATHS
Lewis Free died September 9th, 1899
Susan Ann Free died February 14th, 1901
Lewis Free Son of Lewis and Susan
Israel Luther Gettz May 16th, 1885 Aged 27 years
Phebe A Gettz Widow of I. Luther Gettz, Daughter of Lewis and Susan A. Free died April 22nd. 1894

BIRTHS
William Grant Free Son of Lewis and Susan Free was born Oct. 14. 1859
Lewis Free Son of Lewis and Susan Free was born October 4th 1863

DEATHS
William Grant Free. November 21, 1949
Morris Franklin Free. Feb. 11, 1935
Charles E. Free, July 14, 1932
Sarah Jane Free wife of Charles E. Free died September 1922
Lewis Free Son of Lewis and Susan Free died January 1st 1870

BIRTHS
Lillie Susan Gettz Daughter of I. Luther & Phebe A. Gettz born 14th of Feb. 1885

A Soundexer's Warning

[Handwritten note inserted after card for "F652 French, Arthur A.," Index (Soundex) to the 1930 Population Schedules for Tennessee; National Archives microfilm M2058, roll 52.]

You Can Not Take it With You!!!

—Contributed by Carol Kaplan

Reviews

FAMILY HISTORIES

The Ancestry of Russell Makepeace of Marion, Massachusetts, 1904–1986: A Descendant of Thomas Makepeace of Dorchester, Massachusetts. Edited by Zelinda Makepeace Douhan. Published by Newbury Street Press; 101 Newbury Street; Boston, MA 02116-3007; 2005. Order from Picton Press; Post Office Box 1347; Rockland, ME 04841; http://www.pictonpress.com/. ISBN 0-88082-141-8. xiv, 357 pp. Appendixes, illustrations, index. Hardback. $49.00.

Thoroughly researched over some forty years by Russell Makepeace, with professional genealogical assistance, the book treats fifteen ancestral lines, including descent to the founders of the Makepeace cranberry empire on Cape Cod, several *Mayflower* lines, and the English ancestry of Thomas Makepeace, whose earliest documented ancestor is Henry[E] Makepeace of Burton Dassett in Warwickshire, born say 1460. Interesting excerpts from records add flavor to the narrative—sacks of wool, a russet gown, and a remarkable 1635 indenture.

Utilizing recent research published elsewhere and original records, the sketches provide extensive treatments of husbands and wives in each generation, including spouses' families. Well-written discussions of sources and identity problems provide interesting reading. The book makes the most of colorful incidents, such as Capt. Sylvanus Alexander's successful escape from an English privateer off Hyannis during the War of 1812.

The book is well documented, but readers need the preface to understand how the citations evolved. Uncited vital data come apparently from either an 1858 Makepeace genealogy or records of the place mentioned. Because the book has no bibliography, readers must search previous pages to find complete references.

Nicely illustrated and designed, with charts and several appendixes, this scholarly and readable volume will help anyone with ancestors on Cape Cod or in eastern Massachusetts, especially Plymouth County.

Helen Schatvet Ullmann, CG, FASG
Acton, Massachusetts

The Read Family of Salem, Massachusetts. By Richard H. Benson. Published by Newbury Street Press; 101 Newbury Street; Boston, MA 02116-3007; 2005. Order from Picton Press; Post Office Box 1347; Rockland, ME 04841; http://www.pictonpress.com/. ISBN 0-88082-184-1. xi, 388 pp. Index, map, photographs. Hardback. $40.00 (shipping: $6.50).

Past genealogists confounded early generations of the Read family of Salem, Massachusetts. The present volume traces male-line descendants of Thomas[1] Read for five generations. Thomas married twice and fathered fifteen children, four of whom predeceased him. The author traces each daughter's line for one generation.

The only Read line carried beyond the fifth generation is the Sheridan, New York, line of the author's wife. The book's other subjects include Daniel Alden[8] Reed of Sheridan, New York, a member of the United States House of Representatives from 1919 to 1959; Isaac[2] Read, son of William[1] Read, of Salem, Massachusetts, and his descendants to the fifth generation; and William Reed of Sedgwick, Maine, and his descendants to the third generation.

To place the Read family in context, the author provides information on events, activities, and customs such as military campaigns, epidemics, religious practices, occupations, and westward migration after the Revolutionary War—a cross-section of events for several centuries. For example, because several family members belonged to the Society of Friends the author describes Quaker customs concerning marriage, investigation of character, disowning and reinstating of members, and transfer of membership.

The author consulted a wide variety of resources, including records of Maine, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island and New England Quaker meetings. The book uses the *Register* system and features readable type. The index contains places and surnames, including wives' maiden names and married surnames. The book contains few errors or omissions. This volume shows how authors can use a wide variety of resources to create short biographies for many members of an extended family.

Joyce Pendery, CG
Barnstable, Massachusetts

Turner and Banks, Pioneer Families of Western North Carolina: Descendants of Joseph and Mary Turner, Descendants of Rachel Ruth Turner and Andrew E. Banks from 1738 to 2002. By Marshall L. Styles. Published by Higginson Book Company; 148 Washington Street; Post Office Box 778; Salem, MA 01970; 2002. ISBN 0-7404-3937-5. 571 pp. Illustrations, index, photographs. Hardback. $85.00 (shipping: $8.50).

This genealogy focuses on the family of Joseph and Mary Turner, first of record in 1759 in Halifax County, Virginia. Joseph moved to Caswell County, North Carolina, in 1779. He became a resident of Person County when it was split from Caswell and by 1798 migrated to an area that became Haywood County. Despite his best efforts, the author was unable to identify the parents of Joseph Turner and his wife Mary.

This work presents a standard genealogical account in *NGSQ* format of Joseph and Mary Turner's descendants. The author summarizes chronologically the records he used to explore the progenitor couple's origins and develop their life history. Unfortunately many of these are in nonstandard bibliographic format and incomplete. For example, census references often exclude identifying information other than county, and some citations of published works name only the author and title without page number or publication details.

The author includes many images of people, signatures, and gravestones, which the family's descendants will appreciate. Although most are small low-resolution graphics, they enhance the text.

The index appears to refer only to the first page of each biographical sketch and to sporadically include the children of each sketch's subject. Consequently, the index omits most people named in the text and subjects other than personal names.

This work will be valuable to descendants and others researching the families covered. The foibles of the index may limit its usefulness to others, and inconsistencies in source citations may cause difficulties for researchers trying to use them to locate the original sources.

Jeffrey L. Haines, CG
Rural Hall, North Carolina

INTERNATIONAL GUIDE

Trace Your Orkney Ancestors: A Guide to Sources for Orcadian Family and Local History. By James M. Irvine. Published by author; 11 Agates Lane, Ashtead; Surrey KT21 2NG, U.K.; 2004. ISBN 0-9544571-1-0. 76 pp. Appendixes, illustrations, index. Paperback. £8.50 (shipping: £10.09).

The history of the Orkney Islands, situated off northeast Scotland, differs from that of the Scottish kingdom. By the late ninth century Norsemen had conquered much of northern and western Scotland. They established an earldom in the islands that lasted until 1468, when Orkney was ceded to Scotland. The long period of Scandinavian culture influenced place and personal names and the system of land tenure. Consequently, the records of Orkney differ in many respects from those of mainland Scotland.

Researchers who trace their ancestral lines back to the Orkneys will welcome this book. The author discusses sources and their locations, research methodology, handwriting, vocabulary, and local terminology. He also provides detailed overviews of specific record groups. Some—such as census returns, statutory registers of births, marriages and deaths, and old parish registers—will be familiar to researchers of Scottish family history. Others—such as registers of sasines, retours, and services of heirs—will be less so. Some Orkney records—for example, feudal charters, estates, and rentals of earldom and bishopric lands—have unique terminology and legal bases.

Twenty-five appendixes provide detailed information on specific topics ranging from reference codes for archives holding material pertaining to Orkney to specific record categories. Appendixes containing material that refers to all of Orkney are arranged chronologically. Others, covering locally generated records, are organized by parish divisions.

Irvine has packed an enormous amount of information into this volume. Novices and experienced researchers interested in this delightful corner of Scotland will find it to be an essential reference.

Norman Douglas Nicol, Ph.D.
Harvey's Lake, Pennsylvania

REFERENCE WORK

The American Counties: Origins of County Names, Dates of Creation, and Population Data, 1950–2000. 5th ed. By Joseph Nathan Kane and Charles Curry Aiken. Published by Scarecrow Press; 4501 Forbes Boulevard, Suite 200; Lanham, MD 20706; 2004. ISBN 0-8108-5036-2. xxiii, 529 pp. Appendixes, bibliography, tables. Hardback. $95.00.

This latest edition of a classic (the fourth edition was published in 1983) presents concise information for America's 3,087 counties. Each entry includes the county's state, seat, area in square miles, and formation date. Features new to the fifth edition are county population figures from the 1950 through 2000 censuses and information concerning independent cities in Maryland, Missouri, Nevada, and Virginia.

Three appendixes enhance the compilation's utility. Appendix A lists American counties in chronological order by date of formation from 1634 through 2001. Appendix B offers an alphabetical table of counties in each state that lists each county's creation date, seat, and parent counties and provides a reference to the statute creating the county. Appendix C contains an alphabetical list of county seats. Although the book lacks maps and graphics, it is filled with fascinating information, including the origins of county names. A six-page reprint from the fourth edition's introduction highlights dozens of facts.

A Google search failed to find a single Web site offering similar detail. *Wikipedia* came close and included a list not covered

in this book: extinct counties. Genealogists and genealogical libraries will want to have this reference at hand.

Sandra M. Hewlett, CG
Wayne, Pennsylvania

REGIONAL SOURCES

Cambridge Cameos: Stories of Life in Seventeenth-Century New England. By Roger Thompson. Published by New England Historic Genealogical Society; 2005. Order from Picton Press; Post Office Box 1347; Rockland, ME 04841; http://www.pictonpress.com/. ISBN 0-88082-191-4. xix, 355 pp. Appendixes, illustrations, index. Paperback. $19.95.

Author Thompson observes, "many people hunger after the nourishment of history, but are bloated by the fast food of myth and spin" (p. ix). Believing that the public has an appetite for "real" history, he aims to give readers a taste of it. Writing for an audience who may have little background in early American history, he strives "to buttonhole, to intrigue, to titillate, to challenge, to redress the imbalance towards fictional myths and imaginative historical novels ... to project vivid flashes of day-to-day life among ordinary people four centuries ago" (p. xiii).

Focusing on residents of Cambridge, Massachusetts, Thompson selected forty-four incidents that occurred between 1652 and 1686 and appealed to his imagination or challenged his curiosity. After setting the stage with a brief history of Cambridge's government, religion, landscape, economy, social status, and lifestyle, Thompson brings on the characters. Averaging about five pages each, the cameos portray Cambridge men and women arguing about property, breaking town laws, contesting wills, drinking too much, engaging in illicit sex, feuding with neighbors, neglecting civic and family responsibilities, quarreling with family, suing over wandering livestock, and engaging in various illegal, immoral, and contentious behaviors.

Each cameo has a catchy title—for example, "Four Musketeers, 1662," "Scandalous, Reproachful and Vile Execrations: Richard Scott, 1676," "Cider with Samuel, 1681," and "Fornication: Brackett and Eliot, 1685." Thompson begins each sketch by explaining the conflict's origin and describing the individuals involved, including their backgrounds and family connections. Quoting court testimonies, probate records, depositions, and other sources, he narrates each incident in a lively, descriptive style.

Thompson did not compile the book for genealogists, but it contains enough genealogical material to satisfy those interested in colonial Cambridge and surrounding towns. Sources include more than two thousand documents from Middlesex County court papers and books, town records, and church registers. The documentation enables researchers to locate each source.

Genealogists and family historians who strive to move beyond mere recitation of dates, names, and places will appreciate this well written and researched book. Not just a good read, *Cambridge Cameos* provides a model for genealogists and family historians desiring to place their ancestors in context.

Joan A. Hunter, M.L.S., CG
Eugene, Oregon

Family Maps of Ste. Genevieve County, Missouri: Deluxe Edition with Homesteads, Roads, Waterways, Towns, Cemeteries, Railroads, and More. By Gregory A. Boyd. Published by Arphax Publishing; 2210 Research Park Boulevard; Norman, OK 73069; http://www.arphax.com; 2005. ISBN 1-4203-0002-4. 250 pp. Appendixes, indexes, maps. Paperback. $34.95. (shipping: $3.00).

This book is one of a series indexing land patent sales in public land states.

Currently, they cover selected counties in Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Nebraska, Oklahoma, Utah, and Wisconsin. The publisher's Web site provides an expanding list of counties for which a *Family Maps* book has been prepared. Two different versions are available. The "Homestead Edition," based on 36-section township maps, shows patented land in each section. The "Deluxe Edition" also shows cities, towns, roads, cemeteries, waterways, railroads, and other geographical data.

The book's "Big Picture" section shows the county's location relative to surrounding counties. Besides township maps, it includes maps of cities, towns, and cemeteries, surnames shown in patents, and a "master index." The detailed "How to Use This Book" section does not fully describe the public domain land system.

The book's heart is its "Township Map Groups." The group for each land section provides an index to individual patent holders, lists each patent's section, section part, and issue date, and provides information on cancelled, reissued, and overlapping patents and purchasers of multiple patents. Maps show each patent's boundaries. An appendix in the "Deluxe Edition" shows Aliquot part descriptions and identifies Congressional acts authorizing the county's patents.

Because its maps show neighborhood composition, the book can help researchers unravel genealogical tangles. The index refers readers to the "map group" where the surname can be found. There another index refers researchers to a display showing patent owners and their neighbors. The book's spiral binding allows viewing of maps without the impediment of binding.

Researchers with ancestors who settled in Ste. Genevieve County will find that this *Family Maps* volume is a useful aid to genealogical research.

Patricia Walls Stamm, CG, CGL
Saint Louis, Missouri

The Great Migration: Immigrants to New England, 1634–1635, vol. 4, *I–L*. By Robert Charles Anderson. Published by New England Historic Genealogical Society; 2005. Order from New England Historic Genealogical Society Sales Department; Post Office Box 5089; Framingham, MA 01701; http://www.NewEnglandAncestors.org. ISBN 0-88082-162-0. cx, 475 pp. Indexes. Hardback. $59.95.

This latest volume from The Great Migration Study Project is part of a collection that provides one-stop shopping for early New England ancestry. Under the expert guidance of Robert Charles Anderson, FASG, the project has produced seven volumes of biographical sketches of participants in the Great Migration of 1620–40. The current volume presents immigrants with surnames Ibrook though Lyvvars who arrived in New England in 1634 or 1635.

This volume's content exceeds the project's goal of providing "a concise, reliable summary of past research on the early immigrants to New England" (p. xvii). Each sketch follows a format that facilitates easy retrieval of information. A mock biography of "Preserved Puritan" explains the sketches' components (pp. xlv–li).

Thorough write-ups on each colonist discuss records and ruminations already in print along with fresh discoveries, some made during the process of assembling the sketch. Each sketch's "Comments" section includes scholarly analysis of past and present discoveries that appear contradictory or raise questions about some aspect of the subject's life or records. They often include a suggestion for future research. A "Bibliographic Note" cites works published on the individual or his family.

The introductory material reveals the criteria for including an individual in this phase of the study and the conventions imposed in constructing dates and ordering families. It

provides an overview of sources and a "Key to Titles" for works identified by a code in the sketch. A list of sketches appears at the front of the volume. Separate indexes list surnames, first names (useful when a married woman's maiden name is unknown), places, and ships.

The project produces quarterly newsletters as well as the volumes of biographical sketches constituting the Great Migration series. Both are key scholarly reference works for New England genealogical research.

Marya Castro Myers, CG
Occidental, California

Voices of the Irish Immigrant: Information Wanted Ads in The Truth Teller, *New York City, 1825–1844*. Compiled by Diane Fitzpatrick Haberstroh and Laura Murphy DeGrazia. Published by New York Genealogical and Biographical Society; 122 East 58th Street, New York, NY 10022-1939; http://www.newyorkfamilyhistory.org; 2005. ISBN 1-877692-11-5. xix, 262 pp. Indexes. Hardback. $31.00.

As described in the book's introduction, "The advertisements in this collection include those published in the *Truth Teller* between its inception in April 1825 and December 1844, with some gaps where issues of the newspaper were unavailable" (p. xv). *The Truth Teller* was New York's first Catholic newspaper. This volume's coverage, preceding the famine-driven exodus from Ireland, makes it an indispensable source for researching pre-famine Irish Catholic arrivals in the Americas. Like similar advertisements from the Boston *Pilot*, published in *Search for Missing Friends* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1980–), this work will be an essential resource in any general genealogical collection.

The work is recommended without reservation to anyone researching Irish Catholic immigration in the years just preceding the Great Famine. The care and accuracy with which the compilers have transcribed the idiosyncrasies of the paper's original spelling is demonstrated through the various renderings of the name of the parish priest of Wilmington, Delaware, the Reverend Patrick Reilly, which also appears as O'Riely and O'Reilly. The compilers' bracketed corrections or supplementations to place names are particularly helpful. The useful index, which groups variant spellings, makes subjects readily accessible.

With all its strengths, however, the volume has two shortcomings. First, the compilers do not indicate which large gaps in coverage are due to unavailable copies of the paper, as discussed in the introduction, and which reflect the absence of "information wanted" notices in the issues they examined. Second, they apparently overlooked holdings of the Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center, which has an extensive collection of nineteenth-century Catholic newspapers. Its Web site shows that it holds *Truth Teller* issues covering 24 March 1825 to 11 February 1832 and 1838 through 14 March 1846.

The earlier Philadelphia holdings cover the largest gaps in the present volume, including all of 1825, six months of 1826, seven months of 1827, ten months of 1828, seven months of 1829, and several issues in 1830. The compilers note that no single repository holds a complete collection, and they supplemented incomplete microfilm coverage at the New York Public Library and Library of Congress with hard copies at the New York State Library and American Catholic Historical Society. The effort to fill gaps apparently did not extend beyond New York repositories.

The importance of the material made available through this work deserves a supplementary volume covering the remaining years of the paper's publication, from 1845 to 1855, and to the extent possible, filling the present volume's omissions.

Donn Devine, CG, CGI
Wilmington, Delaware

RESEARCH GUIDE

Wills and Other Probate Records: A Practical Guide to Researching Your Ancestors' Last Documents. By Karen Grannum and Nigel Taylor. Published by The National Archives; Kew, Richmond; Surrey TW9 4DU, U.K.; http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk; 2004. ISBN 1-903365-49-X. xx, 220 pp. Appendixes, glossary, illustrations, index. Paperback. £14.99 (shipping: £7.50).

Wills and other records relating to estate settlement are crucial to establishing kinship links, proving identities, describing the material culture of ancestral lives, and providing glimpses of personality. This book is a detailed guide to such records in the United Kingdom, particularly in England.

Wills have been centrally registered in England and Wales since 1858. Earlier they were administered in a sometimes confusing network of church courts. Scotland, Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Channel Islands had separate court systems. This guide describes the probate process for estates when the deceased left a will or died without leaving any directive concerning property. The discussion of documents other than wills is a particular strength of this book. The authors describe not only intestate estate documents but also the litigation process for disputed estates and records of the various duties levied on British estates from 1796 to 1903.

This guide includes information and Web addresses for several online projects. It also contains numerous photographs of sample documents and helpful charts summarizing information and finding aids. Produced by The National Archives (formerly England's Public Record Office), the volume is strong in its description of that institution's materials, especially documents generated by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Coverage of materials held in county record offices is broad, but readers needing detailed help to locate probate jurisdictions for a particular parish or peculiar location will need to look elsewhere. Discussion of Scotland, Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Channel Islands is less detailed than that of England. In fact, only ten pages address probate records in all of those localities. Researchers working primarily in one of those places should consult a reference focused there.

What this guide covers is done very well, and it is useful for novice and experienced researchers. Information is easily found in the detailed table of contents and somewhat limited index. The glossary and bibliography are helpful. This book will interest anyone undertaking English research or any library catering to patrons tracing English ancestry.

Jeffrey L. Haines, CG
Rural Hall, North Carolina

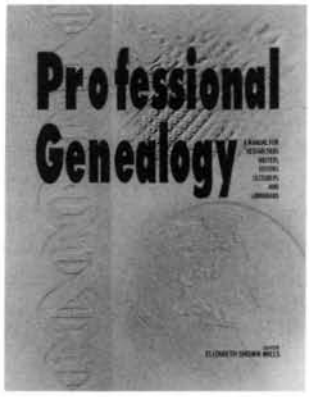
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Elizabeth Shown Mills, Editor



GENEALOGY—the search for "roots"—is a global obsession. The millennium has fueled curiosity about the past and our personal place in history, the Internet is erasing barriers to international communication and record access, and genetic science dangles promises of marvelous new ways to link peoples and cultures. A millennial survey by a marketing research leader found that nearly half of all Americans have created a "family tree," that more than a third have traveled to an ancestral place, and that nearly as many have written some form of family history. But, as *Time Digital* has cautioned, amid "the forest of genealogy software programs and websites . . . it's easy to go barking up the wrong family tree."

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About Your Society...

PURPOSE: The National Genealogical Society, a non-profit organization founded in 1903 is the premier national society for the beginner to the most advanced family historian. NGS serves its members by providing genealogical skill development through education, information, publications, research assistance, and networking opportunities; establishing and promoting the highest standards of ethical research principles and scholarly practices; establishing important links with other groups worldwide; providing depth and breadth of knowledge and opportunities for members; creating programs to increase public awareness of opportunities to discover family history; and promoting interest in the fascinating field of genealogy and family history.

MEMBERSHIP: Individuals, libraries, and societies may apply for membership in any of the following categories:

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Members receive the *NGS Quarterly* and the *NGS NewsMagazine* and are entitled to the other society services described herein. Libraries, societies, and other groups may subscribe to these publications for $50.00 per year.

MEETINGS: The society holds many events. Both the Society's annual conference, the "Conference in the States" and the NGS GENTECH conference, which has a more technical focus, foster education and and fellowship. Sites alternate among different regions of the nation. Locations and dates are widely announced in genealogical literature for two or more years in advance. Periodically, the society sponsors regional seminars and workshops on subjects of genealogical interest. Please consult the current *NGS Newsmagazine* or the NGS Web site for details.

TAX-EXEMPT STATUS: The society is a tax-exempt organization within the meaning of Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986. Donations of funds, books, or other property to the society are deductible contributions on federal income-tax returns; testamentary bequests are likewise deductible for purposes of federal and State of Virginia estate-tax returns. The proper form of the legacy is as follows: "I give and bequeath to the National Genealogical Society of Arlington, Virginia, the sum of . . ."

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JOURNAL: Since 1912, the *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* has published material on all parts of the nation and many ethnic groups including compiled genealogies; case studies; essays on new methodology and little-known resources; critical reviews of current books; and unpublished source materials from public, private, and family archives. Issued each March, June, September, and December. Correspondence regarding *Quarterly* articles or manuscript submissions should be sent to the editors at the address shown on the title page.

NEWSMAGAZINE: Begun in 1975, the *NGS NewsMagazine* is issued quarterly; it contains current accounts of significant genealogical happenings and member activities, and short instructional articles relating to research repositories, sources and techniques. Manuscripts and correspondence regarding the *NGS NewsMagazine* should be addressed to the NewsMagazine editor at society headquarters.

BOOKSTORE: The Society carries a wide variety of current titles and periodically issues special monographs of genealogical interest—advertising these in both the *Quarterly* and the *NewsMagazine*, as well as online and through member mailings. Society members are entitled to a discount on all special publications sold through the regular catalog.

BRITISH AND IRELAND FORUM: The NGS Britain and Ireland Forum is a special subscription service for NGS members who have British and Irish ancestry including England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man. For a small annual fee, Forum members receive a quarterly Forum newsletter and have access to a special "Forum Members Only" area of the NGS website which gives them special access to databases for Irish and British research. Forum members also receive notification of special Britain and Ireland Forum gatherings at NGS conferences and events and a discount on books relating to research in Britain and Ireland.

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During the years following the Civil War, the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (the Freedmen's Bureau) provided assistance to tens of thousands of former slaves and impoverished whites. Established in 1865, the Bureau issued food and clothing, operated hospitals and refugee camps, established schools, helped freedmen legalize marriages, supervised labor contracts, and worked with African American soliders and sailors and their heirs to secure back pay, bounty payments, and pensions. The records created during the course of these activities are a rich source of documentation of the black experience in mid-19th-century America, and are essential for the study of African American genealogy and Southern social history.

These microfilm publications are part of a five-year, multiseries project made possible by the United States Congress through the Freedmen's Bureau Records Preservation Act of 2000 (Public Law 106-444). When completed, all the field records for 15 states and the District of Columbia will be available on microfilm. For availabilty, view the microfilm locator on the NARA web site at *www.archives.gov*.

Marriage Records of the Office of the Commissioner, Washington Headquarters of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1861–1869

Microfilm Publication M1875, 5 Rolls

Contains hundreds of marriage records of newly liberated African Americans in the post–Civil War era collected from 1861 through 1869 by the Freedmen's Bureau in its field offices in the Southern States and the District of Columbia, and sent to the Washington, DC, headquarters. Records include unbound marriage certificates, marriage licenses, monthly reports of marriages, and other proofs of marriage. Record type and quantity varies with each state.

Records of the Field Offices for the State of North Carolina, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865–1872

Microfilm Publication M1909, 78 Rolls

Reproduces the previously unfilmed records of the Assistant Commissioner, his staff officers, and subordinate field offices of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. Records are organized by staff office and then by the 44 subordinate field offices. They include correspondence, annual and monthly reports on bureau activities and the condition of freedmen, freedmen contracts, census records, orders sent, court papers and reports, and records relating to freedmen's claims and homesteads.*

*ALSO AVAILABLE: Alabama, M1900; Arkansas, M1901; District of Columbia, M1902; Florida, M1869; Georgia, M1903; Kentucky, M1904; Louisiana, M1905; Maryland/Delaware, M1906; Mississippi, M1907; and Missouri, M1908.

HOW TO ORDER Microfilm publications are available for $34 per roll for domestic orders and $39 per roll for foreign; shipping and handling fees are included in the price per roll. Use the Roll List published in the descriptive pamphlets (available by calling 1-866-325-7208) to order specific rolls. Credit card orders call toll free 1-866-272-6272 (301-837-2000 in the Washington, DC, metropolitan area), weekdays 8 A.M.–4:30 P.M. eastern time, or fax your order to 301-837-0483. Mail checks or money orders to the National Archives Trust Fund, P.O. Box 100793, Atlanta, GA 30384-0793. Please include your daytime telephone number with your order.

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Two things a parent must give a child.  *One is ROOTS. The other is WINGS.*

National Genealogical Society Quarterly



Volume 94, No. 3, September 2006

The
National Genealogical Society
presents . . .

Faces of America

On the Cover:

WILLIAM ALLEN DUNN (1864–1944)
IDA MAE (née POPE) DUNN (1866–1931)

Context enriches family history. Conversely, studying family history enriches understanding of historical contexts. Will and Ida (née Pope) Dunn demonstrate both points. National and regional conditions and trends explain aspects of the couple's lives. More typical of their generation than most history-book figures, they exemplify at a personal level the impact of historic events and situations.

The Dunns spent their lives in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley, an area ravaged by the Civil War and depressed by its aftermath. Ida's father served as a Confederate soldier. Will's father, Robert Dunn, a farm laborer of modest means, moved his family to find employment. Ida's loss of hearing after giving birth to the first of twelve children reflects the state of obstetric care in the 1880s.

The "Great Depression" affected the couple's later life. Will Dunn worked as a tenant farmer. Near the end of his working years, however, he purchased his own farm—an accomplishment that not only eluded his father and paternal grandfather but also depicts changing patterns of land and home ownership in the twentieth century.

Like Robert Dunn's move to find work, migrations by Will and Ida Dunn's ancestors probably had economic motives in a larger context than one family's needs. For example, Ida's father, Michael Pope (alias Popp), with his widowed father and several siblings, emigrated from Bavaria in 1841, when crop failure and high taxes caused many Germans to leave their country. Similarly, as a feature article in this issue explains, Will's great-grandparents moved from Pennsylvania to Virginia in the mid-1760s. An earlier generation of Dunns, spurred by depression in the linen industry, had migrated from County Tyrone, Ireland.

Descendants remember the Dunns fondly—Will for his wit and concern for others, and Ida for teaching her granddaughter how to bake and sew. Understanding lives like theirs—as ordinary as they might be—enhances historians' knowledge of past events, issues, trends, eras, and cycles. Knowledge of such contexts also promotes genealogists' understanding of ancestral motivations, circumstances, challenges, and accomplishments.

Credits:

The cover photograph and documentation of William and Ida Dunn's biographies and ancestry are in the hands of Victor S. Dunn, CG; 43540 Clivedon Court; Ashburn, VA 20147-4540; victor.dunn@virginiaancestry.com.

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A Journal for Today's Family Historian

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NUMBER 3
SEPTEMBER 2006

FEATURE ARTICLES

Identifying Parents Indirectly:
Robert Dunn of Frederick County, Virginia
Victor S. Dunn, CG 165

The Three Wives of Philip Hart of Goffstown, New Hampshire 177
Julie Potter Miller, CG

Which Marie Louise Is "Mariotte"?
Sorting Slaves with Common Names 183
Elizabeth Shown Mills, CG, CGL, FNGS, FASG

Which John Bray of St. Gennys in Cornwall Married
Hephzibah Lillicrap at St. Juliot? 205
Ronald A. Hill, Ph.D., CG, FASG

REVIEWS 221

COMMUNICATIONS 162

EDITORS' CORNER
Everyman as Genealogist 163

NGS ADMINISTRATION 164

UPDATE
A Son Proved ... An Ancestor Disproved:
Thomas Caldwell of Lunenburg County, Virginia 204

SIDELIGHT
"A Stinger" 182

REVIEWS
Waak. *My Bones Are Red: A Spiritual Journey with a Triracial People in the Americas*. By Rachal Mills Lennon, CG. 221
Ely. *Israel on the Appomattox: A Southern Experiment in Black Freedom from the 1790s Through the Civil War*.
By Christopher A. Nordmann, Ph.D., CG. 222

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Joyce. *Bartlett Eaves (ca. 1765–ca. 1833): His Ancestors and Descendants.*
By Lynne M. Darrouzet, J.D., CG. 223
Steele. *Ebbets: The History and Genealogy of a New York Family.*
By Richard Haberstroh, AG, CG. 224
Rose and Ingalls. *The Complete Idiot's Guide to Genealogy*, 2nd ed.
By Elizabeth Kelley Kerstens, CG, CGL. 225
Redmonds. *Christian Names in Local and Family History.*
By Jeffrey L. Haines, CG. 225
Sperry. *Kirtland, Ohio: A Guide to Family History and Historical Sources.*
By Wallace D. Huskonen, CG. 226
Horle, Foster, and Wolfe. *Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania: A Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3. By Scott C. Steward. 227
Rapaport. *New England Court Records: A Research Guide for Genealogists and Historians.* By Sandra MacLean Clunies, CG. 227
Anderson. *The Pilgrim Migration: Immigrants to Plymouth Colony, 1620–1633.*
By Charles E. Healy, Ph.D. 228
Poss. *Wilkes County (Washington), Georgia: Newspaper Abstracts 1810–1815*, vol. 2. By Joye Lett Quinn, CG. 228

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EDITORS' CORNER

Everyman as Genealogist

We all have ancestry. Although our progenitors may not be wealthy, talented, or famous, the story of our heritage is interesting simply by being true. Some people disagree. "Genealogists are boring. They just want to know who married who." So says the grammatically challenged *Boston Phoenix* in its online review of the PBS television show "Life 360" for 25 August. The *Phoenix* writer—later calling the episode "compelling"—distinguishes between genealo*gists* and genealo*gy*. It is not the information that is dull but how it is presented.

The stereotypical genealogist drones on and on, oblivious to the audience's attempts to escape. The closet genealogist, while claiming no interest in family, launches at any opportunity into a favorite tale of a black sheep or tenuous links to famous people. A focus on names, dates, and "begats" generates enthusiasm in no one except the teller and perhaps explains why interest in genealogy often skips a generation.

Genealogy doesn't have to be dull. Month after month, engaging manuscripts about family histories and solving genealogical problems arrive from all corners of the country. Few authors are genealogists first, and it often shows. The organization of a paper sometimes reveals its author as a scientist, a librarian, or a teacher. Its language is that of a lawyer or layman. Its insights mark an anthropologist or historian. Regardless, the authors' stories of tracking ancestors intrigue and instruct readers.

A generation of World War II combatants came face to face with genealogy when soldiers met others with their surname. Expectant parents search their family history for meaningful names. Older parents look across the aisle as their children marry and wonder about future grandchildren's ancestry. Inherited characteristics, talents, or diseases send researchers into the past. This is not about names and dates, but about understanding the fabric of lives.

If ancestry is presented in a boring way, no one will listen. Family historians often can discern not only *what* their ancestors did but *why* and *how* they did it. Such perceptions can be fascinating. In this issue, aspects of the Dunns' lives are deduced from indirect evidence. The Harts cope with poverty and an historian's lips are sealed. A former slave's single act—one she probably always regretted—distinguishes her from 112 women of the same name. A parish register contains no entries the year John Bray was born, but the process of elimination reveals his parents.

Ancestral stories can be compelling, and each deserves to be told. Some are difficult to unravel, but solving the puzzle is half the pleasure, and sharing it well is a gift to all.

—Thomas W. Jones
and Melinde Lutz Sanborn
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Identifying Parents Indirectly: Robert Dunn of Frederick County, Virginia

By Victor S. Dunn, CG

When records do not identify an individual's parents, another strategy may be via a sibling with known parents. Failing that, the mass of evidence gathered about the sibling group may document the parents indirectly, even if information regarding any one sibling is insufficient.

Family historians face a recurring scenario: No source identifies an ancestor's parents. Nor do candidates' records identify a child bearing the ancestor's name. With "no direct evidence"—a classic genealogical conundrum—how can one find earlier generations? Although no single record identifies the ancestor's parents, mere hints can produce results if sources are "carefully sifted for indirect evidence" and the yield "assembled with care and caution."[1]

Robert Dunn, with no record of his origins, demonstrates the case. Sources concerning his possible parents do not mention him. Nevertheless, studying Dunns across several generations in three Virginia counties, reconstructing their neighborhoods, noting their associates, and following them beyond Virginia indirectly identified Robert's parents.

Robert was born reportedly in Virginia in 1768–69.[2] He first paid taxes in Frederick County, Virginia, in 1796 and died there, probably in 1850.[3] The

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1. Quoted from standards 30–31, Board for Certification of Genealogists, *The BCG Genealogical Standards Manual* (Orem, Utah: Ancestry, 2000), 12–13. Also see, *Evidence: A Special Issue of the National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 87 (September 1999); and Thomas W. Jones, "The Road Less Taken: The Power of Indirect Evidence," *Association of Professional Genealogists Quarterly* 20 (March 2005): 21–26.

2. Robert Dunn household, 1850 U.S. census, Frederick County, Va., population schedule, 16th District, p. 245, dwelling/family 644; National Archives (NA) microfilm M432, roll 945. Robert's age was eighty-one.

3. Robert Dunn entry, 1796, Marquis Richardson's District, Frederick Co. Personal Property Tax List, unpaginated; Personal Property Tax Records microfilm reel 124, Library of Virginia (LVA), Richmond. Robert's age indicates that he was not Robert Dunn Jr., who paid taxes in 1849. (Robert Jr. may have been the thirty-two-year-old Robert Dunn in Robert's household in the 1850 census, cited above.) Subsequent entries without the Jr. suggest that the older man had died. See Robert Dunn Jr. and Robert Dunn entries, Thomas S. Sangster's District, Frederick Co. Personal Property Tax Lists, unpaginated; microfilm 2,024,548, frames 108 (1849) and 144 (1850), Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City. Also, Frederick Co. Personal Property Tax Lists, 1851–54; LVA Personal Property Tax Records microfilm reel 519. The Commonwealth of Virginia began recording deaths in 1853, but Robert's death does not appear in any Lower Shenandoah Valley county's death register.

search for his parents covered Frederick County tax lists 1782–1850, indexed Dunn entries in the county's chancery, land, marriage, and probate records 1745–1900, and court order books 1745–1800.[4] It included page-by-page reading of will and court order books.[5] This study provided little information on Robert, who owned no land and left insufficient personal property for probate. The research, however, documented his 1801 intention to marry Catherine Wickersham and his 1810 wedding to Hannah Shepherd and provided clues about his siblings.[6]

IDENTIFYING ROBERT DUNN'S SIBLINGS

When records do not identify an individual's parents, another strategy may be via a sibling with known parents. Failing that, the mass of evidence gathered about the sibling group may document the parents indirectly, even if information regarding any one sibling is insufficient. In this case, evidence from Frederick County records link Robert to a sister and through her to four siblings.

Abigail Dunn

Four sources establish that Robert Dunn had a sister Abigail:

- Abigail Dunn married Thomas Neill in Frederick County in 1787.[7]
- In his 1821 will Thomas Neill called Eliza Dunn his late wife's niece.[8]
- Eliza Dunn, identified as Robert Dunn's daughter, married Abraham Coffee in October 1825.[9]
- On 25 May 1836 Abraham Coffee, administrator of the estate of his deceased wife, Eliza, won a suit against Lewis Neill, who had failed to pay a legacy due Eliza per Thomas Neill's will.[10]

Eliza, therefore, was Robert Dunn's daughter and the niece of Abigail (née Dunn) Neill. Consequently, Robert and Abigail were siblings.

4. Frederick Co. Personal Property Tax Lists 1782–1854; LVA Personal Property Tax Records microfilms 124–128 and 519. Also, Frederick Co. Deed Books 1–121, Marriage Registers 1–2, Order Books 2–33, and Will Books 1–41, County Clerk, Winchester, Va.; and "Chancery Records Index," Library of Virginia (http://www.lva.lib.va.us/whatwehave/local/chancery/index.htm).

5. Frederick Co. Will Books 3–6 (1761–1802) and Order Books 14 (1767–1770) and 23–28 (1791–1797).

6. Dunn-Wickersham marriage bond, 19 October 1801, Frederick Co. Marriage Bonds 1773–1811, unpaginated, County Clerk; FHL microfilm 0,031,456. Also, "Dun"-Shepherd marriage record, 17 November 1810, Frederick Co. Marriage Register 1:45.

7. Neill-Dunn marriage record, 28 June 1787, Frederick Co. Marriage Register 1:123.

8. Thomas Neill will (1821), Frederick Co. Will Book 11:112.

9. Coffee-Dunn marriage bond, 12 October 1825, Frederick Co. Marriage Bonds 14, unpaginated; FHL microfilm 0,031,457.

10. Abraham Coffee Adm. of his deceased wife Eliza Coffee v. Lewis Neill, Frederick Co. Superior Court Chancery Order Book 8:327, County Clerk.

Isabella Dunn

The above Thomas Neill bequeathed household and kitchen furniture to "Ezabella Day, wife of Samuel Day," who lived on one of Neill's plantations.[11] Isabella Dunn, born 1 August 1766, married Samuel Day in Frederick County 15 December 1789.[12] Samuel testified that he lent Thomas reading glasses to write his will, suggesting a close association.[13] Thomas did not state his relationship to Isabella (née Dunn) Day, but her age, surname at marriage, and inheritance suggest that she was a sister of his late wife, Abigail (née Dunn) Neill, another of Robert Dunn's sisters.

Thomas Dunn

Robert Dunn took out a bond to marry Catherine Wickersham in Frederick County in 1801. The bondsman, Thomas Dunn, born 11 June 1772, had previously married Catherine's sister, Rebecca Wickersham.[14] That the Dunns who married Wickersham sisters were brothers is supported by the following:

- Thomas Dunn and Thomas Neill—husband of Robert Dunn's sister Abigail—were witness and bondsman, respectively, of George Price's 1791 Frederick County will and probate.[15]
- As figure 1 shows, William Wickersham—father-in-law of Thomas Dunn and Robert Dunn—owned land near that of Thomas Neill, husband of Abigail Dunn, and the residence of Samuel Day, husband of Isabella Dunn.

John Dunn

John Dunn was born reportedly in Frederick County, near Winchester.[16] He married Elizabeth Baldwin in Washington County, Maryland, on 6 October 1801.[17] No known record indicates that John lived there, however. By 1813

11. Thomas Neill will (1821), Frederick Co. Will Book 11:112.

12. Day-Dunn marriage record, 15 December 1789, Frederick Co. Marriage Register 1:39. For the birth date, see Isabel Day tombstone, Honey Creek Cemetery, Champaign Co., Ohio; photograph in author's files.

13. Lewis Neil and Others v. John Neil case file, Chancery Cause no. 1832-169, Frederick Co. Circuit Superior Court; LVA Frederick Co. microfilm 343, frame 577.

14. For Thomas's birth date, see Thomas Dunn family Bible record, photocopy from Lourene G. Criddle, Bellevue, Wash. The Bible's 1823 publication date is fifty-one years after Thomas's birth. For the marriage, see Dunn-Wickersham bond, 8 May 1793, Frederick Co. Marriage Bonds 1773–1811, unpaginated. For the sisters' relationship, see William Wickersham will (1805), Frederick Co. Will Book 8:57.

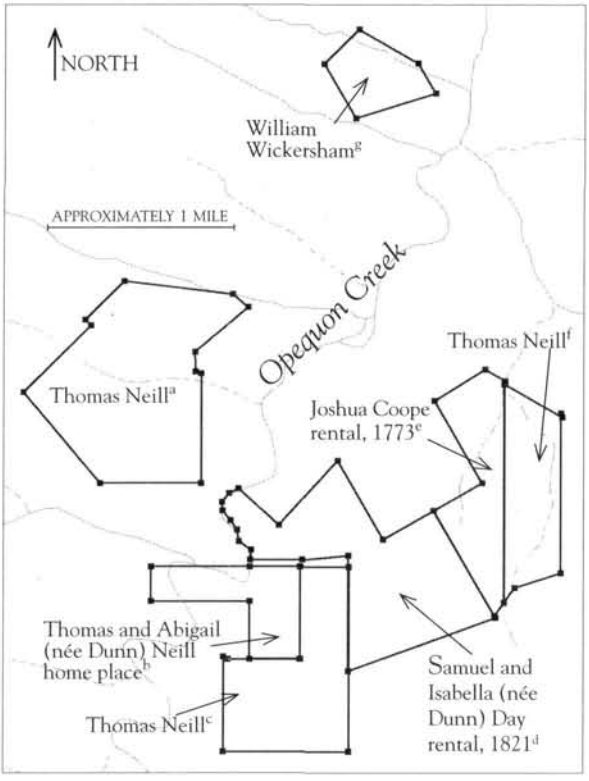
15. George Price will (1797), Frederick Co. Will Book 6:314.

16. Photocopy of William F. Dunn family Bible record, in Wilma Mae Harper and Lourene Criddle, *William Fouch of Warren County, Ohio: His American Ancestors and Some Descendants* (Los Angeles: privately printed, 1995), unpaginated.

17. Dunn-Baldwin marriage record, 6 October 1801, Washington Co. Marriage Licenses, 1799–1851, unpaginated, County Court, Hagerstown, Md.; microfilm CR 1,194, Maryland State Archives, Annapolis.

Figure 1

Selected Plats on Waters of Opequon Creek in Present-day Frederick County and Clarke County, Virginia



[a]Rogers to Neill deed, Frederick Co. Deed Book 11:199, County Court, Winchester, Va. Lewis Neill devised the land to his son Thomas Neill. See Lewis Neill will (1776), Frederick Co. Will Book 4:318, County Court. The author plotted several deeds and grants to determine this plat's location.

[b]Rees Smith patent, Virginia Land Patent Book 15:279, digital image, "Virginia Land Office Patents and Grants/Northern Neck Grants and Surveys," *Library of Virginia* (http://lvaimage.lib.va.us/LONN/LO-1/013/013_0292.tif). Smith sold the land to Lewis Neill, who devised it to his son Thomas.

[c]Captain Lewis Neill grant, Northern Neck Grants G:421, digital image, *Library of Virginia* (http://lvaimage.lib.va.us/LONN/NN-3/295-3/295_0716.tif). Neill devised the tract to his son Thomas. See Lewis Neill will (1776), Frederick Co. Will Book 4:318.

[d]Bailes to Neill deed, Frederick Co. Deed Book 11:64. Lewis Neill devised the tract to his son Thomas. See Lewis Neill will (1776), Frederick Co. Will Book 4:318.

[e]Lewis Neill grant, Northern Neck Grants N:152, *Library of Virginia* (http://lvaimage.lib.va.us/LONN/NN-3/295-2/295_0348.tif); and Coope to Neill release, Frederick Co. Deed Book 43:79.

[f]Thomas Neill to John Buchanon, Frederick Co. Deed Book 20:82.

[g]Ralph Thompson grant, Northern Neck Grants M:263, digital image, *Library of Virginia* (http://lvaimage.lib.va.us/LONN/NN-5/292-2/292_0423.tif). Thompson's heirs sold a portion of the grant to William Wickersham and Isaac Nevitt. See Frederick Co. Deed Book 21:1,028.

John had moved to Warren County, Ohio, paralleling the above Thomas Dunn's settlement there in 1812.[18]

On 5 September 1821 Jonah Lupton, of Frederick County, appointed John Dunn as his attorney to rent and sell Warren County lands.[19] Evidence combined from three sources shows indirectly that Jonah Lupton was a nephew of Thomas Neill who married Abigail Dunn:

- Thomas Neill's will mentions his sister Ann Lupton.[20]
- Lewis Neill's will names his son Thomas Neill and daughter Ann Rees.[21]
- Ann Lupton's will lists her son Jonah Lupton.[22]

Jonah's mother, therefore, was Ann (née Neill) (Rees) Lupton. John Dunn's surname, age, Frederick County origin, association with Thomas Neill, and Ohio migration parallel evidence concerning Thomas Dunn. John, therefore, appears to have been Robert Dunn's brother.

Elizabeth Dunn

Elizabeth Dunn, born 9 November 1776, married George "Santmire" (Zentmire) in Frederick County on 14 March 1797.[23] Records connect Elizabeth's husband to Robert Dunn's siblings:

- George Zentmire and Lewis Rees were early settlers of the Mather's Mill area of Warren County, Ohio.[24] On 8 April 1812 Lewis Rees and his wife sold land there to George "Sint Mire."[25] Like Joshua Lupton, Lewis Rees was a son of Ann (née Neill) (Rees) Lupton, sister of Thomas Neill, husband of Robert Dunn's sister Abigail.[26]
- On 4 March 1823 George "St. Mire" acted as bondsman for Rebecca (née Wickersham) Dunn to administer the estate of her deceased husband, Thomas Dunn of Warren County, another proposed sibling of Robert Dunn.[27]

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18. Carter to Dunn deed, Warren Co. Deed Book 4:378, Warren County Records Center and Archives (WCRCA), Lebanon, Ohio. The deed specifies that John was of Warren County. For Thomas, see *The History of Warren County, Ohio* (Chicago: W. H. Beers, 1882), 695. This source reports also that Thomas had come to Portsmouth, Scioto County, Ohio, in 1803. He apparently returned to Virginia in the interim. See Thomas Dunn entries, William Kercheval's District (1804–5) and Samuel Kercheval's District (1807), Frederick Co. Personal Property Tax Lists, unpaginated; LVA Personal Property Tax Records microfilm 125. Also, Thomas Dunn household, 1810 U.S. census, Frederick Co., Va., pop. sch., p. 346, line 22; NA microfilm M252, roll 68.

19. Lupton to Dunn power of attorney, Warren Co. Deed Book 10:170.

20. Thomas Neill will (1821), Frederick Co. Will Book 11:112.

21. Lewis Neill will (1776), Frederick Co. Will Book 4:318.

22. Ann Lupton will (1827), Frederick Co. Will Book 13:360.

23. "Santmire"-Dunn marriage, 14 March 1797, Frederick Co. Marriage Register 1:147. Spelling variations of *Zentmire* include *St. Myer, St. Mires, Zentmyer, Saintmire*, and *Santmire*. For Elizabeth's birth date, see *Warren County, Ohio Cemetery Records* ([Lebanon, Ohio]: Warren County Historical Society, 1975), 90.

24. *History of Warren County*, 689–90.

25. Rees to "Sint Mire" deed, Warren Co. Deed Book 4:73.

26. Ann Lupton will (1827), Frederick Co. Will Book 13:360.

27. Thomas Dunn estate papers (1823), file for Warren Co. Docket O:228, OCP Box 26, item 8, WCRCA. "OCP" refers to "Old [Court of] Common Pleas," the previous repository of these papers.

- George Zentmire named his wife and John Dunn executors of his 1837 will.[28] Zentmire's reliance on Dunn suggests a close relationship.
- A somewhat garbled manuscript identifies John Dunn, Thomas Dunn, and Elizabeth (née Dunn) Zentmire as siblings who settled in Warren County, Ohio.[29]

IDENTIFYING ROBERT DUNN'S FATHER

This body of indirect evidence identifies five siblings of Robert Dunn. None left a record identifying a parent. Their descendants report different family origin traditions, all implausible.[30]

Several men with the Dunn surname are potential paternal candidates for Robert Dunn and his siblings because they appear in Frederick County records in the mid-to-late 1700s. Nine possibilities, however, can be eliminated. They have no known association with Robert and his proposed siblings and apparently lived only briefly in Frederick County:

1. Benaiah Dunn witnessed a will in 1760 and left no further record.[31]
2. Benjamin Dunn brought a suit against John Burcham in 1772 and also left no further record.[32]
3. Jacob Dunn purchased land in March 1770.[33] Jacob Dunn, perhaps a different individual, paid taxes in Frederick County in 1799–1804.[34]
4. Jeremiah Dunn received a grant for Frederick County land in 1768.[35] In 1812 he had no known heirs in Virginia.[36]
5. John Dunn's estate was attached in 1768 because the court believed he was about to "remove his effects or so abscond so as the ordinary process of law cannot be served on him."[37] John probably left the county because he left no other record there.

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28. George Zentmire will (1837), file for Warren Co. Docket ½:105, OCP Box 69, item 21, WCRCA.

29. Unattributed and undated manuscript, Dunn Family Material file, Lourene Criddle Collection, 1233 THL, Stewart Bell Jr. Archives, Handley Library, Winchester, Va. The following notation is typed to the side of the note, "Original of this paper is owned by Mrs. Floy Stockdick of Katy, Texas. It was found among her grandmother's papers. Her grandmother was the daughter of Martin Dunn, son of John Dunn of Winchester, Va., who removed to Warren County, Oh. in 1812. Other family letters put the Dunn family six miles south of Winchester on the Opecquen [*sic*] Ridge."

30. For a summary of the traditions, see M. Anderson, *A Family History and List of Descendants of John Dunn and Elizabeth (Baldwin) Dunn of Frederick County, Virginia, and Warren County, Ohio* (Bellevue, Wash.: privately printed, 1994), 1 and 75–83.

31. Aaron Harlan will (1760), Frederick Co. Will Book 2:442.

32. Burcham v. Dunn order, Frederick Co. Order Book 15:324.

33. Vanmetre to Dunn, Frederick Co. Deed Book 13:264.

34. Jacob Dunn entries, Frederick Co. Personal Property Tax Lists, unpaginated; LVA Personal Property Tax Lists microfilms 124–25.

35. Jeremiah Dunn grant, Northern Neck Grants O:176, digital image, "Virginia Land Office Patents and Grants/Northern Neck Grants and Surveys," *Library of Virginia* (http://lvaimage.lib.va.us/LONN/NN-5/296/296_0190.tif).

36. Renches Exors. v. Jeremiah Dunn's heirs, Frederick Co. Land Book, 1808–15:181, Superior Court of Chancery, Winchester, Va.

37. Samuel Pritchard v. John Dunn case file, 1766, Frederick Co. Ended Causes, LVA State Records Center, Richmond.

6. Joseph Dunn entered into a lease on 27 July 1769 for his natural life and the lives of his sons "Vincin" and Samuel Dunn.[38] In 1772 he appeared in a lawsuit as a co-defendant with Edmund Dunn.[39]
7. Michael Dunn defended a suit in 1771 and left no further record.[40]
8. William Dunn, with wife Hannah, bought and sold land in Berkeley County and Frederick County, 1788–1803.[41] Their children do not match Robert Dunn and his siblings.[42]

One potential parental candidate could not be eliminated—James Dunn, whose name was important in the sibling group defined above. Of Thomas's two sons named James Dunn, the first died young.[43] Except Abigail, who had no children, each sibling had a child James.[44] Myriad records in the Frederick County area document James Dunn. They apparently refer to three men.

James Dunn with Wife Sarah

On 6 September 1796 James Dunn of Frederick County purchased land there.[45] Four years later James and his wife, Sarah, of Frederick County, sold part of the tract to William Dunn of Berkeley County, formed from Frederick County in 1772.[46] This James Dunn appears in Frederick and Berkeley County records:

- On 16 September 1804 Thomas Faulkner made bequests to "the children of my late dear wife Deceased, William Dun, Sarah Crumly and Ann Handshaw ... and to James Dun, Brother to the said William Dun."[47]
- On 20 September 1794 William Dunn and his wife, Hannah, and James Dunn and his wife, Sarah, all of Berkeley County, sold land there.[48] (William was candidate 8, above.)

38. "The Right Honorable Thomas, Lord Fairfax and Joseph Dunn" lease, 27 July 1769, Frederick Co. Deed Book 13:54.

39. Herndon v. Dunn order, Frederick Co. Order Book 15:392.

40. Russell v. Dunn order, Frederick Co. Order Book 15:198.

41. For William Dunn's deeds, see Berkeley Co. Deed Books 8:349, 8:350, 8:351, 11:201, and 13:118; Frederick Co. Deed Book 24B:552; and Frederick Co. Superior Court Deed Books 4:202 and 4:697.

42. William Dunn family Bible record, *National Historical Magazine* 73 (January 1939): 65–67.

43. Thomas Dunn family Bible record.

44. For James, son of Robert Dunn, see Dunn-Tharp marriage, 20 May 1890, Frederick Co. Marriage Register 2:356. For James, son of Isabella (née Dunn) Day, see Samuel Day family Bible, *Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments: Together With the Apocrypha* (Boston: Greenough and Stebbins, 1809), owned in 2005 by Letha Shull-Mowry (417 South Walnut; Maryville, MO 64468). For a transcription, see *Magazine of Virginia Genealogy* 43 (February 2005): 41. For James, son of John Dunn, see Anderson, *Family History and List of Descendants of John Dunn*, 6. For James, son of Elizabeth (née Dunn) Zentmire, see file for Warren Co. Docket ½:105, OCP Box 69, item 21.

45. Frecker to Dunn deed, Frederick Co. Deed Book 24B:361.

46. Dunn to Dunn deed, Frederick Co. Superior Court Deed Book 4:202. For Berkeley County's formation, see William Waller Henning, *Statutes at Large* (Richmond: privately printed, 1821), 8:597–99.

47. Thomas Faulkner will (1804), Frederick Co. Superior Court Will Book 2:17.

48. Dunn to Matlock deed, Berkeley Co. Deed Book 13:118, County Clerk, Martinsburg, W.Va.

- On 5 of November 1770 the Hopewell Friend's Meeting in Frederick County received Jane Faulkner from the Warrington Quaker Meeting in York County, Pennsylvania. The certificate of removal names her children, William, Sarah, Ann, and James "Dun."[49]

Jane, therefore, was the "late dear wife Deceased" of Thomas Faulkner's will. Pennsylvania records provide further information:

- On 9 April 1763 the Warrington Meeting received a report that Thomas Falkner had married Jane Dunn before a priest.[50]
- On 7 November 1761 the Warrington Monthly Meeting received Jane Dunn and her unnamed children from the Sadsbury Monthly Meeting in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.[51]
- On 1 December 1760 William Dunn of Chester County made bequests to his children, William, Sarah, Ann, and James, all under age eight. He named his wife—identified as Jean and Jane—as executrix.[52]
- The Sadsbury Quaker Meeting noted in August of 1751 that William "Dun," son of William "Dun" of Bradford Meeting, had asked to marry Jane Stogden, widow of George Stogden.[53] The Bradford Quakers met in Chester County, Pennsylvania, near Lancaster County and the Sadsbury Meeting.

Combined, the above information shows that James Dunn, married to Sarah, was a son of William and Jane (née [—?—]) (Stogden) (Dunn) Faulkner. Born after 1 December 1752, James was too young to have fathered Robert Dunn of Frederick County, Virginia, and his siblings born in the 1760s.

James Dunn with Wife Jean

A clerk at Morgan Chapel in Berkeley County and near Frederick County recorded children of James and Jean "Dun":

1. Susanah Dun, born 31 January 1747/8
2. Elizabeth Dun, born 9 August 1750
3. James Dun, born 30 April 1753
4. Margret Dun, born 19 May 1755
5. Henry Dun, born 22 October 1757
6. Jean Dun, born 19 April 1760[54]

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49. William Wade Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1973), 6:387.

50. "Minutes 1747–1786," pp. 164–68, Warrington Monthly Meeting (Wellsville, Pa.), Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa.; microfilm 113, York County Heritage Trust, York, Pa.

51. Ibid., p. 135.

52. William Dunn will (1760), Chester Co. Will Book D:305, Register of Wills, West Chester, Pa.; FHL microfilm 0,020,845.

53. F. Edward Wright, *Lancaster County, Pennsylvania Church Records of the 18th Century* (Westminster, Md.: Family Line Publications, 1994), 3:29.

54. Norbourne Parish, "Morgan's Chapel Register 1741–1838, 1855," unpaginated, accession 22,910, Church Records Collection, LVA.

Two Frederick County records apparently pertain to this father:

- On 26 November 1760 James Dunn leased land from Lewis Moore for seven years beginning 1 April 1761.[55] Both men were "of" Frederick County. Lewis Moore owned land near Morgan Chapel.[56]
- In 1764–65 James Dunn served Frederick Parish as sexton. Morgan Chapel was in Frederick Parish.[57]

This man may also have been James "Dun" charged on 2 May 1749 for retailing liquors contrary to law.[58] He also might have been James Dunn sued in Frederick County in 1750 when Lewis Neill and other executors of William McMachen sought payment of a debt.[59] Lewis was father of Thomas Neill, husband of Abigail Dunn, which associates this James Dunn with her family.[60] After the births of the children recorded in Morgan Chapel, could James have fathered Abigail, Robert, and their siblings? If so, James had two daughters Elizabeth. The first may have died in childhood, or perhaps they had different mothers—a possibility suggested by their twenty-nine-year age difference. Information concerning the third Frederick County James Dunn, however, eliminates James with wife Jean as Robert Dunn's father.

James Dunn with Wife Hannah

In 1787 James Dunn defended himself against Alexander McElwain in eight Frederick County lawsuits, longstanding disputes originating apparently in Pennsylvania. On 2 April 1761 James described himself as "James Dunn of the Township of New Providence in the County of Philadelphia, Tayler [sic]." His adversary was, in 1761, "Alexander McElwain of the Township of West Nantmeal, in the County of Chester, Yeoman."[61]

In 1787 the above James lived in Frederick County, Virginia, "near Helme's Mill on Thoˢ Neil's land."[62] This residence, in the neighborhood shown in figure 1 soon after Abigail Dunn's June 1787 marriage to Thomas Neill, links James to the Dunn siblings in the vicinity. An established tailor by 1761, he was the right age to have been their father.

55. Moore and Dunn lease, Frederick Co. Deed Book 9:72.

56. Cecil O'Dell, *Pioneers of Old Frederick County* (Marceline, Mo.: Walsworth Publishing, 1995), 174.

57. Frederick Parish, "Vestry Book 1764–1818," pp. 9 and 12, accession 19,745, Church Records Collection, LVA.

58. James "Dun" entry, Frederick Co. Order Book 3:74.

59. Gabriel Jones, Lewis Neill and John McMachen executors of William McMachen v. James Dunn and Richard Abbot, Frederick Co. Order Book 3:416.

60. Lewis Neill will (1776), Frederick Co. Will Book 4:318.

61. Alexander McElwain v. James Dunn case file, November 1787, Frederick Co. Ended Causes, LVA State Records Center.

62. Ibid.

James may have maintained ties with Pennsylvania because he believed that Moses McIllvain who resided outside Virginia was a material witness in the case.[63] Thomas Neill was surety for James's court appearance.[64]

A later Frederick County lawsuit again links James Dunn to Thomas Neill and Pennsylvania. In 1789 Jonathan Ross sued Dunn for money owed on travel to Pennsylvania and for building a coffin for Dunn's daughter. Robert Dunn—apparently James's son—and Thomas Neill were summoned as witnesses.[65]

James also associated with a Coope, Coopa, or Cope family. In May 1778 Joshua Coopa posted bail for James Dunn.[66] Five years earlier Joshua "Coope" leased land for the term of his life and that of his sons George and John Coope.[67] In 1794 John Dunn—probably James's son—testified on George Cope's behalf.[68]

On 17 October 1761 James Dunn, a tailor of West Nantmill Township in Chester County, Pennsylvania, and his wife, Hannah, mortgaged land purchased from Moses "Mucklewaine."[69] Pennsylvania and Virginia records of James's occupation and association with Moses "McIllvain" or "Mucklewaine" show that the same James Dunn (1) signed the April 1761 bond as a resident of Philadelphia County, (2) mortgaged land in Chester County in October 1761, and (3) lived on Thomas Neill's Frederick County land in 1787. James's Frederick County association with Joshua Coope in 1778 reinforces this conclusion—Joshua "Cope" lived in West Nantmill Township in 1764 and 1766.[70]

James and Hannah Dunn lived in Pennsylvania from 1761 through 1767.[71] Therefore, the James Dunn who leased land from Lewis Moore in Frederick County 1761–67 was another man.

GENEALOGICAL SUMMARY

1. James Dunn was born about 1735, if he was in his mid-twenties in 1761 when he purchased land. Residing in Frederick County in 1787, he was the only James Dunn paying personal property taxes there from 1782, the tax rolls' inaugural year, through 1801.[72] He may have died shortly afterward.

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63. Ibid. McElwain and McIllvain apparently are variants of the same name.

64. Alexander McAlwain v. James Dunn in Debt, Frederick Co. Order Book 20:337.

65. Jonathan Ross v. James Dunn case file, May 1796, Frederick Co. Ended Causes.

66. Thomas Helm v. James Dunn case file, May 1778, Frederick Co. Ended Causes.

67. Coope to Neill release, Frederick Co. Deed Book 43:79. Land shown in figure 1.

68. Order to pay John Dunn, Frederick Co. Order Book 25:267.

69. Dunn and wife to Coleman and others, Chester Co. Deed Book O:39; FHL microfilm 0,020,858. For the purchase, dated 11 September 1761, see Dunn and wife to Coleman and others, Chester Co. Deed Book M:240, Recorder of Deeds, West Chester, Pa.; microfilm V237-93, National Society Daughters of the American Revolution Library, Washington, D.C. It is not known if or how the Dunns disposed of this land.

70. Joshua Coope entry, James Hanna's District, 1764 Chester Co. Tax Transcripts, p. 174; and Joshua Cope entry, Michael Graham's District, 1766 Chester Co. Tax Transcripts, p. 115; FHL microfilm 0,020,903.

71. William Henry Egle, ed., "Proprietary Tax Lists of the County of Chester," in *Pennsylvania Archives*, 3rd ser. (Harrisburg, Pa.: William Stanley Ray, 1897), 11:336.

72. James Dunn entries, 1782–1801, various districts, Frederick Co. Personal Property Tax Lists, unpaginated.

James married **Hannah (née [—?—])** before 17 October 1761.[73] Her last known record is dated 12 November 1764.[74] Hannah does not appear in Frederick County records, but she probably was mother of James's children, three of whom named daughters Hannah.[75] Hannah may have died before 24 August 1786, when James Dunn married **Rachel Pring** or **Prinz**.[76]

Indirect evidence shows that James and Hannah were parents of:

2 i. ABIGAIL DUNN, born say 1764 probably in Chester County, Pennsylvania;[77] died about 1819, probably in Frederick County, Virginia.[78] She married in Frederick County, 27 June 1787, Thomas Neill.[79]

3 ii. ISABELLA DUNN, born 1 August 1766 probably in Chester County;[80] died 26 October 1834 probably in Champaign County, Ohio.[81] She married in Frederick County, 15 December 1789, Samuel Day.[82]

4 iii. ROBERT DUNN, born about 1768–69 probably in Frederick County;[83] died probably about 1850 in Frederick County.[84] He apparently married (1) in Frederick County, 19 October 1801, Catherine Wickersham, and (2) in Frederick County, 17 November 1810, Hannah Shepherd.[85]

5 iv. THOMAS DUNN, born 11 June 1772 probably in Frederick County;[86] died 9 November 1822[87] in Warren County, Ohio.[88] He married in Frederick County, 8 May 1793, Rebecca Wickersham.[89]

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73. Dunn and wife to Coleman and others, Chester Co. Deed Book M:240.

74. Dunn to Coleman and others, Chester Co. Deed Book O:39.

75. For Hannah, daughter of Robert, see Hannah C. Coffee, "A Partial Record of the Coffee Family," typescript, p. 3; FHL microfilm 0,896,607, item 2, which states Hannah was sister to Eliza (née Dunn) Coffee, Robert's daughter. See Coffee-Dunn marriage bond, Frederick Co. Marriage Bonds 14, unpaginated. For Hannah, daughter of Thomas, see Thomas Dunn family Bible record. For Hannah, daughter of Elizabeth (née Dunn) Zentmire, see George Zentmire will, file for Warren Co. Docket Estate ½:105, OCP Box 69, item 21.

76. Dunn-Pring marriage, Frederick Co. Marriage Register 1:45. They are listed as "Jones" Dunn and Rachel "Pring." Christian Streit, who performed the marriage, called them James Dunn and Rachel "Prinz." See William Edward Eisenberg, *This Heritage: Expanded Edition 1753–2003* (Staunton, Va.: Lot's Wife Publishing, 2003), 550.

77. As the first sibling to marry, Abigail probably was older than Isabella and Robert.

78. Lewis Neil and Others v. John Neil, Frederick County Superior Court Chancery Cause no. 1832-169. A deponent stated that Thomas Neill's wife had died about two years before her husband. Thomas Neill died in April 1821. See Thomas Neill will (1821), Frederick Co. Will Book 11:112.

79. Neill-Dunn marriage record, 28 June 1787, Frederick Co. Marriage Register 1:123.

80. Isabel Day tombstone, Honey Creek Cemetery, Champaign Co., Ohio.

81. Ibid.

82. Day-Dunn marriage record, Frederick Co. Marriage Register 1:39.

83. Robert Dunn household, 1850 U.S. census, Frederick County, Va., pop. sch., 16th District, p. 245, dwell./fam. 644.

84. Robert Dunn Jr. and Robert Dunn entries, Thomas S. Sangster's District, Frederick Co. Personal Property Tax Lists, unpaginated; and Frederick Co. Personal Property Tax Lists, 1851–54.

85. Dunn-Wickersham marriage bond, 19 October 1801, Frederick Co. Marriage Bonds 1773–1811, unpaginated; "Dun"-Shepherd marriage record, 17 November 1810, Frederick Co. Marriage Register 1:45.

86. Thomas Dunn family Bible record.

87. Ibid.

88. William and Elizabeth Babb v. Rebecca Dunn, February Term 1836, Chancery Record Book 6:634, WCRCA.

89. Dunn-Wickersham bond, 8 May 1793, Frederick Co. Marriage Bonds 1773–1811, unpaginated.

6 v. JOHN DUNN, born say 1774 near Winchester, Virginia;[90] died 20 April 1844 in Warren County.[91] He married in Washington County, Maryland, 6 October 1801, Elizabeth Baldwin.[92]

7 vi. ELIZABETH DUNN, born 18 November 1776 probably in Frederick County;[93] died 18 February 1854 in Warren County.[94] She married in Frederick County, 14 March 1797, George Zentmire.[95]

A child of Robert and probably Rachel (née Pring or Prinz) Dunn was:

8 vii. [—?—] (female) DUNN, died before 1789, probably in Frederick County.[96]

CONCLUSION

Challenges confront researchers attempting to link ancestors like Robert Dunn to couples like James and Hannah Dunn in Frederick County, Virginia. They did not own land in Virginia, and their personal estates were too small for probate. No record identifies James and Hannah's children directly, and no record of their children names them as parents. Most of their children reached maturity and left the family household before census records existed to provide clues to relationship. When evidence revealed a candidate for their father, other men with the same name confounded his identification.

The search for Robert Dunn's parents shows that, when records fail to specify parentage, indirect evidence can indicate the relationship. Information in records of Robert's generation identifies his brothers and sisters, names their associates, and hints at their origins. Clues in records of earlier Dunns cohesively link Robert's sibling group—indirectly through mutual associates and proximity—to their parents, James and Hannah (née [—?—]) Dunn.

90. John Dunn's birth date is unknown, and census enumerations indicate incompatible years for his household's oldest male: 1765–1784 (1810 census), before 1775 (1820 census), and 1780–90 (1830 and 1840 censuses). See John Dunn households in the following censuses. 1810 U.S. census, Frederick Co., Va., p. 346, line 21; NA microfilm M252, roll 68. 1820 U.S. census, Warren Co., Ohio, Union Twp., p. 241, line 9; NA microfilm M33, roll 87. 1830 U.S. census, Warren Co., Ohio, Union Twp., p. 227, line 2; NA microfilm M19, roll 142. 1840 U.S. census, Warren Co., Ohio, Union Twp., p. 110, line 50; NA microfilm M704, roll 431. John paid $340 cash for land in 1801, which makes his birth after 1780 unlikely. See Springer to Dunn deed, Monongalia County Deed Book 2:86, County Court, Morgantown, W.Va.; FHL microfilm 0,840,572. Given the 1765–75 range implied by the 1810 and 1820 censuses and the birth years of James and Hannah's other children, John's birth fits best either just before or right after that of Thomas Dunn. If John's marriage in 1801 occurred in his twenties, he was born after Thomas. For John's birthplace, see photocopy of William F. Dunn family Bible record, in Harper and Criddle, *William Fouch of Warren Co.*, unpaginated.

91. William F. Dunn family Bible record, in Harper and Criddle, *William Fouch of Warren Co.*, unpaginated.

92. Dunn-Baldwin marriage, Washington Co. Marriage Licenses, 1799–1851, unpaginated.

93. *Warren County, Ohio Cemetery Records*, 90.

94. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, 5:145.

95. "Santmire"-Dunn marriage, Frederick Co. Marriage Register 1:147.

96. Jonathan Ross v. James Dunn case file, May 1796, Frederick Co. Ended Causes.

The Three Wives of Philip Hart of Goffstown, New Hampshire

By Julie Potter Miller, CG

"We must fall back upon the old axiom that when all other contingencies fail, whatever remains, however improbable, must be the truth."[1] *What do you call a woman who marries your mother's husband? What if you are that woman?*

Town and county histories are useful sources for generations contemporary with their publication or within the living memory of informants. But even respected sources can be wrong. When compilers encounter something extraordinary, the printed word must be measured by the reliability of informants, documented evidence, and the assumptions surrounding them.

In a typical work of its time, George P. Hadley, author of the *History of the Town of Goffstown, 1733–1920*, explains in his preface that its genealogical material came from descendants, town records, and town residents who assisted him.[2] No reference is given for individual facts, making it difficult to know the source of a specific detail and introducing potential for numerous errors.

Doubtless Hadley knew his neighbor Philip Hart, but in this small New Hampshire town, young Hadley would have politely addressed each of Philip's wives as "Mrs. Hart."[3] He may never have known their first names.

Despite certainly knowing the family by sight, Hadley did not tell the whole story when he wrote about Philip Hart. The possible reasons why are instructive. Looking at only this source, researchers might erroneously believe that Philip Hart had just two wives.

© Julie Potter Miller CG; 14294 Jared Court; Broomfield, CO 80020; Julie@jpmresearch.com. Ms. Miller is a full time genealogical researcher, lecturer, and writer. Her husband, Roger, is a descendant of Joseph Brown and Anne Nutt.

1. Arthur Conan Doyle, "The Adventure of the Bruce–Partington Plans," *The Strand Magazine* 35 (December 1908): 215.

2. George P. Hadley, *History of the Town of Goffstown, 1733–1920*, 2 vols. (Concord, N.H.: Rumford Press, 1924), 1:iii–v. Hadley found the collection of material for the genealogical section an "extremely burdensome task," the descendants being widely scattered and many records all differing.

3. Philip Hart household, 1860 U.S. census, Hillsborough Co., N.H., population schedule, Goffstown, p. 91, dwelling 808, family 864; original state copy, N.H. Division of Records Management and Archives, Concord. Accuracy of the New Hampshire state copies of the 1850–70 censuses is far superior to the federal copies. Hadley's home was visited the same day and recorded near that of his neighbors, the Harts.

THE PROBLEM AND HYPOTHESIS

Hadley, in his *History of the Town of Goffstown*, states that Philip Hart of Goffstown, son of William Hart and Mary Sargent, had two wives: Lucinda Clogston of Goffstown, his cousin; and Anna Warren, who died 24 November 1864.[4]

Only one marriage card in the New Hampshire vital records pertains to this Philip Hart. On 26 November 1868 Philip Hart of Goffstown, age seventy, married his third wife, Eliza A. Warren of Nashua, age forty-four, as her second husband.[5]

Although no marriage record was found for Philip Hart and Lucinda Clogston, their marriage is not in question.[6] The *History of the Town of Goffstown* and the New Hampshire marriage record agree that Philip Hart had a wife surnamed Warren. They differ in both the wife's given name and the date and number of the marriage.

Even if Eliza's middle initial "A" stood for Anna, the dates still pose a problem. Anna Warren could not have married Philip Hart in 1868, four years after she died. Also, the Goffstown marriage record states it was Philip Hart's third marriage. Is this simply a matter of incorrectly recorded dates? Or is there a deeper problem? Based on this information, could Philip Hart have had three wives, Lucinda Clogston, Anna Warren, and Eliza A. (née [—?—]) Warren?

THE EVIDENCE

PHILIP HART

Census

Census records for Philip Hart in Goffstown from 1850 and 1860 show an adult woman named Lucinda in his household.[7] About two months after the 1860 census was taken, Lucinda died.[8]

4. Hadley, *History of the Town of Goffstown*, 2:212.

5. Hart-Warren card (1868), Index to New Hampshire Marriages, Early to 1900, Division of Vital Records Administration, Concord. A notoriously incomplete index, it is a "quick and dirty" source to check where or whether an event was recorded. These index cards were laboriously copied by hand from official town records and turned in to the State in 1906. Entries were sometimes overlooked because they were intermixed with other types of records. Clerk copyists were paid a few cents per entry, and several large towns, like Exeter, found it an impossible task to transcribe them all, so failed to participate. For these reasons and others, it contains many errors and omissions.

6. Several sources other than *History of the Town of Goffstown* agree that Philip Hart had a wife named Lucinda, particularly three gravestones in West Lawn Cemetery, Goffstown, New Hampshire: one for Lucinda herself, the "wife of Philip S. Hart," and two for their children Larisa B. and Abel H., children "of Philip and Lucinda." Cemetery visit, 30 July 2006.

7. Philip Hart household, 1850 U.S. census, Hillsborough Co., N.H., pop. sch., Goffstown, p. 2, dwell./fam. 13; Philip Hart household, 1860 U.S. census, Hillsborough Co., N.H., pop. sch., Goffstown, p. 91, dwell. 808, fam. 864; original state copies.

8. Lucinda Hart entry (1860), Goffstown Death Register ending 31 March 1861, unpaginated, Town Clerk, Goffstown, N.H.

Goffstown Town Records

Two records pertaining to the marriage of Philip Hart to Eliza A. Warren aid in confirming both Eliza's marriage and identity. First, the marriage intention in the Goffstown town records gives the bride's name as Mrs. Eliza A. Brown.[9] Second, the marriage entry in the Goffstown marriage register gives the bride's name as Eliza A. Warren and specifies it as her second marriage and his third.[10] Although the intention refers to Eliza as "Mrs.," it records what proves to be her maiden name. The register gives her first married name.

The Goffstown records also contain a marriage intention between Philip Hart, age sixty-six, and Mrs. Ann Brown of Manchester, age sixty, on 2 September 1861.[11] No known record of the marriage exists, but additional evidence substantiates that it did take place.

Philip Hart's death on 23 April 1869 in Nashua, New Hampshire, is recorded in Goffstown, but the document sheds no light on his last wife's identity.[12] It does say he lived in Nashua, where Eliza A. Warren also lived.[13]

Goffstown Cemetery Records

Two wives of Philip Hart have gravestones in his cemetery plot:

> Philip Hart, died Apr. 23, 1869, AE. 75 yrs., 13 ds.
> Lucinda B., wife of Philip S. Hart died Sept. 25, 1860, AEt. 60 yrs., 4 mos. and 18 days
> Anna, second wife of Philip S. Hart died Nov. 26, 1864, AEt. 65 yrs.[14]

Anna's age is consistent with that of Anne (née Nutt) Brown, born 8 September 1799 in Manchester,[15] widow of Joseph Brown of Hooksett.[16] The 1861 Goffstown marriage intention states that Ann Brown was "of Manchester."[17] This is her birthplace, but not her residence.[18]

9. Hart-Brown marriage intention (1868), Goffstown Marriages, Births, and Deaths 2:116, Town Clerk; FHL microfilm 2,168,794. This undated entry is between entries of 24 November and 12 December, 1868.

10. Hart-Warren entry (1868), Goffstown Marriage Register, unpaginated, Town Clerk; FHL microfilm 2,168,794.

11. Hart-Brown marriage intention (1861), Goffstown Marriages, Births, and Deaths 2:93; FHL microfilm 2,168,794. Record of the marriage itself was not found in the Goffstown Marriage Register, Hudson Vital Records, or New Hampshire Index to Marriages, Early to 1900.

12. Philip Hart entry (1869), Goffstown Death Register, unpaginated, Town Clerk. His death was also recorded in Nashua, where he died. See Philip Hart entry (1869), Nashua Deaths 7:21, Town Clerk; FHL microfilm 2,194,102.

13. *The Nashua Directory for 1868–9, Containing a General Directory of the Citizens* ... (Boston: Dudley and Greenough, 1868), 98.

14. Lucinda B., Anna, and Philip Hart gravestones, West Lawn Cemetery, North Mast Road, Goffstown, N.H., visited 30 July 2006. Ornate script on Lucinda's beautiful stone makes the engraving easy to misread.

15. Anne Nutt entry, Manchester Births, Marriages, Deaths 1:3, City Clerk; FHL microfilm 2,047,772.

16. Joseph Brown estate, Merrimack County Probate Book 27:372, Register of Probate, Concord, N.H.; FHL microfilm 0,016,180.

17. Hart-Brown marriage intention (1861), Goffstown Marriages, Births, and Deaths 2:93.

18. Ann Brown to Lyman Webster deed, 8 December 1860, Hillsborough Co. Deed Book 335:201, Register of Deeds, Nashua. The deed states that Anne was a resident of Hudson.

ELIZA A. (née BROWN) WARREN

Census and City Directories

Although no birth record could be found for Eliza A. (née Brown) Warren, she was born about 1824 and her surname changed from Warren to Hart between 1860 and 1870.[19] Two Nashua city directory entries show Eliza's name change and identify her as the widow of William [Warren] in 1868 and the widow of Philip [Hart] in 1870, both years residing at 58 Canal Street.[20]

Vital Records

Manchester, New Hampshire, marriage records reveal that Eliza A. Brown of Hooksett, married William Warren on 29 February 1844.[21] Eliza's parents are not named on the Brown-Warren marriage record.

William Warren of Hudson died 9 May 1861 and was buried at Sunnyside Cemetery, Hudson, next to the eventual burial spot of his wife, Eliza A.[22] Eliza A. Hart's death date and age from her death record match the cemetery information for Eliza A. Warren.[23] Further, Eliza's death record names her parents as "Joseph Brown and Ann Nutt."

Wills, Probates, and Other Legal Documents

About two weeks before their marriage Philip Hart and Eliza A. Warren agreed that Eliza would retain total control over her real and personal property after the marriage.[24] Philip died intestate five months later and his widow, Eliza A. Hart, declined administration.[25] Her will, dated 29 April 1891, named surviving children from her marriage to William Warren: Charles H., Harry M., and William F. Warren, and Addie E. Dennison.[26]

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19. William Warren household, 1850 U.S. census, Hillsborough Co., N.H., pop. sch., Hudson, p. 11, dwell. 79, fam. 94; William Warren household, 1860 U.S. census, Hillsborough Co., N.H., pop. sch., Hudson, p. 73, dwell. 620, fam. 607; and Eliza A. "Heart" household, 1870 U.S. census, Rockingham Co., N.H., pop. sch., Chester, p. 19, dwell. 161, fam. 175; original state copies. Also, Eliza A. Hart household, 1880 U.S. census, Rockingham Co., N.H., pop. sch., Chester, E.D. 200, p. 21, dwell. 208, fam. 223; NA microfilm T9, roll 767.

20. *Nashua Directory for 1868–9*, 98. *Greenough's Directory of the Inhabitants, Institutions, Manufacturing Establishments, Business, Societies, Business Firms, etc., etc., in the City of Nashua for 1870–71* (Boston: W. A. Greenough Jr., 1870), 67.

21. Warren-Brown entry (1844), Manchester Marriage Register 1:20, Town Clerk; FHL microfilm 2,047,772.

22. Kimball Webster, comp., "Cemetery inscriptions of Hudson, New Hampshire," copied 1908, typescript, p. 64, New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord; FHL microfilm 0,015,562, item 6.

23. Eliza A. Hart entry (1891), Chester deaths, p. 64, Town Clerk; FHL microfilm 0,057,030.

24. Philip Hart and Eliza A. Warren, agreement, 13 November 1868, Hillsborough Co. Deed Book 382:218. It is possible that Eliza had been Philip's housekeeper since the death of her mother and this agreement further protected the small property in Eliza's hands from both women's first marriages.

25. Philip Hart administrator's petition, Hillsborough Co. probate file no. 2946, Probate Court, Nashua.

26. Eliza A. Hart will, Rockingham Co. probate file no. 6810 (New Series), Probate Clerk, Brentwood, N.H.

ANNE (née NUTT) (BROWN) HART

Vital Records and Probate

No death record or probate was found for Anne Hart or Anne Brown in the New Hampshire vital records, Hillsborough and Merrimack county records, or Hooksett, Hudson, and Goffstown town records.

Cemetery Records

Joseph Brown, husband of Anne (née Nutt) Brown, was buried at Head Cemetery, Hooksett, New Hampshire.[27] Because no known record for Joseph Brown's wife documents her burial there,[28] she could be the "Anna" buried with Philip Hart, her proposed second husband.

Three Additional Documents

Eliza A. Hart's death record identifies her as the daughter of Joseph Brown and "Ann" Nutt of Hooksett. Three documents support the theory that her mother, Anne (née Nutt) Brown, was Philip Hart's second wife.

The 1860 census for Hudson lists "Ann Brown, widow lady," immediately following the William Warren household.[29] Anne Hart is not listed.

The second document is a mortgage between "Ann" Brown and her son-in-law, Lyman Webster, dated 8 December 1860. In its right-hand margin, "Ann" Hart signed a mortgage release on 1 April 1864.[30]

Thirdly, the probate of William Warren's insolvent estate contains a homestead petition describing his land as bounded in part "Northerly on Land of Mrs. Ann Hart."[31] Mr. Willoughby and Mr. Holt, recorded near the Warrens in 1860, are also mentioned in the land description.[32] Willoughby, Holt, and Anne Brown probably lived near the Warren property. The petition shows that Anne Brown became "Ann" Hart between the 22 June 1860 census taker's visit and the 22 October 1861 homestead petition. The 2 September 1861 marriage intention of Philip Hart and widow Ann Brown occurred between those dates.

SUMMARY

Goffstown town records reveal that Philip Hart married twice after the death of his first wife. Indirect evidence establishes that Mrs. Anne (née Nutt)

27. Helen Tuttle, e-mail message to author, 1 Nov 2001. A tombstone for Joseph Brown could not be located at the cemetery during a personal visit by the author.

28. Ibid.

29. William Warren household, 1860 U.S. census, Hillsborough Co., N.H., pop. sch., Hudson, page 73, dwell. 620, fam. 607; Ann Brown household, 1860 U.S. census, Hillsborough Co., N.H., pop. sch., Hudson, sheet 73, dwell. 621, fam. 608; original state copies.

30. Lyman Webster to Ann Brown, mortgage, 8 December 1860, Hillsborough Co. Deed Book 337:108.

31. William Warren homestead petition, Hillsborough Co. probate file no. 6148.

32. William Warren household, 1860 U.S. census, Hillsborough Co., N.H., pop. sch., Hudson, page 73, dwell. 620, fam. 607.

Brown, widow of Joseph Brown, followed through on her marriage intention and married Philip Hart in 1861. She is buried in the Hart plot in Goffstown. The marriage intention, marriage register, agreement, Nashua directories, Philip Hart's probate, and Eliza A. Hart's will confirm that in 1868 Philip married Mrs. Eliza (née Brown) Warren, widow of William Warren of Hudson.

Eliza A. Hart's death record is the only direct evidence showing she was the daughter of Anne (née Nutt) Brown. That Anne Brown, widow of Joseph, became Anne Hart supports the conclusion that Eliza was Anne's daughter.

George P. Hadley's *History of the Town of Goffstown* recorded seven generations of the Hart family, the majority of whom never lived in Goffstown, making it probable that much of the information was gathered by a Hart family member. Philip Hart and all his wives were dead years before Hadley published genealogical treatments of Goffstown families. Was it perhaps one of Philip's children with his first wife who gave Hadley the information?

A gravestone lists Anna as Philip's second wife. Hadley may have combined supplied information with cemetery records, but why did he ignore two marriage intentions and the actual marriage record for Philip Hart in the Goffstown town records?

Demonstrably, Philip Hart had three wives: (1) Lucinda Clogston, (2) Anne (née Nutt) Brown, and (3) Eliza A. (née Brown) Warren. Further, his second wife was the mother of his third wife. In a post-Victorian world, did Philip's children resent his last wife? Could his extremely brief marriage to a woman almost half his age who would inherit his modest estate have escaped the notice of the local gossips? Did Philip move to Canal Street in Nashua to spend his last days in peace away from those who felt his last marriage was foolish and a little bit incestuous?

Many influences may have made Hadley publish as he did. Ignorance of the facts was likely not one of them. Fading memory of half-century-old faces and an unwillingness to commit to paper events the surviving family found controversial may have combined to lose the third marriage. It is neither the first nor last time researchers can expect to confront such a result.

"A Stinger"

[*Alabama Sentinel*, Tuscaloosa, 21 March 1829]

One Joseph Fox states, in a Vermont paper, that 'a hornet's nest is broken up,' that his wife Sally has eloped after stinging him thirteen years.—Heavens: and what a stuped [*sic*] FOX, not to have upset the nest, or turn tail upon it years ago!

—*Contributed by Elizabeth Shown Mills*, CG, CGL, FNGS, FASG

Which Marie Louise Is "Mariotte"? Sorting Slaves with Common Names

By Elizabeth Shown Mills, CG, CGL, FASG, FNGS

Every newfound document subjects old conclusions to critical reevaluation, particularly when biographical detail from published works is involved. Narrative accounts of history can meld multiple individuals into one so seamlessly that the blurring of identities is undetectable. Genealogical research requires exhausting all relevant records and painstaking analysis of each detail. Experience teaches that documents left unexamined are time bombs waiting to explode premature conclusions.

Slave research is notoriously difficult—a test of diligence, perception, and analytical skills. Like their white or free counterparts, Southern slave families typically drew from a small pool of names used repeatedly, honoring loved ones or the master's family. Unlike free people, however, most slaves were known *only* by their given names or nicknames; few created records differentiating same-name people within a household. Add to this even a little record loss, and the task becomes formidable—especially when family members were sold to and from unknown owners by documents that no longer survive.

Research on slaves in Catholic areas of early America might seem more promising, given that denomination's sacramental records. Such promise falls short, however. Although slave baptism was the norm in French or Spanish cultures, and church burial was fairly common among slaves living near a church, recorded marriages and confirmations were not the rule. They exist only for households with particularly pious masters in old Louisiana. What is given with one hand is taken away with the other; few Catholic Creole planters kept the kind of plantation records that Anglo-American planters did. Even in areas where a parish or diocese has begun to publish abstracts, nonwhite entries are frequently excluded because identification of historic people who lacked surnames is, after all, "impossible."

© Elizabeth Shown Mills, CG, CGL, FASG, FNGS. Ms. Mills, a past president of both the American Society of Genealogists and the Board for Certification of Genealogists, is the author of two reference works that are standards in the field (*Evidence! Citation and Analysis for the Family Historian* and *Professional Genealogy: A Manual for Researchers, Writers, Editors, Lecturers, and Librarians*). She also has published in numerous historical, sociological, and literary journals. Her 2004 historical novel, *Isle of Canes*, explores the human side of the Cane River community treated in the present paper.

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Despite these hamstrings, researchers often *can* sort identities and establish parentage for slaves of common name. The process is not one of fortuitous "finds." It requires thoroughly studying each same-name contemporary and all known associates. It may involve reading every extant record for the time and place. Eventually, if the research is sufficiently deep and broad, enough shards of evidence may be gathered to build an enduring case.

A CASE AT POINT

Historians have written tidbits about a colonial Louisiana slave named Marie Louise, *dit* (nicknamed) Mariotte. They represent her as an infant baptized in 1759 as "Marie Louise," eldest daughter of the legendary slave Marie Thérèse *dit* Coincoin. Accounts leap to her middle and final years—the 1790s and early 1800s—when an aging black freedwoman called Marie Louise *dit* Mariotte executed legal documents while struggling for economic survival.

No known manumission record links the freedwoman Marie Louise *dit* Mariotte directly to her slave origin. Making that link is difficult because most females in her society also bore her first name, Marie. For distinction, most used their second name or a double given-name. Mariotte's double given-name is not much help. No fewer than 113 contemporary slaves named Marie Louise are documented in the small Cane River area where she lived.[1]

Three decades ago the first identification of this Marie Louise was based on a time-honored principle: scrutinize records known for the subject, identify associates, and search their families for a same-name person not otherwise eliminated. That process failed here mainly because the magnitude of records created by her associates had discouraged exhaustive research.

Marie Louise *dit* Mariotte could not be Coincoin's daughter of that name, born in 1759. Rather, evidence suggests she was Coincoin's *sister* Marie Louise, born in 1747. Both were daughters of African captives François and Marie Françoise, a legally married couple enslaved by the colony's politically powerful St. Denis family. This paper amplifies brief sketches of both Marie Louises presented in a 1982 genealogy of the family.[2]

HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS, INTERNAL PROBLEMS

Published fragments of Mariotte's life reflect how little is known about most slave women. Yet the accounts weave a seamless narrative that lulls researchers into accepting the published word. A recent study explores the financial

1. Calculated from the surviving (but unprocessed) civil records of the Natchitoches post and from Elizabeth Shown Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803: Abstracts of the Catholic Church Registers of the French and Spanish Post of St. Jean Baptiste des Natchitoches in Louisiana* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1976). Unlike most published colonial church records for Louisiana, this work includes full details from records of slaves, Indians, and other free people of color.

2. Elizabeth S. Mills and Gary B. Mills, "Slaves and Masters: The Louisiana Metoyers," *NGS Quarterly* 70 (September 1982): 163–89.

activities of freed Cane River slave women. The discussion of Coincoin includes a new nugget about her alleged daughter:

> After emancipating Marie Louise *dit* Marriot, one of her *morena* [dark-skinned] daughters, Coincoin invested some money with Bertrand Mailloche, but sued her partner for 50 *piastres* in October 1794. Marriot later signed a contract with Frenchman Antoine Bergeron, obliging herself to do his laundry for a year in exchange for land.[3]

In the style of academic history, a single footnote citing diverse sources supports the long paragraph containing these two sentences. The details in the last sentence are easily substantiated in the cited records, but not so the "partnership" with Mailloche. The cited suit and volume are not in the cited series. Eventually found, the document neither referred to Coincoin nor identified Mariotte's mother.[4]

A university collection assembled in the twentieth century contains a related document. In it Mailloche informs local authorities that Mariotte had arranged to ship her tobacco to market using the services of Edward Murphy and his Cane River agent, Richard Syms, but she misunderstood the English-language negotiations.[5] *It does not mention Coincoin and does not identify Mariotte's mother.*

The 2004 identification apparently relies on a 1974 dissertation by the late historian, Gary B. Mills, who introduced the two Marie Louises to historical literature with detailed accounts of them:

> The first of her children whom Marie Thérèze [Coincoin] purchased was her eldest daughter, Marie Louise. In the fall of 1786, Marie Thérèze entered into an agreement with ... Sieur Pierre Dolet, for the purchase of this daughter. Inasmuch as Marie

3. H. Sophie Burton, "Free People of Color in Spanish Colonial Natchitoches: Manumission and Dependency on the Louisiana-Texas Frontier," *Louisiana History* 45 (Spring 2004): 173–97, quoting from p. 192.

4. The article, as published, cites "Contract, Bertrand Mailloche and Marie Louise *dit* Marriot, free black woman, October 11, 1794, NPCR [Natchitoches Parish Conveyance Records], Book M." The author privately explains her source more precisely as "Miscellaneous Archive Records, 1726–1835, FHL microfilm 0,279,104." The Family History Library's cataloging does erroneously classify that film as "Books/Monographs (on Film)," but the film itself carries no book label—and no "Book M" exists in the colonial notarial archives. The film offers *loose, original papers* from the colonial notarial archive, papers overlooked when the series was bound in the twentieth century into numbered volumes labeled "Archive Conveyance Records." The original loose papers, kept in the office of the Clerk of Court, are referred to herein as "Miscellaneous Series, Archive Conveyance Records." The Family History Library (FHL) microfilm dated "1726–1836" is the same set of records offered by the state archives under a slightly different label: "Miscellaneous Archive Records, 1733–1820, F.T. 565." The Mailloche-Mariotte document (a protest by Mariotte against Mailloche, rather than a contract) appears on frames 486–87 of both film offerings.

5. Petition of Bertrand Mailloche, 10 October 1794, folder 710, Melrose Collection, Cammie G. Henry Research Center, Northwestern State University, Natchitoches. The outcome of the dispute is not shown on either document. At least one other record should exist in the case. All notarial records of that colonial post carry an act number and a descriptive label on the reverse of one of their sheets, but neither the folder 710 document nor the one held within the Miscellaneous Series in the clerk's office carries the numbered label.

> Louise was a cripple, the result of a gun accident, Dolet agreed to a price of only three hundred piasters, a very small sum for a twenty-seven-year-old female slave.... He also stated that he was freeing Marie Louise at that time. Apparently, some technicality or legal difficulty subsequently arose, since nine years later Marie Thérèze appeared before the commandant and again declared Marie Louise to be free."[6]

The account, up to this point, is accurate. The cited records substantiate the details. However, the author went astray, continuing:

> As a free woman ... Marie Louise *dit Mariotte* is often mentioned in the church records as godmother to Metoyer nieces and nephews [i.e., the children of Coincoin's children by the Frenchman Pierre Metoyer].[7]

The 1802 baptism cited at this point names "Marie Louise" as the god-mother and "aunt of the infant," but the name "Mariotte" does not appear in the original record.[8]

The continuing narrative switches to Mariotte in this passage:

> In addition to [the successful land claims] by the children of *Marie Thérèze Coincoin*, [her] *eldest black daughter, Marie Louise Mariotte*, claimed a tract of only 2 *arpents* frontage by a depth of 40 on each side of Red River [current Cane River] ... contending that she had purchased the land from Antoine Bergeron. Since she was not able to produce any "document of title, or proof of occupancy," her claim was not confirmed. Marie Louise's lack of proof of title is puzzling, since she did, indeed, legally purchase the claimed tract in 1798, and the deed of conveyance executed at that time has been preserved in the notarial records of the parish.[9]
>
> The Dupres *de couleur* [another Cane River family] bore a relationship to the Metoyers before their intermarriage. Their maternal grandmother was *Marie Louise Mariotte, the eldest daughter of Marie Thérèze*. Their mother, Marie Adelaïde, who was her own mother's slave, had become the common-law wife of a young white

6. The 1974 dissertation was published unchanged as Gary B. Mills, *The Forgotten People: Cane River's Creoles of Color* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), 34–35, citing "Pierre Dolet to Marie Thérèze Coincoin (MS in Cammie G. Henry Collection ... Old Natchitoches Data, II, 289)."

7. Ibid., 35, citing "Baptism of Marie Susanne, daughter of Dominique and Marguerite (Metoyer), June 6, 1802, in Natchitoches Registers, Book 5." Italics added for emphasis.

8. The present writer also perpetuated the error. In her 1982 volume of translated abstracts from the Natchitoches church—a series editorially annotated to help researchers identify individuals—she drew upon the published identification of the godmother as Mariotte and, in editorial brackets after Marie Louise's name, added that identifier. See Elizabeth Shown Mills, *Natchitoches, 1800–1826: Translated Abstracts of Register Number Five of the Catholic Church Parish of St. François des Natchitoches in Louisiana* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1980), entry 23. The error is corrected in the 1982 genealogy coauthored with the late Dr. Mills. A concurrent request by Dr. Mills to revise the text of his published book to remove the misidentification was rejected by the publisher, and other historical journals were not interested in an article correcting "merely a genealogical issue." The 2004 perpetuation of the error in a leading historical journal prompts the present article.

9. Mills, *Forgotten People*, 59, citing "*American State Papers: Public Lands*, III, 78, 84" and "Antoine Bergeron to Marie Louise *dite* Mariotte, in Natchitoches Parish Records, Doc. 2877." Italics added.

> Rivière aux Canes planter named Joseph Dupre.... In 1810 Dupre became ill [and] bequeathed [his estate] to his three natural children [by] Adelaïde.... After Dupre's death ... a suit was filed ... by Dupre's stepfather, Alexis Cloutier ... to have the will declared null and void.... One of the points of controversy in this suit had been the slave status of the legatees. In an effort to remove this obstacle, Marie Louise Mariotte first freed her Dupre grandchildren and then her daughter Adelaïde.[10]

Again, the facts of each cited record are reported correctly—except for the crucial identification of Marie Louise *dit* Mariotte as Marie Louise, daughter of Coincoin. Alert readers will spot in the author's footnotes the dilemma regarding Mariotte's identity:

> The document whereby Mariotte [first] freed her daughter Marie Adelaïde is not extant; however, it is referred to in a second document, Mariotte to Marie Adelaïde, Donation, in Natchitoches Parish Records, Notarial Book 3, pp. 302–304.[11]

The problem of sorting one Marie Louise from the others stems from the absence of a needed document. However, like many records of historic persons, it is not missing but "hiding." Only the deep research invoked at the start of this paper, beginning with the study of all records created by all known associates, will find it.

FINDING THE MISSING DOCUMENT

One associate, Alexis Cloutier—stepfather of the man who took Mariotte's daughter as his concubine—was a litigious schemer. In addition to the District Court suit cited in 1976 from accessible record books, Cloutier had previously filed a relevant suit in the *Parish* Court, whose records were, in the 1970s, available but uncataloged.[12]

The case file for that suit, Cloutier v. Lecomte, Executor of Dupré, contains the missing manumission of Adelaïde by her mother Marie Louise *dit* Mariotte, effective at Mariotte's death. An accompanying affidavit from 1812 contains a crucial detail pointing to Mariotte's identity. In it the white Creole planter Denis Buard testified that he had sold "the *mulâtresse* Adelaïde, aged sixteen" to "her mother, Marie Louise Mariotte, free *négresse*," on 24 December 1797, and that *he had acquired Adelaïde by inheritance from his own mother.*[13]

Buard's testimony shatters prior assumptions about Mariotte's identity. If his details are accurate, Mariotte bore Adelaïde between 25 December 1780 and 24 December 1781. However, when Coincoin bought her daughter Marie Louise

10. Mills, *Forgotten People*, 91–92, citing "Philippe Valsain v. Cloutier, in Natchitoches Parish Records, District Court Record Book 3, pp. 118–26." Italics added.

11. Mills, *Forgotten People*, 92, n. 44.

12. Alexis Cloutier v. Ambrose Lecomte, Executor, Parish Court Files, roll PC10 (1812), Office of the Clerk of Court, Natchitoches.

13. Affidavit of Denis Buard, 24 December 1797, ibid. This article uses the *exact* color or race terms appearing in each original document. These terms are important personal "identifiers." Changing the language of original records destroys crucial evidence of identity.

from Dolet in 1786, the sale document mentioned no child born to her. The point is significant. Louisiana's *Code Noir* forbade the separation of slave children under ten from their slave mothers.[14] If Marie Louise *dit* Mariotte, was indeed the Marie Louise purchased from Dolet in 1786 but not legally manumitted until 1795, then two and possibly three illegal circumstances occurred:

- the sale of Marie Louise without a child (and potentially the sale of the child Adelaïde from Dolet to the Buards, who owned her in 1797); and
- the repeated taxation of Marie Louise *dit* Mariotte as a free woman of color, before the 1795 document by which Coincoin's daughter was legally free.[15]

The taxation issue was evident in the previously known facts but was not pursued. It cannot be ignored, in light of the new evidence of Adelaïde's birth.

THE BUARD SLAVES

Denis Buard's 1812 testimony that he had inherited the sixteen-year-old Adelaïde from his mother is verifiable. Documents relating to the succession (probate) of his mother's estate name her heirs but identify no slaves and offer no distribution.[16] Parish baptismal records, however, document the birth of "Marie Delaïde" into the Buard household. The birth date given—*28 December 1780*—fits Denis Buard's assertion sixteen years later. The mother is identified (in Spanish) as "Maria Luisa, slave of the Widow Buart."[17]

As a Buard slave, the Marie Louise who became Mariotte appears consistently identified from 1767 through 1781. All legal and church records of that period identify her only as "Marie Louise." They document four children for her: Marie Louise, Marie Françoise *dit* Cha Cha, Andres, and the Marie Adelaïde who later adopted her mother's nickname as her surname. The genealogical summary to follow provides detail on each child and chronicles associations and intermarriages among Mariotte's and Coincoin's offspring.

Considering those associations, it is easy to see how earlier writers assumed Mariotte to be Coincoin's Marie Louise. Without a genealogical reconstruction of Mariotte's family, previous writers missed their flaw: Coincoin's daughter Marie Louise, baptized an infant in 1759 as a St. Denis slave,[18] could not be the Buard slave Marie Louise, who bore her first child on 20 December 1767.[19]

A major issue remains unresolved. If Mariotte was Coincoin's sister, Marie Louise, born into the St. Denis household about 1747, how and when did she pass from St. Denis to Buard possession?

14. *Code Noir ou Loi Municipale Servant de Reglement* (New Orleans: A Boudousquié, 1778), Article XLIII.

15. For the 1793 and 1794 tax rolls see folders 703 and 705, Melrose Collection.

16. Succession of Widow Gabriel Buard, doc. 2506, Archive Conveyance Records.

17. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 2388. In preparing these abstracts, the writer had difficulty discerning whether the original Spanish entry should be read as "Maria Delaïda" or "Maria Deleïsa." It appears in the published book as "Maria Deleisa."

18. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 920.

19. Ibid., entry 713.

ST. DENIS SLAVES

French-Canadian adventurer Louis Juchereau de St. Denis founded the Natchitoches outpost and governed it for thirty years. He died in 1744, but his fifty or more slaves were not separated until his youngest child's majority. An inventory dated September 1756 followed the common pattern of grouping slaves into family units. The widow chose two families for dower; the others were divided among her adult children. When the widow died in 1758, the slaves she had kept were again inventoried and partitioned among her heirs.[20]

A 1982 article in the *NGS Quarterly* presents the genealogy of one of those slave families kept by the widow. The following briefly summarizes the first two generations from that account:[21]

François and **Marie Françoise**, Africans, married on 26 December 1735; died together on 18 April 1758, victims of an epidemic that also claimed their mistress.

1. MARIE GERTURDE *dit* DGIMBY, baptized 18 November 1736. Inherited in 1758 by St. Denis' son-in-law and political successor, Commandant César de Blanc.
2. FRANÇOIS *dit* CHOERA, born about 1738; first assigned in 1758 to the youngest son Pierre, possibly ended up in the possession of the older son, Louis, sometime after the 1758 distribution.
3. JEAN BAPTISTE [*dit* CHOCRA],[22] born about 1740, inherited in 1758 by the older son, Louis.
4. **MARIE THÉRÈSE *dit* COINCOIN**, baptized 24 August 1742; inherited in 1758 by Louis, who privately conveyed her to his sister and brother-in-law, Marie and Manuel Bermudes y de Soto.
5. BARNABÉ, born 9 September 1744; buried 20 September 1748.
6. MARIE JEANNE *dit* JEANNETON, baptized 25 June 1746, inherited in 1758 by the son-in-law and later commandant, Athanase de Mézières.
7. **MARIE LOUISE**, born 1747; inventoried in her parental unit in 1756. Her name is not among the slaves distributed in 1758.
8. MARGUERITE *dit* YANCDOSE, born about 1749, identified in 1768 as a slave of the de Sotos.
9. BONAVENTURE, baptized 8 April 1751, inherited in 1758 by de Mézières.

20. The 1758 St. Denis documents are mostly in the bound Archive Conveyance Records. The 1756 documents are mostly in the Miscellaneous Series. On FHL microfilm 0,279,104 they appear mostly between frames 232 and 250, but frame numbers are blurred and unreadable.

21. Unless otherwise stated, the genealogical data in this summary is drawn from Mills and Mills, "Slaves and Masters."

22. The African name used as a *dit* by Jean Baptiste (the fourth African name found for the children in this family) was not discovered at the time the genealogy was published. For documentation of the name, see the two partition lists dividing slaves into six numbered lots, filmed between frames 240 and 245, "Miscellaneous Archive Records, 1726–1833." He appears as "Jean Baptiste" in a parcel of three on one list and "Chocra" in the same parcel on the other list. When Louis Juchereau de St. Denis Jr. died in 1778, Chocra was named as part of that estate; see "Intestate Succession of Mr. St. Denis," in translated abstracts of the colony's Superior Court records provided by Laura Porteous's misnamed series, "*Index* to Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 13 (January 1930): 177–93, particularly 183. The *dits* used by Marie Jeanne ("Jeanneton") and by Marie Louise ("Mariotte") were conventional French nicknames.

10. ANNE HYACINTHE, baptized 13 September 1753, inherited in 1758 by the children of the deceased Rose Juchereau de St. Denis, wife of Louis Antoine de la Chaise.
11. FRANÇOISE, born on her mother's deathbed; inherited by the de Sotos.

The evidence strongly suggests that the seventh child, Marie Louise born in 1747, is Mariotte. The 1982 genealogy notes Marie Louise's absence in the 1758 partition and speculates that she may have died. However, later research—particularly the effort to track all St. Denis slaves throughout their lives—negates that possibility. Several considerations weigh into this conclusion:

- Numerous partition lists drafted amid those 1756 and 1758 estate divisions are scattered in multiple locations. Most are scribbled drafts reflecting diverse attempts to divide slaves into equal shares.
- The 1756 division's goal to keep slave families together, as Louisiana's Code Noir dictated, was reasonable. Nearly sixty slaves were divided among four adult heirs and the widow. The 1758 partition, in contrast, divided only twenty slaves among six adult heirs. Mothers and children were indeed separated.
- The 8 September 1756 inventory properly places "Marie Louise" within the family of François and Marie Françoise.[23] By a December 1756 document, the widow chose to keep this family (and another "lot"), letting the rest be divided among the adult heirs. However, that December document omits Marie Louise from the list of François and Marie Françoise's children kept by the widow.[24]
- Missing civil records also obscure Marie Louise's trail. The 1758 division contains a full set of receipts signed by heirs acknowledging receipt of specific slaves. Several comparable receipts are missing for the 1756 division.
- Death would not appear to account for Marie Louise's absence from the family lists between September and December 1756. In that era, all settlers lived tightly around the post. When a priest resided there even slaves were promptly baptized and buried. The church records, originally recorded in folios, were bound into volumes a century ago, with some out of order. However, when the pages are sequenced chronologically, no registrations appear to be missing for September to December 1756.
- An undated list, compiled after 28 September 1756, divides the slaves into five parcels and includes "Luisse" in the family of François and "Marie Francisque," in the position where Marie Louise previously appeared. The name is crossed out and is added at the end of the family of César and Marianne, where she is priced separately from the rest of César's family.[25]

All points considered, the evidence suggests that the nine-year-old Marie Louise was separated from her family in the 1756 partition and assigned to a different parcel to effect an even distribution. However, the separation would have been

23. Doc. 178, Miscellaneous Series, Archive Conveyance Records.
24. Unnumbered, unlabeled document filmed between frames 240 and 250, ibid.
25. Doc. 176, ibid. The document can be dated after 28 September because it includes a slave who was born that day and baptized on 29 September; see Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 637.

a "paper transaction" only. All the St. Denis heirs lived in a family cluster at that very small outpost, with the exception of the remarried son-in-law de la Chaise who moved to the New Orleans area. The main breakup of St. Denis families occurred after the 1758 death of the widow, when the land was subdivided and bachelor sons sold off their inheritance. Documents that subsequently disposed of some of their slaves no longer exist. However, deeds chronicle sales of the two sons' lands on 13 August 1763 and 15 October 1764.[26]

Gabriel Buard purchased both tracts—the same Gabriel Buard who owned Marie Louise *dit* Mariotte by 1767. (His 1770 succession inventory also shows him in possession of another St. Denis slave from the 1756 partition, Micodon.)[27] From 1763 on, Buard, and later his widow, made the St. Denis land their principal residence. There, Mariotte bore her children. Next door lay the land inherited by the St. Denis daughter and son-in-law, Marie and Manuel de Soto. On that St. Denis–de Soto land the slave Coincoin bore most of her children, including the daughter Marie Louise in 1759.[28]

What then happened to Coincoin's Marie Louise?

MARIE LOUISE, DAUGHTER OF COINCOIN

Coincoin's mistress left Natchitoches in 1780 for the post of Opelousas, taking with her Coincoin's two eldest daughters, Marie Louise and Marie Thérèse.[29] On 1 October 1784 she sold a tract of Opelousas land and a "*négresse* named Marie Louise, Creole of Natchitoches," to Antoine Boisdoré.[30] The transfer of Marie Louise from Boisdoré to Pierre Dolet Jr., who sold Marie Louise to Coincoin in 1786, is left murky by extant records. The Natchitoches "Index to Archive Conveyance Records" catalogs Document 1541 (now missing) as "Antoine Boisdoré to Widow Pierre Dolet [Sr.], Receipt." Meanwhile Mme. de Soto launched a protracted suit against Boisdoré.[31]

However sketchy the details, they help separate the two Marie Louises. The Dolet plantation where Marie Louise was dispatched was on Bayou Pierre, some forty miles northwest of Natchitoches.[32] Meanwhile, Marie Louise *dit* Mariotte

26. Docs. 345 and 365, Miscellaneous Series, Archives Conveyance Records.

27. Succession inventory of Gabriel Buard, Doc. 660, ibid. For Micodon as a St. Denis slave, see the unnumbered partition and estimation lists for the St. Denis estate that are scattered throughout the Miscellaneous Series, Archive Conveyance Records, and Doc. 261 by which the de Sotos sold him on 4 March 1760, age twenty-five, to the militia officer Jean Louis Bormé.

28. For Coincoin's life, see Mills, *Forgotten People*, and Gary B. Mills, "Coincoin, An Eighteenth Century 'Liberated' Woman," in *Black Women in United States History*, Darlene Clark Hine, ed. (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1990). She is also the central character of an epic novel based on numerous documents and traditions not used in Dr. Mills's studies. See Elizabeth Shown Mills, *Isle of Canes* (Provo: Ancestry, 2004).

29. Marie de Soto to Joseph Marie Armant, procuration to represent her in the succession of her brother Louis de St. Denis, 25 November 1780, Doc. 1513; and Marie de Soto to Jean Baptiste Brevelle, sale of inherited land, 28 November 1780, Doc. 1514; both in Archive Conveyance Records.

30. Doc. 364, Opelousas Notarial Records, Louisiana State Archives, Baton Rouge.

31. Docs. 390–391, ibid.

32. Succession of Pierre Dolet Sr., Doc. 1808, Archive Conveyance Records.

was bearing children on the Buard plantation one-quarter league south of the village. In 1786, young Dolet released Coincoin's Marie Louise to her mother. However, Coincoin's Marie Louise was not legally free until 1795. In contrast, Mariotte first appears a free woman on the 1793 Natchitoches tax roll. The two women clearly are not the same.

GENEALOGICAL SUMMARY
MARIE LOUISE *DIT* MARIOTTE AND HER OFFSPRING

1. Marie Louise *dit* Mariotte[2] (François[1] and Marie Françoise[1] of Africa) was born into slavery about 9 or 10 December 1747 at the Natchitoches, Louisiana, outpost on Cane River.[33] She died, unmarried, on 3 May 1815.[34]

At baptism on 11 December 1747, Marie Louise became the godchild of a young nobleman, Louis Mathias Le Court de Prelle, and Jeanne Chever, daughter of Guillaume Chever, Chevalier de St. Aignette.[35] Those token connections would earn her no favors in life, although her daughter would later bear children to Le Court's son. While her baptismal record does not name her parents—it states only that her mother belonged to the widow St. Denis—the 1756 inventory of property left by her deceased master names her as the seventh child of François and his wife Marie Françoise.[36]

At the 1756 division of the slave property left by Commandant St. Denis, the widow kept the family of the legally married François and Marie Françoise,[37] but that family would soon be separated. The enslaved couple and their mistress died in an epidemic in April 1758 on St. Denis Hill that spared the rest of the village.[38] Their children were then dispersed among the households of the grown St. Denis heirs.

When records next name Marie Louise, on 8 January 1768, she is called the slave of a man who had bought two large tracts of the St. Denis land: the Swiss settler, Gabriel Buard. That record chronicles a newborn daughter's baptism.[39]

No record identifies the fathers of Marie Louise's children. At least the first and last daughters were half white. The baptismal record of Marie Louise "Jr."

33. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 287; Book 2, St. François. That record omits her date of birth; but all town-dwelling infants in this period, when a priest was in residence, were baptized within two days.

34. Lecomte v. Cloutier, 3 La. 170–77.

35. The record also assigns her the first name of her godmother, Jeanne, as her third name, one she never personally used.

36. Doc. 178, Miscellaneous Series, Archive Conveyance Records. This phase of Mariotte's life is extensively explored in Part One, *Isle of Canes*.

37. Unnumbered, unlabeled document filmed between frames 240 and 250, "Miscellaneous Archive Records, 1726–1835."

38. For the rash of eleven deaths that occurred between 16 April and 17 May, see Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entries 817–28.

39. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 920. For Buard origins, see Elizabeth Shown Mills, "European Origins of the Early French Families of Natchitoches, Louisiana," *Papers of the Sixth Grand Reunion of the Descendants of the Founders of Natchitoches* (Natchitoches: Founders of Natchitoches, 1986), 27–45.

in 1768 states no race for her or her mother. However, the 1770 inventory of Buard's estate (where mother and child were appraised together at two thousand livres), and the 1779 marriage contract of the Buard daughter who inherited the younger Marie Louise, label the girl-child *mulâtresse*.[40] The second child, whose baptismal record no longer exists, is consistently called a *négresse* in her adult records. The baptismal records of Mariotte's last two known children, born in September 1776 and December 1780 are equally nondescriptive, but every other record for the 1780 child, Adelaïde, labels her *mulâtresse*.

Sometime between 1785 and 1792, Marie Louise earned her freedom and began legally using the nickname "Mariotte." The two surviving documents bracketing this period provide insight into her talent, industry, and residences, as well as the economic plight that freedom would bring. In 1785, she was still living on the outskirts of town, apparently with the Buards. Next door lay the plantation of Mme. Jean Varangue, whose late husband, Joseph Dupré I, had purchased Marie Louise's sister Jeanneton and a male named François who may be Mariotte's brother Choera.[41] Both farms were within walking distance of Commandant Étienne de Vaugine's farm. That fall, de Vaugine hired a Spaniard to make repairs on his home, then accused him of stealing goods from his storehouse. The man admitted the theft, saying he had drunk the rum, used the tobacco, and taken the clothes and linens to various female slaves in the neighborhood. Creatively, he claimed a medicinal defense: he was not merely drunk but ill and acting under the influence of the "draught" prepared by "the Negress, Marote," which the commandant had ordered him to take.[42]

Mariotte was not called to testify. François and his wife Fanchon gave depositions, saying that the Spaniard had brought stolen goods to their home and that Fanchon had promptly reported the matter to her mistress. Even without Mariotte's testimony, the records of the local and provincial proceedings speak indirectly to Mariotte's status: references to every other nonwhite in the case state their owners. Only for the pharmacologist Mariotte was no owner named.

The widow Buard died in 1792. Colonial law prescribed specific proceedings routinely followed at the post that should have transpired. However, the extant notarial acts include just one document relating to her estate: a notice of death and the identification of her heirs.[43] No inventory of her property has been found. Within months, Mariotte was first recorded as a free woman. The nature of the document that first named her, a delinquent tax list dated only with the

40. Succession of Gabriel Buard, Doc. 660, and Pavie-Buard marriage contract, Doc. 1450, Archive Conveyance Records.

41. For the sale of Jeanneton from the St. Denis son-in-law who inherited her to Joseph Dupré I in 1777, see Doc. 1499, Archive Conveyance Records.

42. Doc. 1788, ibid.; see also the continuation of this case at New Orleans, for which a translation of the higher court records appear in Laura Porteous, "Index to Spanish Judicial Records of Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* 26 (December 1943): 897–906.

43. Doc. 2431, Archive Conveyance Records.

year 1793, would foretell the circumstances under which she lived as a free woman.[44]

That 1793 document, the post's first extant tax roll, also suggests that Mariotte was free before the death of the widow Buard. Contemporary tax lists, compiled early in the year, were applied to the preceding year. That 1793 list, with no text, was repeated on 17 January 1794, when an added note explained these were "various debtors to the *old* public tax ... payable at the time tobacco was marketed in *1792*."[45] Because tobacco was planted in the spring, Mariotte would have had to be free at least before spring 1792 to have produced a taxable crop in 1792.

As a free woman, Mariotte was still a rarity on that frontier. The 1795 statistical census of the post tallies only eight free black females above age fifteen.[46] (Four of the other seven were her sister Coincoin, Coincoin's daughter Marie Louise, and Coincoin's two daughters-in-law.) The tax rolls, compiled geographically as the assessor visited the river plantations, consistently place Mariotte from 1792 forward about twenty-four miles from the town and the parish church. The isolated rural area, then called *Rivière aux Canes*, stretched southward from the foot of Cane River's fabled isle. Mariotte settled at the point of the isle, where Coincoin's newly freed children had begun to establish their nineteenth-century agricultural empire. Mariotte would enjoy little of their prosperity.

A second 1793 tax list (a land roll compiled in February 1794) states that Mariotte owned no land,[47] although contemporary records show that she continued to produce tobacco for market. In early October 1794 she journeyed twenty-four miles to the post to lodge a complaint with the commandant (a St. Denis grandson). Unable to personally take her crop to the New Orleans market, she had contracted with the entrepreneur Edouard Murphy, through his agent at Rivière aux Canes, Richard Syms [Sims], to ship the goods on Murphy's *bateau*. However, a town merchant, Bertrand Mailloche, claimed to have an arrangement that gave him half of her proceeds. Mariotte vigorously rebutted his claim, swore they had no contract, accused him of trying to miscast an *episode romanesque*, and demanded that he present written evidence.[48] Mailloche offered none, explaining that Murphy and Sims were Englishmen whose language Mariotte did not understand when she agreed to their terms. In

44. Folder 735, Melrose Collection; a translated transcription appears in Elizabeth Shown Mills, *Natchitoches Colonials: Censuses, Military Rolls and Tax Lists, 1722–1803* (Chicago: Adams Press, 1981), 80–82.

45. Folder 705, Melrose Collection; and Mills, *Natchitoches Colonials*, 98.

46. "Census of the Inhabitants of the Parish of Natchitoches, 1795," *Records of the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas*, microfilm, 12 rolls (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Archives, 1967), roll 5, unpaginated, undated; statistics only. A translation appears in Mills, *Natchitoches Colonials*, 115.

47. Folder 703, Melrose Collection; translated transcription in Mills, *Natchitoches Colonials*, 88–97.

48. Frames 486–87, "Miscellaneous Archive Records, 1726–1835."

the last record Commandant de Blanc directs that Mariotte be given a copy of Mailloche's rebuttal.[49]

Almost all records relating to Mariotte between 1793 until 1799 couple her with a white illiterate Cane River farmer, Antoine Bergeron, who obviously was unhelpful in negotiations with the Englishmen. Mariotte, who owned no land but had to have land to farm, is named adjacent to the landholding "Berjon" on the delinquent tax roll of 1793, the January 1794 tax roll, the January 1794 list of delinquent taxes imposed on 1792 tobacco, and the August 1795 delinquent tax roll.[50] Neither of the pair, however, appears on the 1792–94 public-works roster of citizens who labored to build roads, bridges, and ditches, and maintain the parish church and cemetery. Their omission is not surprising, given their distance from town.[51]

The relationship between Mariotte and Bergeron may have been a sexual liaison. On 6 October 1798 the French bachelor "donated" to her one hundred and sixty acres—a tract he described as four arpents fronting on Cane River (half on either side of the river), bounded on the lower by the Englishman John Horn. No payment was required. Three months later Bergeron and Mariotte appeared before the notary to create a second document to confirm her title to the land in a legal system that discouraged white males from making valuable gifts to their concubines. Bergeron said he was "ratifying a gift" he had previously made to her, of two arpents of land fronting on each side of the river, to whatever depth it was able to carry. He described the property as bounded on the upper by lands of Sieur Louis Derbanne, but did not identify the lower neighbor. He added a "consideration": the "donation" was conditioned upon Mariotte's washing his clothes for a year. Both parties made their marks on the document. Its two witnesses were men who had inherited Gabriel Buard's slaves: his son Jean Baptiste and his son-in-law, the merchant François Rouquier.[52]

Mariotte apparently remained on this land until her death. She was there in 1809, when her wealthy neighbor Louis Derbanne[53] sold the lower side of his plantation, naming Mariotte as the adjacent neighbor.[54] When the new owner mortgaged the property in June 1811, she was again named as neighbor.[55]

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49. Folder 710, Melrose Collection.

50. Folders 703, 705, 716, ibid.; translated transcriptions in Mills, *Natchitoches Colonials*, 88–98, 108–09.

51. "1794 Public Works Roster of Natchitoches," Natchitoches Parish Records Collection, Louisiana State University Archives; translated transcription in Mills, *Natchitoches Colonials*, *99–105*.

52. Docs. 2877 and 2878, Archive Conveyance Records. The 1798 document phonetically spells Antoine Bergeron's name as Antoine "Bresson." He X'd both records.

53. The French-Indian Louis Derbanne and his slave household are explored in *Isle of Canes*, in Lalita Tademy's Oprah Book Club selection, *Cane River* (New York: Warner Books, 2002), and the article that details the search for Tademy's forebears: Rachal Mills Lennon and Elizabeth Shown Mills, "Mother, Thy Name is Mystery! Finding the Slave Who Bore Philomene Daurat," in *Finding Females: A Special Issue of the National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 88 (September 2000): 201–24.

54. Natchitoches Parish Conveyances, Book 1:146, Office of the Clerk of Court, Natchitoches.

55. Ibid., Book 2:144–45.

However, land tenure did not translate into economic stability. When an Anglo-American newcomer, William Owens, sued a number of locals in 1810, apparently for debt, she was included.[56] Beyond such concerns, the greatest threat to her landholding came from the American government.

After the transfer of Louisiana in December 1803, the new regime decreed that all who occupied land under colonial titles must present proof of ownership. These "claims" to public land now "owned" by the United States would be evaluated by federally appointed commissioners. After a federal land office opened in Opelousas in 1806, Mariotte either journeyed there or sent a representative to deposit her proofs—the 1798–99 deeds from Antoine Bergeron. More than ten years passed with a cloud hanging over the land that she had worked for nearly a quarter century. Perhaps her problem lay again in her difficulty communicating in English. In any case, her "claim" was rejected. On 19 January 1816, eight months after her death, the U.S. Land Office reported its decision to Congress:

> MARIA LOUISA MARIOTTE, free negress, claims two acres front on each side of Red [Cane] river, with a depth of forty arpents, if so much may be found, by deed of conveyance from Antoine Bergeron, with occupancy, &c. No document of title [from the colonial government to Bergeron], or proof of occupancy, has been adduced; consequently, the claim ... ought not to be confirmed.[57]

Mariotte left only one child with a claim to freedom, the daughter Adelaïde, whom she had purchased from her former master on Christmas Eve 1797, when she declared the daughter would be freed at her (Mariotte's) death.[58] Reasons for the delay went unstated. Four months after Mariotte moved that daughter downriver Adelaïde delivered the first of eleven children she would bear to at least five white fathers. Those offspring would be the center of Mariotte's life, but they would also remain slaves because children followed the status of their mothers in slave regimes.

Concerned for their future but apparently ignorant of the law, Mariotte went next door to Cane River's notary, Louis Derbanne, to draft a will on 15 November 1804. All her possessions—"goods, farm, cows, horses, and gold" should be put immediately after her death into Adelaïde's hands. Adelaïde's daughter Marie, having been "baptized as Mariotte's slave," would be free from that moment forward. Adelaïde and her other children were said to be free already, although later records would dispute that. Two white Creoles, Alexis Cloutier and Antoine Coindet,[59] who fathered their own mixed-race children

56. William Owens v. [various individuals], Parish Court files, roll PC.7 (1810).

57. *American State Papers: Documents Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the United States*, Class 8, *Public Lands*, vol. 3 (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1834), 84; also see the accompanying table on p. 78, which cites the total size of the tract as 160 acres—that is, 2 acres by 40 acres on each side of the river.

58. As later reported in Lecomte v. Cloutier, 3 La. 170–77.

59. Unnumbered document between docs. 3077 and 3078, Archive Conveyance Records.

across many years, witnessed the document. If Mariotte believed their liaisons with women of color made them likely to defend her offspring in future legal contests, that trust would be ruthlessly violated by Cloutier.

Between 1805 and 1810 Adelaïde lived openly as the common-law wife of a wealthy young bachelor, Joseph Dupré III. On 6 July 1810, anticipating his death, Dupré left a will declaring his paternity of her last three children. To make his will more palatable to his birth family, he left $6,400 to his half-brother Jean Baptiste Sévère Cloutier, son of Alexis. Then, he provided for his unsanctioned family. The "*mulâtresse* Adelaïde" would receive $300 and a *négresse* named Rachel. His remaining slaves, animals, and the rest of his estate would go to "my *enfants* Philippe Valsin, Marie Doralise, and Noel." The executor would be his mother's brother, the prominent Rivière aux Canes planter, Ambroise Lecomte.[60]

For twenty-one years Dupré's stepfather contested the will—all the way to the state supreme court, twice. He eventually lost the suit. To bolster the children's case, Adelaïde renounced her inheritance in their favor, but the state's supreme court ruled against them. Lecomte petitioned to have that judgment nullified because Mariotte had never legally manumitted her daughter. Because she had only "verbally declared" that her daughter should be free at the moment of her death, Adelaïde was but a *statu liber*—one promised freedom at a future date. Therefore, because Adelaïde and her children were still Mariotte's slaves all their inheritance from Dupré was the rightful property of their owner, Mariotte.[61] After that argument was rejected, Mariotte executed a formal declaration of manumission for Adelaïde and all her children before a notary on 9 September 1814.[62] That strategy also failed.

Not until 1830, fifteen years after Mariotte's death, did the courts decree that her death had created legal freedom that entitled her offspring to a Dupré inheritance. In April 1830, in the case of Lecomte v. Cloutier, the state's supreme court awarded Adelaïde a judgment against Cloutier for $6,686.[63] Following that success, her eldest Dupré son sued Cloutier on behalf of himself and his siblings. On 28 May 1831 they won a similar judgment, plus costs of the suit, with 5 percent interest due from 3 May 1815—the date that Mariotte's death left them free.[64]

Marie Louise *dit* Mariotte bore three named children and another very probable daughter:

60. Doc. 3833, ibid.

61. In addition to the previously cited Parish Court and District Court records of this case, see 3 Mart. La. 481 (1814) and 3 La. 170–77 (1831) for legal summations of the Supreme Court decisions.

62. Natchitoches Parish Notarial Book 3 (May 17, 1813–April 22, 1816): 302–4.

63. Lecomte v. Cloutier, 3 La. 170–77

64. Philippe Valsain v. Cloutier, Natchitoches District Court Record Book 3:118–26; and Lecomte v. Cloutier, 3 La. 170–77.

+ 2 i. MARIE LOUISE[3], born 20 December 1767 as a Buard slave.
+ 3 ii. MARIE FRANÇOISE *dit* CHA CHA, born 1770–72 as a Buard slave; purchased from a Buard daughter and freed in 1818–20 by her probable sister Marie Adelaïde, below.
+ 4 iii. ANDRES, born 24 August 1776 as a Buard slave; sold in 1818 from the estate of Marianne Buard Rouquier to an in-law, Germaine Paillette.
+ 5 iv. MARIE ADELAÏDE MARIOTTE, born 28 December 1780 as a Buard slave; died after the 1 June 1860 census.

2. Marie Louise[3] (Marie Louise *dit* Mariotte[2], François[1] and Marie Françoise[1]) was born 20 December 1767 and baptized 8 January 1768, as "Louise, daughter of Marie Louise, slave of Gabriel Buard."[65] In 1770 she was inventoried with her mother as a "small *mulâtresse*."[66] When Buard's daughter Marie Thérèse executed a marriage contract with Étienne Pavie on 1 December 1779 her dowry was "one small *mulâtresse* aged twelve, named Marie Louise, Creole of this post, valued at 1250 livres, coming from the succession of her father."[67]

As a Pavie slave, young Marie Louise[3] bore two children:

6 i. MARIE SILESIE[4], born 27 December 1783 and baptized 5 February 1784 as the *quadroon* daughter of the *mulâtresse* Marie Louise, both slaves of Pavie.[68]
7 ii. JEAN BAPTISTE, born 24 October 1785, racial composition unstated. His mother was identified as "Marie Louise, *mulâtresse* of Pavie."[69]

As slave of Pierre Metoyer, who had kept Coincoin as his mistress for twenty years but left her to marry Pavie's widow, Marie Louise[3] bore three children:

8 iii. MARIE THÉRÈSE[4], born 15 March 1795 and baptized as *mulata* daughter of Marie Louise, the *mulata* slave of Pierre Metoyer.[70]
9 iv. MARIE ANGELIQUE, born 30 October 1796 and baptized as a Metoyer slave.[71]

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65. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 920.
66. Doc. 660, Archive Conveyance Records.
67. Doc. 1450, ibid.
68. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 2449. By 1804, Marie Silesie/Cilesie was bearing children as a Metoyer slave; see Mills, *Natchitoches, 1800–1826*, entry 1869. In 1850, Metoyer's youngest son by Coincoin, Toussaint Metoyer, had a Cilese, aged about seventy, in his household, placed where wives usually appear; see 1850 U.S. census, Natchitoches Parish, La., population schedule, p. 49 (stamped), dwelling/family 874; National Archives microfilm publication M432, roll 233. The name Silesie and its variants were not common in contemporary Natchitoches.
69. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 2522.
70. Ibid., entry 2766.
71. Ibid., entry 3113. As an example of the importance of noting precise color terms, Metoyer also owned a *négresse* slave named Marie Louise (aka Clarisse), born in the Congo. The color term applied to each Marie Louise in each instance is critical to separating the two. The *négresse* Marie Louise bore her first two children in June 1796 and May 1798, overlapping the above births to the *mulâtresse* Marie Louise; see ibid, entries 3103 and 3198.

10 v. IGNACE, born 15 November 1803, *nègre* son of Marie Louise, *mulâtresse* slave of Mr. Metoyer. [72]

Marie Louise[3] drops from the records after that 1803 birthing.

3. Marie Françoise[3] *dit* Cha Cha (Marie Louise *dit* Mariotte[2], François[1] and Marie Françoise[1]) was born 1770–72, when local baptismal records are missing. No record specifically identifies her parents. She is believed to be the child of Mariotte, not only because of the associations developed in the following list of her children but for four other reasons. First, she belonged to Mariotte's mistress and no purchase record has been found for her, implying that she was born to a Buard slave woman. Two, a reconstruction of all other Buard slave families, which includes others of the names Marie and Françoise, leaves no potential birth mother for this child except Mariotte. Three, onomastics suggest that Mariotte named this child for her own mother (Marie Françoise) and for her baby sister who was also their mother's namesake. Four, Marie Françoise would, in mid-life, be purchased and freed by her proposed sister, Mariotte's proved daughter Adelaïde.

Marie Françoise's life as an adult is framed by three events: In 1786 the Widow Buard donated her "Créole *negresse* named Marie Françoise" to her daughter Marianne, but both would remain in the family home until the widow died and Marianne wed the merchant François Rouquier.[73] In February 1818, after Mariotte died, her daughter Adelaïde used $851 of her inheritance to buy "Marie Françoise *dit* Cha Cha" at the Rouquier estate sale; on 2 June 1820 Adelaïde manumitted her.[74]

While enslaved by widow Buard, Françoise bore a daughter and a probable son:

11 i. MARIE LOUISE[4], born 8 June 1787 and baptized 1 July 1787, called the *negrita* daughter of "Francisca [Françoise], the *negra* slave of Widow Buard." Her godmother was "Marie Louise"[75] (likely her mother's sister because her grandmother Marie Louise is called Mariotte by this time). Aged five when the widow Buard died, the child passed with her mother to Marianne (Buard) Rouquier. At Marianne's death, Marie Louise[4] was not purchased and manumitted by Adelaïde. The account of the succession auction states: "the *négresse* named Marie Louise, daughter of Cha Cha, is adjudged to Monsieurs Ruelle & Morin [merchants] for 891 *piastres* [dollars]."[76]

72. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1800–1826*, entry 1868.

73. "Old Natchitoches Data," vol. 2, p. 278, Cammie G. Henry Research Center.

74. Natchitoches Parish Successions, Book 2:349, and Conveyances, Book 8:228, Office of the Clerk of Court.

75. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 2547.

76. Natchitoches Parish Successions, Book 2:343–49; see also the inventory at 274–97.

12 ii. LOUIS BARNABÉ, a likely son, was born about September 1790 and baptized 25 August 1791 as "about 11 months old, *negro*, property of widow Buard."[77] Barnabé's mother is not named, but three factors point to his being Françoise's child: One, he does not fit into the birth pattern of other identifiable Buard slaves; two, the name Barnabé was exceedingly rare along Cane River—a name found for only two other slaves, one being the baby brother of Marie Louise and Coincoin;[78] three, the child's godmother was, again, "Marie Louise," together with Dominique Metoyer, son of Coincoin. Louis Barnabé does not appear to have lived to adulthood. When the widow Rouquier died and her estate was inventoried in 1817, her paraphernal property (that which she brought with her into the marriage and its increase) was inventoried separately from that which she held in community with her husband. Louis Barnabé is not named.

As a Rouquier slave, Marie Françoise *dit* Cha Cha bore two more children:

13 iii. CATHERINE[4], baptized 8 April 1798 at the age of six weeks as the "*mulâtresse* daughter of Marie Françoise, slave of Mr. Rouquié." Godparents were "the free *négre* Barnabé [the second of the two earlier Barnabés] and "the free *négresse* Marie."[79] Catherine is not on the inventory of widow Rouquier's paraphernal property.

14 iv. JEAN BAPTISTE AUGUSTIN, born 26 July 1803 and baptized as *nègre* son of Françoise, *négresse*.[80] He is not named among widow Rouquier's paraphernal property or the slaves held in community with her husband. However, he is the only "Jean Baptiste Augustin" baptized in the parish (aside from a freeborn grandson of Coincoin and Metoyer), and one "Jean Baptiste Augustin," free adult son of a Marie Françoise, also free, wed Marie Manon, daughter of one Catherine, on 25 July 1838.[81] Possibly a kinsman purchased his freedom prior to the widow Rouquier's death.

One additional child attributed to "Françoise, *négresse* slave of Rouquier" in this period emphasizes the importance of correlating church and civil records. Susanne, baptized 5 April 1801 as "a *mulâtresse* of three months, daughter of Françoise, slave of François Rouquier,"[82] falls so appropriately between the births of Catherine (1798) and Jean Baptiste Augustin (1803) that she might appear to be Cha Cha's child as well. However, the widow Rouquier's inventory of paraphernal property lists another "Françoise, *négresse*, age 36 [in 1817],

77. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 2645.

78. See Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, for the rarity of the name and entries 253 and 392 for the earlier child Barnabé, whose 1744 birth fell between that of his sisters Coincoin (1742) and Marie Louise (1747).

79. Ibid., entry 3193.

80. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1800–1826*, entry 1866.

81. Elizabeth Shown Mills, *Natchitoches Church Marriages: 1818–1850* (1985; reprint, Bowie, Md.: Willow Bend, 2004), entry 416.

82. Ibid., entry 3283.

daughter of Jeanne, *Négresse*," as mother of Susanne, *mulâtresse*, and inventories that Françoise and Susanne separately from "Marie Françoise, *négresse (dit* Cha Cha)" and "Marie Louise, *négresse*, daughter of Cha Cha."

4. Andres[3] (Marie Louise *dit* Mariotte[2], François[1] and Marie Françoise[1]) was born 24 August 1776 and baptized as son of "Marie Louise, slave of Widow Buart."[83] Widow Rouquier's 1817 inventory and sale of paraphernal property includes Andres, *nègre*, purchased by the nearby planter and Buard in-law, Germaine Paillette. As with other male slaves of this era, no marriage or children are recorded for him; between 1783 and 1847 the social and political climate of Cane River did not allow church marriages of slaves.[84]

5. Marie Adelaïde[3] **Mariotte** (Marie Louise *dit* Mariotte[2], François[1] and Marie Françoise[1]) was born 28 December 1780 and baptized 4 March 1781, at which time the Spanish priest registered her as "Maria Delaïda, daughter of Maria Luisa, slave of the Widow [Gabriel] Buard";[85] died after 1 June 1860[86]—allegedly during the Civil War, after going blind.[87]

Aged sixteen and six months pregnant, Adelaïde became a *statu liber* on 24 December 1797 when her mother bought her from Denis Buard and promised her freedom.[88] Over the next six decades, she would appear mostly in parish court cases, baptismal entries of her many children, and their marriage records. As the *placée* (common-law wife) of a young Frenchman who died in 1810 leaving his estate to her and her children, she battled for that inheritance across two decades—winning a judgment of $6,686 in 1830.[89] In addition to the sister whom she bought and freed in 1820 Adelaïde would, late in life, manumit another slave, a "*grifonne*" named Marie Philomene, aged about eighteen, who merited freedom by "her good services."[90] In Adelaïde's final years, she lived with her daughter Marie Doralise Dupré and Marie's husband, Jean Baptiste Dominique Metoyer II. The last record for Adelaïde, the 1860 census, identifies

83. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 2296.

84. For an analysis of slave marriages at Natchitoches from 1729 into the mid-1800s, see Elizabeth Shown Mills, "Quintanilla's Crusade, 1775–1783: 'Moral Reform' and Its Consequences on the Natchitoches Frontier," *Louisiana History* 42 (Summer 2001): 277–302; and Elizabeth Shown Mills and Gary B. Mills, "Missionaries Compromised: Early Evangelization of Slaves and Free People of Color in North Louisiana," in *Cross, Crozier, and Crucible: A Volume Celebrating the Bicentennial of a Catholic Diocese in Louisiana*, Glenn R. Conrad, ed. (New Orleans: Archdiocese of New Orleans, 1993), 40–51.

85. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 2388.

86. 1860 U.S. census, Natchitoches Parish, La., pop. sch., p. 480 (penned), dwell. 433, fam. 434; NA microfilm M653, roll 414.

87. Lee Etta Vaccarini Coutii (Adelaïde's great-granddaughter), interview by author, 10 April 1974.

88. Affidavit of Denis Buard, Philippe Valsain v. Cloutier.

89. Philippe Valsain v. Cloutier; and Lecomte v. Cloutier, 3 La. 170–77. Inexplicably, when Adelaïde purchased her sister in 1820 and was legally required to name a surety to guarantee she would pay the sum she had bid, the surety Adelaïde named was Alexis Cloutier—the man who was, even then, trying to take her and her children's inheritance.

90. Natchitoches Parish Conveyances, Book 49:540–41. *Griffe* and *griffone* were used in this society for those of mixed African and Native American ancestry.

her as a "mulatto" planter, with $1,000 in real estate and $300 in personal property.[91]

Adelaïde is Mariotte's only offspring whom twentieth-century descendants remember. In the 1970s they described her as "proud to the point of putting on airs, always insisting that she was born free—never a slave—and totally Indian."[92] Adelaïde's baptismal record hints at the root of her self-image. Her godfather was the eighteen-year-old nobleman, Antoine Mauguet de Mézières, son of the late commandant and nephew of the French noblewoman Charlotte de Mézières who had married King Louis XIV's brother, Louis Philippe I, Duc d'Orleans. While Adelaïde's godfather and his siblings chose not to marry "beneath themselves" in the colony, the male de Mézières left numerous children for whom their siblings were the godparents.[93] Adelaïde could well have been another of those children.

The eleven children borne by Marie Adelaïde Mariotte were as follows:

(With an **unknown father**)

15 i. MARIE ANNE[4] MARIOTTE, born 8 April 1798 and labeled a "*quaterone*" at baptism.[94] About 1815–16 she bore Philomene, who married Dominique Lange in a civil ceremony ratified by the church on 9 February 1834. There, Philomene is said to be the "minor and natural daughter of Marie Mariotte."[95] On the 1850 census Philomene's children by Lange are shown under the surname attributed to Philomene—Rachal.[96]

16 ii. MARIE ADELAÏDE MARIOTTE, born about 1802; married the triracial Jean Baptiste Cécile[97] on 19 March 1832 at Natchitoches;[98] died 12 May 1834 at Isle Brevelle.[99] No known children.

17 iii. JEAN BAPTISTE MARIOTTE ST. VILLE, born about August 1804;[100] married 19 August 1833 at St. Augustin's Chapel on the Isle, his second cousin Marie

91. 1850 U.S. census, Natchitoches Parish, La., pop. sch., p. 101 (penned), dwell./fam. 933; and 1860 U.S. census, Natchitoches Parish, La., pop. sch., p. 480 (penned), dwell. 433, fam. 434.

92. Lee Etta Vaccarini Coutii, letter to author, 1 February 1974.

93. For de Mézières and ancestry to the 1600s, see Elizabeth Shown Mills, "(de) Mézières-Trichel-Grappe: A Study of a Tri-caste Lineage in the Old South," *The Genealogist* 6 (Spring 1985): 4–85.

94. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803*, entry 3202. The ancestry of a "quaterone" (quadroon) was one-quarter African.

95. Mills, *Natchitoches Church Marriages, 1818–1850: Translated Abstracts from the Registers of St. François des Natchitoches, Louisiana* (1985; reprint, Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 2004), entry 267.

96. 1850 U.S. census, Natchitoches Parish, La., pop. sch., p. 101 (penned), folio 52 (stamped), dwelling/family 929. The young husband at dwell./fam. 928, Seraphin Rachal, is likely Philomene's oldest child.

97. Jean Baptiste's mother, Cécile, was freed by the 1781 will of Jean Baptiste Dupré (brother of Joseph I), at which time Dupré declared Cécile's mother to be an Indian and Cécile to be a "griffe" (mixed Indian and black, sometimes with white); see Heirs of Dupré v. Alexis Cloutier, PC.22 (1825) for Dupré's will. Cécile's Indian mother is itemized as "Catherine" in the marriage contract of Dupré to Louise Marguerite Lecomte on 6 September 1769, Doc. 593, Archive Conveyance Records.

98. Mills, *Natchitoches Church Marriages*, entry 213.

99. Burial, 13 May 1834, Book 6, unpaginated, St. François Parish, Natchitoches, La.; see also related documents in folder 62, Natchitoches Parish Records Collection, Louisiana State University Archives.

100. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1800–1826*, entries 114, 1923.

Cephalide Metoyer, daughter of Coincoin's son Dominique.[101] One known child: Jean Baptiste Oscar St. Ville, age sixteen in 1850.[102]

(With **Joseph Dupré II,** born 18 July 1781—a wealthy bachelor of French, German, Spanish, and Indian roots who grew up next door to the Buards)[103]

18 iv. PHILIPPE VALSAIN[4] DUPRÉ, born 1805–06; married Marie Louise Doralise Derbanne on 26 October 1824;[104] separated June 1844, after he became deranged;[105] died before 30 April 1849, leaving a sizable estate to his one child, Marie Denèges Elisida Dupré.[106] She left offspring by two husbands.[107]

19 v. MARIE DORALISE DUPRÉ, born about 1807;[108] married Antoine Lassise from whom she separated in December 1829;[109] by civil marriage she wed her second cousin, Jean Baptiste Dominique Metoyer—a union blessed by the church on 25 June 1860, after the death of Doralise's first husband.[110] The couple, who shared their home with Adelaïde in 1850 and 1860, appear childless.

20 vi. JOSEPH EMANUEL DUPRÉ, born 1810–1811,[111] married 19 August 1830 his second cousin Marie Marguerite Metoyer, daughter of Dominique.[112] Owner of the prosperous Twenty-Four Mile Ferry, a stagecoach stop, and a mercantile store, Manuel died during or after Reconstruction, leaving numerous offspring by his twelve children.[113]

(With **Remy Victorin Levasseur,** born 9 April 1786—a bachelor of French extraction, one Caddo Indian great-grandmother excepted)[114]

21 vii. MARIE EMY[4] LEVASSEUR, twin, born about May 1816.[115]

22 viii. MARIE FELONISE LEVASSEUR, twin, born about May 1816.[116]

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101. Mills, *Natchitoches Church Marriages,* entry 251.

102. 1850 U.S. census, Natchitoches Parish, La., pop. sch., p. 98, dwell./fam. 903.

103. For Dupré's birth and parentage, see Mills, *Natchitoches, 1729–1803,* entry 1840. For the Dupré ancestry, see Elizabeth Shown Mills, "Deliberate Fraud and Mangled Evidence: The Search for the Fictional Family of Anne Marie Philippe of Natchitoches, Louisiana," *The American Genealogist* 75 (July 1997): 353–68.

104. Natchitoches Parish Conveyance Book 15:138, doc. 1, civil marriage of Dupre and Derbanne, with legitimation of child. For a detailed sketch of this couple see Lennon and Mills, "Mother, Thy Name is *Mystery!* Finding the Slave Who Bore Philomene Daurat," particularly pp. 214–17.

105. M. L. D. Dupré v. her husband, Natchitoches District Court files, bundle 194, case 3485.

106. Marie Doralise Derbanne (Widow V. Dupré) to daughter Marie Denége Dupré, folder 1049, Cane River Notarial Collection, Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans.

107. For the first marriage to Belisaire Llorens, see Mills, *Natchitoches Church Marriages,* entry 395; for the second marriage to Frumance Azenor Metoyer, see Natchitoches Parish Succession 2329 (Joseph Dupré, d. 1810, succession reopened about 1900) and Succession Book 41:444–51.

108. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1800–1825,* entry 2083.

109. Dupré v. Lassise, Natchitoches Parish District Court files, bundle 47, case 1111.

110. "Marriages, 1855–1905," unnumbered entries in chronological sequence, St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, Cloutierville, La.

111. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1800–1825,* entry 2095.

112. Mills, *Natchitoches Church Marriages,* entry 174.

113. Lee Etta Vaccarini Coutii, interview by author, 12 July 1973. Ms. Coutii's portrayal of her grandfather is borne out by numerous parish records and censuses.

114. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1725–1803,* entries 1909, 1085, 407, and 119 outline Levasseur's ancestry.

115. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1800–1825,* entry 2462.

116. Ibid.

(With **Barthelemy Le Court de Prelle**, born 18 September 1763—a never-married scion of French nobility whose father had come to Louisiana as an officer and entered into a concubinage with one of the colony's storied "casket girls")[117]

23 ix. LOUIS TOUSSAINT BARTHELEMY[4] LE COUR, born 1 November 1817;[118] married his second cousin Marie Lise Metoyer (daughter of Dominique) on 17 May 1838 in St. Augustin's Chapel on the Isle.[119] The couple left numerous offspring.

24 x. JACQUES "JACOB" REUBEN LE COUR, born in September 1821;[120] married Marie Zelia Rachal, his second cousin once removed (granddaughter of Dominique Metoyer). Their civil union, which had occurred fourteen months earlier, was ratified by the church on 20 May 1843.[121] The couple left numerous offspring.

25 xi. MARIE ZELINE LE COUR, born 30 April 1824;[122] married Louis Casimir Rachal (brother of Marie Zelia, above) in a civil ceremony that the church ratified on October 1846.[123] They, too, left numerous offspring.

CONCLUSION

Every newly found document subjects old conclusions to reevaluation. That thought is critical when using published works for biographical detail on past lives. Narrative accounts of history can meld multiple individuals into one, so seamlessly that blurring of identities is undetectable. While genealogical research requires family historians to exhaust all relevant records and analyze every detail, such micro study may be impractical for historians who interpret events and patterns on a larger scale. For all who attempt identification of common folk—particularly slaves—the lesson is obvious: documents left unexamined are time bombs, waiting to explode premature conclusions.

117. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1725–1803*, entry 488 (baptism of Barthelemy Le Roy). A new priest forced the elder Le Court's marriage to Jeanne Le Roy when their child Barthelemy was two; see ibid., entry 984.

118. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1800–1825*, entry 2560.

119. Le Court-Metoyer marriage contract, 16 May 1838, Cane River Notarial Collection; and Mills, *Natchitoches Church Marriages*, entry 406.

120. Mills, *Natchitoches, 1800–1825*, entry 1656.

121. Mills, *Natchitoches Church Marriages*, entry 549.

122. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, Book 1, unpaginated entries in chronological sequence.

123. Mills, *Natchitoches Church Marriages*, entry 633.

Update

A Son Proved ... an Ancestor Disproved: Thomas Caldwell of Lunenburg County, Virginia

NGSQ 94 (June 2006): page 107, table 3 and note *f*. The author reports that Thomas Caldwell's Prince Edward County, Virginia, will also names sons Andrew and John and an "unborn" child." It also lists one daughter as "Vilote."

Which John Bray of St. Gennys in Cornwall Married Hephzibah Lillicrap at St. Juliot?

By Ronald A. Hill, Ph.D., CG, FASG

The "same-name" problem can be one of the most vexing when analyzing English families. In this example, a wide range of record sources and the process of elimination provide a logical framework for the successful analysis of same-named men.

Baptismal records in parish registers are tantalizing but frustrating: tantalizing for what they include, frustrating for what they do not. Rarely do baptismal records completely identify the parents. Terse entries, like "John, son of John Bray" are inadequate, especially when several contemporary John Bray families present children for baptism.

How can researchers differentiate these same-named men? Sometimes, a will naming the children recorded in the parish register can isolate one candidate. Occasionally, a series of wills can isolate several candidates, resulting in an outline of yet another family lacking probates. A condition on a bequest might be a decisive factor.

Signatures of same-named men who were grooms, testators, or witnesses can, like a fingerprint, help identify these men. Church rates (ecclesiastical taxes to fund church purposes) are helpful if the same-named men hold annually taxed properties. Church rates often identify properties by name, so clues can emerge if a property is specified in a baptism or burial record or is inherited upon the death of the leaseholder. All such records helped uncover the ancestry of John Bray, husband of Hephzibah Lillicrap.

THE JOHN BRAY–HEPHZIBAH LILLICRAP MARRIAGE

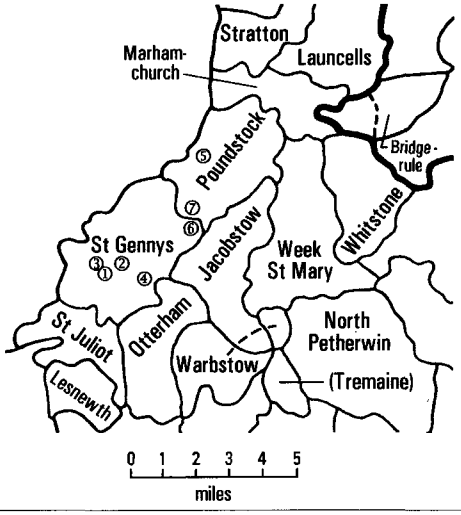
On 8 October 1781 John Bray of St. Gennys married Hephzibah Lillicrap by banns at St. Juliot parish church. Two men named Thomas Bray witnessed the

© Ronald A. Hill, Ph.D., CG, FASG; 5618 North Star Ridge Way; Star, ID 83669. Dr. Hill is a retired physicist, former president of the New Mexico Genealogical Society, and past trustee of the Board for Certification of Genealogists. He is a member of the *NGS Quarterly* editorial board and the author of several articles on British and Cornish genealogical research. His total on-site research experience in England exceeds fourteen months. This work was commissioned in part by Ronald Tarbox of San Diego, California, who gave permission for its publication.

marriage, and all parties signed their names.[1] Hephzibah was baptized at St. Juliot, 4 December 1764, daughter of Nicholas Pearce Lillicrap and his wife, Grace.[2] As expected, the marriage took place in the bride's home parish (see figure 1). If baptized soon after birth, Hephzibah married at age seventeen, unusual in rural settings where the average female marriage age was about twenty-five.[3]

Figure 1

Parishes surrounding St. Gennys in Cornwall



Note: The dark line depicts a small portion of the boundary between Cornwall on the west and Devon on the east. Bridgerule is bisected by the River Tamar into Bridgerule West and Bridgerule East. These north Cornwall parishes are bounded on the west by the Atlantic Ocean. The circled numbers show the approximate location of ①Bay Park, ②Crackington, ③Hallagather, ④Pencuke, ⑤Penhalt, ⑥Trencreek, and ⑦Trewint.

Four children were born to this union, each baptized at St. Gennys:[4]

17 August 1783	Thomasin, daughter of John Bray and Hephzibah
7 November 1785	Mary, daughter of John Bray and Hephzibah
2[?] August 1788	Johanna, daughter of John Bray and Hephzibah
19 December 1791	Samuel, son of John Bray and Hephzibah of Trewint in Poundstock

1. Bray-Lillicrap marriage, 8 October 1781, St. Juliot marriage register, DDP94/1/2, p. 8, Cornwall Record Office (CRO), Truro, Cornwall, England; microfilm 1,595,809, Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City.

2. Hephzibah Lillicrap baptism, 4 December 1764, St. Juliot parish register, DDP94/1/1, p. 23, CRO; FHL microfilm 1,595,809.

3. R. B. Outhwaite, "Age at Marriage in England from the Late Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century," in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (London, 1973), 5th ser., 23:61.

4. St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/2, pp. 5 (Thomasin), 6 (Mary), 8 (Johanna), and 12 (Samuel), CRO. All pre-1880 St. Gennys parish registers are available on FHL microfilm 1,595,534.

Samuel's baptism indicates that, at least in 1791, John and Hephzibah were living at Trewint in Poundstock. This is significant because a monument memorializing John Bray of Trewint in Poundstock, who died 5 February 1809, age sixty-four, stands in the St. Gennys churchyard.[5] This John Bray left no probate.[6]

On 26 August 1818 widow Hephzibah Bray married second, by license, widower Richard Mill of Launcells.[7] In his 1823 will yeoman Richard Mill, then of Marhamchurch, bequeathed to "wife Hephzibah Mill" various rights and household furniture and "all the furniture or other property that was her own."[8]

Hephzibah Mill "of Stratton" was buried at Launcells, 23 March 1846, age eighty-one.[9] In her will, dated 16 January 1846, she mentions the following:[10]

- Mary Norman, "my daughter," widow, at Liverpool
- Joannah Heddon, "my daughter," widow, at Bristol
- John Bray and Ann Creese, "both natural children of Thomazin Bray"

At Otterham on 14 May 1807 Mary Bray married, by license, Thomas Norman of Ilfracombe in Devon.[11] Joanna Bray married Thomas Headdon at Bridgerule in Devon, 23 May 1808; her father, John Bray, was a witness.[12] Samuel, son of John Bray and Hephzibah, predeceased his mother.[13] His monument in the Launcells churchyard reports he died 28 September 1837, aged forty-six, which agrees with his 1791 baptism.[14]

5. John Bray burial, 8 February 1809, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/2, p. 58, CRO. "A Tribute of Friendship to the memory of JOHN BRAY (late of Trewint in the Parish of Poundstock) Yeoman who departed this life the 5th of February 1809 in the 65th year of his age." Inscription copied for the author by Ray and Joan Higgins of Bridestow, Devon, 4 May 2005.

6. Probate records, letter "B," 1809, Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall, CRO; FHL microfilm 2,276,054.

7. Mill-Bray marriage, 26 August 1818, Jacobstow marriage register, DDP92/1/4, p. 8, CRO; FHL microfilm 1,595,809.

8. Richard Mill of Marhamchurch, yeoman, registered will, 17 December 1823, proved 22 May 1824, Wills Proved and Registered in the Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall 36:452, CRO; FHL microfilm 0,090,214.

9. Hephzibah Mill burial, 23 March 1846, Launcells burial register, DDP117/1/4, p. 57, CRO; FHL microfilm 1,849,639.

10. Hephzibah Mill of Stratton, widow, registered will, 16 January 1846, proved 28 September 1846, Wills Proved and Registered in the Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall, 52:644, CRO; FHL microfilm 0,090,222.

11. Norman-Bray marriage, 14 May 1807, Otterham marriage register, DDP169/1/3, p. 13, CRO. All pre-1900 Otterham parish registers are available on FHL microfilm 1,596,067.

12. Headdon-Bray marriage, 23 May 1808, Bridgerule marriage register, 2904 A/PR4, no. 114, Devon Record Office (DRO), Exeter, England. The signatures of John Bray at his marriage to Hephzibah and at the marriage of Thomas Headdon and Joanna Bray are shown in figure 2.

13. Samuel Bray burial, 30 September 1837, Launcells burial register, DDP117/1/4, p. 41, CRO. It states he was aged 42 years and of Stratton.

14. Monumental inscription copied for the author by Ray and Joan Higgins of Bridestow, Devon, 4 May 2005.

JOHN BRAY OF TREWINT IN POUNDSTOCK

If John Bray of Trewint in Poundstock was sixty-four at his 1809 burial in St. Gennys, he was born about 1745. If this was Hephzibah's husband, he was about thirty-six at marriage, almost twenty years her elder. At the 1791 baptism of Samuel Bray, John Bray and wife Hephzibah were living at Trewint in Poundstock. A John Bray of "Kencreek" in St. Gennys leased Higher and Lower Trewint in Poundstock, 24 March 1782.[15] He also paid church rates at Poundstock on one tenement in Trewint, 1785–87, and on two tenements there, 1788–1801, suggesting his family lived at Trewint from 1785 until his death there in 1809.[16] Samuel Bray, only son and heir of John Bray, sold Higher and Lower Trewint to John Henwood Jr., of Southill, 24 April 1814.[17]

John was "of St. Gennys" at his marriage to Hephzibah, and his four children were baptized there, suggesting St. Gennys was his home or birth parish. Three baptisms—numbers (3), (5), and (7) in table 1—recorded in the St. Gennys parish register are for John Brays who would be of age by the 1781 Bray-Lillicrap marriage. Baptism number (8), for a base child named John, son of John Bray and Mary Treweeks, requires special attention. He might appear in later records as either John Bray or John Treweeks.

The St. Gennys register has no baptismal records from 1742 through 1745, but bishop's transcripts for that period provide an additional John Bray baptism on 30 January 1744/5 (number [4]).[18] A John Bray baptism (number [6]) turned up at contiguous Poundstock parish. These six John Brays, baptized between 1740 and 1756, are candidates for the 1781 Bray-Lillicrap marriage.

John Bray burials from the earliest St. Gennys parish registers 1702 to 1850 appear in table 1. Those with an age at death are tentatively matched to the list of John Bray baptisms. John Bray of Trewint, buried 8 February 1809, age sixty-four, appears to be John (4), baptized 30 January 1744/5. However, it is unclear whether John (4) is the son of John (1) or John (2). Also, the recorded ages at burial may be inaccurate. Because informants may not know the deceased's birth date, such dates recorded at death do not constitute primary evidence. Other records must corroborate these and the remaining identifications. Fortunately,

15. James Phillips of East Putford, Devon, Gent., to John Bray of "Kencreek" (Trencreek), St. Gennys, lease (24 March 1782) and release (25 March 1782), Higher and Lower Trewint in Poundstock, CF/2149/1,2, CRO. A lease and release is a method of transferring land from one party to another without the necessity of enrolling a deed. The purchaser first takes a lease of the property for one year, thus avoiding the need to enroll the deed. On the following day, the seller conveys to the purchaser the reversion of the lease. From the *Oxford English Dictionary*: "A conveyance of the fee-simple, right or interest in lands or tenements, under the Statute of Uses, 27 Henry VIII [1535], giving first the possession, and afterwards the interest in the estate conveyed."

16. Poundstock Overseers Rates, Accounts, and Records, 1770–1802, DDP193/12/2, CRO; FHL microfilm 1,596,935.

17. Samuel Bray of Poundstock, yeoman, to John Henwood Jr. of Southill, yeoman, lease (24 April 1814) and release (25 April 1814), Higher and Lower Trewint in Poundstock, CF/2150/1, 2, CRO.

18. John Bray baptism, 30 January 1744/5, St. Gennys Bishop's Transcripts, BT67, 1744, CRO; FHL microfilm 0,090,247.

Table 1

John Bray Baptisms and Burials

DATES	EVENTS AND NAMES	IDENTIFICATIONS
	Baptisms	
10 October 1706	John, s of Degory Bray & Mary [p. 3][a]	(1)
8 May 1721	John, s of John Bray & Luce [p. 8][a]	(2)
23 June 1740	John, s of Stephen Bray & Mary [p. 15][a]	(3)
30 January 1744/5	John, s of Jno Bray [BT][b]	(4)
1 April 1750	John, s of Digory Bray & Ann [p. 17][a]	(5)
21 December 1752	John, s of Henry Bray & Jane [p. 59][c]	(6)
28 August 1755	John, s of John Bray [p. 19][a]	(7)
25 April 1756	John, s of John Bray and Mary Treweeks (base child) [p. 19][a]	(8)
21 September 1765	John, s of Thomas Bray and Thomsine [p. 24][a]	(9)
	Burials	
8 October 1712	John Bray, "Batchelor" [p. 41][a]	
15 November 1757	John Bray [p. 54][a]	
8 July 1759	John, son of John Bray [p. 54][a] [BT reads "infant"][d]	(7)
28 November 1787	John Bray, age 66 [p. 44][e] [born about 1721]	(2)
21 March 1788	John Bray [p. 44][e]	(1)
2 October 1790	John Bray of Penhalt, Poundstock [p. 45][e]	(6)
8 February 1809	John Bray of Trewint, Poundstock, age 64 [p. 58][e]	(4)
8 March 1809	John Bray of "Penkuke," age 68 [p. 58][e] [born about 1741]	(3)
7 June 1830	John Bray of "Trencrick," age 80 [p. 23][f] [born about 1750]	(5)
11 May 1832	John Bray of Wooda, age 66 [p. 27][f] [born about 1766]	(9)

[a]St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, CRO; FHL microfilm 1,595,534.
[b]St. Gennys Bishop's Transcripts, BT67, 1744, CRO; FHL microfilm 0,090,247.
[c]Poundstock parish register, DDP193/1/2, CRO; FHL microfilm 1,596,143.
[d]St. Gennys Bishop's Transcripts, BT67, 1759, CRO; FHL microfilm 0,090,247.
[e]St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/2, CRO; FHL microfilm 1,595,534.
[f]St. Gennys burial register, DDP67/1/7, CRO; FHL microfilm 1,595,534.

a number of Bray men at St. Gennys left probates that matched all but one John Bray burial, that of the father of John Bray of Trewint in Poundstock.

JOHN TREWEEKS (ALIAS BRAY?)

Only one John Treweeks was baptized in the parishes in this study, 1740–70, the base child of John Bray and Mary Treweeks, 25 April 1756.[19] A John

19. John Treweeks baptism, 25 April 1756, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 19, CRO.

Treweeks, bachelor, married Ann Harry, spinster, at St. Gennys, 13 March 1790.[20] John Treweeks was buried at St. Gennys, 27 August 1821, "of Hallagather," age sixty-five, matching the 1756 baptismal year of the base child.[21] John Treweeks, who might have been known by the alias John Bray, could not have married in 1790 if he was still having children with Hephzibah in 1791, so cannot be the John Bray who married Hephzibah Lillicrap.

Banns were called at St. Gennys three successive Sundays (5, 12, and 19 October 1755) for John Bray and Mary Treweeks, probable parents of the base child, John Treweeks, but a note written on this record reads "Never Married."[22] The John Bray records and the Hallagather address of John Treweeks at his burial, provide circumstantial evidence pointing to the identity of John Bray, father of John Treweeks.

BRAY PROBATE RECORDS

Table 2 does not list all Bray probates at St. Gennys. It presents in chronological order only those that define relationships between the John Brays.

Table 2

Bray Probates mentioning John Bray

PROBATE	TESTATOR	DATE	PROVED
AP/B/2828	John Bray, St. Gennys	8 September 1712	7 November 1712[a]
AP/B/4042	John Bray, St. Gennys	4 November 1756	25 November 1757[b]
AP/B/4352	Stephen Bray, St. Gennys	15 May 1772	14 May 1773[c]
AP/B/4448	Henry Bray, Poundstock	1 October 1776	1 July 1777[c]
AP/B/4553	Thomas Bray, St. Gennys	24 November 1781	6 December 1782[c]
AP/B/4656	John Bray, St. Gennys	24 November 1787	14 November 1788[c]
AP/B/5170	John Bray, St. Gennys	17 December 1806	6 July 1809[d]

[a]Probate records, letter "B," 1712, Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall, CRO; FHL microfilm 2,276,040.
[b]Probate records, letter "B," 1757, Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall, CRO; FHL microfilm 2,276,053.
[c]Probate records, letter "B," 1773, 1777, 1782, and 1788, Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall, CRO; FHL microfilm 2,276,077.
[d]Probate records, letter "B," 1809, Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall, CRO; FHL microfilm 2,276,054.

AP/B/2828—John Bray, dated 8 September 1712, proved 7 November 1712

John Bray, a bachelor, was buried at St. Gennys, 8 October 1712.[23] In his will dated one month before his burial, John, yeoman, is of Higher "Crakington."[24]

20. Treweeks-Harris marriage, 13 March 1790, St. Gennys marriage register, DDP67/1/3, p. 50, CRO.
21. John Treweeks burial, 27 August 1821, St. Gennys burial register, DDP67/1/7, p. 13, CRO.
22. Bray-Treweeks banns, October 1755, St. Gennys marriage register, DDP67/1/3, p. 3, CRO.
23. John Bray burial, 8 October 1712, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 41, CRO.
24. John Bray probate record, 8 September 1712, proved 7 October 1712, Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall, AP/B/2828, CRO; FHL microfilm 2,276,040. The modern spelling of *Crakington* is *Crackington*.

He mentions no relatives and no other Brays. He leaves the bulk of his estate to his former servant, Jane Fuge, wife of Joseph Fuge of St. Gennys. This John Bray is too old to be John (1), baptized 10 October 1706 and, as a bachelor, is not the father of anyone named Bray at St. Gennys.

AP/B/4042—John Bray, dated 4 November 1756, proved 25 November 1757

John Bray was buried at St. Gennys, 15 November 1757.[25] In his will proved ten days after his burial, John Bray is of Bay Park, a farm in St. Gennys.[26] He names the following legatees:

- Wife [Luce as identified in the bequest to son John], "10 pounds"
- Stephen Bray, "my son, 5 pounds"
- William Bray, "my son, 10 pounds"
- Henry Bray, "my son, one guinea in gold"
- John Bray, "my son, all interest and right in Bay Park after the decease of my wife Luce"
- Thomas Bray, "my son, 5 pounds"
- Joan Bray, "my granddaughter, daughter of my son William, 5 pounds at age 15"
- Luce Bray, "my granddaughter, daughter of my son Henry, 40 shillings; if she dies, then the sum to her other two sisters Christian and Dewens"
- John Bray, "my grandson, son of my son John, 5 pounds to be paid at the age of 10 years"
- John Bray, "my grandson, son of my son Stephen," properties
- Margaret Wade, "my daughter, her children, 10 shillings each"; "William Wade, my son-in-law"
- Thomasin, "my sister, 2 shillings 6 pence"
- Thomas Bray, to be executor

This will untangled several John Brays. Testator John Bray married Luce Marshall at St. Gennys, 18 December 1710,[27] making him too old to be John (1), son of Degory Bray and Mary, baptized in 1706. John, baptized in 1721 at St. Gennys, son of John Bray and Luce,[28] is John (2). John, son of John (2) is under ten years old at the time of his grandfather's will, therefore born between 5 November 1746 and 4 November 1756, conditions matched only by John (7), baptized at St. Gennys in 1755,[29] son of John (2). John, son of Stephen and grandson of John Bray of Bay Park, is John (3).[30] This analysis of a single probate record (AP/B/4042) ties John (2), John (3), and John (7) to the extended family of John Bray of Bay Park.

25. John Bray burial, 15 November 1757, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 54, CRO.
26. John Bray of Bay Park, St. Gennys, probate record, 4 November 1756, proved 25 November 1757, Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall, AP/B/4042, CRO; FHL microfilm 2,276,053.
27. Bray-Marshall marriage, 18 December 1710, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 26, CRO.
28. John Bray baptism, 8 May 1721, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 8, CRO.
29. John Bray baptism, 28 August 1755, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 19, CRO.
30. John Bray baptism, 23 June 1740, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 15, CRO.

P/B/4352—Stephen Bray, dated 15 May 1772, proved 14 May 1773

In his 1772 will, Stephen Bray is of Hallagather in St. Gennys; he was buried at St. Gennys, 30 June 1772.[31] Stephen makes the following bequest, among others:[32]

- John Bray, "my son, 5 shillings"

John (3), son of Stephen Bray and Mary, survived to be mentioned in the wills of his grandfather, John Bray of Bay Park in 1756, and his father Stephen Bray in 1772. John (3) was probably the father of the base child John Treweeks, who was also of Hallagather at his burial in 1821. John (3) would have been about sixteen years old when John Treweeks was born. Presumably his father, Stephen Bray, refused to consent to the proposed John Bray–Mary Treweeks marriage.

AP/B/4448—Henry Bray, Poundstock, dated 1 October 1776, proved 1 July 1777

Henry Bray, in his 1776 will, asks to be buried in the St. Gennys churchyard beside his daughter, Jane Bray.[33] He also names the following:[34]

- Jane Bray, "my wife"
- John Bray, "my son, 10 pounds"
- Thomas Bray, "my son, 10 pounds"
- Luce Bray, "my daughter, 10 pounds"
- Christian Smeeth, "my daughter, 10 pounds"
- Duence Rogers, "my daughter, 10 pounds"
- Henry, William, and Stephen, "my sons," to be joint executors
- Henry Bray to have lands in St. Gennys

Henry Bray married Jane Ferrett at St. Gennys, 14 April 1740.[35] Henry lived at Penhalt in Poundstock, where he is listed in the church rates from 1770 until his death in 1777; his sons Henry and William continued at Penhalt, 1778–1801.[36] His daughters Luce, Christian, and Duence—mentioned in his and his father's wills—link Henry as the son of John Bray of Bay Park and Luce. John was buried at St. Gennys, 2 October 1790, as John Bray of Penhalt in Poundstock.[37] A monument in the St. Gennys churchyard calls him the son of Henry Bray and

31. Stephen Bray burial, 30 June 1772, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 38, CRO.

32. Stephen Bray of Hallagather, St. Gennys, probate record, 15 May 1772, proved 14 May 1773, Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall, AP/B/4352, CRO; FHL microfilm 2,276,077.

33. Henry Bray burial, 3 June 1777, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/2, p. 40, CRO.

34. Henry Bray, Poundstock, probate record, 1 October 1776, proved 1 July 1777, Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall, AP/B/4448, CRO; FHL microfilm 2,276,077.

35. Bray-Ferrett marriage, 14 April 1740, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 30, CRO.

36. Poundstock Overseers Rates, Accounts, and Records, 1770–1802, DDP193/12/2, CRO; FHL microfilm 1,596,935.

37. John Bray burial, 2 October 1790, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/2, p. 45, CRO.

Jane, buried 2 October 1790, age thirty-eight.[38] This age agrees with the 1752 baptism of Henry and Jane's son at Poundstock, making him John (6).

AP/B/4553—Thomas Bray, dated 24 November 1781, proved 6 December 1782

Thomas Bray married Thomazin Cock at St. Gennys, 2 December 1762.[39] Thomas "of Hole" was buried at St. Gennys on 1 April 1782.[40] In his 1781 will he names among others the following:[41]

- John Bray, "my brother, 5 shillings"
- John Bray, "my son" to be the executor

Thomas Bray was baptized in 1724, son of John Bray and Luce and was mentioned in his father's 1756 will. John Bray, brother of Thomas, is John (2). John Bray, baptized 2 September 1765, the son and executor of this Thomas, is John (9). John Bray, the son of Thomas, married at Poundstock, 3 March 1794, Mary Medland; John was "of St. Gennys" at the marriage.[42] Among others Thomas Bray's will names John Wade, his kinsman of the parish of Tintagel, one of the trustees for his son John until he reached age twenty-one. William Wade married Margaret Bray, a sister of Thomas Bray, 26 November 1732.[43] Margaret (née Bray) Wade and her husband William Wade are mentioned in the 1756 will of John Bray above.[44] Their son John Wade was baptized at Tintagel, 15 December 1734[45] and would qualify as a "kinsman" (a nephew) of Thomas Bray. Among the witnesses to the will of Thomas Bray is John Treweeks, which again links him to this Bray family.

AP/B/4656—John Bray, dated 24 November 1787, proved 14 November 1788

John Bray, buried at St. Gennys in 1787, age sixty-six, was born about 1721, the son of John Bray and Luce. He was mentioned in the 1781 will of his brother Thomas. His will dated four days before his burial identifies him only as John Bray of St. Gennys. He identifies the following as his legatees:[46]

38. Monumental inscription copied by Ray and Joan Higgens of Bridestow, Devon, 4 May 2005.

39. Bray-Cock marriage, 2 December 1762, St. Gennys marriage register, DDP67/1/3, p. 14, CRO.

40. Thomas Bray burial, 1 April 1782, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/2, p. 43, CRO. "Hole" is probably an abbreviation for Trehole in St. Gennys. It is located between Hallagather and Bay Park.

41. Thomas Bray, St. Gennys, probate record, 24 November 1781, proved 6 December 1782, Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall, AP/B/4553, CRO; FHL microfilm 2,276,077.

42. Bray-Medland marriage, 3 March 1794, Poundstock marriage register, DDP193/1/5, p. 39, CRO; FHL microfilm 1,596,143.

43. Wade-Bray marriage, 26 November 1732, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 29, CRO. Wade-Bray marriage license, 9 November 1732, William Wade of Tintagel and Margaret Bray of St. Gennys, spinster, in John Henry Mann (Devon and Cornwall Record Society), transcr., "Exeter Marriage Licences, Part II (1723–1734)" (manuscript, 1942), 567; FHL microfilm 0,917,259, item 1. Wade was written in the St. Gennys register in error as Ward; the entry was later corrected to Wade.

44. Margaret Bray baptism, 3 September 1711, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 4, CRO.

45. John Wade baptism, 15 December 1734, Tintagel parish register, DDP/224/1/1, p. 52, CRO.

46. John Bray, St. Gennys, probate record, 24 November 1787, proved 14 November 1788, Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall, AP/B/4656, CRO; FHL microfilm 2,276,077.

- Jane Bray, "my wife"
- Margaret Bray, "my daughter, 60 pounds ... I bind my estate in St. Gennys called Bay Park for payment of the legacy"
- Henry Elson, "my son-in-law"
- Jane, "my daughter, 60 pounds"
- William Uglow, "my son-in-law"
- Thomas Bray, "my son," to be the executor

Margaret, baptized at St. Gennys, 15 February 1761, daughter of John Bray and Jane,[47] married Henry Elson at St. Gennys, 19 June 1786.[48] In his will, John Bray bound Bay Park to pay a legacy to his daughter Margaret. As seen above, John Bray inherited Bay Park from his father, John Bray, after his mother Luce died. Luce was buried at St. Gennys, 5 October 1772, age ninety-two.[49] The 1787 bequest to daughter Margaret shows that this John Bray is John (2), son of John Bray of Bay Park and Luce.

In addition to the daughters Margaret and Jane Bray mentioned above, John Bray and his wife Jane had a son John baptized at Otterham:

24 August 1755 John, son of John Bray & Jane of St. Gennys[50]

John Bray's baptism was also recorded in the St. Gennys parish register:

28 August 1755 John, son of John Bray[51]

The Otterham baptism on a Sunday suggests a public rather than a private baptism.[52] This John is John (7), born in 1755, the grandson of John Bray

47. Margaret Bray baptism, 15 February 1761, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 22, CRO.
48. Elson-Bray marriage, 19 June 1786, St. Gennys marriage register, DDP67/1/3, p. 44, CRO.
49. Luce Bray burial, 5 October 1772, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/2, p. 38, CRO
50. John Bray baptism, 24 August 1755, Otterham parish register, DDP169/1/1, p. 14, CRO.
51. John Bray baptism, 28 August 1755, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 19, CRO.
52. Baptisms were recorded for two infants in both the Otterham and St. Gennys registers in the summer of 1755. Two consecutive entries in the Otterham register read: Mary, daughter of Christopher and Elizabeth Wonnacot of St. Gennys, baptized 23 June 1755; and John, son of John Bray and Jane of St. Gennys, baptized 24 August 1755. All the 1755 Otterham baptism entries are written in the same hand. The St. Gennys registers list Mary, daughter of Christopher Winacott, baptized 24 June 1755, and John, son of John Bray, baptized 28 August 1755. All the 1755 entries in the St. Gennys register are written in the same hand except for two, dated 27 June and 5 August, interlined between the Mary Winacott and John Bray baptisms. Apparently the incumbent of St. Gennys was away part of the summer of 1755. Christopher Winacott and John Bray took their newborn infants to Otterham for baptism. It is most likely the two baptisms were simply entered again in the St. Gennys register on the listed dates. Repeated baptisms are not common in the Anglican parish registers, but they do exist. A private baptism was permitted if an infant was too ill to be brought to church. A privately baptized child should be "received" or "admitted' into the church by a later public baptismal ceremony. From 1603, both private (half) baptisms and public baptisms were to be recorded in parish registers; however, this was not always done. For a discussion, see Mark D. Herber, *Ancestral Trails* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1998), 98. Additional reasons for double baptisms or duplicate recordings of baptisms include the following: (1) A family moves to a new parish and, at the baptism of a newborn child, agrees to have the previously baptized children rebaptized. (2) The eldest child is born and baptized at the home parish of the mother, and later, is baptized at the home parish of the father.

mentioned in his 1756 will as under age ten. John (7) was buried as an infant, 8 July 1759, son of John Bray, and thus did not survive to be mentioned in his father's 1787 will.[53]

John (2) cannot be the John Bray who fathered a base son, John, with Mary Treweeks because he was still married to Jane when the banns were read for John Bray and Mary Treweeks. No marriage record has been discovered for John Bray and Jane. However, Edward Smeeth of St. Gennys, names in his will, among others, "my son-in-law, John Bray, and Jane his wife."[54] Apparently, John Bray married Jane Smeeth. She was baptized at St. Gennys, 1 June 1729, as Jane, daughter of Edward and Sarah Smeeth.[55]

AP/B/5170—John Bray, dated 17 December 1806, proved 6 July 1809

John Bray, buried at St. Gennys in 1809, of "Penkuke," aged sixty-eight, was apparently born about 1741; he is John (3), son of Stephen and Mary, baptized in 1740. John was alive 15 May 1772, when his father's will mentions him. John's 1806 will names the following, among others:[56]

- Prudence, "my wife"
- Mary, "my daughter, the wife of Edward Mill, £50"
- William Marshall Bray, "my grandson, £30"
- Stephen Bray, "my son," the residue, to be the executor

John Bray and Prudence Mark married at St. Gennys, 10 December 1771; Stephen Bray, John's father, was a witness.[57] Mary, named in the will, was baptized at Otterham, 13 December 1771, daughter of John Bray and Prudence of St. Gennys.[58] This baptism, three days after her parents' marriage, led to a charge of "fornication carried out prior to their marriage," brought by officials of the Archdeaconry Court.[59] Edward Mill, called son-in-law in the will, married Mary Bray at St. Gennys, 28 April 1793.[60]

William Marshall Bray, a grandson of John Bray and Prudence, was baptized at St. Gennys, 6 January 1799, son of Lucy Bray.[61] Lucy Bray was buried at St.

53. John Bray burial, 8 July 1759, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 54, CRO. Also, St. Gennys Bishop's Transcript, BT67, 1759, CRO; FHL microfilm 090,247, which reads "John Bray, infant."

54. Edward Smeeth, St. Gennys, registered will, 6 February 1759, proved 13 May 1763, Wills Proved and Registered in the Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall 8:409; FHL microfilm 90,196.

55. Jane Smeeth baptism, 1 June 1729, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 11, CRO.

56. John Bray, St. Gennys, probate record, 17 December 1806, proved 6 July 1809, Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall, AP/B/5170, CRO; FHL microfilm 2,276,054.

57. Bray-Mark marriage, 10 December 1771, St. Gennys marriage register, DDP67/1/3, p. 25, CRO.

58. Mary Bray baptism, 13 December 1771, Otterham parish register, DDP169/1/1, p. 18, CRO.

59. Penance, John Bray and wife Prudence of St. Gennys, fornication, dated 11 May 1772, Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall, ARD/163/68, CRO.

60. Mill-Bray marriage, 28 April 1793, St. Gennys marriage register, DDP67/1/3, p. 54, CRO.

61. William Marshall Bray baptism, 6 January 1799, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/2, p. 21, CRO.

Gennys, 4 May 1800, age twenty-six.[62] No baptismal record has been discovered for Lucy; however, John Bray leased Pencuke, 24 March 1798, for ninety-nine years on the lives of his children Stephen, age twenty-three, and Lucy, age twenty-four.[63] Stephen Bray, the son and executor, was baptized 6 January 1775, son of John Bray and Prudence.[64]

John Bray and Prudence had no son named John. However, as discussed above, John, the son of Stephen Bray and Mary, is the probable father of the base child John Treweeks, son of Mary Treweeks.

JOHN BRAY BURIAL RECORDS

The Bray probate records discussed above do not contradict the identifications derived from the burials in table 1. As shown above, John (2) Bray and his wife Jane had a son John (7) whose baptism was recorded at both Otterham and St. Gennys. John (7) lived long enough to be named in his grandfather's 1756 will, but was buried 8 July 1759, an infant, son of John Bray, and was not named in the 1787 will of his father, John (2) Bray.

John Treweeks, buried in 1821, is eliminated as a possible John Bray. John Bray of Penhalt in Poundstock, buried in 1790, is John (6).

The remaining John Bray burial at St. Gennys, 21 March 1788, is not identified in any probate record at St. Gennys. He was buried nearly three years and nine months before the baptism of Samuel Bray, son of John Bray and Hephzibah of Trewint in Poundstock, making it unlikely that he is the husband of Hephzibah Lillicrap. By elimination, he is John (1), baptized in 1706, son of Degory Bray and Mary.

John (1) Bray married at St. Gennys, 3 January 1739/40, Joan Gare [Gayer?].[65] John Bray and Joan had the following family baptized at St. Gennys:[66]

14 October 1740	Samuel, son of John Bray & Jone
29 December 1741	Jone, daughter of John Bray & Jone
30 January 1744/5	John, son of Jn° Bray [BT] [John (4)]
15 December 1751	Elizabeth, daughter of John Bray
8 May 1755	W^m^, son of John Bray
3 September 1758	Joanna [BT: Joan], daughter of John Bray & Joan

62. Lucy Bray burial, 4 May 1800, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/2, p. 54, CRO.

63. Thomas Carlyon of Trerehan, Esq., to John Bray of St. Gennys, yeoman, lease, Pencuke, CN744, CRO.

64. Stephen Bray baptism, 6 January 1775, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/2, p. 1, CRO.

65. Bray-Gare marriage, 3 January 1739/40, St. Gennys Bishop's Transcripts, Devon Record Office (DRO), Exeter. Gare is probably a variant version of Gayer, a prominent name in north Cornwall. One Benjamin Gayer was buried at St. Gennys, 19 January 1716/7. See St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 42, CRO.

66. Baptism records, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, pp. 15 (Samuel and Jone), 17 (Elizabeth), 19 (William), and 20 (Joanna), CRO. The baptism record for John appears in St. Gennys Bishop's Transcript, BT67, 1744, CRO; FHL microfilm 0,090,247, item 1. The baptism record for Joanna appears in St. Gennys Bishop's Transcript, BT67, 1758, as Joan.

A Samuel Bray was buried at St. Gennys, 1 November 1740.[67] The record does not list the status of the deceased. As shown below, a Samuel Bray, likely a brother of John (4) Bray, survived to marry Ann Mill.[68] Either John and Joan had a second son Samuel Bray, perhaps born in the interval 1745–51, or the Samuel Bray burial is for a person born before 1702, when St. Gennys parish registers began. Jone, the daughter baptized in 1741, was evidently buried at St. Gennys, 21 December 1752, as Joan, with no parents listed.[69] William was buried at St. Gennys, 18 March 1760, infant, son of John Bray.[70]

Eliminating John Brays as discussed above left John (4), baptized 30 January 1744/5, son of John (1), as candidate for marriage to Hephzibah Lillicrap at St. Juliot, 8 October 1781, and resident at Trewint in Poundstock. John (4) of Trewint in Poundstock was age sixty-four at his burial in St. Gennys, 8 February 1809; his age at death corresponds to a birth about 1745.

THE JOHN BRAY SIGNATURES

The John Bray signatures as grooms or marriage witnesses, photographed from the microfilmed original marriage registers for all the parishes in this study, were sorted by identifying personal characteristics. Signatures like those of John (4) Bray at his marriage to Hephzibah Lillicrap showed up at Marhamchurch, Launcells, and Bridgerule, and are reproduced in chronological order in figure 2. No signatures resembling the signature of John (4) Bray were discovered in the St. Gennys or the Poundstock marriage registers. Important identifying characteristics for this set of signatures are listed in the appendix.

The first two marriages listed in figure 2, Samuel Bray and Ann Mill, 18 April 1775 at Marhamchurch,[71] and Richard Mill and Elizabeth Bray, 24 March 1779 at Launcells,[72] appear to be for two siblings of John (4) —Samuel baptized 14 October 1740, and Elizabeth baptized 15 December 1751, both at St. Gennys.[73] Samuel Bray and his wife Ann (Mill) evidently lived at Marhamchurch, but had no children baptized there. Samuel was buried at Marhamchurch either 9 June 1794 or 2 November 1798.[74] No age was listed with either burial and no Samuel Bray left a probate record corresponding to either burial.

Ann (Mill) Bray was buried at Marhamchurch, 31 May 1818, age sixty-seven,[75] corresponding to a birth about 1751. Ann died intestate, and administration of

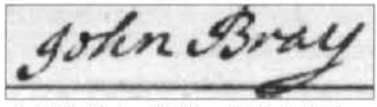
67. Samuel Bray burial, 1 November 1740, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 50, CRO.
68. Bray-Mill marriage, 18 April 1775, Marhamchurch marriage register, DDP137/1/4, p. 24, CRO. All Marhamchurch parish registers appear on FHL microfilm 1,471,787.
69. Joan Bray burial, 21 December 1752, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 53, CRO.
70. William Bray burial, 18 March 1760, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 55, CRO.
71. Bray-Mill marriage, 18 April 1775, Marhamchurch marriage register, DDP137/1/4, p. 24, CRO.
72. Mill-Bray marriage, 24 March 1779, Launcells marriage register, DDP 117/1/3, p. 23, CRO.
73. Baptism records, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, pp. 15 (Samuel), 17 (Elizabeth), CRO.
74. Samuel Bray burials, Marhamchurch parish register, DDP137/1/2, pp. 59 and 61, CRO.
75. Ann Bray burial, 31 May 1818, Marhamchurch burial register, DDP137/1/6, p. 5, CRO.

Figure 2

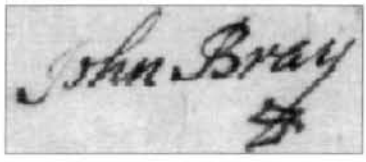
Signatures of John Bray



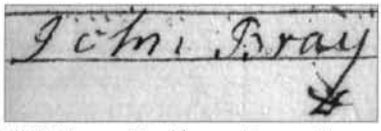
18 April 1775, Samuel Bray and Ann Mill marriage[a]



24 March 1779, Richard Mill and Elizabeth Bray marriage[b]



8 October 1781, John Bray and Hephzibah Lillicrap marriage[c]



23 May 1808, Thomas Headdon and Joanna Bray marriage[d]

Note: Top three signatures are reproduced by permission of the Cornwall Record Office. Bottom signature is reproduced by permission of the Devon Record Office. These are the best available images.

[a]Marhamchurch marriage register, DDP137/1/4, p. 24, CRO; FHL microfilm 1,471,787.

[b]Launcells marriage register, DDP 117/1/3, p. 23, CRO; FHL microfilm 1,471,875.

[c]St. Juliot marriage register, DDP94/1/2, p. 8, CRO; FHL microfilm 1,595,809.

[d]Bridgerule marriage register, 2904 A/PR4, no. 114, DRO, Exeter.

her estate was granted to Richard Mill of Bridgerule in Devon, and Elizabeth Thomas, widow, "the brother and sister of Ann Bray, late of Launcells, widow."[76] This administration shows that Ann Mill, wife of Samuel Bray, and Richard Mill, who married Elizabeth Bray, are siblings. Richard Mill was baptized 8 January 1748/9, and Ann Mill was baptized 23 June 1751, both at Marhamchurch, children of John Mill and his wife Alice.[77]

76. Ann Bray, Launcells, probate record, administration 19 June 1818, Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall, AP/B/5439, CRO; FHL microfilm 2,276,054.

77. Richard and Ann Mill baptisms, 8 January 1748/9 and 23 June 1751, respectively, Marhamchurch parish register, DDP137/1/2, pp. 7 (Richard) and 8 (Ann), CRO; FHL microfilm 1,471,787.

Richard Mill and Elizabeth (Bray) raised their family at Bridgerule in Devon; their children were baptized there and records name their parents. The middle name of one son, Samuel Bray Mill, baptized 24 July 1791, points to his mother's maiden name.[78] Elizabeth Mill was buried at Bridgerule, 4 February 1812, age sixty-one years, which age corresponds to a birth about 1751, in agreement with the Elizabeth Bray baptism at St. Gennys, 15 December 1751.[79]

Richard Mill, widower, returned to Cornwall where he married second, Hephzibah Bray, widow of John (4) Bray, his deceased brother-in-law.[80] Richard Mill was buried at Marhamchurch, 6 May 1824,[81] and his will, mentioned above, names his wife Hephzibah Mill and his surviving children, also listed in the Bridgerule baptismal register.[82]

The similarities of the John Bray signature at his 1781 marriage with those as witness to the Samuel Bray-Ann Mill marriage and to the Richard Mill-Elizabeth Bray marriage are sufficient to conclude that John (4) Bray witnessed the marriages of his siblings, Samuel and Elizabeth Bray.

THE BRAY FAMILY OF TRENCREEK

Degory Bray, father of John (1) Bray married Mary Rawle at St. Gennys, 20 August 1702;[83] John (1) Bray was their eldest son.[84] Stephen Bray, their second son, was baptized at St. Gennys, 27 July 1711.[85] He was buried at St. Gennys, 3 January 1791, age seventy-nine, of "Trencrick."[86] Degory Bray, baptized at St. Gennys, 27 April 1722, also a son of Degory Bray and Mary (Rawle),[87] married Anne Ward at St. Gennys, 2 March 1746/7.[88] Their son John, baptized at St. Gennys, 1 April 1750 (listed in table 1), was buried at St. Gennys, 7 June 1830, age eighty, of "Trencrick" (listed in table 1). As noted above, when John (4) leased Trewint in Poundstock, 24 March 1782, he was of "Kencreek" (Trencreek) in St. Gennys. Apparently this branch of the Bray family, a family that left no probate records, resided for a number of years at Trencreek.

78. Samuel Bray Mill baptism, Bridgerule parish register, 2904 A/PR1, DRO, Exeter. This register is not paginated.

79. Elizabeth Mill burial, 4 February 1812, Bridgerule parish register, 2904 A/PR1, DRO. Elizabeth Bray baptism, 15 December 1751, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 17, CRO.

80. Mill-Bray marriage, 26 August 1818, Jacobstow marriage register DDP92/1/4, p. 8, CRO; FHL microfilm 1,595,809.

81. Richard Mill burial, 6 May 1824, Marhamchurch burial register, DDP137/1/6, p. 13, CRO.

82. Richard Mill of Marhamchurch, yeoman, registered will, 17 December 1823, proved 22 May 1824, Wills Proved and Registered in the Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall 36:452, CRO; FHL microfilm 0,090,214.

83. Bray-Rawle marriage, 20 August 1702, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 26, CRO.

84. John Bray baptism, 10 October 1706, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 3, CRO.

85. Stephen Bray baptism, 27 July 1711, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 4, CRO.

86. Stephen Bray burial, 3 January 1791, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 47, CRO.

87. Degory Bray baptism, 27 April 1722, St. Gennys parish register, DDP67/1/1, p. 8, CRO.

88. Bray-Ward marriage, 2 March 1746/7, St. Gennys Bishop's Transcripts, BT67, CRO; FHL microfilm 0,090,247.

CONCLUSION

This study of the Bray families of St. Gennys was hampered at the outset by the lack of a John Bray baptism about 1745, a baptism that was needed to coincide with the age at burial of John Bray of Trewint. The discovery of a gap in the parish register, 1742–45, and the subsequent finding of his baptism in the bishop's transcripts, 30 January 1744/5, opened the way to untangling the men named John Bray at St. Gennys. However, the plethora of men named John Bray in that parish required careful study of available records to ensure that no conflicting evidence pointed to a different solution.

The evidence for this study—vital records from parish registers and bishops' transcripts, probate records, leases, church rates, and signatures—provided a logical framework for the successful analysis of these same-named families.

APPENDIX

Analysis of the signatures in figure 2 mirrors the analysis carried out earlier in a study of the Colwill families.[89] Signatures are not identical over a person's lifetime. They may change as a person ages, and they may change if a person adopts a variant style. Handwriting analysis requires the ability to distinguish personal characteristics from style characteristics. For example, John Bray employed a variant final letter y in his surname, as shown in the third and fourth examples. The fourth signature, written twenty-seven years after the third one, exhibits a different letter *n* in his given name. Personal characteristics noted in the first three signatures (written over a six-year time interval) are:

- The capital *J* in *John* is sharp at the top, and the descending stroke ends with a pronounced broad curl. Note that the first signature was written between two lines, forcing his writing to be somewhat cramped. None of the other men named John Bray used this form of the capital letter *J*.
- The letter *o* in *John* exhibits a small loop at the top.
- The capital *B* in *Bray* has a descending stroke that resembles the descending stroke in the letter *J*. Again, this style of capital letter *B* is unlike all of the other men named John Bray. In fact, John Bray who married Hephzibah wrote a very strong and well practiced signature.
- The letter *a* in *Bray* exhibits an "overshoot" at the top of the letter.
- As mentioned above, at his marriage and at his daughter's marriage, John employed a different style letter y, where the descender was finished with an embellishment.

89. Ronald A. Hill, "Identification Through Signatures: Using Complex Direct Evidence to Sort Colwills of Cornwall," *NGS Quarterly* 87 (September 1999): 185–98. Also, "William Colwill of Bridgerule: A Man With No Roots?" *NGS Quarterly* 92 (September 2004): 187–208. For a detailed discussion of style characteristics versus personal characteristics, see Wilson R. Harrison, "Handwriting," chapter 9 in *Suspect Documents: Their Scientific Examination*, 2nd Impression, with Supplement (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1966), 288–348.

Reviews

ETHNIC WORKS

My Bones Are Red: A Spiritual Journey with a Triracial People in the Americas. By Patricia Ann Waak. Published by Mercer University Press; 1400 Coleman Avenue; Macon, GA 31207; http://www.mupress.org ; 2005. ISBN 0-86554-917-6. xxxi, 158 pp. Appendix, bibliography, illustrations, index, photographs. Paperback. $18.00.

Waak's subtitle describes the exploration of her multiracial ancestry as a "spiritual journey." The unusual approach, perhaps comfortable for her as a theologian, is less so for the family historian. The first two chapters contain personal dissertations on self centering, connecting to ancestors spiritually, philosophy of life, and world religions. Waak's focus on her personal spirituality is distracting. Moreover, relying on the "feelings in her bones" and "connectedness" to assert facts she cannot prove undermines her objective.

Waak's ancestors, the Perkinses and their kith and kin (Sweat, Goings, Ivy, and others), are well known to students of Southern triracial families. Using them, she weaves an interesting tale, and parts of the book are fascinating. Sensitivities do not sidetrack her accounts, and she has no evident agenda, as others who write about these families often do. She respects her ancestors as she sees them and treats race and culture even-handedly. She sifts through conflicting data, uncovers masked evidence, and breaks down stereotypes to present her beliefs about these people and their lives.

The author views her "Redbone" forebears as counterpoints to the recent fixation on Southern Melungeons. She maintains that her historical and genealogical methods offer a more crystalized image of the people dubbed "triracial isolates." She has read the historical literature, including the groundbreaking works of Virginia DeMarce and the late Gary B. Mills. Waak analyzes these and similar writings, highlights the arguments pro and con, and aptly condenses the whole. Genealogically, the author is less successful—primarily because of undocumented assertions, clues not pursued, and unused resources. Too many "facts" about the distant past derive from personal communications with living persons and "spiritual connections" to deceased ones. Many points essential to her arguments—indeed to her lineage—go unexplored. Numerous gaps exist; statements are inadequately documented or not documented; some assertions do not match their corresponding notes. A few examples illustrate such problems:

- Waak asserts that the Reverend Joseph Willis was born in 1764 (p. 55) and cites "p. 125" of the "1790 census" of North Carolina—a source that provides no birth years. Readers who attempt to locate the unidentified county of residence will find three Joseph Willises in the state that year (Carteret, Craven, and Rutherford counties), but none is listed as nonwhite and none had free nonwhites living with them. The published 1790 enumeration, which Waak possibly consulted, shows Wilkes County and Beaufort County on page 125, but no Willis appears there. Furthermore, she asserts

(p. 57) that Joseph had moved to South Carolina before 1790.

- Waak cites census entries or undocumented personal communications to support an alleged marriage. However, a marriage cannot be assumed because two people occupied the same census household. Waak's Olive Perkins (p. 27) makes the point. Waak states that Olive "was married to Bill Dyer in 1860," citing that year's census. However, Olive appears in her parents' household as a Perkins, not a Dyer, in 1870. In 1880 she is again listed as a Perkins and single in her brother's household. The contradictory evidence undercuts the author's claim that Olive was married.
- Waak shows that many individuals owned valuable property without mentioning deeds, mortgages, grants, probates, or successions through which they acquired or disposed of it. As an example, she writes that in 1864 "Jesse appeared to own 200 acres of a St. John Jones land. His father, Jordan, acquired 100 acres under the same grant." (p. 27) Her only citation is a generic "Assessment of Property Situated in Bee County for 1864." The author does not discuss the original grant that the state of Texas presumably would have made; nor does she trace the chain of title through deeds.
- Lucinda, wife of Jesse Perkins, best illustrates how this book shortchanges genealogy. The author did not know Lucinda's maiden name. A descendant provided one (Willis), but without proof or explanation. From this questionable offering, Waak declares Lucinda a daughter of the Reverend Joseph Willis and devotes a chapter to rehashing earlier arguments and stale research on Willis's life and racial composition. With no evidence or proof of the parental relationship, and no discussion of other possibilities, her argument is unpersuasive.

This pattern of misses, lapses, and leaps to conclusion suggests two possibilities. The author may need more experience researching in original records to spot and follow clues. Or, more likely, she relied on badly documented and speculation-riddled "research notes" that have circulated for decades among researchers of the Perkins, Willis, and associated families. Whichever, the result is the same: a failure to reliably assemble and document the people involved. The author's intent—to approach her family open-mindedly and without prejudice—is a worthy model. Readers will regret that the research did not meet the same standard. *My Bones Are Red*, replete with unproved or undocumented relationships, even in the author's line of descent, would have better been called *My Bones Remain Uncertain*.

Rachal Mills Lennon, CG
Cottontown, Tennessee

Israel on the Appomattox: A Southern Experiment in Black Freedom from the 1790s Through the Civil War. By Melvin Patrick Ely. Published by Alfred A. Knopf; 1745 Broadway; New York, NY 10019; 2004. ISBN 0-679-44738-5. x, 640 pp. Illustrations, index, maps. Hardback. $35.00.

Unlike many antebellum Southerners, Richard Randolph, "wealthy son of a great Virginia planter family and brother of the future statesman John Randolph of Roanoke" (p. 6), provided in his will for his slaves' emancipation. Despite widespread hostility to free people of color Randolph took steps to manumit his slaves and, moreover, bequeathed them four hunded acres. Israel Hill, located in Prince Edward County, Virginia, became the home of Randolph's former slaves, who sometimes called themselves Israelites.

The author, professor of history and black studies at the College of William and Mary, has written an award-winning chronicle

of the lives of former Randolph slaves. As executor of her husband's will, Judith Randolph eventually freed about one hundred slaves and distributed 350 acres to them—not the 400 her husband had wanted. Hercules White, for instance, received 50 acres and settled on Israel Hill with his wife and four sons. Ely discusses such topics as kinship and marriage within the Israel Hill community. Some former Randolph slaves married one another; others married outside the community; still others maintained interracial relationships tolerated by the whites. None of the emancipated slaves took the surname Randolph.

The book reconstructs lives of former slaves using local records and other sources. Like other Americans, the Israelites sued, and were sued by, whites and blacks alike—and sometimes the free people of color won in the courtroom. Beyond owning land, some possessed a few slaves, who may—or may not—have been their relatives. On occasion free people of color did business with whites, such as the African American who hired a white contractor to build a tobacco house. Sometimes members of both races performed the same jobs for the same pay. Blacks worked in skilled positions as carpenters, brick masons, shoemakers, and wagoners, and others worked on the river. Proximity in the workplace sometimes led to close relationships between black and white workers. Some white slaveowners allowed their bondmen to hunt with guns. The author discusses criminal activity in white and black communities and concludes that blacks were treated fairly in court. For instance, the courts acquitted some slaves charged with crimes such as stabbing and other assaults upon whites. Ely opines that racial hysteria was absent in Prince Edward County and concludes "whites in Prince Edward County, and probably in much of Virginia, repeatedly showed that they could be just as fair to a black Virginian, especially a free one, as they chose to be. And at least toward free blacks, many chose to be fairer than we typically think, more often than we think" (p. 344).

Israel on the Appomattox is an excellent study of antebellum race relations in one Virginia county. Ely understands the difficulties in tracing the lives of free people of color by piecing together evidence from different sources. The author utilized a wide variety of records—the types family historians rely on to trace their ancestors, including, for instance, federal census schedules and county court records (deeds, probate papers, court cases, estate records, free black registrations, and the like). He discusses scholarly accounts dealing with free people of color in Virginia and elsewhere in the South. In addition to about 140 pages of notes, the work includes a brief list of Prince Edward County records. Anyone interested in tracing the lives of African Americans or the history of race relations in the antebellum South should read this well-written book.

Christopher A. Nordmann, Ph.D., CG
St. Louis, Missouri

FAMILY HISTORIES

Bartlett Eaves (ca.1765–ca. 1833): His Ancestors and Descendants. By Janey Eaves Joyce. Published by author; 16214 Rocky Creek; San Antonio, TX 78247-1143; 2005. 546 pp. Appendix, bibliography, illustrations, index, photographs. Softback. $30.00.

This work presents in *Register* format three generations of Bartlett Eaves's surname-line ancestors and three to four generations of his male and female descendants. The first numbered individual is William Eaves, who died 1688 in Northumberland County, Virginia, but the book follows only the line from William that produced Bartlett. Ms. Joyce's research follows Bartlett and his family from Virginia to North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas.

Producing a well-documented genealogy seems to have been one of the author's

goals. The book contains more than three thousand footnotes citing a wide variety of original and derivative sources. The author's apparent desire to avoid excessive repetition of sources, however, leads to some confusion. For example, she footnotes facts in the genealogical summaries only if they refer to sources not discussed in the biographical narrative. If, however, the facts come from a record summarized in the biographical narrative, the author gives only the name of the source—"census," for example. The citation comes later when she summarizes the census record in the narrative. Similarly, the author does not cite sources in the child list if the child has a full biography. The reverse is also true; once she cites a source for a fact, she does not always cite the source when the fact is repeated, perhaps pages later, causing the reader to hunt for sources. She could have avoided confusion by using full citations at the first occurrence and short forms thereafter. Map sources are not cited.

Narratives are primarily chronological summaries of records for individuals; conclusions require more analysis and explanation, especially when drawn from conflicting or indirect evidence. Ms. Joyce explains several identification problems in the appendix, but links them to narratives with footnotes rather than noting the problems in the texts. She frequently relies on 1850–70 federal censuses to identify children and also uses published and unpublished work of other researchers to identify children. Better records may be unavailable in these instances, but noting the sources' limitations in the text and adding appropriate qualifying language would avoid overstating the conclusions.

Caveats aside, Eaves family researchers will appreciate the wealth of source-cited data accessible by a full-name index that includes known maiden names. A careful researcher will find value in this work as a starting—not an ending—point.

Lynne M. Darrouzet, J.D., CG
Plano, Texas

Ebbets: The History and Genealogy of a New York Family. By Edward E. Steele. Published by the author; 7421 Gannon Avenue; St. Louis, MO 63130; 2005. ISBN 0-9715129-7-3. xxii, 304 pp. Appendixes, bibliography, illustrations, indexes, maps. Hardback. $45.00.

The Ebbets name is well known in the New York metropolitan area, if only because it recalls Ebbets Field and the former Brooklyn Dodgers. Because relatively little information about this family has been published, this work fills a gap in New York City genealogy.

Ebbets is not just a genealogy because it offers more than bare-bones generations of an immigrant's descendants. It weaves together genealogy, local and family history, detailed documentation, and supporting material, making good reading for those interested in old New York and its families.

The book's backbone is the carefully researched and thoroughly documented seven-generation genealogy. Beginning with the immigrant, Daniel Ebbet, who arrived around 1700, it concludes with present-day families. The subjects' lives, depicted in detail, include some with interesting stories such as John Ebbets, ship's captain and trader in the employ of John Jacob Astor; John Augustus Nicoll Ebbets, frontiersman of the 1840s and 50s; and Charles Ebbets, owner of the Brooklyn baseball club.

Styled somewhat for casual or nongenealogically oriented readers, its enhancements—photographs, maps, and various illustrations—provide flavor and tie local history details to the family's story.

The book's physical design should appeal to general readers. The layout accommodates many illustrations, and placement of endnotes after each section allows text to flow. The appendixes chart the Ebbets descendants included in the book, summarize censuses used by the author, list family plots in Greenwood Cemetery, and identify Ebbets families whom the author has not connected to the New York immigrant.

Ebbets illuminates the lives of a wide variety of intriguing and mundane characters. It also provides both casual and scholarly readers with an interesting and well-documented presentation

Richard Haberstroh, AG, CG
Oakdale, New York

GENERAL GUIDE

The Complete Idiot's Guide to Genealogy. Second edition. By Christine Rose and Kay Germain Ingalls. Published by Alpha Books; 375 Hudson Street; New York, NY 10014; 2005. ISBN 1-59257-430-0. xxvi, 357 pp. Appendixes, illustrations, index. Paperback. $18.95.

Rose and Ingalls have between them forty-seven years of certification by the Board for Certification of Genealogists. Their extensive genealogical knowledge is well suited for a how-to book on genealogy. The first edition of their *Idiot's Guide* was thorough, readable, and entertaining. The second edition builds on that work, updating where needed and adding Internet references throughout.

This book is for beginners, as it brushes broadly on topics, but it provides a foundation for readers to seek more information. Especially appealing is that the authors repeatedly point readers to more advanced materials. They also frequently remind newcomers that much genealogical research is conducted in musty repositories and not just on the omnipresent Web.

As in other *Idiot's* books, headlines are cutesy and text between subheads is brief. There is not a lot of depth on any one topic, but the authors ensure that readers understand each topic. Various breaks in the text include "Tree Tips," "Genie Jargon," "Pedigree Pitfalls," and "Lineage Lessons," which provide pearls of wisdom or definitions for specific terms. The authors provide frequent examples of research techniques to solve ancestral dilemmas.

Rose and Ingalls started their genealogical quests with the same reference as this reviewer, Gilbert Doane's *Searching for Your Ancestors*. For years it was the most available genealogy how-to in bookstores and libraries. Today myriad beginner books are available from many sources. Books need to keep up with the times, and this one is designed with short attention spans in mind. Using the table of contents or index, one can quickly jump to a needed topic, read a paragraph or two, and move on to using the tools described.

Experienced researchers may find this work too basic, but it might be just the solution for a beginner wondering how to start tracking down elusive forebears.

Elizabeth Kelley Kerstens, CG, CGL
Plymouth, Michigan

MISCELLANEOUS GUIDES

Christian Names in Local and Family History. By George Redmonds. Published by The National Archives; Kew, Richmond; Surrey, TW9 4DU, United Kingdom; 2004. ISBN 1-903365-52-X. xviii, 190 pp. Appendixes, glossary, indexes, maps, photographs. Hardback. £16.99 (shipping: £7.50).

Names are so fundamental to genealogy that we often take them for granted. Genealogists appreciate the importance of family names and have often considered their origin, use, and meaning valid topics of inquiry. Dr. Redmonds leads the reader on a fascinating historical exploration of *Christian* names in this book.

The author, a leading authority on the study of names, has researched the subject for more than fifty years. He has noted that much published information about given names does not stand up to scrutiny. He presents a great deal of data, but his central thesis is that every Christian name has a pedigree and history that may be specific to confined localities or small family clusters. Redmonds provides many interesting discussions of particular names, but he also encourages family

and local historians to ask similar questions of name use in their areas.

This book focuses almost entirely on name use in England, although it covers other topics as well. It begins with a discussion of the late medieval period, when naming customs changed fundamentally, and ends with practices in the twentieth century. In between, Redmonds covers issues of changing popularity of Christian names and how that popularity is measured, the significant and poorly studied role of godparents in the naming of children, and the uses of various classes of names.

Redmonds's scholarly but readable work provides much food for thought for family historians. The name-historian's focus is different from the genealogist's, but the subject is profoundly significant for our field. Many issues discussed in this book provide a new way of thinking about naming practices and the methods used to investigate them. This work offers specific insights that may help researchers solve English genealogy problems by looking at local records in novel ways. All family historians would benefit from understanding the background that this book provides on a fundamental form of identity. The questions Redmonds asks and the methods he uses to answer them may be applied to any locality.

Jeffrey L. Haines, CG
Rural Hall, North Carolina

Kirtland, Ohio: A Guide to Family History and Historical Sources. By Kip Sperry. Published by Religious Studies Center; Brigham Young University; Provo, Utah; 2005. Order from Covenant Communications, Inc.; Post Office Box 416; American Fork; UT 84003. ISBN 0-8425-2600-5. xiv, 227 pp. Appendixes, illustrations, maps. Hardback. $24.95 (shipping: $5.00).

As the title suggests, this book focuses on Kirtland, Ohio, but its content extends beyond the township borders. Kirtland is the centerpiece because in the early nineteenth century the rural community, then situated in northern Geauga County, was the first headquarters for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS Church).

The author is a professor of family history in the Department of Church History and Doctrine at Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, the flagship university of the LDS Church. In preparing a guide to finding family history records and resources for Kirtland and the area, Professor Sperry has produced a book of obvious interest to LDS members. But his book could be considered the definitive guide for anyone researching family history in Lake County and Geauga County.

Why two counties? In the early decades of the nineteenth century Kirtland Township was in Geauga County. In 1840 the county's northern townships, including Kirtland, voted to form a new county to be called Lake County. Consequently, Lake County records prior to 1840 are in Geauga County, and the author includes separate appendixes for records of the two counties.

The book opens with an introduction to family history research written primarily for beginners, but it reminds more-seasoned genealogists about basic research principles. It covers databases searchable on the LDS Web site and mentions in some detail numerous genealogical repositories throughout northeastern Ohio.

To help readers understand the development of Kirtland, the author devotes a chapter to the town's early history and another to historical events from 1789 to 1880. The book's largest chapter is a wide-ranging bibliography of literature about Kirtland, the history of the area, and the early development of the LDS Church.

Appendixes provide lists of computer databases and Internet sites and addresses of repositories. The volume also features maps of Kirtland and photos of the Kirtland Temple.

Wallace D. Huskonen, CG
Brecksville, Ohio

REGIONAL SOURCES

Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania: A Biographical Dictionary, vol. 3. Edited by Craig W. Horle, Joseph S. Foster, and Laurie M. Wolfe. Published by Penn State University Press; 820 North University Drive, USB 1, Suite C; University Park, PA 16802; 2005. ISBN 0-9667794-5-2. xiii, 1635 pp. Appendixes, figures, illustrations, indexes, maps, tables. Hardback. $60.00.

This latest two-part volume of the biographical dictionary of early Pennsylvania legislators project contains biographical narrative on members of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania in the years leading up to the American Revolution. (A supplement will include members whose service began as late as 1775, but whose careers belong to the post-Revolutionary War period.) In addition to excellent biographies, this volume includes essays and accounts of the sessions between 1757 and 1775. The appendixes give further context to the biographical essays.

Each entry begins with a genealogical summary on the subject's parents, spouse(s), offspring, and other family connections. For example, Joseph Galloway's entry notes that his wife's father, grandfather, stepfather, and uncle are covered elsewhere in the series, while information on his daughter and her husband appears at the end of the essay. In aggregate, these lists of interconnected individuals—like the general essays and tables—provide context for the lives of people covered in the series.

Historians will want this volume just for Joseph S. Foster's bravura biography of Benjamin Franklin, which runs to thirty-four pages of text plus six pages of notes. He begins by noting that Franklin was, "perhaps more than any other contemporary American, the embodiment of the dynamic spirit of change during the eighteenth century," and he concludes with his subject's deathbed: "For a man such as Franklin, who had spent his life communicating with wit and grace, to end his life unable to speak was a truly ironic end" (pp. 531, 564).

The volume is full of interesting anecdotes and asides. Foster's account of David Rittenhouse records the testamentary "Wish and Request" of Hannah Jacobs Rittenhouse: "to be Laid under the same Stone with my Beloved, My Lamented, My Revered Husband, in whose Society I have Experienced as much Happiness as perhaps This world is Capable of Bestowing, and with whose Dust I would wish mine to Mingle" (p. 1186).

Scott C. Steward
Boston, Massachusetts

New England Court Records: A Research Guide for Genealogists and Historians. By Diane Rapaport. Published by Quill Pen Press; 35 Corporate Drive, Fourth Floor; Burlington, MA 01803; http://www.quillpenpress.com; 2006. ISBN 101-933623-07-1. xv, 470 pp. Appendix, glossary, illustrations, index. Paperback. $29.95.

Genealogical research in New England courthouses and archives may often have been "hit and miss" experiences. Until now, researchers have had no comprehensive guide to the area's wide variety of court record repositories.

Organized into three parts, this book first presents a reader-friendly review of the American legal system and of state and federal courts in New England. For each of the six states, part 2 presents outlines of holdings, court history timelines, and lists of current courts and county and state repositories. Part 3 provides fascinating examples of records. In detailed descriptions of what records remain and where they are, Rapaport includes digital and electronic sources on CDs and the Internet. The appendix includes a glossary of legal terms, a bibliography, and contact information for the repositories. Rapaport has wisely

addressed the familiar challenge of ever-changing contact information by offering free online updates of *New England Court Records*, including new listings, at the publisher's Web site.

All who research in New England records should study this landmark publication. Initially it will educate them; later it will serve as a reference tool.

Sandra MacLean Clunies, CG
Derwood, Maryland

The Pilgrim Migration: Immigrants to Plymouth Colony, 1620–1633. By Robert Charles Anderson. Published by The New England Historic Genealogical Society; 2004. Order from New England Historic Genealogical Society Sales Department; Post Office Box 5089; Framingham, MA 01701; http://www.newenglandancestors.org. ISBN 0-88082-181-7. lxviii, 638 pp. Indexes. Hardback. $49.95.

This work describes the lives of those who came to Plymouth Colony during its earliest days. Not a story-form narrative of the early New England community, it is a research compendium of sketches providing information on 216 individuals with additional details regarding spouses and children. *The Pilgrim Migration* is an updated sequel to *The Great Migration Begins: Immigrants to New England, 1620–1633* (1995), narrowed to include only Plymouth Colony residents.

A cursory review of the book might tempt one to think that the sketches in *The Pilgrim Migration* provide little information. For instance, the author devotes a mere four pages to William Bradford, one of the best-known residents of Plymouth Colony. Close examination, however, reveals much summarized detail. One of the values of *The Pilgrim Migration* is its ample reference to sources used, which could provide additional detail about the colonists' lives.

The sketches vary in the amount and type of information they provide. Nevertheless, many include the following information: old world origin, date of migration and the name of the ship traveled on, places lived after Plymouth (called "removes," with date of the move), occupation, church membership, whether a freeman, educational level, public offices held, estate information, birth, death, and marriage dates, spousal information, and the names of the children with some information on them. Also included are a comments section and bibliographic notes on each colonist.

Of equal importance to sketches are introductory sections that describe the book's scope; the methods to construct a sketch, perform chronological analyses, and provide documentation and citations; the sources researched; and how to best use the book. Although the sketches are arranged alphabetically, the book includes indexes of surnames and first names.

For beginning researchers in early New England history, *The Pilgrim Migration* is a marvelous introductory text. More experienced researchers should view it as an important source of information on early Plymouth Colony families.

Charles E. Healy, PH.D.
Creve Coeur, Missouri

Wilkes County (Washington), Georgia: Newspaper Abstracts 1810–1815, volume 2. Abstracted by Faye Stone Poss. Published by the author; 2767 Centerville Rosebud Road; Snellville, GA 30039-5517; 2005. ISBN 0-9716808-4-1. xii, 307 pp. Indexes, maps. Hardcover. $30.00.

Faye Stone Poss is an experienced compiler familiar with the time period and the location of her subject. The Washington, Georgia, newspaper includes vital facts about local citizens and interesting news from a wide area. The combination creates a readable collection of newspaper abstracts.

Wilkes County, created in 1777 from ceded Creek Indian land, eventually became the counties of Clarke, Elbert, Glascock, Greene, Hart, Lincoln, Madison, McDuffie, Oglethorpe, Taliaferro, and Warren.

Legal notices from several of them were published in the Wilkes newspaper. Because the Wilkes County seat was an important frontier crossroads, its newspaper coverage extended beyond the locality, including items from the Carolinas, for example.

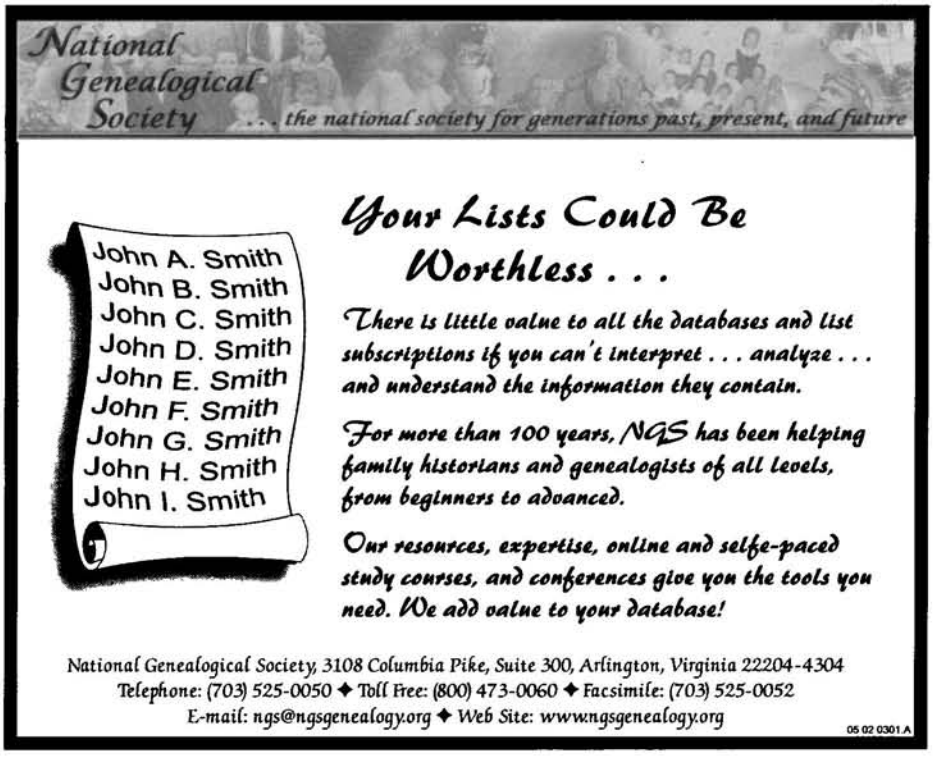
The publication covers more than legal notices and announcements of births, weddings, and deaths. The abstractor included articles to provide insight into citizens' lifestyles, occupations, opinions, and humor. Researchers may welcome mention of an ancestor, even in the dullest compilation, but this varied collection will entertain and interest all readers.

Politics at all governmental levels touched the lives of the paper's readers. Poss's abstracts include published legislative acts. The earliest, an act to provide for the 1810 census, is a painful reminder that this Georgia enumeration is not available today.

This volume's time period includes the Creek Indian Wars of 1812 and 1813, in which the Georgia militia participated. Abstracted letters from officers describe battles that involved local men. The compiler has provided three indexes: personal name, slaves with their owners' names, and subject/place.

This book was published with financial help from the Robert J. Taylor Jr. Foundation. Administered by the Georgia Genealogical Society and the Georgia Archives, the foundation was formed to ensure preservation of Georgia genealogical information. Poss's abstracts do just that.

Joye Lett Quinn, CG
Stone Mountain, Georgia



About Your Society...

PURPOSE: The National Genealogical Society, a non-profit organization founded in 1903 is the premier national society for the beginner to the most advanced family historian. NGS serves its members by providing genealogical skill development through education, information, publications, research assistance, and networking opportunities; establishing and promoting the highest standards of ethical research principles and scholarly practices; establishing important links with other groups worldwide; providing depth and breadth of knowledge and opportunities for members; creating programs to increase public awareness of opportunities to discover family history; and promoting interest in the fascinating field of genealogy and family history.

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Members receive the ***NGS Quarterly*** and the ***NGS NewsMagazine*** and are entitled to the other society services described herein. Libraries, societies, and other groups may subscribe to these publications for $50.00 per year.

MEETINGS: The society holds many events. Both the Society's annual conference, the "Conference in the States" and the NGS GENTECH conference, which has a more technical focus, foster education and and fellowship. Sites alternate among different regions of the nation. Locations and dates are widely announced in genealogical literature for two or more years in advance. Periodically, the society sponsors regional seminars and workshops on subjects of genealogical interest. Please consult the current ***NGS Newsmagazine*** or the NGS Web site for details.

TAX-EXEMPT STATUS: The society is a tax-exempt organization within the meaning of Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986. Donations of funds, books, or other property to the society are deductible contributions on federal income-tax returns; testamentary bequests are likewise deductible for purposes of federal and State of Virginia estate-tax returns. The proper form of the legacy is as follows: "I give and bequeath to the National Genealogical Society of Arlington, Virginia, the sum of . . ."

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BOOK COLLECTION: The National Genealogical Society's circulating book collection is held by the St. Louis County Library in St. Louis, Missouri. Books in the circulating collection listed in the NGS on-line catalog are available for interlibrary loan. Instructions are available on the NGS Web site. A keyword search on "National Genealogical Society" in the St. Louis County Library will provide a list of all books in the National Genealogical Society book collection.

JOURNAL: Since 1912, the ***National Genealogical Society Quarterly*** has published material on all parts of the nation and many ethnic groups including compiled genealogies; case studies; essays on new methodology and little-known resources; critical reviews of current books; and unpublished source materials from public, private, and family archives. Issued each March, June, September, and December. Correspondence regarding ***Quarterly*** articles or manuscript submissions should be sent to the editors at the address shown on the title page.

NEWSMAGAZINE: Begun in 1975, the ***NGS NewsMagazine*** is issued quarterly; it contains current accounts of significant genealogical happenings and member activities, and short instructional articles relating to research repositories, sources and techniques. Manuscripts and correspondence regarding the ***NGS NewsMagazine*** should be addressed to the NewsMagazine editor at society headquarters.

BOOKSTORE: The Society carries a wide variety of current titles and periodically issues special monographs of genealogical interest—advertising these in both the ***Quarterly*** and the ***NewsMagazine***, as well as online and through member mailings. Society members are entitled to a discount on all special publications sold through the regular catalog.

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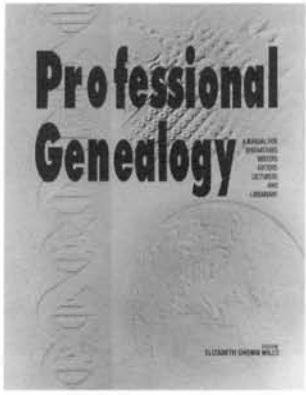
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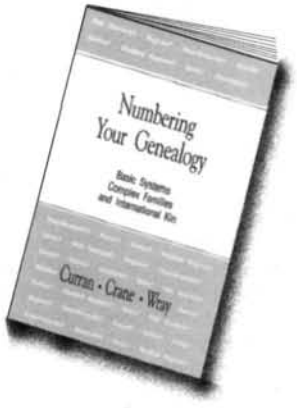
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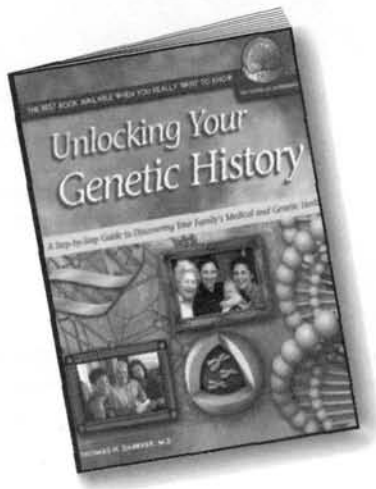


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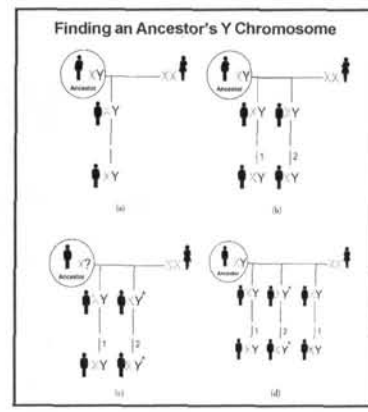
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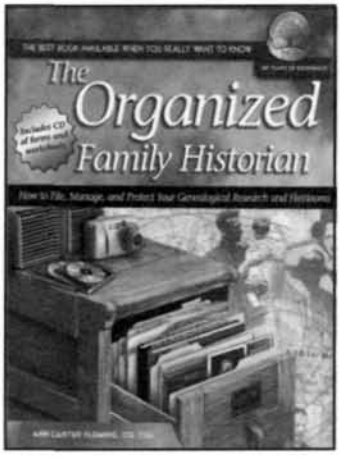
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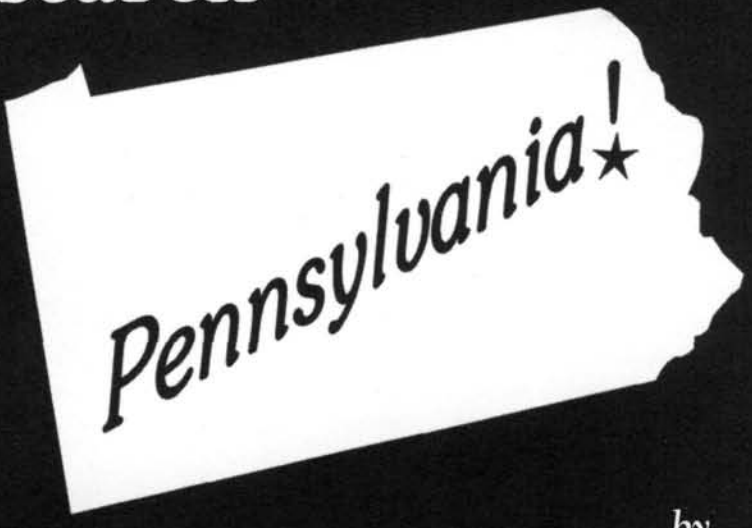
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Volume 94, No. 4, December 2006

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Faces of America

On the Cover:

TAOYATEDUTA (HIS RED NATION), KNOWN AS CHIEF LITTLE CROW (1818–1863)

In paperless worlds oral history may provide the only conduit to the past. For example, histories of the Mdewakanton Dakota leader on the cover rely extensively on personal interviews to establish the most basic genealogical and historical facts. Even published biographies of this man are based on spoken information.

At the Nebraska State Historical Society, this photograph is labeled "Photo of a young (20s–30s) Native American" and on the back "Sioux (Mdewakanton), the hawk that hunts walking." Despite this, many other authorities have identified this as a photo of Dakota chief Little Crow on a visit to Washington, D.C., in 1858.[1]

In this issue, Dawn Stricklin draws on oral history practices in the Lakota culture. By taking an example of a family with roots predating European contact and applying oral history, winter counts, and post-contact annual censuses, she demonstrates the reliability of verbally transmitted information. Her subject, John Little Crow, was a member of the Teton division of the Lakota tribe. The origin of his name was completely different from that of Dakota chief Little Crow.

As a young man, Taoyateduta earned a reputation as a fearless fighter with great ambition. As a tribal chief, he retaliated against his would-be assassin half brothers, banishing them and later having them killed. His father was Wakinyantanka (Big Thunder), son of Cetanwakanmani (He Who Walks Pursuing a Hawk). His mother was Mniokadawin (Planting in Water). We know these things from oral history.

Conventional written history concludes the story of Taoyateduta's life. On 3 July 1863, he was picking raspberries with his teenaged son, Wowinape (Place of Refuge or Comes In Sight). Nathan Lamson, a local landowner, shot Little Crow hoping for the off-reservation bounty.[2] Wowinape survived and raised six children, of whom son Jesse reclaimed his grandfather's scalp and bones, found hanging in a Minnesota museum, and buried them in 1971.[3]

Credits:

Photograph RG1227.PH 14-5, Eli Ricker Collection, Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Nebraska. Ms. Stricklin thanks Linda Hein, NSHS reference assistant, for locating the photograph.

1. Gary Clayton Anderson, *Little Crow: Spokesman for the Sioux* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1986), 99. The author retrieved this same photograph from the National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian Institution.

2. Ibid., 167, 178.

3. Rev. Edward D. Neill, *History of Dakota County and the City of Hastings* (Minneapolis: North Star Publishing Co., 1881), 192-93. Also, gravestone inscription, near Flandreau, South Dakota, "Taoyateduta, known as Chief Little Crow of the Mdewakantons. Born 1818. Died July 3, 1863. Buried Sept. 27, 1971. 'Tosta nici matekte – Therefore I'll die with you.' " Gravestone photographed by Mark Steil, Minnesota Public Radio, http://news.minnesota.publicradio.org/features/200209/23_steilm_1862-m/littlecrow.shtml accessed 14 November 2006.

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A Journal for Today's Family Historian

VOLUME 94
NUMBER 4
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FEATURE ARTICLES

Namesakes, Name Changes, and Conflicting Evidence: The Search for the Mother of John Little Crow
Dawn C. Stricklin 245

Validating Inferences from Records: Jane Baker and Thomas Burnett of Kingston, Ontario
Brenda Dougall Merriman, CG, CGL 259

Uncovering Ancestors by Deduction: The Husbands and Parents of Eleanor (née Medley) (Tureman) (Crow) Overton
Thomas W. Jones, Ph.D., CG, CGL 287

Molly Welsh: Alleged Grandmother of Benjamin Banneker
George Ely Russell, CG, FNGS, FASG 305

2006 WINNER: FAMILY HISTORY WRITING CONTEST

The Life and Times of English Immigrant Priscilla (née Clark) (Pickett) (Pickett) Wilford
Richard Lee Tolman, Ph.D. 267

COMMUNICATIONS 242

EDITORS' CORNER
Old "Genie" in a New Bottle 243

NGS ADMINISTRATION 244

SIDELIGHT
Scope of the *NGS Quarterly*'s Predecessor 314

ANNUAL TABLE OF CONTENTS 317

ANNUAL INDEX 321

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EDITORS' CORNER

Old "Genie" in a New Bottle

"Kinship determination," a phrase of recent vintage, appears primarily in two contexts: (1) the purpose for genealogical DNA testing; and (2) a new Board for Certification of Genealogists application requirement. The term's underlying concept—long addressed by canon, civil, common, and statute law—is ancient. Moreover, "kinship determination" defines the intent of genealogical research and differentiates it from related fields. Biography, community studies, and social history, for example, do not emphasize intergenerational relationships.

"Genealogy" has a specific definition—an account of descent from an ancestor—but people who call themselves "genealogists" engage in varied activities. Their interests, covering many centuries, extend to all ethnic, linguistic, and religious groups, geographic areas, socioeconomic strata, and levels of fame and infamy. Many reconstruct only their own or their in-laws' ancestry; others undertake research for clients. Genealogists may trace a progenitor's descendants or develop pedigrees or lineages. Some transcribe, abstract, and index original records. Others study ancestral communities, residences, historical events and eras, military units, religious or ethnic groups, and health issues. Genealogists compile, share, write, preserve, teach, publish, market, and disseminate.

Regardless of activity and interest, all genealogists uncover and record transgenerational relationships—usually genetic and biological but also adoptive, marital, legal, and social. Support of those relationships usually is documentary, but it may include oral history, DNA, and artifacts like grave markers, photographs, quilts, and samplers. Depending on availability and reliability of sources, the kinship-determination process may be simple or complex. It uses evidentiary principles, but methodology, like evidence and content, varies from case to case.

The present issue—remarkable in its diversity—depicts both genealogy's kinship-determination focus and its breadth. Dawn Stricklin, using oral history and uncommon documentary sources, explains complex Sioux kinships that stymied nineteenth-century federal agents. Brenda Merriman untangles kinship implications of three seemingly straightforward Canadian marriage records. George Russell brings facts to bear on a famous African American's unfactual published lineage. Richard Tolman documents numerous kinship links of an English Mormon convert whose life ended tragically in the western United States. The four articles vary greatly in setting, ethnic focus, problems, sources, and methodology. Each researcher, however, determined kinship across generations—a quintessentially genealogical endeavor.

"Kinship determination" is a relatively new term. Nonetheless, people since the beginning of humankind have been declaring who is and is not kin—to establish clan or tribal membership, share land and resources, and demonstrate descent from important ancestors. Today's terminology for an age-old concept brings with it standards and technology, helping genealogists uncover relationships more reliably than ever before.

—Thomas W. Jones
and Melinde Lutz Sanborn
NGSQ, DECEMBER 2006

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Namesakes, Name Changes, and Conflicting Evidence: The Search for the Mother of John Little Crow

By Dawn C. Stricklin

Three brothers with the same name, many women called "mother," and few written records to sort them out. This was typical of nineteenth century Sioux tribes. On the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, John Little Crow is a case in point.

In mainstream American society, life without written documentation seems light years distant, but for the Oglala Sioux and many other western tribes, that world existed a mere one hundred and twenty years ago. Data regarding individual tribal members before continuous European-American contact is rare, except from oral history and winter counts.

Guided by an understanding of cultural differences, techniques for tracing individuals despite such circumstances can be found using both records unique to reservation tribes and the Genealogical Proof Standard. Familial, intimate, and not so intimate connections enable reconstruction of individual lives passed in large part without the benefits, or the woes, of paper documentation.

PRINCIPLES FOR OGLALA SIOUX RESEARCH

The Sioux comprise three related but linguistically distinct tribes: Dakota Sioux (Santee), Nakota Sioux (Yankton), and Lakota Sioux (Teton).[1] The Lakota Sioux are further divided into seven divisions, or tribes, one of the largest being the Oglala, now located at the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in western South Dakota.[2] This tribe's culture emphasized the importance of each individual in the *tiyospaye*, or community, a significance reflected in the tribe's naming patterns and kinship system.

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1. Oglala Lakota College, *Hecetu Yelo: The Way It Is, Student Manual* (Kyle, S.D.: Oglala Lakota College, 1989), 1–5. The word Sioux as used today is really a corruption of the Winnebago word *Nadowe-is-iw-ug*, to describe the tribes west of them, with *Sioux* meaning snake or enemy.

2. Legally called the Oglala Sioux Tribe of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, tribal members still refer to themselves by the traditional name of Oglala Lakota. While every Oglala is a Lakota, not every Lakota is an Oglala. To avoid confusion, only the term Oglala is used here. The Pine Ridge Indian Agency has preserved reservation textual records dating from 1871, including correspondence and annuity and allotment benefits. See National Archives (NA) microfilm publications M1229 and M1282.

Oglala research in particular, and Sioux research in general, presents many special circumstances:

- *The Oglala Sioux had, and have, a primarily oral culture.* Until the late 1800s, the Sioux tribes had no written language, relying instead on pictographs to record each year. Called winter counts, these pictographs symbolized what the artist felt was the year's most influential event.[3] Several people kept winter counts and their pictographs did not always agree. Winter counts must be combined with oral history because most life events are handed down orally.
- *Name changes occurred throughout a person's lifetime.* An individual's name might change several times from childhood to old age.[4] An Oglala might also be known by several names. For example, many Sioux had *Winkte* names, often given to children as powerful deterrents to evil.[5] Other names were imposed after 1897, when the Sioux were first enumerated with English given and family names. Assigned surnames derived either from the head of household (usually the mother) or from the father, whether or not he was in the household.
- *Birth, marriage, and death dates were often tied to a particular event or a winter count.* Because the Oglala had no written records, they often tied ages and birth years to an event during a given year. This year was permanently engraved in the minds of some, but others forgot as they aged or failed to notice when others said their birth occurred. The information could also be misinterpreted.[6]
- *Traditional Oglala marriage and divorce rites produced no written records, even when the tribe was confined to reservations.* Some reservation agents tried to institute "legal" marriages with licenses and certificates.[7] These formats were alien to Lakota culture. Although white society saw couples as unmarried, tribal members considered traditional marriage rites valid. Many used only traditional rites and never registered their marriages or divorces with the agency.
- *Differences in language between the Oglala and their American agents caused miscommunication.* Even though the agent hired official interpreters, often mixed-bloods, mistranslations were inevitable.[8] In several important instances no words existed to express concepts that were not common to both cultures.

3. There are many surviving winter counts. Published ones include James R. Walker, "The No Ears, Short Man, and Iron Crow Winter Counts" in *Lakota Society*, Raymond J. DeMallie, ed. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992); S. J. Carol, *Red Horse Owner's Winter Count* (Martin, S.D.: Booster Pub. Co., 1992); and Robert T. Grange, "The Garnier Oglala Winter Count," *Plains Anthropologist* 8 (May 1963): 77–79.

4. R. Eli Paul, ed., "He Dog" interview in *The Nebraska Indian Wars Reader 1865–1877* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 185–88. Reasons for name changes included physical characteristics, an act of bravery, or to honor another's memory. Chief Crazy Horse's childhood name was Curly for his wavy hair; at age ten he was called His Horse On Sight; at about eighteen, his father (also named Crazy Horse) gave his name to his son to honor him for bravery in battle after which the father went by the nickname Worm.

5. Marla N. Powers, "Menstruation and Reproduction: An Oglala Case," *Signs* 6 (Autumn 1980): 54–65.

6. The Oglala Sioux were enumerated in tribal census records almost every year, not once every ten years, increasing opportunities for errors of all kinds, including translation errors.

7. Walker, "The No Ears, Short Man, and Iron Crow Winter Counts" in *Lakota Society*, 150. The 1886 Short Man winter count says the Pine Ridge Agency "made a law against seducing women."

8. Catherine Price, "Lakotas and Euroamericans: Contrasted Concepts of 'Chieftanship' and Decision-Making Authority," *Ethnohistory* 41 (Summer 1994): 447–63.

- *Agency personnel often misunderstood Oglala kinship patterns.* The Oglala culture included an elaborate kinship system. Knowing its terminology and correctly translating it into the English language and American thought patterns are essential for modern research.

ORAL TRADITION

During the summer of 1998, Oglala elder Goldie Little Crow verbally recounted that she was the daughter of John and Anna (Trouble in Front) Little Crow and how four eagles were flying around in the air above her on the day she was born. Although her paternal grandparents died while she was a child, she affirmed, without hesitation, that their names were Reuben Little Crow and Olive Nellie Red Eagle.[9] Goldie was born on 4 August 1938 and was raised in a small community of traditional families on the eastern side of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation called Yellow Bear Camp.[10] A full-blood tribal member, she was a fluent speaker of the Oglala Sioux language and, following tradition, never wrote about the history of her relatives. Instead, family information was committed to memory and passed on orally, according to Oglala custom.[11]

BACKGROUND

According to his death certificate, John Little Crow was born on 15 August 1890 in South Dakota, the son of Reuben Little Crow and Olive Red Eagle.[12] In 1900, 1910, and 1920 John lived in the household of his mother and her husbands on part of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in Bennett County, South Dakota.[13] His surviving family corroborates these facts.

John Little Crow's license to marry Anna Trouble in Front provides a different name for his mother. According to the license, John's parents were

9. Interviews with the late Goldie Lucy Little Crow of Rushville, Neb., by Dawn Stricklin, June–August 1998. Goldie relied on the oral history method of passing on information to relatives. During the interviews, she was surrounded by several children and grandchildren, who also did not record in writing any information disclosed. As both an outsider to the culture and Goldie's daughter-in-law, this author was permitted to take notes during the interviews, but committed other information to memory out of respect for the informant.

10. Goldie Little Crow birth certificate, no. 481134, South Dakota Department of Health, Pierre. Joe Starita, *The Dull Knifes of Pine Ridge: A Lakota Odyssey* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995), 135–36. According to Starita and his Dull Knife informants, Yellow Bear Camp was a refuge for Oglala who wanted to continue living a traditional lifestyle. Despite their confinement within the boundaries of the reservation, the isolation of this community allowed the residents to live and raise their children in a manner similar to the pre-reservation era. As a result, the inhabitants of Yellow Bear Camp were introduced into the dominant culture at a slower pace than other communities on the reservation.

11. Interviews with the late Goldie Lucy Little Crow of Rushville, Neb., by Dawn Stricklin, June–August 1998.

12. John Little Crow death certificate, no. 140–70–004168, South Dakota Department of Health, Pierre.

13. Lone Man household, 1900 U.S. census, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, S.D., Indian population schedule, Enumeration District (ED) 46E, sheet 6B, dwelling 1192, family 1268; NA microfilm publication T623, roll 1556. Charles Brown Cloud household, 1910 U.S. census, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, S.D., Indian pop. sch., Pass Creek District, ED 118, sheet 22B, dwell./fam. 222; NA microfilm T624, roll 1475. Charles Brown Cloud household, 1920 U.S. census, Bennett Co., S.D., pop. sch., Township 38, Range 40, ED 6, sheet 5A, dwell./fam. 5; NA microfilm T625, roll 1714.

Little Crow and Many Camps.[14] An online source yields further contradictory information—that John Little Crow was the son of Red Eagle and Lone Man.[15] Another online source names Little Crow and Many Camps but not John.[16]

Who was John Little Crow's mother? Was it Red Eagle or Many Camps? Are these different names for the same woman? Resolving this conflict of direct evidences required a year-by-year search in Pine Ridge Agency Indian censuses and other federal records pertaining to the tribe.

THE MOTHERS OF JOHN LITTLE CROW

Olive Red Eagle

Although no woman named *Olive Red Eagle* appears in any Pine Ridge Indian census record, *Anna Red Eagle* and *Red Eagle* were enumerated in the Medicine Root and Pass Creek districts on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. On 10 July 1889, Red Eagle, also called Mrs. Hump, married Little Crow on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.[17] Red Eagle had at least two children from prior marriages.[18] Her first marriage, to a man named Hump, ended in his death.[19] In 1886 Red Eagle (Mrs. Hump) had a son John, age eight.[20] John's age was likely an enumerator's mistake, because the following year Mrs. Hump had a son John, age three.[21] In 1888, Mrs. Hump's son John was four.[22]

The 1890 Pine Ridge Indian census lists only one head of household named Little Crow, with his wife Hump, a daughter, and a six-year-old son John—apparently the son from his wife's prior marriage.[23] Although the reservation's 1891 census provides only a population summary,[24] its 1892 census reveals

14. Little Crow-Trouble in Front marriage license, no. 1536, 1 July 1920, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pine Ridge Agency Marriage Licenses; microfilm 1,014,637, item 14, Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City.

15. John Little Crow entry, submission AF 93–106258, "Ancestral File," *FamilySearch* (http://www.familysearch.org/Eng/Search/frameset_search.asp). Although the submitter, Carl Waln, is listed with a Rosebud, South Dakota, address, his information was extracted from one of the Pine Ridge Indian census rolls. Due to a misunderstanding of that information, Lone Man is incorrectly reported as father of both Julia Red Eagle and John Little Crow, all claimed as born in Pass Creek district.

16. Little Crow entry, in Mike Stevens, *Tiyospaye: An Oglala Genealogy Resource* (http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~mikestevens/SURNAMES/i0018648.htm#s935 : accessed 18 November 2006).

17. Little Crow–Red Eagle marriage, 10 July 1889, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pine Ridge Agency Marriage Register; FHL microfilm 1,014,637, item 1. The record identifies the bride as both Red Eagle and Mrs. Hump.

18. Mrs. Hump household, 1888 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 363, frame 409.

19. Anna Red Eagle household, 1930 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 376, frame 437. In this census, Red Eagle is listed as widowed three times.

20. Mrs. Hump household, 1886 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 362, frame 511. Also in the household was her daughter, twelve-year-old Julia.

21. Mrs. Hump household, 1887 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 363, frame 215.

22. Mrs. Hump household, 1888 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940.

23. Little Crow household, 1890 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Medicine Root District; NA microfilm M595, roll 364, frame 149.

24. 1891 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 364.

that Little Crow and Red Eagle had separated. Red Eagle headed a household containing her son Loves War, age two.[25] That same year Little Crow, married to Many Camps, was living with her and her mother, Comes Behind.[26] John, who should have been eight was not listed and apparently had died.

In 1893 Loves War was the only child in Red Eagle's household.[27] Other family members came and went from 1894 through 1897, and Loves War aged from four to six.[28] By 1897 Red Eagle had remarried, to Lone Man.[29]

In 1898 Red Eagle's household remained unchanged, except that a boy named John Little Crow, aged seven, replaced Loves War.[30] The name change from Loves War to John Little Crow typified name changes all over the reservation. This 1898 Indian census was the first in which enumerators imposed English first names and assigned surnames, usually based on the father or mother's name or on the head of household's name. Previously, enumerators recorded the Indian names of individual Oglalas. The change from Loves War to John Little Crow suggests that the boy's father was Reuben Little Crow, the only Little Crow adult on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. If John's father was Lone Man as reported by one online submitter, then in 1898 John should have been assigned Lone Man as a surname. Further, the 1899 Indian census specified that John Little Crow was Lone Man's stepson.[31]

The two John Little Crows would not have been confused in the community. They were considered brothers,[32] and the family called Red Eagle's son Loves War, or Zuya Terila, while calling the son of Many Camps by his traditional Oglala name, Little Bear or Mato Ciqala.[33]

25. Red Eagle household, 1892 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 364, frame 417.

26. Little Crow household, 1892 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 364, frame 425.

27. Red Eagle household, 1893 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 365, frame 216.

28. Red Eagle household, 1894 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 366, frame 254. Red Eagle #2 household, 1895 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 366, frame 463. Red Eagle household, 1896 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Medicine Root district; NA microfilm M595, roll 367, frame 90. Don Southerton, "James R. Walker's Campaign Against Tuberculosis on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation," *South Dakota History* 34, no. 2 (2004): 107–26. Several children died in this family at a time when the infant mortality rate on the reservation was extremely high due to communicable diseases. Tuberculosis continued to decimate the population into the first half of the twentieth century.

29. Lone Man household, 1897 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 367, frame 281.

30. Lone Man household, 1898 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Medicine Root district; NA microfilm M595, roll 367, frame 475.

31. Lone Man household, 1899 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Medicine Root district; NA microfilm M595, roll 367, frame 621.

32. Oglala Lakota College, *Hecetu Yelo: The Way It Is, Student Manual.* DeMallie, ed., "Oglala Kinship Terms" in *Lakota Society*, 46–50. The Oglala language has no word for "half brother" or "half sister." According to Oglala kinship terminology, one is either a brother or sister or not.

33. Little Crow household, 1900 U.S. census, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, S.D., Indian pop. sch., ED 46F, sheet 151A, dwell. 1433, fam. 1519; NA microfilm T623, roll 1556.

In 1904 Lone Man and Red Eagle were still married and residing in Pass Creek District,[34] but by 1905 Lone Man apparently had died.[35] By 1907 Red Eagle had remarried, this time to Charles Brown Cloud.[36]

Many Camps

Many Camps, called Louise in 1930 and 1920, married Reuben Little Crow about 1891–92 on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.[37] Many Camps first appears in the 1890 census, with her mother Run and Left Her, in an area called Skokpaya.[38] From 1892 through 1896 [Reuben] Little Crow is listed with Many Camps and his mother-in-law, Comes Behind aka Run and Left Her, and others.[39]

In July, shortly after the 1896 enumeration, Many Camps gave birth to a son John. The birth record gives no parents' names but places the birth in Pass Creek District, where Little Crow and Many Camps lived.[40] No other Little Crow lived in Pass Creek District at the time.[41]

John Little Crow, son of Little Crow and Many Camps, lived in his parents' household until his death in Pass Creek District on 8 October 1900.[42] When the 1904 census of Pine Ridge was taken, Little Crow and Many Camps had three children in their household—Bessie, Martha, and Sydney.[43]

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34. Loneman household, 1904 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Pass Creek district; NA microfilm M595, roll 369, frame 141.

35. Red-eagle household, 1905 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Pass Creek district; NA microfilm M595, roll 369, frame 286.

36. Charles Brown-cloud household, 1907 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Pass Creek district; NA microfilm M595, roll 369, frame 450.

37. Reuben Little Crow household, 1930 U.S. census, Bennett Co., S.D., pop. sch., Township 39, Range 40, ED 4-38, sheet 1A, dwell. 8, fam. 12; NA microfilm T626, roll 2218. Ruben Little Crow household, 1920 U.S. census, Bennett Co., S.D., pop. sch., Township 38, Range 40, ED 6, sheet 43A, dwell. 4, fam. 6; NA microfilm T625, roll 1714. No marriage record has been found.

38. Many Camps household, 1890 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Medicine Root district; NA microfilm M595, roll 364, frame 149. Thomas R. Buecker and R. Eli Paul, *The Crazy Horse Surrender Ledger* (Lincoln: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1994), x. The Pine Ridge Indian Reservation Oglala were divided by the agents into administrative units based either on the traditional band's name or the chief present in that community. In 1890 thirty households were enumerated in the Skokpaya administrative area, now known as Skokpaya or Skokpa. It is also called Yellow Bear, after the chief present during the enumeration. Skokpaya is now in Bennett Co., S.D., where Little Crow lived until his death.

39. Little Crow household, 1892 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 364, frame 425. The 1891 Pine Ridge census provides only a population summary.

40. John Little Crow birth record, entry no. 120, Pine Ridge Agency Births and Deaths; FHL microfilm 1,014,636.

41. Red Eagle household, 1896 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Medicine Root district.

42. Little Crow household, 1897 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 367, frame 337. Little Crow household, 1898 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 367, frame 489. Little Crow household, 1899 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Pass Creek district; NA microfilm M595, roll 367, frame 637. John Little Crow death record, entry no. 5941, Pine Ridge Agency Births and Deaths; FHL microfilm 1,014,636.

43. Littlecrow household, 1904 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Pass Creek district; NA microfilm M595, roll 369, frame 126.

MATCHING MOTHERS

John, the son of Red Eagle and Little Crow, was listed in the household of his mother and her husbands in federal censuses through 1920, but Indian censuses from 1915 until 1920 list him as head of his own household, directly below that of Little Crow and Many Camps. To determine who his mother was, a year-by-year investigation in Indian censuses from 1886 to 1930 was conducted. Red Eagle and Little Crow had children named John with other spouses, and together they had a son by the same name. That John Little Crow, the subject of this article, was the only child of the name to survive to marry and have children of his own.

Until 1897 the Oglala Sioux of Pine Ridge sustained age-old naming traditions. Agency employees relied on information from immediate relatives to distinguish among individuals with the same name. They sometimes added a number at the end of identical names. Red Eagle, for example, often appeared in the Indian censuses as "Red Eagle #2," to distinguish her from another Red Eagle living nearby. After 1897 census enumerators at the Pine Ridge Agency recorded English names for the Oglala.

The Pine Ridge Agency recorded Little Crow and Red Eagle's marriage, but formal civil or church marriages were not the norm.[44] In 1886 Pine Ridge agent James M. Bell began actively promoting civil marriages to prevent Oglala men from "engaging in temporary liaisons" with women.[45] This strategy to stop what he defined as sexual dalliances, proved ineffective. Sparsely recorded Pine Ridge marriage entries show that the Oglala preferred their own marriage system.[46] Of Red Eagle's four known marriages, only one—to Little Crow—was officially recorded.[47] Although legal in the eyes of the Pine Ridge agent, it lasted less than two years, in contrast to her traditional marriages, which ended when her other three husbands each died.[48]

On 1 July 1920 John Little Crow and Anna Trouble in Front applied for a marriage license. It incorrectly names Many Camps as John's mother. The recording superintendent may have received parental information from an informant other than John or may have failed to understand that there is no Oglala word for a stepparent.[49]

44. Little Crow-Red Eagle (Mrs. Hump) marriage, 10 July 1889, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pine Ridge Agency Marriage Register.

45. Walker, "The No Ears, Short Man, and Iron Crow Winter Counts" in *Lakota Society*, 150.

46. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pine Ridge Agency Marriage Register; FHL microfilm 1,014,637, item 1.

47. Little Crow-Red Eagle (Mrs. Hump) marriage, 10 July 1889, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pine Ridge Agency Marriage Register.

48. Interviews with the late Goldie Lucy Little Crow of Rushville, Neb., by Dawn Stricklin, June–August 1998.

49. James R. Walker, "Oglala Kinship Terms," *American Anthropologist*, n.s., 16 (January–March 1914): 96–109. This article, which contains a transcription of text written by Oglala Thomas Tyon, states that although there is an Oglala word for stepchildren—*Tawagan*—the kinship term that Oglala stepchildren use for their stepfather would be Ate, or father. Although Tyon's text does not discuss the kinship term used for a stepmother, it is reasonable to conclude that it would be *Ina*, or mother. If different terms were used for stepfather and stepmother, they should have been recorded by Walker.

Table 1

John Little Crow's Relationships

NAME OF RELATIVE	LAKOTA NAME/LAKOTA RELATIONSHIP	MODERN EQUIVALENT IN THIS CASE
[Reuben] Little Crow	Ate (Father)	Father
Red Eagle	Ina (Mother)	Mother
Lone Man	Ate (Father)	Stepfather
Brown Cloud	Ate (Father)	Stepfather
Many Camps	Ina (Mother)	Stepmother
Comes Behind	Unci (Maternal Grandmother)	Stepgrandmother
Leading Cow	Ina (Mother)	Stepmother
Leader (if male)	Ciye (Elder Brother)	Half Brother
Leader (if female)	Tanke (Elder Sister)	Half Sister
Julia Red Eagle	Tanke (Elder Sister)	Half Sister
Climbs the Rock	Tanke (Elder Sister)	Half Sister
Give Him Up	Ciye (Elder Brother)	Half Brother
John (s. Red Eagle)	Ciye (Elder Brother)	Half Brother
Nothing	Tanksi (Younger Sister)	Half Sister
Bessie Little Crow	Tanksi (Younger Sister)	Half Sister
Her Road	Tanksi (Younger Sister)	Half Sister
John Little Crow (s. Many Camps)	Misun (Younger Brother)	Half Brother
William Little Crow	Misun (Younger Brother)	Half Brother
Julia Little Crow	Tanksi (Younger Sister)	Half Sister
Martha Little Crow	Tanski (Younger Sister)	Half Sister
Sydney Little Crow	Misun (Younger Brother)	Half Brother
Anna Trouble in Front	Tawin (Wife)	Wife

Note: Based on Oglala Lakota College, *Hecetu Yelo: The Way It Is, Student Manual* (Kyle, S.D.: Oglala Lakota College, 1980), 16–19, 25–29. Most of the Lakota terms above are used only by males when addressing kin; females use different words to describe relatives. For example, when describing an older brother, males use the term ciye, while women use the term tiblo.The Lakota kinship terms used here do not always translate into the same English equivalent. A modern equivalent would depend upon each case after analyzing the relationship.

In the traditional Oglala society to which John belonged a father's brothers were called father; likewise, all of a mother's sisters were called mother. Modern language learning aids developed by native Oglalas or other Sioux tribal members do not address kinship terms for stepparents at all.[50] An Oglala dictionary containing a word for stepmother, *anke*, was compiled by a priest

50. Oglala Lakota College, *Hecetu Yelo: The Way It Is, Student Manual.* The words *stepfather* and *stepmother* are not given in this book used at the Oglala Lakota College in Pine Ridge when the author was a student there. Of particular relevance, neither word is mentioned in Lesson 4 ("Kinship System—Immediate Family") or Lesson 5 ("Kinship System: Extended Family and In Laws"). Paul War Cloud, *Dakotah Sioux Indian Dictionary: Over 4,000 Words, Pronunciation at a Glance* (Sisseton, S.D.: Tekakwitha Fine Arts Center, 1989). Although Paul War Cloud was a Dakota Sioux, he was fluent in the three related Siouan dialects—Lakota (which includes the Oglala), Dakota, and Nakota.

who was not an Oglala.[51] Although he may have been familiar with the Oglala kinship system, he and the Oglalas themselves may have felt the need to create words that could be easily translated into English.[52] John may have simply called his stepmother mother, especially because she had been married to his father virtually since his birth and had lived relatively close to his mother's, and later his own, household.[53]

Was Lone Man Little Crow's father? In the Oglala kinship system, yes—but it was a relationship of affinity rather than consanguinity. Mainstream American kinship terminology would call Lone Man the stepfather of John Little Crow.[54] As table 1 shows, it can be concluded that Lone Man was not John Little Crow's biological father. If he had been, John would have been given the surname Lone Man, instead of Little Crow. John Little Crow, aka Loves War, was born approximately thirteen months after Little Crow and Red Eagle were married at the Pine Ridge Agency, and throughout his life he lived relatively close to his father, his stepmother Many Camps, and his birth mother Red Eagle.

CONCLUSION

According to Oglala culture, language, and kinship terminology, Red Eagle, Little Crow, Lone Man, and Many Camps were all parents of John Little Crow. But he was only consanguineously related to the first two. Although all Pine Ridge Indian census records were recorded in English, the kinship system remained unchanged.

John Little Crow, husband of Anna Trouble in Front, was the biological son of Little Crow and Red Eagle. Originally named Loves War, he was later named John, perhaps in memory of his mother's elder son who died as a child. After Little Crow's marriage to Many Camps, they had a son also named John, likely a namesake of Little Crow's elder son born to Red Eagle. Little Crow's two sons of the same name had different "Indian" names. John Little Crow, son of Red Eagle, was Zuya Terila (Loves War), while John Little Crow, son of Many Camps, was Mato Ciqala (Little Bear).

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51. Eugene Buechel, *A Dictionary—Oie Wowapi Wan of Teton Sioux: Lakota-English, English-Lakota* (Pine Ridge, S.D.: Red Cloud Indian School and Holy Rosary Mission, 1983), 460.

52. As the various Oglala bands confronted a new culture and new items, they created words by combining several Oglala words to form descriptions. For example, crackers were unknown to the Oglala until the mid-to-late 1800s. As a result, they used *Aguyapi Psaka*—"brittle bread"—to mean *cracker*. Although new kinship terms had to be added to satisfy federal government agents, the Oglala culture, through this translation, did not change, even though the words did. See Eugene Buechel, *A Dictionary—Oie Wowapi Wan of Teton Sioux: Lakota-English, English-Lakota*. The word for stepmother is irrelevant because it was never used by the Oglala. It was a word created for non-Oglala agency personnel.

53. John Little Crow household, 1930 U.S. census, Bennett Co., S.D., pop. sch, Township 39, Range 40, ED 4-38, sheet 1A, dwell. 12, fam. 16; NA microfilm T626, roll 1742.

54. Serena Nanda and Richard Warms, *Cultural Anthropology*, 7th ed. (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning, 2002), 234–35. The Eskimo kinship system (i.e., the anthropological classification for that used by modern American mainstream culture) strictly defines consanguineous nuclear family members (such as father, mother, sister, and brother). Those terms are not used to describe any other relatives.

Research into Native American cultures requires the same methodology as other societies, despite the different forms and varieties of records. Because oral history is such a critical component of many Native American cultures, it is important to understand the kinship terminologies of non-European societies. When applied within the context of specific eras, this basic knowledge can shed new light on the significance of oral tradition.

Table 2

Name and Relationship Variations in Pine Ridge Reservation Indian Census Records

CENSUS	RED EAGLE		MANY CAMPS	
YEAR	NAME	RELATIONSHIP	NAME	RELATIONSHIP
1886	Mrs. Hump	Head of Household (mother)	Not found	
1887	Mrs. Hump	Head of Household (mother)	Not found	
1888	Mrs. Hump	Head of Household (mother)	Not found	
1890	Hump	Wife of Little Crow	Many Camps	Dau. of Run and Left Her (f)
1892	Red Eagle	Head of Household	Many Camps	Wife of Little Crow
1893	Red Eagle	Head of Household	Many Camps	Wife of Little Crow
1894	Red Eagle	Head of Household	Many Camps	Wife of Little Crow
1895	Red Eagle #2	Head of Household	Many Camps	Wife of Little Crow
1896	Red Eagle #2	Head of Household	Many Camps	Wife of Little Crow
1897	Red Eagle	Wife of Lone Man	Many Camps	Wife of Little Crow
1898	Red Eagle	Wife of Lone Man	Many Camps	Wife of Little Crow
1899	Red Eagle	Wife of Lone Man	Many Camps	Wife of Little Crow
1900	Red Eagle	Wife of Lone Man	Many Camps	Wife of Little Crow
1901	Red Eagle	Wife of Lone Man	Many Camps	Wife of Little Crow
1902	Red Eagle	Wife of Lone Man	Many Camps	Wife of Little Crow
1903	Red Eagle	Wife of Loneman	Many Camps	Wife of Littlecrow
1904	Red Eagle	Wife of Loneman	Many Camps	Wife of Littlecrow
1905	Red-eagle	Head of Household	Many Camps	Wife of Little-crow
1907	Red-eagle	Wife of Charles Brown-cloud	Many-camps	Wife of Little-crow

Note: References not cited elsewhere in this article include: Lone Man household, 1901 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 368, frame 266. Lone Man household, 1902 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 368, frame 465. Loneman household, 1903 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 368, frame 608. Little Crow household, 1901 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 368, frame 282. Little Crow household, 1902 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 368, frame 446. Littlecrow household, 1903 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 369 frame 593. Little-crow household, 1905 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 369, frame 270. Little-crow household, 1907 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 369, frame 431.

GENEALOGICAL SUMMARY

1. Little Crow[1] (Kangi Ciqala) aka Reuben Little Crow was born about 1858 in Nebraska,[55] and died 7 September 1938.[56] He traditionally married (1) [—?—].[57] He traditionally married (2) **Leading Cow**. He married (3) **Red Eagle** on 10 July 1889 at the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.[58] He traditionally married (4) **Many Camps** about 1892.[59]

Red Eagle (Wanbli Luta or Wanbli Sa) aka Olive Red Eagle aka Anna Red Eagle aka Hump (Noga or Nunga) aka Mrs. Hump was born about 1854–59 in Montana or Wyoming[60] and died 27 April 1933 in Bennett County, South Dakota, on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.[61] Born to an Oglala Sioux father and a Cheyenne mother,[62] Red Eagle is known to have married four times, the first time at age sixteen.[63] Red Eagle traditionally married (1) a man named Hump.[64] After his death, she married (2) Little Crow (Kangi Ciqala) aka Reuben Little Crow.[65] After their traditional divorce, Red Eagle traditionally married (3) Lone Man (Wicasa Isnala) about 1896–97 on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.[66] He died about 1904. Red Eagle married (4), likely traditionally, Charles Brown Cloud aka Brown Cloud (Mahpiya Gi) about 1915–16.[67] He died 6 April 1931 in Bennett County, South Dakota, on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.[68] Red Eagle reported giving birth to six children, three of whom had died by 1900,[69]

55. Little Crow household, 1917 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1840, Pass Creek district, p. 178; NA microfilm M595, roll 370, frame 759.

56. Little Crow death record, Deaths Exclusive of Stillbirths 1938, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 384, frame 105.

57. This marriage is deduced from the approximate birth date of a child cited below.

58. Little Crow-Red Eagle (Mrs. Hump) marriage, 10 July 1889, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pine Ridge Agency Marriage Register.

59. Little Crow household, 1892 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940.

60. Charles Brown Cloud household, 1918 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Pass Creek district, p. 176; NA microfilm M595, roll 371, frame 179. Anna Red Eagle household, 1929 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, p. 432; NA microfilm M595, roll 375, frame 438.

61. Red Eagle death certificate, no. 150986 (1933), South Dakota Department of Health, Pierre.

62. Charles Brown Cloud household, 1910 U.S. census, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, S.D., Indian pop. sch., Pass Creek district, ED 118, sheet 22B, dwell./fam. 222.

63. Charles Brown Cloud household, 1930 U.S. census, Bennett Co., S.D., pop. sch., Township 39, Range 40, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, ED 4–38, sheet 1B, dwell. 17, fam. 22; NA microfilm T626, roll 2218.

64. Little Crow–Red Eagle (Mrs. Hump) marriage record, 10 July 1889, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pine Ridge Agency Marriage Register.

65. Ibid.

66. Red Eagle household, 1896 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Medicine Root district. Lone Man household, 1897 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940.

67. Red Eagle household, 1915 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Pass Creek district, p. 164; NA microfilm M595, roll 370, frame 326. Charles Brown Cloud household, 1916 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Pass Creek district, p. 158; NA microfilm M595, roll 370, frame 525.

68. Charlie Brown Cloud death certificate, no. 136740 (1931), South Dakota Department of Health,

69. Lone Man household, 1900 U.S. census, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, S.D., Indian pop. sch., ED 46E, sheet 6B, dwell. 1192, fam. 1268.

but in 1910 she reported only five live births with only two living.[70] Of these, four can be named.

Many Camps (Wicoti Ota) aka Camps (Wicoti) aka Many Tipis (Tipi Ota) aka Louise Little Crow was born about 1863–66 in Wyoming[71] and died 21 April 1936.[72] She was first located in the 1890 census with her mother, Run and Left Her (Onya Napa) aka Comes Behind (Ilazata Yu).[73] Probably traditionally, she married (1) a man who at this time is unknown. She married (2) Reuben Little Crow aka Little Crow.

Little Crow had the following son with an unknown mother:

2 i. LEADER[2], born about 1871.[74] In the 1887 census, Leader was the son of Little Crow,[75] while in the 1888 census, Leader is referred to as his daughter.[76]

Little Crow and Leading Cow (Pte Kaskayuzapi) had two children:[77]

3 ii. CLIMBS THE ROCK[2] (INYAN ALI) (female), born about 1883.
4 iii. GIVE HIM UP (ABLUSTAN) (male), born about 1885.

Little Crow and Red Eagle had a son:

5 iv. JOHN LITTLE CROW[2] aka LOVES WAR (ZUYA TERILA), born 15 August 1890, and died 21 August 1970 in the town of Pine Ridge on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. He was buried on 24 August 1970 in the Trinity Episcopal Cemetery in Allen, South Dakota.[78] He married Annie Trouble in Front, daughter of Charles Trouble in Front and Anna aka Black Owl (Hinhan Sapa), sometime after 1 July 1920.[79] She was born in January 1901 and died 27 July 1958 in Yellow Bear Camp, South Dakota, which was then a part of

70. Charles Brown Cloud household, 1910 U.S. census, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, S.D., Indian pop. sch., Pass Creek District, ED 118, sheet 22B, dwell./fam. 222.

71. Little Crow household, 1900 U.S. census, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, S.D., Indian pop. sch., ED 46-F, sheet 5, dwell. 1433, fam. 1519.

72. Many Camps death record, Deaths Exclusive of Stillbirths 1936, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 384, frame 22.

73. Many Camps household, 1890 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 364, frame 149. All subsequent censuses in which Many Camps was listed include her mother (until her mother's death), who was called Comes Behind in each one.

74. Little Crow household, 1887 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 363, frame 205.

75. Ibid.

76. Little Crow household, 1888 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 363, frame 399. Little Crow would have been about fifteen at this child's birth.

77. Little Crow household, 1887 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940.

78. John Little Crow death certificate, no. 140–70–004168, South Dakota Department of Health.

79. Little Crow-Trouble in Front, marriage license no. 1536, 1 July 1920, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Pine Ridge Agency Marriage Licenses.

the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. She was buried on 29 July 1958 in the Trinity Episcopal Cemetery in Allen.[80]

Little Crow and Many Camps had seven children:

6 v. BESSIE LITTLE CROW[2] (YUSICUPI), born January 1893.[81] Although Bessie's birth record shows she was born in January, she does not appear in the 1893 census.[82] She appears in the 1894 census, aged one and a half years old.[83]

7 vi. HER ROAD (TACANKU), born January or February 1895, died about 1896.[84]

8 vii. JOHN LITTLE CROW aka LITTLE BEAR (MATO CIQALA), born July 1896 on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation,[85] died 8 October 1900,[86] in Pass Creek District on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation.

9 viii. WILLIAM LITTLE CROW, born October–December 1898 on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, died there January–March 1899.[87]

10 ix. JULIA LITTLE CROW, born March 1900 in South Dakota.[88]

11 x. MARTHA LITTLE CROW, died August 1904.[89]

12 xi. SYDNEY LITTLE CROW, born 3 December 1903, died 15 April 1955.[90]

Little Crow's stepchildren (likely Red Eagle's with husband Hump[1]) were:

13 JULIA RED EAGLE aka SHOT HER HORSE (TASUNKA OUN) was born in October 1873 in Nebraska,[91] one year before the last tribal buffalo hunt[92] and died

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80. Annie Little Crow death certificate, no. 306274 (1958), South Dakota Department of Health.

81. Little Crow household, 1900 U.S. census, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, S.D., Indian pop. sch., ED 46, sheet 151A, dwell. 1433, fam. 1519.

82. Little Crow household, 1893 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, fam. 1510.

83. Little Crow household, 1894 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Pass Creek district.

84. Little Crow household, 1896 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Pass Creek district.

85. Little Crow household, 1900 U.S. census, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, S.D., Indian pop. sch., ED 46, sheet 151A, dwell. 1433, fam. 1519; and John Little Crow birth record, Pine Ridge Agency Births and Deaths.

86. John Little Crow death record, no. 5941, Report of Births and Deaths in Pass Creek District for Quarter ending 31 December 1900, Quarterly Reports of Births and Deaths, Federal Archives and Records Center, Kansas City, Missouri; FHL microfilm 1,014,636.

87. William Little Crow birth record, Report of Births and Deaths in Pass Creek District for Quarter Ending 31 December 1898, Quarterly Reports of Births and Deaths; FHL microfilm 1,014,636.

88. Julia Little Crow birth record, entry no. 5953, Report of Births in Pass Creek District for Quarter Ending 31 March 1900, Quarterly Reports of Births and Deaths; FHL microfilm 1,014,636. Little Crow household, 1900 U.S. census, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, S.D., Indian pop. sch., ED 46, sheet 151A, dwell. 1433, fam. 1519.

89. Martha Little Crow death record, Deaths in Pass Creek District for the Quarter Ending 30 September 1904, Quarterly Reports of Births and Deaths; FHL microfilm 1,014,636.

90. Sydney Little Crow burial record, Saint Anthony Cemetery, Allen, Bennett Co., S.D., WPA Graves Registration; FHL microfilm 1,597,924, item 1, frame 14.

91. Lone Man household, 1900 U.S. census, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, S.D., Indian pop. sch., ED 46E, sheet 6B, dwell. 1192, fam. 1268.

92. James R. Walker, "The No Ears, Short Man, and Iron Crow Winter Counts" in *Lakota Society*, 147. The counts tell that the Oglalas wintered on Republican River during their last buffalo hunt together.

before 6 May 1910.[93] She married (1), by 1893, Jacob White Eyes (Ista Ska),[94] they traditionally divorced by 1894,[95] and she traditionally married (2) Harry Black Bear (Mato Sapa). Julia had two children: *Martha White Eyes*, born April 1893,[96] and *William*, born July–September 1900,[97] perhaps son of Harry Black Bear.

14 JOHN was born about 1884[98] on Pine Ridge Indian Reservation and died before 1892.[99]

Little Crow had one stepchild, born to Red Eagle and an unknown father:

15 NOTHING (TAKUNI) (female), born about 1894,[100] and died about 1896.[101]

93. Harry Black Bear household, 1910 U.S. census, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, S.D., Indian pop. sch., Pass Creek district, ED 118, sheet 27B, dwell./fam. 270; NA microfilm T624, roll 1475. If Julia had any other children, they likely would have lived with Harry, because Julia's daughter from a prior marriage, Martha White Eyes, still lived with Harry in 1910. Julia claimed one childbirth in 1900, see Lone Man household, 1900 U.S. census, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, S.D., Indian pop. sch., ED 46E, sheet 6B, dwell. 1192, fam. 1268.

94. Jacob White Eyes household, 1893 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; NA microfilm M595, roll 365, frame 204.

95. Jacob White Eyes household, 1894 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, fam. 1401; NA microfilm M595, roll 366, frame 226.

96. Lone Man household, 1900 U.S. census, Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, S.D., Indian pop. sch., ED 46E, sheet 6B, dwell. 1192, fam. 1268.

97. William, son of Julia Red Eagle, birth, Report of Births in Wakpamni District for Quarter Ending 30 September 1900, Quarterly Reports of Births and Deaths, Pine Ridge Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs; FHL microfilm 1,014,636.

98. Mrs. Hump household, 1887 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; roll 363, frame 215. Mrs. Hump household, 1888 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, roll 363, frame 409.

99. Red Eagle household, 1892 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940; roll 364, frame 417. No children are on this census other than Loves War, age two. Although children in Oglala society often lived with their grandparents, young John does not appear anywhere in subsequent census records as his brother and sisters do.

100. Red Eagle household, 1894 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Pass Creek district, fam. 1554; frame 254.

101. Red Eagle #2 household, 1896 Pine Ridge Indian census, Indian Census Rolls 1885–1940, Medicine Root district; frame 90. The child named Nothing does not appear on this or any subsequent census. There is a female child present in the household, but the child Martha Red Eagle (listed as Martha White Eyes in later censuses) is the daughter of Julia Red Eagle.

Validating Inferences from Records: Jane Baker and Thomas Burnett of Kingston, Ontario

By Brenda Dougall Merriman, CG, CGL

Even when names, date, and location are consistent, records may not refer to the same people. Pieces of evidence collected from a zigzag trail may either disprove coincidences or validate conclusions.

Any source can be wrong. Even close examination of a document may not reveal errors. Similarly, inferences drawn from a record—or several records—may be incorrect. Confirming accuracy requires original sources that agree independently with one another and researchers' cogent interpretations of those sources.

Appearances can deceive. "Jane Baker," for example, married Thomas Burnett in Kingston Township, Canada West (now Ontario), on 13 December 1842.[1] Were they the Thomas W. and Jane Burnett who lived in Kingston Township in 1851?[2] Was "Baker" Jane's birth surname? Or might it have been a previous husband's surname? Do earlier records pertain to this couple? Unrelated sources might answer these questions.

STARTING POINT

Based on the 1851 census, Thomas Burnett was born in Canada West about 1818, and Jane Burnett was born in Canada East (Quebec) about 1814. By 1851 they and four children were settled on a portion of lot 9, concession 2, in

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1. Burnett-Baker marriage record, St. George's Parish marriage records, 1840–57, no. 1789, Kingston, Ont., collection 2-K-8, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives, Kingston.

2. Thomas W. Burnett household, 1851 Canada West census, personal schedule, Frontenac Co., Kingston Twp., p. 13; microfilm C-11721, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, Ont. The 1851 Canada West census, enumerated as of 12 January 1852, asked for age at next birthday. Thus, it provides the age in 1852 for most of the population.

Kingston Township, Ontario.[3] Thomas died a few years later,[4] but Jane remained on the property through 1878.[5] By 1881 she had moved to Yorkville village, at the north end of Toronto, an urban center to which some of her children had preceded her.[6] She died there on 30 January 1892.[7] Thomas and Jane had apparently the following children:[8]

i. PERMILIA BURNETT, born about 1843; died in 1873.[9] She married Robert Easson in Toronto on 8 October 1868.[10]
ii. ORLANDO BURNETT, born about 1845; died in Kingston in 1895.[11] He married Hester Taylor in Kingston on 3 November 1868.[12]
iii. HENRY W. BURNETT, born about 1847.
iv. LOUISA BURNETT, born about 1850; unmarried in 1881.[13]
v. JAMES EDGAR BURNETT, born about 1854. He married Minnie Fuller in Toronto on 3 September 1875.[14]
vi. CHARLES W. BURNETT, born about 1857.

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3. Ibid. In 1818, when Thomas was born, Canada West was called Upper Canada. For his land's location, see Thomas W. Burnett entry, 1851 Canada West census, agricultural schedule, Frontenac Co., Kingston Twp., p. 67, LAC; microfilm C-11721. Surveyors in Upper Canada often used a grid system to delineate land. The original division was a rectangular township of fourteen strips called "concessions," each about 1.25 miles wide and subdivided into 100- or 200-acre lots. See Fawne Stratford-Devai and Ruth Burkholder, *Ontario Land Registry Office Records: A Guide* (Campbellville, Ont.: Global Heritage Press, 2003).

4. Jane Burnett household, 1861 Canada West census, personal sch., Frontenac Co., Kingston Twp., p. 25, LAC; microfilm C-1022.

5. *Illustrated Historical Atlas of the Counties of Frontenac, Lennox and Addington* (Toronto: Meacham, 1878), 48. "Mrs. T. Burnett," on the southeast quarter of lot 9, concession 2, appears on a map of Kingston Township. Also, Jane Burnett entry, 1871 Ontario Census, agricultural sch., Frontenac Co., Kingston Twp., District 1, p. 7; LAC microfilm C-9998.

6. Jane Burnett household, 1881 Ontario census, personal sch., York East, Yorkville Village, Division 1, p. 34, household 172; LAC microfilm C-13248.

7. Jane Burnett death record, no. 021200 (1892), Ontario Registrations of Deaths, RG 80-8, Archives of Ontario, (AO), Toronto; AO microfilm MS 935, reel 66. Death registrations from this time do not name parents.

8. Unless otherwise indicated, the children's names and birth years are from the following Canada West and Ontario census personal schedules: Thomas W. Burnett household, 1851, Frontenac Co., Kingston Twp., p. 13; Jane Burnett household, 1861, Frontenac Co., Kingston Twp., p. 25. Jane Burnett household, 1871, Frontenac Co., Kingston Twp., division 1, p. 45; LAC microfilm C-9998. Jane Burnett household, 1881, York East, Yorkville village, division 1, p. 34, household 172.

9. Permilia Easson death record, no. 011215 (1873), Ontario Registrations of Deaths, AO; microfilm MS 935, reel 6.

10. Easson-Burnett marriage, vol. 85, York Co., pp. 69–70, County Marriage Registers 1858–69, AO; microfilm MS 248, reel 18.

11. Orlando Burnett obituary, *British Whig*, Kingston, Ont., 11 March 1895, page 5.

12. Burnett-Taylor marriage record, vol. 10, Frontenac Co., p. 106, County Marriage Registers 1858–69, AO; microfilm MS 248, reel 6.

13. Jane Burnett household, 1881 Ontario census, personal sch., York East, Yorkville village, division 1, p. 34, household 172.

14. Burnett-Fuller marriage record, no. 013093 (registered 1876), Ontario Registrations of Marriages, AO; microfilm MS 932, reel 23. The provincial registration books are considered legal documentation by the Office of the Registrar General. They are copied from original entries made at a local level where privacy law forbids access.

Likely sources for their mother's maiden name are elusive. The children were born before Ontario required birth registration.[15] The family were Wesleyan Methodists, but no baptismal registers from that denomination reveal Burnett children.[16] They are also missing from surviving local Anglican, Methodist Episcopal, and Presbyterian records.[17] Wills or estate files that might provide clues to their background or relatives exist for neither Thomas nor Jane.[18]

MARRIAGE POSSIBILITIES

Thomas and Jane may have married about 1842, about one year before Permilia, believed to be their eldest child, was born. This date predates the 1869 start of civil registration in Upper Canada. Early district marriage registers exist in which district clerks recorded marriage information collected from "non-conformist" clergy, including the various Methodist faiths, but the Midland District register, covering the Kingston area, is missing.[19] Surviving Methodist circuit records in rural areas around Kingston in the 1840s are not helpful.[20]

In the late 1700s and early 1800s Anglican clergymen performed weddings for many Upper Canadians. The denomination was the country's established church, and ministers from other religions were in short supply. Kingston's Anglican rector recorded three marriages, without witnesses, that may refer to Thomas and Jane Burnett of concession 2:

William Baker to Jane "Chrystler," 3 January 1832[21]
Thomas Burnett to Mary Chrysler, 3 September 1833[22]
Thomas Burnett to Jane Baker, 13 December 1842[23]

15. "Finding a Birth Registration—A Pathfinder," *Archives of Ontario* (http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/english/interloan/v-bintro.htm).

16. Ida Reed, transcr., "Wesleyan Methodist Baptisms," *Rootsweb* (http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~wjmartin/wesleyan.htm). The censuses cited above consistently indicate the family's religion.

17. St. George's Parish baptismal records 1841–57, Kingston, Ont., collection 2-K-9; and St. James's Parish baptismal records 1844–1888, collection 4-K-1; both at Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives, Kingston. Sydenham Street United Church [formerly Methodist] records, 1831–1982, collection F1239; and Waterloo Methodist Episcopal Circuit records, 1839–1884, collection F1574; both at United Church of Canada/Victoria University Archives, Toronto. *St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Kingston, Baptisms and Marriages, 1821–1869* (Kingston, Ont.: Kingston Branch, Ontario Genealogical Society, 1980).

18. "Ontario Surrogate Court Index, 1793–1858, RG 22, AO, Appendix A25," *Archives of Ontario* (http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/english/interloan/c-rg22h.htm). Frontenac Co. Surrogate Court Index 1858–1891, RG 22-157, AO; microfilm GS2-40. York Co. Surrogate Court Index 1887–1919, RG 22-303, AO; microfilm GS2-232.

19. Civil registration of births, marriages, and deaths in Ontario began on 1 July 1869. Most surviving earlier district marriage registers are in District Marriage Registers, RG 80-27-1, AO.

20. Sydenham Street United Church [formerly Methodist] records 1831–1982, collection F1239; and Waterloo Methodist Episcopal Circuit records, 1839–1884, collection F1574; both at United Church of Canada/Victoria University Archives.

21. Baker-Chrystler marriage record, St. George's Parish marriage records 1831–40, no. 903, collection 2-K-4, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives.

22. Burnett-Chrysler marriage record, St. George's Parish marriage records 1831–40, no 1012, collection 2-K-4, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives.

23. Burnett-Baker marriage record, St. George's Parish marriage records, 1840–57, no. 1789, collection 2-K-8, Anglican Diocese of Ontario Archives.

Superficially, the last of the three marriages looks like the appropriate one for this couple. Although it is an Anglican rather than a Methodist record, the names (aside from a missing initial, *W.*, for Thomas), date, and location are consistent with those of the family described above. The first two records might either pertain to the couple or reflect same-name coincidences, possibilities which must be confirmed or disproved.

JANE'S MARRIAGES

Information in the 1895 obituary of Orlando Burnett, Thomas and Jane's apparent son, offers clues to Jane's possible prior marriage:

- "Uncle Crysler" visited during Orlando's illness and "remained until his death."
- Orlando's sisters were "Miss Burnett," "Mrs. Dr. Edgar," and "Mrs. W. J. Fenton," all of Toronto.[24]

Who was the "Crysler" uncle? Why were three sisters named, when—according to the family reconstruction above—Orlando apparently had only one surviving Burnett sister in 1895?

The "Uncle Crysler" Clue

Orlando's surname differed from his uncle's, but the obituary suggests a close relationship. "Uncle Crysler" probably was a brother of Orlando's mother, which implies that her maiden name was Crysler. This evidence supports—and is corroborated by—two inferences from Kingston's Anglican marriage records:

- That the Thomas Burnett–Jane Baker marriage record refers to the couple living at concession 2 in Kingston Township in 1851
- That Jane (Baker) Burnett had, before marrying Thomas Burnett and as Jane "Chrystler," married William Baker

"Uncle Crysler" has not been identified—the only Crysler in Kingston in 1895 was a widow.[25] Further connections between Cryslers and Jane Burnett corroborate her maiden name, however:

- Charles Crysler, an unmarried farm laborer, age twenty-nine and born in Upper Canada, lived in Jane's household in 1861.[26]
- William Crysler, age thirty-two and a patent agent, lived in Jane's home in 1881.[27]

24. Orlando Burnett obituary, *British Whig*, 11 March 1895, page 5.

25. *Foster's Kingston Directory: 1895–1896* (Toronto: J. G. Foster), 120 (entry for Eunice Crysler, "widow of Charles").

26. Jane Burnett household, 1861 Canada West census, personal sch., Frontenac Co., Kingston Twp., p. 25.

27. Jane Burnett household, 1881 Ontario census, personal sch., York East, Yorkville village, division 1, p. 34, household 172.

- William B. Crysler and Jane's son James Burnett worked together at the Heintzman Company in Toronto.[28]

The "Mrs. Dr. Edgar" Clue

Jane's son James Edgar Burnett apparently was the namesake of a Primitive Methodist minister who had twice served in Kingston.[29] His wife, Mary Jane Edgar, was born about 1835.[30] At age eighty-four, "Mary Baker Edgar," "widow of the late Rev. James Edgar, M.D.," died in Toronto on 4 November 1917.[31]

If this Mary, born about 1832–33, was Orlando Burnett's sister—as his obituary states—her birth predates his parents' 1842 marriage. The surname "Baker" on her death record was likely her maiden name. As such, it further corroborates the inference from Anglican records that Orlando's mother married (1) William Baker in 1832 and (2) Thomas W. Burnett in 1842.

The "Mrs. W. J. Fenton" Clue

William J. Fenton, age fifty-seven and a land broker, married Sarah Harris, age fifty-three, in Toronto on 6 March 1890. Both were widowed Toronto residents. Sarah's parents were William Baker and "[blank] Chrysler." William B. Crysler and Louisa "Barrett" (perhaps Orlando's unmarried sister, Louisa Burnett) witnessed the ceremony.[32] The parental and witnesses' names identify Sarah as Orlando Burnett's reported sister "Mrs. W. J. Fenton." Further corroboration comes from the 1881 census. The entry for Sarah Harris, age forty-four, adjoins that of Jane and Louisa Burnett's household.[33] Like Mary (née Baker) Edgar, Sarah (née Baker) (Harris) Fenton was born to Jane (née Chrysler) Baker before Jane's 1842 marriage to Thomas Burnett.

The Bakers

In 1817 "Margaret Baker, wife of William Baker[,] ... daughter of John Burnett of the Township of Kingston yeoman a U.E. Loyalist[,]" petitioned for land due Loyalists' children.[34] Apparently only one adult William Baker resided there

28. *The Toronto City Directory for 1890* (Toronto: R. L. Polk), 515 and 602.

29. James Edgar death notice, *Christian Guardian*, Toronto, 5 May 1886, page 280, and obituary, 8 December 1886, page 779. The *Christian Guardian* often featured lengthy obituaries months after the death. Neither account specified where Edgar served in which years.

30. James Edgar household, 1881 Ontario census, personal sch., York Co., Toronto, St. James Ward, division 3, p. 96, household 480; LAC microfilm C-13247. James Edgar household, 1871 Ontario census, personal sch., York Co., Scarborough Twp., division 1, p. 64; LAC microfilm C-9968.

31. Mary Baker Edgar death record, no. 006236 (1917), Ontario Registrations of Deaths, AO; microfilm MS 935, reel 229. Mary Edgar death notice, *Toronto Daily Star*, 5 November 1917, page 6.

32. Fenton-Harris marriage record, no. 014027 (1890), Ontario Registrations of Marriages, AO; microfilm MS 932, reel 69.

33. Abraham Harris household, 1881 Ontario census, personal sch., York East, Yorkville village, division 1, p. 34, household 173; LAC microfilm C-13248.

34. Margaret Baker petition, 1817, Upper Canada Land Petitions, vol. 39, B bundle 11, no. 30, R10875-4-5-E (formerly RG1, L3), LAC; microfilm C-1624. Upper Canada government officials used the initials UE (Unity of Empire) to recognize Loyalists of the Revolutionary War period, who were eligible for Loyalist privilege. See Merriman, "Who Is A Loyalist?" in *United Empire Loyalists*, 7–18.

at the time.[35] His wife Margaret was last recorded in 1822,[36] consistent with William's marrying Jane Chrysler in 1832.

On 13 March 1838—six years after marrying Jane—William Baker made his will, naming his wife Jane and sons James, John, William, and Charles. He also referred to "each of my three girls" but named only Eliza Jane.[37] Mary (née Baker) Edgar and Sarah (née Baker) (Harris) Fenton apparently were the two unnamed daughters. Jane may have been mother to only Mary and Sarah, as seven children would be unlikely for a six-year marriage.

William bequeathed Jane one-third of proceeds from his estate; the only land he mentioned was the southeast quarter of Kingston Township lot 9, concession 2. The reference to that location, precisely where Jane and Thomas Burnett lived in 1851, leaves no doubt that Thomas Burnett's wife was William's widow.

Further confirmation comes from William's son James R. Baker, who died in 1892. When he was "very young" his parents moved from Pittsburgh Township to the Bath Road, which ran along the south side of concession 2 in Kingston Township. An unnamed brother in Australia and two sisters in Toronto, "Mrs. Edgar, widow of Dr. Edgar," and "Mrs. Fenton," survived him.[38]

An Ashley Connection

When Jane Burnett died in 1892, a newspaper reported that her sister, "Mrs. Ashley of Kingston city" was "dangerously ill at the time."[39] The only subsequent death registration for a female Ashley in or near Kingston was that of Margaret Ashley who died on 13 March 1896 at age seventy-nine.[40] She was about two years younger than Jane. Like her sister, Margaret was reportedly born in Lower Canada (Quebec). John Ashley took out a bond to marry Margaret Chrysler in 1838.[41] The marriage record has not been found, but the death notice of Jane (née Chrysler) (Baker) Burnett shows that the wedding occurred.

35. In an 1827 adjudicated boundary claim several deponents identified William as resident in Kingston Township and heir-at-law of Captain William Baker of Pittsburgh Township, deceased intestate by 1797. See William Baker, case file 797, Second Heir and Devisee Commission Case Files, RG 40-5, AO; microfilm MS 657, reel 24.

36. Baker to McCuniffe, memorial no. 832, Frontenac Co. Copybook G, Land Registry Office, Kingston, Ont.; AO microfilm GSU 199,636. The deed includes Margaret's dower release on 3 July 1822.

37. William Baker estate file, Frontenac Co. Surrogate Court Pre-1859 Estate Files (alphabetical), RG22-159, AO; microfilm GS1-1222. The file does not specify William's date of death, but his will was proved on 12 September 1838.

38. "The Late Mr. Baker," *British Whig*, 28 May 1892, page 1.

39. "Death of Mrs. Burnett," *British Whig*, 1 February 1892, page 1.

40. Margaret Ashley, no. 008697 (1896), Ontario Registrations of Deaths, AO; microfilm MS 935, reel 79.

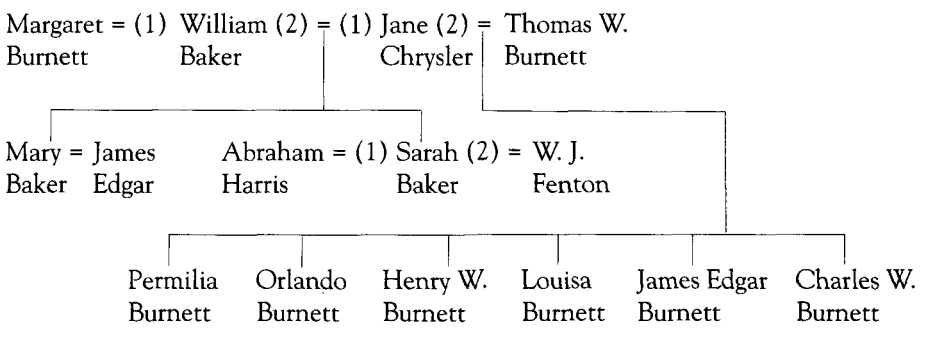
41. John Ashley marriage bond, vol. 35, no. 6146, "Upper Canada and Canada West: Civil Secretary and Provincial Secretary: Records Relating to the Issuance of Licenses," series B9, RG 5, LAC; microfilm C-6787.

THOMAS BURNETT MARRIAGES

Many pieces from a zigzag trail dovetail into a convincing conclusion concerning Jane Chrysler. Her name as the wife in Baker's will, her location and transactions, her widowhood in 1838, and her sister corroborate the inference that two marriage records refer to one Jane. William Baker married (1) Margaret Burnett. Margaret died. William Baker married (2) Jane Chrysler. William died. Jane married (2) Thomas W. Burnett. See figure 1.

Figure 1

Chrysler-Baker-Burnett Relationships



Note: Sources are cited in the text. The chart does not show all of William Baker's children.

But what of the Thomas Burnett–Mary Chrysler marriage record? Does it pertain to Jane Chrysler's second husband? Might he also have been previously married and widowed? Might independent records confirm an earlier marriage of Thomas, as they do for Jane?

Thomas Burnett married Mary Chrysler in 1833, about nine years before the Thomas Burnett–Jane Baker marriage. William Baker and John Ashley—the husband and later brother-in-law of Jane (née Chrysler)—gave bond for the 1833 wedding, which might suggest consecutive marriages of the same man.[42] Two Thomas Burnetts lived in Kingston, however. One, born about 1818, was married to Jane (née Chrysler);[43] the other, born about 1798, had an apparent wife Mary in 1851.[44] The latter most likely were the couple who wed in 1833.

42. Thomas Burnett marriage bond, vol. 24, no. 3207, "Upper Canada and Canada West," series B9, RG 5, LAC; microfilm C-6782.

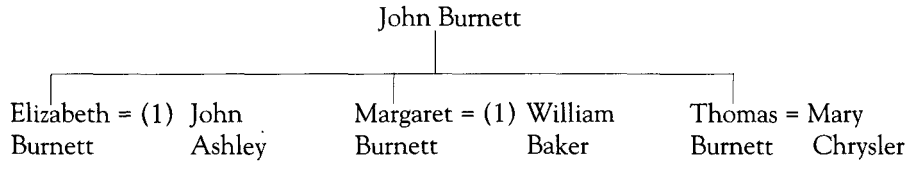
43. Thomas W. Burnett household, 1851 Canada West census, personal sch., Frontenac Co., Kingston Twp., p. 13.

44. Thomas Burnett household, 1851 Canada West census, personal sch., Frontenac Co., Kingston Twp., p. 27.

The bondsmen for the elder Thomas's marriage, John Ashley and William Baker, had married Thomas's sisters, Elizabeth Burnett and Margaret Burnet.[45] The siblings were children of Loyalist John Burnett of Kingston Township.[46] See figure 2. As described above, both Ashley and Baker had second marriages.[47]

Figure 2

Ashley-Baker-Burnett Relationships



Note: John Ashley married (2) Margaret Chrysler; William Baker married (2) Jane Chrysler, who was Margaret Chrysler's sister. Sources are cited in the text. The chart does not show all of John Burnett's children.

CONCLUSION

Serial marriages and blended families, common among Loyalist families in Upper Canada, confuse family reconstruction.[48] Three marriage records suggest that Thomas and Jane Burnett were previously married and widowed before marrying each other. Separate sources show that one of the earlier marriages was Jane's, prove her maiden name, and lead to children with her first husband. Different records, however, show that the other earlier marriage was not her second husband's, even though it is consistent with his name, location, and chronology.

Family historians cannot assume that records of the same names refer to the same people, even when location, date, and associates are compatible—especially in communities with complex interconnections. Only with corroboration from external sources can they prove or disprove conclusions that same-name records imply.

45. Elizabeth Ashley petition, 1820, vol. 7, A bundle 12, no. 105, and Margaret Baker petition, 1817, vol. 39, B bundle 11, no. 30, both in Upper Canada Land Petitions, LAC; microfilm C-1611. The sisters' petitions identify their husbands and father.

46. Thomas Burnett petition, 1825, vol. 47, B bundle 14, no. 15, Upper Canada Land Petitions, LAC; microfilm C-1627.

47. John Ashley, file no. 7, and William Baker estate file, unnumbered, both in Frontenac Co. Surrogate Court Pre-1859 Estate Files, RG 22-159, AO; microfilms GS1-1224 (Ashley) and GS1-1222 (Baker).

48. The Loyalist era extended from the end of the American Revolution in 1783 to about 1800. See Merriman, *A Guide to Tracing Loyalist Ancestors*.

2006 Winner: Family History Writing Contest

The Life and Times of English Immigrant Priscilla (née Clark) (Pickett) (Pickett) Wilford

By Richard Lee Tolman, Ph.D.

Families can endure, and even prosper, despite tragedy, tribulation, and villains. Priscilla had determination and strength of character—willingness to face the unknown and follow through no matter the difficulty. Woven into the fabric of this courageous woman's life were three husbands, six children, and changing views of a controversial religion, all defining a strong-willed and resolute Nevada pioneer.

Priscilla Wilford's life ended with her murder near Carson City, Nevada. Misfortunes in some of her children's lives echoed this young mother's tragic death. Despite calamity the family prospered. The events that shaped them began not in the American West, however, but in Somerset County, England.

ENGLAND

Priscilla was born in Somersetshire, in the parish of Buckland-Denham.[1] Teasel grown in the area for woolen manufacture made it a seat of good woolen trade.[2] Priscilla's father, James Clark, however, an "agricultural labourer," did not work in the textile industry.[3]

With few economic reserves, James encouraged his children to become self-sufficient as early as possible. Priscilla left home before age fourteen, probably for

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1. Priscilla Clark baptismal record, Buckland-Denham Parish baptismal register 1813–63, p. 27, Somerset Record Office (SRO), Taunton, U.K.; microfilm 1,526,441, item 16, frame 16, Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City, Utah.

2. Nicholas Esterhazy Stephen Armitage Hamilton, ed., *The National Gazetteer of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1868), s.v. "Buckland Denham."

3. James Clark household, 1851 English census, Somerset, Buckland Denham Parish, Frome Registration Dist., Nunney Subdist., p. 17, household 63, HO 107/1932, folio 783, The National Archives (TNA), Kew, Richmond, Surrey, U.K.; FHL microfilm 0,221,091.

an apprenticeship in the garment trade in Frome, about two miles to the north.[4] In nearby Bath she met Louisa Avelina Sleater, who became Priscilla's lifelong friend and who would play a prominent role in Priscilla's family life.[5]

Louisa's maternal relatives, prominent tailors and woolen merchants in Bath, included Abraham Marchant, a Mormon preacher and leader.[6] Both girls joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) in 1847.[7]

A charismatic LDS missionary from Ireland, William Gill Mills, eloped with Louisa. The circumstances reportedly caused Louisa's family to disown her and separate from the LDS religion.[8] In 1855 the couple migrated to Utah. They disembarked from the ship *Chimborazo* in Philadelphia, before traveling west.[9]

Meanwhile, among the Mormons at Newbury Conference in Berkshire, England, Priscilla met a young widower, George Pickett, with three young children, and married him in 1853.[10] They named their first child, daughter Louisa born the next year, probably after Louisa Sleater.[11]

With George's brother Matthew and his family, the Picketts joined a Mormon emigrant company and set off for Utah in 1855 via the *Emerald Isle* from Liverpool to New York.[12] Priscilla's stepchildren went on to Utah with their uncle Matthew, while Priscilla and George broke their journey in St. Louis.[13] There, probably before late November 1856, baby Louisa died, perhaps

4. James Clark household, 1841 English census, Somerset, Buckland Denham Parish, Frome Registration Dist., Kilmersdon Subdist., Kilmersdon Hundred, ED 7, p. 18, HO 107/948/4, folio 12, TNA; FHL microfilm, 0,474,600. Also, Priscilla Clark entry, *1841 English census*, Somerset, Frome Selwood Parish, Frome Registration Dist. and Subdist., Frome Hundred, ED 19, p. 24, HO 107/942/12, folio 15, TNA; FHL microfilm 0,474,597. Priscilla fashioned an elaborate taffeta wedding dress for her 1862 wedding to William Wilford. See Mary Elizabeth Tolman Glenn, "Mariah Louise Pickett Biography," typescript, 1 p., copy in possession of Patricia Ann Bates Miller (Corinne, Utah). Lisa B. Kent (Corinne, Utah) owns the dress. Priscilla's skill in crafting it implies apprenticeship in the tailoring trade.

5. Lula Marchant Allman and Hazel Marchant Thomson, eds., *Marchant Family History* (Orem, Utah: Abraham Marchant–Mary Prankett Family Organization, 1991), 16–17.

6. Lila F. M. Christiansen, "Abraham Marchant History," typescript, 1995, pp. 1–3, Pioneer Memorial Museum, Salt Lake City.

7. Susan Ward Easton-Black, comp., *Membership of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1848*, 50 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1984–88), 10:204.

8. Allman and Thomson, *Marchant Family History*, 18.

9. Emily Carlisle, "The Sailship '*Chimborazo*'" in Kate B. Carter, *Treasures of Pioneer History*, 6 vols. (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1952–57), 5:29–37.

10. "Piggot"-Clark certification of marriage, Newbury Dist., Third Quarter 1853, 2c:355, England and Wales Civil Registration, General Register Office, London, U.K.

11. Louisa "Piggot" certification of birth, Newbury Dist., Third Quarter 1854, 2c:200, England and Wales Civil Registration. George Picket family listing (17 November 1855), ship *Emerald Isle*, Liverpool Office of the European Mission Emigration Register 1045:5, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Department, Salt Lake City; FHL microfilm 0,025,691. The listing gives Louisa's age as one year.

12. Ibid.

13. "Biography of Jane Pickett," typescript, 3 pp., in possession of Patricia A. Miller (Corinne, Utah). Written about 1951, undocumented, and containing errors, the paper is attributed to Annie Pearl (née Barker) Merkley, daughter of Jane (née Pickett) Barker. Also, Matthew Pickett household, 1856 Utah territorial census, Great Salt Lake City, Ward 6, p. 252, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Department, Salt Lake City; FHL microfilm 0,505,913.

of smallpox.[14] Priscilla delivered her second child in November 1856.[15] George contracted smallpox and died the following April.[16] Priscilla and the new baby remained in St. Louis for another year until George's brother William Armstrong Pickett journeyed from Utah to escort Priscilla and her family west.[17]

UTAH

Settled in Utah, Priscilla took part in two ceremonies in Brigham Young's office in March 1860. First, her marriage to her deceased husband, George, was "sealed for eternity" (a Mormon temple ceremony). Second, she was married to her brother-in-law William Armstrong Pickett "for time."[18] This second union reflected a common practice in Utah to wed widows to churchmen who could protect and provide for them. In the levirate tradition, a brother of the deceased husband was a first choice.[19] The marriage was polygamous—Pickett already had two wives, and he later took a fourth.[20]

Three months after the ceremony, however, Priscilla was residing not with her new husband in Shambip County (present day Tooele County) but with Louisa and William Gill Mills in Salt Lake City.[21] Mills later reported that Priscilla had lived there for twelve months.[22] Why she separated from William Armstrong Pickett, her rescuer and supposed protector, is unclear. Perhaps she disliked being in a polygamous marriage, or possibly she didn't like Pickett.

In the fall of 1860 William Gill Mills was called to serve as president of the LDS Birmingham District, in England.[23] Meanwhile, Priscilla, pregnant, moved

14. Glenn, in "Mariah Louise Pickett Biography," reports erroneously that Louisa died on shipboard. For her arrival in New York at age one, see Louisa Pickett entry, *Emerald Isle* (arrived from Liverpool,) passenger manifest, 31 December 1855, unnumbered p. 11, line 41; *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York 1820–97* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives), microfilm M237, roll 159. The list identifies passengers who died enroute, but Louisa's entry is not annotated. She died probably before the birth of her sister, also called Louisa, in November 1856. See Maria Louisa Pickett Read, "Louisa Read Autobiographical Sketch," in *L.D.S. Individual Histories, Idaho*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: S. I. Publishing, 1918), 2:258–59.

15. Glenn, "Mariah Louise Pickett Biography." Read, "Louisa Read Autobiographical Sketch," in *L.D.S. Individual Histories*, 2:258–59.

16. George Pickett entry, St. Louis Register of Deaths E:167, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Jefferson City, Mo.; FHL microfilm 2,308,255.

17. "Biography of Jane Pickett," 1.

18. Priscilla Pickett entry, 3 March 1860, no. 2671, Endowment House "Sealings of Couples, Living and by Proxy, 1851–1869," unpaginated, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; FHL microfilm 0,183,395.

19. Leonard Arrington and Davis Bitton, "Marriage and Family Patterns," in *The Mormon Experience* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 185–205. Deut. 25:5 succinctly describes this teaching.

20. "Biography of Jane Pickett," 1.

21. "W[m] A Picket" household, 1860 U.S. census, Shambip Co., Utah Territory, population schedule, Clover Settlement, p. 45, dwelling 4032, family 3008; National Archives (NA) microfilm publication M653, roll 1314. William Mills household, 1860 U.S. census, Great Salt Lake Co., Utah Territory, pop. sch., Great Salt Lake City, Ward 13, p. 191, dwell. 133, fam. 134; NA microfilm M653, roll 1313.

22. "Of the Death of Mrs. Wilford," *Daily Appeal*, Carson City, Nev., July 20, 1869, page 1.

23. Elwood I. Barker, "Biographical Sketch of William Gill Mills," typescript, 1977, ms A2229, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City; digital transcription by Roger Porter, "William Gill Mills, father of Mannie Pickett," *Maria Louisa Pickett Family Website* (http://marialouisapickett.homestead.com/files/william_g._mills_history.htm : accessed 23 October 2006).

with her daughter Maria Louisa to the California goldfields, where Priscilla gave birth to a son in February 1861.[24]

The child's paternity is unclear. At the time of his conception, likely between May and June 1860, Priscilla was staying with the William Gill Mills family in Salt Lake City.[25] Her second husband, however, was farming in Clover Valley with another of his wives and Priscilla's stepdaughter Jane.[26]

CALIFORNIA AND NEVADA

In Hangtown (now Placerville), California, Priscilla met William Wilford, who may have prospered in Australia's 1852 gold rush and converted to Mormonism there.[27] He filed land claims in Utah Territory's Carson Valley in 1860.[28] The couple married on 30 June 1862.[29] With Priscilla's two children they moved to the Carson Valley, where she soon had three more offspring.[30]

The Comstock Lode was discovered in nearby Virginia City in June 1859, but the Carson Valley's population in 1860 was only seven hundred in Carson City and another four hundred in the surrounding area. Carson City in 1862 had numerous saloons, frequent shootings (about six deaths a year), and few women. The Pony Express, begun in April 1860, was based there. Nevada Territory separated from Utah Territory in 1861, and Nevada became a state in 1864 with Carson City as capital.[31]

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24. George Pickett's birth details are consistent with censuses, which do not specify where in California he was born. See, for example, Henry Ross household, 1870 U.S. census, Ormsby Co., Nev., pop. sch., Carson City Twp. and post office, p. 10, dwell. 97, fam. 90; NA microfilm M593, roll 834. Also, George W. Pickett household, 1900 U.S. census, Washoe Co., Nev., pop. sch., Verdi Precinct, ED 45, sheet 2A, dwell./fam. 31; NA microfilm T623, roll 943.

25. William G. Mills household, 1860 U.S. census, Great Salt Lake Co., Utah Territory, pop. sch., Great Salt Lake City, Ward 13, p. 191, dwell. 133, fam. 134. The official enumeration date for the 1860 census was 1 June 1860. See Anne Bruner Eales and Robert M. Kvasnicka, *Guide to Genealogical Research in the National Archives* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives), 26.

26. "W^m^ A Picket" household, 1860 U.S. census, Shambip Co., Utah Territory, pop. sch., Clover Settlement, p. 45, dwell. 4032, fam. 3008. If George were William's child, George would be the only offspring from any of William's four marriages.

27. Marjorie Newton, comp., in *Australian Mission: List of 19th Century Members* (Bass, New South Wales, Australia: privately printed, 1988), 262, reports that William Wilford, who converted in 1853, was part of the "Gold Diggers Unit." Corlyn L. H. Adams, in *The Jose Family: Utah by Way of Australia* (Wolfe City, Tex.: C. H. Adams, 1995), 2–3, reports that Wilford departed on the *Tarquinia*, which sank in Honolulu, and the voyage resumed on the *Williamatic*, which arrived in San Francisco in 1855. Neither compiler identified William by age, parentage, or origin; exhaustive attempts have not yielded an immigration record elsewhere for an individual matching the name, age, and occupation of Priscilla's last husband.

28. Marion Ellison, *An Inventory and Index of Records of Carson County, Utah and Nevada Territories, 1855–1861* (Reno, Nev.: Grace Dangberg Foundation, 1984), 39–40.

29. Pickett-Wilford marriage record, El Dorado Co. Marriage Records A:213, County Recorder's Office, Placerville, Calif. The bride's and groom's ages differ from those in other records. Also, Priscilla Wilford Family Bible, in possession of Lisa B. Kent (Corinne, Utah); digital image, "Historical Notations in Bible of Priscilla Clark Pickett Wilford: Names and Birthdates of Wilford Children (Below) and Marriage Date to William Wilford (Right)," *Maria Louisa Pickett Website* (http://marialouisapickett.homestead.com/ : accessed 23 October 2006).

30. Priscilla Wilford Family Bible.

31. Myron Angel, ed., *History of Nevada* (Oakland, Calif.: Thompson and West, 1881), 55–75 and 527–65; and Phyllis Zauner, *Carson City: Capital of Nevada* (Sonoma, Calif.: Zanel, 1984), 5–28.

The Wilford ranch, on the valley's west side, straddled Clear Creek where it exited the Sierras. To supply the Comstock's demand for timber, three sawmills were built on Clear Creek in 1862.[32] Several flumes, constructed in the 1860s and 1870s, moved logs from the Sierra summit above Lake Tahoe to the Carson Valley; one of them, built in 1875, traversed the Wilford property.[33]

William Wilford had insured his life for five thousand dollars—a large sum in the 1860s. After he died of smallpox in January 1869 Priscilla collected the money and promptly insured her own life for the same amount. A few months later she traveled to Gilroy, California, where Louisa and William Gill Mills had settled after returning from England.[34] The LDS Church had excommunicated Mills for adultery and released him from his Birmingham assignment.[35] He nevertheless was a man of many talents—an accomplished musician, composer, and poet.[36] He was also president of the Gilroy Board of Trustees in 1869[37] and the first mayor of Gilroy, in 1870.[38]

Priscilla took two of her daughters by stagecoach to Gilroy—Maria Louisa Pickett on 26 March 1869 and Sarah Wilford on 1 June 1869. She left them, and money for their education, with Louisa and William Gill Mills.[39]

On the evening of 5 July 1869, shortly after returning from her second trip to Gilroy, Priscilla was murdered in her sitting room. Her throat was cut with a razor, left beside her body. Her remaining insurance money, estimated at fifteen hundred dollars, had been taken.[40] Distant newspapers issued sensational reports. San Francisco's *Daily Morning Chronicle* reported that "Destroying Angels" had killed Priscilla for denouncing Mormonism.[41] Responding to the journalistic enthusiasm of the *Chronicle* in invoking Mormon participation in Priscilla's murder, Carson City's *Daily Appeal* pointed out, "scarcely sufficient grounds

32. Nancy Miluck, ed., *The Genoa-Carson Valley Book* (Genoa, Nev.: Dragon Enterprises, 2001), 20–39.

33. Eliot Lord, *Comstock Mining and Miners* (1883; reprint, Berkeley, Calif.: Howell-North, 1959), 244–62.

34. Estate and Guardianship of Heirs of Priscilla Wilford, Deceased, Ormsby Co. Estate and Guardianship Files, docket 1779, County Clerk, Carson City, Nev. The file includes a handwritten petition for guardianship from William Gill Mills that recounts events preceding Priscilla's death.

35. "Notice—," *Millennial Star: Official Organ of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Great Britain*, Manchester, England, 16 May 1863, 25:314; FHL microfilm 1,402,731.

36. Barker, "Biographical Sketch of William Gill Mills."

37. *History of Santa Clara County, California* (San Francisco: Alley, Bowen, 1881), 285.

38. Patricia Baldwin Escamilla, *A Short History of Gilroy California* (Gilroy: City of Gilroy Historical Museum, 1997), 17.

39. Estate and Guardianship of Heirs of Priscilla Wilford, Deceased, Ormsby Co. Estate and Guardianship Files, docket 1779. Also, "Wm Gill Mills" household, 1870 U.S. census, Santa Clara Co., Calif., pop. sch., "City and Township of Gilroy," p. 81, dwell./fam. 262; NA microfilm M593, roll 88.

40. "Of the Death of Mrs. Wilford," *Daily Appeal*, 20 July 1869, page 1, summarizes the testimony and sworn statements of witnesses: Mrs. Lucy Bryant (neighbor), Peter and Edward Moss (Mormon tenant farmers who lived in the back of the ranch house), and Mr. Mills (friend, merchant from Gilroy, Calif.).

41. "Was It the Work of the 'Destroying Angels'?" and "Carson: The Late Mysterious Murder Probably the Work of Mormons—The 'Destroying Angels'—Abroad," *Daily Morning Chronicle*, San Francisco, 10 July 1869, both on page 2.

[exist] for such a charge."[42] Priscilla's Mormon tenant farmers, arraigned for the murder, were acquitted.[43] The murderer or murderers were never identified.

Orphaned with a sizeable estate and important land holdings, Priscilla's five children, the youngest only one year old, remained separated. Three became wards of the State of Nevada, but William Gill Mills refused to return the two girls in California to Nevada's jurisdiction. The three Nevada orphans received several hundred dollars inheritance in the late 1880s, but their sisters in California seemingly received no benefits from their parents' estate.[44]

For a graphic depiction of Priscilla's web of family relationships, see figure 1.

GENEALOGICAL SUMMARY

Generation A

1. James[A] Clark, christened 6 January 1793 at Buckland-Denham, Somersetshire, England; buried 29 January 1865 in the same parish.[45] He married on 29 January 1826 at Buckland-Denham, **Fanny Hurle**,[46] born 8 March 1801 in Rode, Somersetshire, to Richard and Mary (née Cox) Hurle.[47] Fanny was deaf in 1851.[48]

James and Fanny Clark had eight children born in Buckland-Denham parish:

\+ 2 i. PRISCILLA[1] CLARK, christened 22 September 1826;[49] murdered 5 July 1869 near Carson City, Nevada.[50] She married (1) George Pickett, 4 September 1853,[51] (2) William Armstrong Pickett, 3 March 1860,[52] and (3) William Wilford, 30 June 1862.[53]

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42. "A Startling Suggestion," *Daily Appeal*, 20 July 1869, page 1.

43. "Discharged," *Reno Crescent*, Reno, Nev., 18 December 1869, page 2.

44. Estate and Guardianship of Heirs of Priscilla Wilford, Deceased, Ormsby Co. Estate and Guardianship Files, docket 1779.

45. James Clark baptismal record, Buckland-Denham Parish baptismal register 1737–1800, unpaginated, SRO; FHL microfilm 1,526,441, item 14, frame 27. Also, James Clark burial record, Buckland-Denham Parish burial register 1813–85, p. 67, SRO; FHL microfilm 1,526,441, item 17, frame 36.

46. Clark-Hurle marriage record, Buckland-Denham Parish marriage register 1754–1813, p. 11, SRO; FHL microfilm 1,526,441, item 19, frame 8.

47. Fanny Hurle baptismal record, Rode [Road] Parish baptismal register 1745–1811, unpaginated, SRO; FHL microfilm 1,526,726, item 25, frame 17.

48. James Clark household, 1851 English census, Somerset, Buckland Denham Parish, Frome Registration Dist., Nunney Subdist., p. 17, household 63, HO 107/1932, folio 783.

49. Priscilla Clark baptismal record, Buckland-Denham Parish baptismal register 1813–63, p. 27.

50. "Carson: A Lady Found Dead with Her Throat Gashed From Ear to Ear—a Tragic Affair," *Daily Morning Chronicle*, San Francisco, 7 July 1869, page 3.

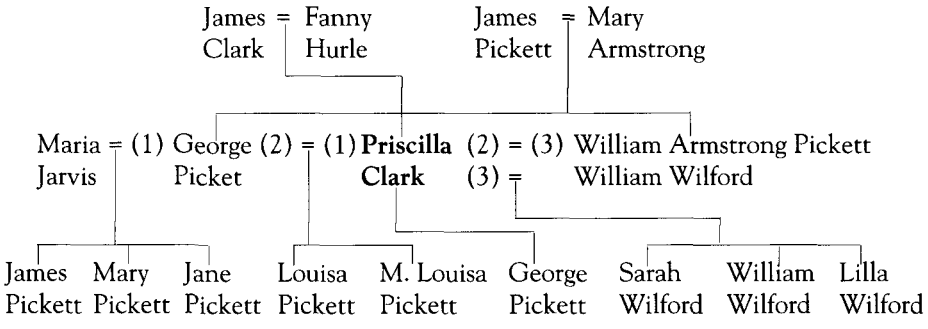
51. "Piggot"-Clark certification of marriage, Newbury Dist., Third Quarter 1853, 2c:355, England and Wales Civil Registration.

52. Priscilla Pickett entry, 3 March 1860, no. 2671, Endowment House "Sealings of Couples, Living and by Proxy, 1851–1869," unpaginated.

53. Pickett-Wilford marriage record, 30 June 1862, El Dorado Co. Marriage Records A:213.

Figure 1

Familial Relationships of Priscilla Clark



Note: In addition to the charted relationships, William Gill Mills fathered a child with Priscilla's daughter, Maria Louisa Pickett. He also may have fathered Priscilla's son George Pickett. See text for details and sources.

3 ii. AQUILA CLARK, christened 12 July 1829;[54] died 5 December 1898 in Wolverhampton, England.[55] He married, 4 April 1858, Mary Sheppard, born about 1829 in Frome, Somersetshire.[56] Mary probably predeceased her husband as his married daughter was the informant for his death certificate. The daughter, *Charlotte Annie Clark*, was born 1870 in Cobden Row in Lockwood, Yorkshire, England, and married [—?—] Slarkey in 1891–98.[57] Aquila left Buckland-Denham by 1851, probably to apprentice as a woolen weaver. Aquila and his family moved every few years presumably following employment as either a woolen or cotton weaver—they lived in Wiltshire (1861), Yorkshire (1871), Lancashire (1881), and Somerset (1891). From time to time Mary was also employed as a weaver. In 1891 their daughter was a weaver in Aquila's employ.[58]

54. Aquila Clark baptismal record, Buckland-Denham Parish baptismal register 1813–63, p. 32; FHL microfilm 1,526,441, item 16, frame 19.

55. Aquila Clark certification of death, Wolverhampton Dist., Second Quarter 1898, 6b:378, England and Wales Civil Registration.

56. Clark-Sheppard certification of marriage, Bath Dist., Second Quarter 1858, 5c:1210, England and Wales Civil Registration. Aquila Clark household, 1881 English census, Lancashire, Haslingden Parish, Haslingden Registration Dist. and Subdist., ED 7, p. 5, Duckworth Clough, no. 28, RG11/4138, TNA; FHL microfilm 1,341,990.

57. Charlotte Annie Clark certification of birth, Huddersfield Dist., Third Quarter 1870, 9a:359. Aquila Clark certification of death, Wolverhampton District, Second Quarter 1898, 6b:378. C. A. Slarkey, daughter, was informant for the death certificate. Aquila Clark household, 1891 English census, Somerset, Wellington Parish, Wellington Registration Dist. and Subdist., ED 9, house 37, RG12/1871, folio 8, TNA; FHL microfiche 6,096,981.

58. Aquila Clark household, 1861 English census, Wiltshire, Trowbridge Parish, Melksham Registration Dist. and Trowbridge Subdist., ED 3, p. 1, house 6, RG9/1295, folio 56, TNA; FHL microfilm 0,542,791. Aquila Clark household, 1871 English census, Yorkshire, Lockwood Parish, Huddersfield Registration Dist., Lockwood, Subdist., ED 9, p. 7, household 32, RG10/4375, folio 7, TNA; FHL microfilm 0,848,088. Aquila Clark household, 1881 English census, Lancashire, Haslingden Parish, Haslingden Registration Dist. and Subdist., ED 7, p. 5, Duckworth Clough, no. 28 RG11/4138, folio 48. Aquila Clark household, 1891 English census, Somerset, Wellington Parish, Wellington Registration Dist. and Subdist., ED 9, house 37.

4 iii. SARAH CLARK, christened 4 September 1831.[59]
5 iv. CHARLOTTE CLARK, christened 26 April 1835.[60]
6 v. JANE CLARK, christened 2 July 1837; buried 13 July 1837.[61]
7 vi. JANE CLARK, christened 29 May 1838; buried 16 September 1838.[62]
8 vii. GEORGE CLARK, christened 6 September 1840.[63]
9 viii. WILLIAM CLARK, christened 4 December 1842.[64]

Generation One

2. Priscilla[1] Clark (James[A]), christened 22 September 1826 at Buckland-Denham Parish, Somerset;[65] murdered 5 July 1869 near Carson City, Nevada.[66]

Priscilla married (1), on 4 September 1853 in Newbury, Berkshire, England, **George Pickett**, a widower with three small children.[67] A son of James and Mary (née Armstrong) Pickett, he was christened 2 September 1821 at Chieveley, Berkshire.[68] He died of smallpox on 2 April 1857 in St. Louis, Missouri.[69] George Pickett had married (1), on 11 February 1843 in Chieveley, Maria Jarvis.[70]

Priscilla married (2) **William Armstrong Pickett**, George's elder brother, in Brigham Young's office at Salt Lake City on 3 March 1860.[71] William was christened 9 November 1818 at Chieveley, Berkshire, and died 11 December 1901 in Tooele, Utah.[72] At the time of his marriage to Priscilla he had two

59. Sarah Clark baptismal record, Buckland-Denham Parish baptismal register 1817–63, p. 3; FHL microfilm 1,526,441, item 16, frame 21.

60. Charlotte Clark baptismal record, Buckland-Denham Parish baptismal register 1817–63, p. 46; FHL microfilm 1,526,441, item 16, frame 26.

61. Jane Clark baptismal record, Buckland-Denham Parish baptismal register 1817–63, p. 51; FHL microfilm 1,526,441, item 16, frame 28. Jane Clark burial record, Buckland-Denham Parish burial register 1813–55, p. 28; FHL microfilm 1,526,441, item 17, frame 17.

62. Jane Clark baptismal record, Buckland-Denham Parish baptismal register 1813–63, p. 53; FHL microfilm 1,526,441, item 16, frame 29. Jane Clark burial record, Buckland-Denham Parish burial register 1813–85, p. 31; FHL microfilm 1,526,441, item 17, frame 18.

63. George Clark baptismal record, Buckland-Denham Parish baptismal register 1813–63, p. 5; FHL microfilm 1,526,441, item 16, frame 31.

64. William Clark baptismal record, Buckland-Denham Parish baptismal register 1813–63, p. 61; FHL microfilm 1,526,441, item 16, frame 33.

65. Priscilla Clark baptismal record, Buckland-Denham Parish baptismal register 1813–63, p. 27.

66. "Carson: A Lady Found Dead with Her Throat Gashed From Ear to Ear—a Tragic Affair," *Daily Morning Chronicle*, San Francisco, 7 July 1869, page 1. "Shocking Murder or Suicide," *Daily Appeal: The Territorial Enterprise*, Virginia City, Nev., 8 July 1869, page 2. "News of the Week," *Reno Crescent*, 10 July 1869, page 1.

67. "Piggot"-Clark certification of marriage, Newbury Dist., Third Quarter 1853, 2c:355, England and Wales Civil Registration.

68. George Pickett baptismal record, Chieveley Parish baptismal register, 1560–1865, p. 37, Berkshire Records Office, Reading, U.K.; FHL microfilm 0,254,496, item 1. Also, George Pickett household, 1851 English census, Berkshire, Chieveley Parish, Newbury Registration Dist., Thatcham Subdist., ED 3b, Courage village, p. 18, HO107/1685, folio, 601, TNA.

69. George Pickett entry, St. Louis Register of Deaths E:167.

70. Pickett-Jarvis marriage record, Chieveley Parish marriage register, 1560–1865, p. 5, Berkshire Records Office; FHL microfilm 1,849,236.

71. Priscilla Pickett entry, 3 March 1860, no. 2671, Endowment House "Sealings of Couples, Living and by Proxy, 1851–1869," unpaginated.

72. William Pickett baptismal record, Chieveley Parish baptismal register, 1560–1865, p. 26. "Tooele Cemetery Records," in *History of Tooele County* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1961), 561.

other Mormon wives: (1) Mary Castle, whom he married on 6 November 1841 and (2) Mary Brownjohn, whom he married on 11 June 1856. William took a fourth wife, Ann Todd, on 10 November 1873. He had no children from these marriages.[73]

Priscilla married (3) **William Wilford** at Hangtown (now Placerville), California, on 30 June 1862.[74] Son of Edward and Ann (née Gutteridge) Wilford, he was christened 10 January 1825 at South Croxton, Leicestershire, England.[75] William died of smallpox on 21 January 1869 at Carson City, Nevada.[76]

Priscilla and George Pickett had the following children:

10 i. LOUISA[2] PICKETT, born 25 July 1854, probably at Chieveley Parish, Berkshire, England;[77] died 1855–56, probably at St. Louis, Missouri.[78]

+ 11 ii. MARIA LOUISA PICKETT, born 29 November 1856, at St. Louis;[79] died 27 March 1930, at Twin Falls, Idaho.[80] She married (1) Cyrus Ammon Tolman, 12 December 1878,[81] and (2) George Franklin Read, 21 May 1891.[82]

Priscilla had a child of questionable paternity born in California:

+ 12 iii. GEORGE W.[2] PICKETT, born February 1861;[83] died before 1910 at Verdi, Nevada.[84] He married Capitola Lenwire Aldrich, 1 May 1890 at Carson City, Nevada.[85]

73. "Biography of Jane Pickett," 1. For the practice of Mormon polygamy, see Arrington and Bitton, "Marriage and Family Patterns," in *The Mormon Experience*, 185–205.

74. Pickett-Wilford marriage, 30 June 1862, El Dorado Co. Marriage Records A:213.

75. William Wilford baptismal record, Bishop's transcripts of South Croxton Parish baptismal register 1812–57, p. 19, City Museum and Art Gallery, Leicester, U.K.; FHL microfilm 0,592,696. Records of William's brother Frederick, whose baptismal record appears in ibid., p. 14, identify William as Priscilla's future husband. In 1870 Frederick Wilford, a farmer from Wisconsin, petitioned for guardianship of his brother William's minor children. See Estate and Guardianship of Heirs of Priscilla Wilford, Deceased, Ormsby Co. Estate and Guardianship Files, docket 1779. Frederick's age matches that of the South Croxton child. See Frederick Wilford household, 1870 U.S. census, Waukesha Co., Wisc., pop. sch., Eagle Twp. and post office, p. 4, dwell. 29/fam. 28; NA microfilm M593, roll 192. For the Waukesha Co. family's Leicestershire origins, see Wilford-Wilford marriage record, Waukesha Co. Marriages, 1860–75, unpaginated, Wisc. Department of Vital Statistics, Madison; FHL microfilm 1,275,597, frame 17.

76. For the cause of death, see "News of the Week," *Reno Crescent*, 10 July 1869, page 1. For the date, see "In the matter of the estate of William Willford [*sic*], deceased...," Estate of William and Priscilla Willford, docket 137, Ormsby Co. Estate and Guardianship Files. For the place, see Priscilla Wilford Family Bible.

77. Louisa "Piggot" certification of birth, Newbury Dist., Third Quarter 1854, 2c:200, England and Wales Civil Registration.

78. Glenn, "Mariah Louise Pickett Biography."

79. Read, "Louisa Read Autobiographical Sketch," in *L.D.S. Individual Histories, Idaho*, 2:258–59; and George Read household, 1900 U.S. census, Cassia Co., Idaho, pop. sch., Marion precinct, ED 35, sheet 13B, dwell. 213, fam. 216; NA microfilm T623 roll 232.

80. Louisa Read death certificate, no. 70,024 (1930), Idaho Vital Statistics Unit, Boise.

81. Read, "Louisa Read Autobiographical Sketch," in *L.D.S. Individual Histories, Idaho*, 2:258.

82. Read-Pickett marriage record, Cassia Co. Marriage Records 1:74, County Recorder, Burley, Idaho.

83. Henry Ross household, 1870 U.S. census, Ormsby Co., Nev., pop. sch., Carson City Twp. and post office, p. 10, dwell. 97, fam. 90; and George W. Pickett household, 1900 U.S. census, Washoe Co., Nev., pop. sch., Verdi Precinct, ED 45, sheet 2A, dwell./fam. 31.

84. Capitola Pickett entry, 1910 U.S. census, San Joaquin Co., Calif., pop. sch., Tulare Twp., ED 147, sheet 15A, dwell. 311, fam. 318; NA microfilm T624, roll 103.

85. Pickett-Aldrich marriage record, 1 May 1890, Ormsby Co. Marriage Certificates 1:343, entry 798, Recorder, Carson City, Nev. "Married," *Daily Appeal*, 3 May 1890, page 2.

Priscilla and William Wilford had the following children, born at Carson City, Nevada:

+ 13 iv. SARAH[2] WILFORD, born 26 September 1864; died by her own hand on 2 November 1918 at Salt Lake City.[86] She married John Casper Lanno on 2 October 1886 at Salt Lake City.[87]

+ 14 v. WILLIAM M. WILFORD, born 2 September 1866;[88] died 17 February 1949 in Sonoma County, California.[89] He married Martha Jane "Mattie" or "Jennie" Grandbois on 2 July 1895 at Carson City.[90]

+ 15 vi. LILLA ISABEL "LIL" WILFORD, born 4 October 1868 near Carson City, Nevada;[91] died presumably in Rupert, Idaho, after 1951.[92] She married (1), at Carson City on 31 October 1886, Henry Heidenreich;[93] (2), at Reno, Nevada on 22 November 1910, Jesse Allen Thomas;[94] and (3), at Ely, Nevada on 26 August 1917, Isaiah Sutherland.[95]

Priscilla[1] Clark had three stepchildren (born at Chieveley to her first husband, George Picket, and his first wife, Maria Jarvis):

16 JAMES[2] PICKETT, born in 1844;[96] died in Utah before 1860.[97]

17 MARY PICKETT, born in 1846.[98] Like her brother James, she died apparently in Utah before 1860.

86. Sarah "Lamo" death certificate, no. LL01525004 (1918), Utah Department of Health, Salt Lake City.

87. Sarah Lanno, declaration for pension, 11 January 1901, John C. Lanno alias Casper Lanno (Private, Co. A, 13th U.S. Infantry), widow's certificate WC 525,011; Case Files of Approved Pension Applications of Widows and Other Dependents of Veterans of the Army and Navy who Served Mainly in the Civil War and the War with Spain ("Civil War and Later Widows' Certificates"), 1861–1934; Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, Record Group (RG) 15, National Archives, Washington D.C.

88. Priscilla Wilford Family Bible.

89. William Wilford death certificate, no. 49-016821 (1949), Calif. Office of Vital Records, Sacramento.

90. Wilford-Grandbois marriage record, Ormsby Co. Marriage Certificates 1:411, entry 943; and "Married," *Daily Appeal*, 4 July 1895, page 2. The former calls her "Martha Jane" and the latter "Jennie." For "Mattie," see Mattie J. Wilford death certificate, no. 180065 (1960), Calif. Office of Vital Records.

91. Priscilla Wilford Family Bible.

92. "Biography of Jane Pickett," 1, states that Lilla was living in 1951 in Rupert, Idaho.

93. Heidenreich-Wilford marriage record, 31 October 1886, Ormsby Co. Book 20:638, entry 1840N, Nevada State Archives, Carson City.

94. Thomas-Thomas marriage record, Washoe Co. Marriages A, entry 4,174, County Clerk, Reno, Nev. Lilla is recorded as "Lillie V. Thomas."

95. Sutherland-Thomas marriage record, White Pine Co. Marriages 80:11, Recorder, Ely, Nev.

96. George Pickett household, 1851 English census, Berkshire, Chieveley Parish, Newbury Registration Dist., Thatcham Subdist., ED 3b, Courage village, p. 18; and "Biography of Jane Pickett." The family joined the LDS Church apparently after February 1843 and before the 1844 birth of James Pickett, because the Pickett-Jarvis marriage record (cited above) is found in Church of England records, but no later Pickett family records are found in Chieveley Parish records. English LDS records of that period are not extant.

97. "Biography of Jane Pickett," 1, reports that James and Mary died in Utah in 1862. They are found in 1856 but not in 1860 with their sister Jane. See Matthew Pickett household, 1856 Utah Territorial Census, Great Salt Lake City, Ward 6, p. 252; and "W[m] A Picket" household, 1860 U.S. census, Shambip Co., Utah Territory, pop. sch., Clover Settlement, p. 45, dwell. 4032, fam. 3008.

98. George Pickett household, 1851 English census, Berkshire, Chieveley Parish, Newbury Registration Dist., Thatcham Subdist., ED 3b, Courage village, p. 18. "Biography of Jane Pickett," 1.

18 JANE PICKETT, born in 17 November 1848; died 6 June 1907 at Saint Charles, Idaho. She married John Thompson Barker on 20 June 1870 at Salt Lake City.[99]

Generation Two

11. Maria Louisa[2] Pickett (Priscilla[1] Clark, James[A]), born 28 November 1856 at St. Louis, Missouri;[100] died 28 March 1930 at Twin Falls, Idaho.[101] She was called Louisa all of her life.[102]

Three months before Priscilla was murdered she placed twelve-year-old Louisa with Louisa and **William Gill Mills** in Gilroy, California, for schooling. Louisa and her sister Sarah accompanied Louisa and William to Salt Lake City about 1872. They had a house in the city and a store in the mining town of Alta.[103] On 4 August 1878 the town of Alta was destroyed by fire.[104]

Louisa at age nineteen conceived a child with William. Son of Thomas and Jane (née [—?—]) Gill Mills, William was born 18 December 1822 in Ardglass, County Down, Ireland, and died 24 May 1895 at Salt Lake City.[105] He married (1), in Berkshire on 1 October 1851, Louisa Avalina Sleater,[106] born 22 December 1832 at Sligo, Ireland, daughter of Robert and Mary (née Marchant) Sleater. Louisa died 30 January 1926 at Salt Lake City.[107] They had no children.[108] William married (2), as a plural wife on 14 January 1857 at Salt Lake City, Emily Hill,[109] born 24 March 1836 at Warminster, Wiltshire, England, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (née Slade) Hill.[110] Emily was a survivor of the Willie Handcart Company, which was stranded and rescued in the Rocky Mountains of Wyoming in the winter of 1856; William was one of the rescuers.[111] Emily's

99. "Biography of Jane Pickett," 1.

100. George Read household, 1900 U.S. census, Cassia Co., Idaho, pop. sch., Marion precinct, ED 35, sheet 13B, dwell. 213, fam. 216.

101. Louisa Read death certificate, no. 70,024 (1930), Idaho Vital Statistics Unit.

102. Read, "Louisa Read Autobiographical Sketch," in *L.D.S. Individual Histories, Idaho*, 2:258–59.

103. E. L. Sloan, comp., *Gazetteer of Utah and Salt Lake City Directory* (Salt Lake City: Salt Lake Herald, 1874), 252.

104. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Utah* (San Francisco: History Company, 1890), 699.

105. For his birth, see William Gill Mills entry, 14 June 1857, no. 1233, Endowment House "Sealings of Couples, Living and by Proxy, 1851–1869," unpaginated. For his death, see Barker, "Biographical Sketch of William Gill Mills."

106. Mills-Sleater certification of marriage, Clifton Dist., Third Quarter, 1851, 11:453, England and Wales Civil Registration.

107. Louisa Mills obituary, *Deseret News*, Salt Lake City, 30 January 1926, section 2, page 26, col. 5.

108. Ibid.

109. William Gill Mills entry, 14 June 1857, no. 1233, Endowment House "Sealings of Couples, Living and by Proxy, 1851–1869," unpaginated.

110. Emily Hill entry, Christ Church (Warminster) Baptisms 1831–81, unpaginated, Wiltshire Record Office, Trowbridge, U.K.; FHL microfilm 0,950,246, frame 16.

111. Riverton Wyoming Stake, *Remember the Willie and Martin Handcart Companies and Their Rescuers—Past and Present* (Salt Lake City: Publishers Press, 1998), 4 and 16.

only child with him was a daughter, Avelina, who became the noted poetess E. H. Woodmansee after a divorce and remarriage.[112]

Louisa left William's home to have the baby in Granite, a village south of Salt Lake City. She went back to Tooele County to seek out Pickett relatives, including William Armstrong Pickett, who had always acted as her family's protector.[113] There she came to know Elizabeth (née Pickett) Tolman (Pickett's niece and Louisa's cousin), with whom she was very close for the rest of her life.[114] Louisa married (1) Elizabeth's husband, **Cyrus Ammon Tolman**, as his third plural wife on 12 December 1878 at Salt Lake City.[115] Son of Cyrus and Alice (née Bracken) Tolman,[116] Cyrus was born 6 September 1848 at Fort Bridger, Wyoming,[117] and died 24 May 1909 at Emmett, Idaho.[118] His previous plural marriages were: (1), on 17 October 1870, Elizabeth Pickett, who was born 3 August 1850 at Chieveley, England;[119] and (2), on 7 June 1875, Karen Sophia Isaacson, who was born 17 March 1857 at Christiania, Norway.[120] He had no children with either wife.

The polygamous family was living in 1880 in Ophir, Tooele County—Louisa with a new daughter.[121] The grass in Tooele County gave out in the 1880s, and the Tolmans moved to the Goose Creek country of southern Idaho. When Mormon Church President Wilford Woodruff published the 1890 Manifesto abandoning polygamy as LDS doctrine and clearing the way for Utah statehood, Louisa quickly divorced Cyrus.[122] He subsequently married (4) Minnie Marie

112. Emily Hill entry, 14 June 1857, no. 1232, Endowment House "Sealings of Couples, Living and by Proxy, 1851–1869," unpaginated. Augusta Joyce Crocheron, *Representative Women of Deseret: A Book of Biographical Sketches to Accompany the Picture Bearing the Same Title* (Salt Lake City: J. C. Graham, 1884), 82–90. Carter, *Treasures of Pioneer History*, 6:37–8.

113. "Biography of Jane Pickett," 1.

114. Glenn, "Mariah Louise Pickett Biography."

115. Read, "Louisa Read Autobiographical Sketch," in *L.D.S. Individual Histories, Idaho*, 2:258.

116. Leonidas Devon Mecham, [*Tolman*] *Family Book of Remembrance* (Bountiful, Utah: Tolman Family Organization, 1953), 207.

117. Ibid.

118. Archie England (Sexton, Emmett [Idaho] City Cemetery), in letter to Kristi Tolman Pitts, 2002, describes Cyrus Ammon Tolman's tombstone inscription. Also, "Cyrus A. Tolman," *Index*, Emmett, Idaho, 29 April 1909, page 3.

119. Tolman-Pickett entry, Endowment Index, 1846–1969, G:210, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Temple Records Index Bureau; FHL microfilm 1,263,468. For Elizabeth's birth date, see Elizabeth "Piggot," certification of birth, Newbury Dist., Third Quarter 1850, 6:230, England and Wales Civil Registration.

120. Tolman-Isaacson entry, 7 June 1875, no. 3515, Endowment House, "Sealings of couples, living and by proxy, 1851–1889"; FHL microfilm 0,183,400.

121. C. A. Tolman household, 1880 U.S. census, Tooele Co., Utah Territory, pop. sch., East Canyon Creek, Ophir Precinct, ED 77, sheet 8, dwell./fam. 19; NA microfilm T9, roll 1338.

122. Read, "Louisa Read Autobiographical Sketch," in *L.D.S. Individual Histories, Idaho*, 2:258. No confirmation of this divorce has been found.

Manchaune or Maison on 15 March 1896 at Emmett, Idaho,[123] and was excommunicated for "taking a plural after the Manifesto."[124]

Shortly after her divorce Louisa monogamously married (2), 21 May 1891 at Marion, Idaho, **George Franklin Read.**[125] Born 23 March 1861 at Nephi, Utah, and died on 23 May 1951 at Burley, Idaho, George was son of Robert Locke Read and Ann Jane (née McCowan) Read.[126] Louisa's children were not separated from her ex-husband, however—in 1900 the Reads and Tolmans were neighbors.[127] Louisa taught school in Marion, worked in her church, and lived to see her children raise large families.[128] For a portrait of Louisa and her first three children, see figure 2.

Louisa Pickett and William Gill Mills had one child:

19 i. MANNY[3] PICKETT, born 4 January 1876 in Granite, Utah;[129] died 5 October 1963 at Caliente, Nevada; buried at Burley, Idaho.[130] He married Dora Lenora Briggs on 24 December 1896 at Marion, Idaho.[131]

Louisa and Cyrus Tolman had two children:

20 ii. MARY ELIZABETH[3] TOLMAN, born 7 January 1880 at Knowllen, Utah; died 27 December 1967 at Murtaugh, Idaho.[132] She married Andrew Glenn on 2 March 1900 at Elba, Idaho.[133]

21 iii. GEORGE ORIN TOLMAN, born 11 June 1882 at Knowllen, Utah; died 23 January 1939 in an automobile accident at Pacoima, California.[134] He married Katherine Loveland at Logan, Utah, 7 September 1910.[135]

123. Tolman-Manchaune marriage record, Lincoln Co. Marriage Book 1:14, County Court, Shoshone, Idaho; FHL microfilm 1,533,016.

124. Read, "Louisa Read Autobiographical Sketch," in *L.D.S. Individual Histories, Idaho*, 2:258. Because LDS excommunication records are inaccessible, exactly when Tolman was excommunicated can be narrowed only to the politically likely period, 1896–98. See D. Michael Quinn, "LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriages, 1890–1904," *Dialogue* 18 (Spring 1985): 9–105.

125. Read, "Louisa Read Autobiographical Sketch," in *L.D.S. Individual Histories, Idaho*, 2:258. Read-Pickett marriage record, Cassia Co. Marriage Records 1:74.

126. George Franklin Read death certificate, no. 001,728 (1951), Idaho Vital Statistics Unit.

127. George Read household, 1900 U.S. census, Cassia Co., Idaho, pop. sch., Marion precinct, ED 35, sheet 13, dwell. 213, fam. 216. Also, Cyrus Tolman household, 1900 U.S. census, Cassia Co., Idaho, pop. sch., Marion precinct, ED 35, sheet 13, dwell. 211, fam. 214.

128. Read, "Louisa Read Autobiographical Sketch," in *L.D.S. Individual Histories, Idaho*, 2:258.

129. Manny Picket card, Missionary Record Index, 1830–1971, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Department; FHL microfilm 1,913,095. Also, Violet Execter Pickett, comp., Mannie Pickett–Dora Lenora Briggs family group sheet, "Family Group Records Collection, Patrons Section, 1962–1979," alphabetical by husband, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; FHL microfilm 0,598,891.

130. Mannie Picket death certificate, no. 63-2451 (1963), Nev. Office of Vital Statistics, Carson City.

131. Pickett-Briggs marriage record (1967), Cassia Co. Marriage Records 1A:22.

132. Mary Elizabeth Glenn death certificate, no. 005675, Idaho Vital Statistics Unit.

133. Glenn-Tolman marriage record, Cassia Co. Marriage Records 1A:70.

134. George "Orian" Tolman death certificate, no. 39-002833 (1939), Calif. Office of Vital Records.

135. Tolman-Loveland marriage record, Cache Co. Record Book 7:347, County Clerk, Logan, Utah; FHL microfilm 0,430,308.

Figure 2

Maria Louisa (née Pickett) Tolman and Her Children



Note: From left, Mannie Pickett, George Orin Tolman, Maria Louisa (née Pickett) Tolman, and Mary Elizabeth Tolman. The original portrait, made by C. R. Savage Pioneer Photography, Salt Lake City, Utah, about 1883, is owned by Patricia Ann Bates Miller, Corinne, Utah.

Louisa and George Read, had three children, all born at Marion, Idaho:

22 iv. ROBERT LOCKE[3] READ, born 20 August 1895; died 29 October 1956, at West Los Angeles, California.[136] He married Cora Lucille Hammond at Salt Lake City, 6 May 1920.[137]

23 v. WALDEMER PICKETT READ, born 19 July 1897;[138] died 17 March 1975 at Salt Lake City.[139] He married Ethel Elizabeth Olsen at Salt Lake City, 24 October 1924.[140] He earned a doctorate in philosophy from the University of Chicago and was for many years head of the Philosophy Department at the University of Utah, a much loved and respected man of wisdom and judgment and a contributor to his community.[141]

24 vi. ULEA JANE READ, born 26 February 1899; died 25 February 1985 at Seattle, Washington.[142] She married (1) Clarence "Don" Wharton at Shoshone, Idaho, 24 October 1924,[143] and (2), about 1930, Andrew F. Bozarth.[144]

12. George W.[2] Pickett (Priscilla[1] Clark, James[A]), born in February 1861 probably at Hangtown (now Placerville), California;[145] died before 1910 at Verdi, Nevada, perhaps in a mining accident or from illness.[146] He married 1 May 1890 at Carson City, Nevada, **Capitola "Allie" Lenwire Aldrich**, daughter of Horton Uriah and Emma (née Mitchell) Aldrich.[147] She was born 3 March 1869 at Mason Valley, Nevada, and died 8 June 1946 at Stockton, California.[148]

George traveled with his remarried mother from California to Carson City. After her murder the Henry Ross family raised George less than a mile from the

136. Robert L. Read death certificate, no. 56-098851 (1956), Calif. Office of Vital Records.

137. Read-Hammond marriage record, Salt Lake Co. Marriage Licenses 87, no. 34,505, County Clerk, Salt Lake City; FHL microfilm 0,034,505.

138. Read-Olsen application, Salt Lake Co. Marriage Licenses 115, no. 45,883; FHL microfilm 0,429,119.

139. Wildemer P. Read death certificate, no. 18-1037, Utah Department of Health.

140. Read-Olsen application, Salt Lake Co. Marriage Licenses 115, no. 45,883.

141. See for example, Waldemer P. Read, "What Freedom is Found in the Local Culture?" in *Great Issues Concerning Freedom* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1962), 113–29.

142. Ulea J. Bozarth death certificate, no. 005303 (1985), Wash. Department of Health, Olympia.

143. Wharton-Read marriage record, Lincoln Co. Marriage Book 3:395; FHL microfilm 1,533,016.

144. Andrew Bozarth household, 1930 U.S. census, Salt Lake Co., Utah, pop. sch., Salt Lake City, Ward 4, ED 18-63, sheet 6A, dwell. 10, fam. 41; NA microfilm T626, roll 2421.

145. George W. Pickett household, 1900 U.S. census, Washoe Co., Nev., pop. sch.,Verdi Precinct, ED 45, sheet 2A, dwell./fam. 31.

146. Capitola Pickett entry, 1910 U.S. census, San Joaquin Co., Calif., pop. sch., Tulare Twp., ED 147, sheet 15A, dwell. 311, fam. 318. The Parkin Collection of miscellaneous Nevada vital records at the Reno Family History Center has some records of the Nevada State Hospital and Cemetery that are tantalizingly close to a death record for George Pickett, but not close enough to be persuasive. Its cemetery has been built over.

147. Pickett-Aldrich marriage, 1 May 1890, Ormsby Co. Marriages H:343. For Capitola's nickname, see Andrew Pickett death certificate, no. 56-012458 (1956), Calif. Office of Vital Records.

148. Capitola Aldrich Pickett death certificate, no. 778069 (1946), Calif. Office of Vital Records.

Wilford ranch on Clear Creek.[149] After marrying in the Ross home,[150] he and Capitola moved to Verdi, Nevada, where George worked as a mine laborer.[151]

By 1900 the couple had three children.[152] In 1910 the widowed Capitola was working as a cook near Stockton, California, not far from where son Walter (who called himself Andrew) and daughter Priscilla worked.[153]

George and Capitola Pickett had three children:

25 i. WALTER aka ANDREW MARNI[3] PICKETT, born 4 February 1891 at Verdi, Nevada; died 19 February 1956 at Tehama, California.[154] He probably never married.[155]

26 ii. PRISCILLA M. PICKETT, born 4 May 1894 at Carson City, Nevada; died 5 February 1920 at Stockton, California.[156] She married Homer Alfred Clow, 14 October 1913 at Stockton.[157] They had two children.[158]

27 iii. GEORGE FRANK PICKETT, born 26 September 1896 at Verdi, Nevada. He lived at Palmyra, New Jersey, after serving in the Navy and died in the Philadelphia Naval Hospital, 6 April 1970. His wife was Frances G. [—?—].[159]

13. Sarah[2] Wilford (Priscilla[1] Clark, James[A]), born 26 September 1864 at Carson City, Nevada; committed suicide on 2 November 1918 at Salt Lake City.[160] She married **John Casper Lanno**, 2 October 1886 at Salt Lake City.[161] He was born about 1849–50 in Germany,[162] and died on 26 April 1899 at Truckee, California.[163]

149. Henry Ross household, 1870 U.S. census, Ormsby Co., Nev., pop. sch., Carson City Twp. and post office, p. 10, dwell. 97, fam. 90. Henry Ross household, 1875 Nev. state census, vol. 2, part 1, Douglas Co., pp. 32–33, dwelling 79; Nevada Historical Society, Reno.

150. Pickett-Aldrich marriage announcement, *Daily Appeal*, 3 May 1890, page 2. The item reports that the Ross home is close to the Indian School, one mile down Clear Creek from the Wilford ranch.

151. George W. Pickett household, 1900 U.S. census, Washoe Co., Nev., pop. sch., Verdi Precinct, ED 45, sheet 2A, dwell./fam. 31.

152. Ibid.

153. Capitola Pickett entry, 1910 U.S. census, San Joaquin Co., Calif., pop. sch., Tulare Twp., ED 147, sheet 15A, dwell. 311, fam. 318.

154. Andrew Pickett death certificate, no. 56-012458 (1956), Calif. Office of Vital Records.

155. Andrew M. Pickett entry, 1930 U.S. census, Rio Blanco Co., Colo., pop. sch., Miller Creek, Precinct 15, ED 52-17, sheet 2A, dwell. 32, fam. 52; NA microfilm T626, roll 250.

156. Priscilla Clow death certificate, no. 778970 (1920), Calif. Office of Vital Records.

157. Clow-Pickett marriage record, San Joauqin Co. Marriage Certificates 19:574, Recorder's Office, Stockton, Calif.

158. Homer Clow household, 1920 U.S. census, San Joaquin Co., Calif., pop. sch., Tulare Twp., ED 186, sheet 2A, dwell. 29, fam. 31; NA microfilm T625, roll 143.

159. George Frank Pickett death certificate, no. 3966807 (1970), Pa. Division of Vital Records, New Castle. George F. Pickett entry, 1920 U.S. census, "Military and Naval Population, Etc., Abroad," pop. sch., U.S.S. Ballard, Chatham, England, sheet 2A, line 11; NA microfilm T625, roll 2041.

160. Sarah "Lamo" death certificate, no. LL01525004, Utah Department of Health.

161. Sarah Lanno, declaration for pension, in John C. Lanno pension application file, widow's certificate WC 698,117, National Archives.

162. Ibid. Caspar Lanno entry, 1880 U.S. census, Lewis and Clark Co., Mont., pop. sch., Fort Shaw, ED 20, p. 18, dwell. 133, fam. 250.

163. Sarah Lanno, declaration for pension, in John C. Lanno pension application file, widow's certificate WC 698,117, National Archives.

When Sarah was four years old, her widowed mother, Priscilla Wilford, placed her and her sister with William and Louisa Gill Mills in Gilroy, California. About 1872 the girls moved with the couple to Utah. Sarah met her husband, a career soldier, at Fort Douglas, Utah. The couple lived at Fort Douglas for several years before moving to Eden, New York, in the mid-1890s. Lanno served at several western outposts, including Fort Shaw, in Montana.[164] As part of the 13th Regiment of the U. S. Infantry he was posted to the Philippines to fight in the Spanish-American War. As his unit was traveling by train, he was serving on guard duty near Truckee, California, on 28 April 1899. His foot became stuck in a siding, and he was struck by a train. He is buried in the Military Cemetery in Benicia, California.[165]

It is hard to imagine a harder or sadder life than Sarah's for the next nearly twenty years. Until she received a pension she had no means to sustain her growing family. Charities were closed to her because she had a pension claim. In 1901 she placed the two youngest children in the St. John's Orphan Asylum in West Seneca, New York, and paid two-thirds of their board. She put her middle child in St. John's Protectory in West Seneca, where "kindness of the Superintendent" supported him. The two oldest—twelve and thirteen years old—were "charitably maintained" with farmers in Eden Center, New York. In delicate health as a result of exposure, Sarah was hospitalized.[166]

By 1910 Sarah, with her children Leo and George, lived in Buffalo, New York, where she worked as a laundress.[167] She was never to be reunited with her two youngest offspring.[168] In 1917–18 she moved from Kansas City, where she had been working, to Salt Lake City, where she served as a maid for Mrs. J. L. Smith.[169] A few months later she took her life by drinking lye. She was buried in a pauper's grave in the Salt Lake City Cemetery on 13 November 1918.[170]

Sarah and John Casper Lanno had the following children:

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164. Caspar Lanno entry, 1880 U.S. census, Lewis and Clark Co., Mont., pop. sch., Fort Shaw, ED 20, p. 18, dwell. 133, fam. 250; NA microfilm T9, roll 742.

165. Sarah Lanno, statements in John C. Lanno pension application file, widow's certificate WC 698,117, National Archives. Harry Wassmann (Curator, Benicia Historical Museum), e-mail to Susan C. Stone, 7 June 2005.

166. Ibid.

167. Sarah Lanno household, 1910 U.S. census, Erie Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Buffalo, Ward 22, ED 213, sheet 2A, dwell. 21, fam. 25; NA microfilm T624, roll 947. Henrietta Frances Lanno and Wilford Lanno entries, 1910 U.S. census, Erie Co., N.Y., pop. sch., West Seneca, St. John's Orphan Home, ED 308, sheet 17A, dwell. 12, fam. 13; NA microfilm T624, roll 940.

168. J. B. Beatty (Acting Commissioner, Bureau of Pensions), letter to Bureau of Vital Statistics, Salt Lake City, 24 November 1919, in John C. Lanno pension application file, widow's certificate WC 698,117, National Archives.

169. Sarah Lanno, declaration for pension, in John C. Lanno pension application file, widow's certificate WC 698,117, National Archives. "Sarah Lamo" death certificate, no. LL01525004, Utah Department of Health. The informant, Mrs. J. H. Smith of Salt Lake City, reported that Sarah was a household servant.

170. "Sarah Lamo" death certificate, no. LL01525004, Utah Department of Health. "Sarah Lamo" entry, "Cemetery Burials Database," *Utah History Research Center: Archives and History* (http://history.utah.gov/apps/burials/execute/viewburial?cemeteryid=SL2105&id=100697).

28 i. EDWARD[3] LANNO, born 14 October 1887 at Fort Douglas, Utah.[171] He married about 1915 (1) Rosa Benz, born May 1890 in New York[172] and died about 1916. They had a son raised by her parents, Martin and Emma Benz.[173] Edward married (2) Dorthy [*sic*] Blatner about 1923. They raised three children in Buffalo, New York.[174]

29 ii. LEO J. LANNO, born 23 November 1888 at Fort Douglas.[175]

30 iii. GEORGE HENRY LANNO, born 25 December 1889 at Fort Douglas;[176] died by his own hand in Los Angeles, 12 June 1956.[177]

31 iv. WILLIAM LANNO, born 11 November 1891, at New York; died about 1900.[178]

32 v. WALTER LANNO, born 1893 in New York; died in infancy.[179]

33 vi. HENRIETTE FRANCES LANNO, born 26 January 1897 at Eden, New York.[180] She married Newton Whiteley in Lucas County, Ohio, 24 May 1919.[181] They raised one son.[182]

34 vii. WILFORD LANNO, born 26 April 1898 at Eden, New York.[183]

14. William M.[2] Wilford (Priscilla[1] Clark, James[A]), born 9 September 1866 at Carson City, Nevada;[184] died 17 February 1949 at Vallejo, California.[185] On 2 July 1895 at Carson City he married **Martha Jane "Mattie" or "Jennie" Grandbois,**[186] born in July 1877 at Sears, California, daughter of Louis and Isabel Grandbois.[187]

171. Sarah Lanno, declaration for pension, in John C. Lanno pension application file, widow's certificate WC 698,117, National Archives.

172. Martin Benz household, 1900 U.S. census, Erie Co., N.Y., pop. sch., East Hamburgh Twp., Orchard Park, ED 237, sheet 13A, dwell. 245, fam. 248; NA microfilm T623, roll 1023.

173. Martin Benz household, 1920 U.S. census, Erie Co., N.Y., pop. sch., East Hamburgh Twp., ED 288, sheet 7A, dwell. 169, fam. 179; NA microfilm T625, roll 1110.

174. Edward Lanno household, 1930 U.S. census, Erie Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Buffalo, Ward 17, Block 1715, ED 15-209, sheet 26B, dwell. 517, fam. 559; NA microfilm T626, roll 1431. Joseph Blatner household, 1920 U.S. census, Erie Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Dist. 10, Buffalo, Ward 24, ED 237, sheet 12B, dwell. 220, fam. 288; NA microfilm T625, roll 1108.

175. Sarah Lanno, declaration for pension, in John C. Lanno pension application file, widow's certificate WC 698,117, National Archives.

176. Ibid.

177. "Visitor Ends Life in Home of Woman," *Los Angeles Times*, 13 June 1956, page A7.

178. Sarah Lanno, statements in John C. Lanno pension application file, widow's certificate WC 698,117, National Archives. William is listed as a living child on 5 May 1899, but not in papers signed in 1901. See also Sarah Lanno household, 1900 U.S. census, Erie Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Buffalo, ED 180, sheet 13B, dwell. 271, fam. 279; NA microfilm T623, roll 1031.

179. Sarah Lanno, declaration for pension, in John C. Lanno pension application file, widow's certificate WC 698,117, National Archives.

180. Ibid.

181. Whitely-Lanno marriage record, Lucas Co. Marriage Records 37:78, Probate Court, Toledo, Ohio.

182. Newton Whiteley household, 1930 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., pop. sch., Lockmoor Village, ED 82-934, sheet 2A, dwell./fam. 28; NA microfilm T626, roll 1072.

183. Sarah Lanno, declaration for pension, in John C. Lanno pension application file, widow's certificate WC 698,117, National Archives.

184. Priscilla Wilford Family Bible.

185. William Wilford death certificate, no. 49-016821 (1949), Calif. Office of Vital Records.

186. Wilford-Grandbois marriage record, Ormsby Co. Marriage Certificates H:411.

187. Louis "Grambois" household, 1880 U.S. census, Sierra Co., Calif., pop. sch., Sears Twp., ED 100, sheet 2, dwell./fam. 10; NA microfilm T9, roll 83.

The Henry Ross family raised William after his parents' deaths.[188] Following his marriage he lived and worked with his half brother George Pickett in Verdi, Nevada. About 1900 he moved to Vallejo, California, and became a chicken farmer.[189]

William and Jennie Wilford had the following children:

35 i. FRANCIS WILLIAM[3] WILFORD, born 20 April 1896 at Verdi, Nevada; died 5 January 1986 at Santa Rosa, California. He married Ruth Kleinworth.[190]

36 ii. SEVERA LOUIS WILFORD, born 17 August 1897 at Verdi; died 9 June 1976 at Petaluma, California.[191] He married in 1918 Anne Marguerite Lund. They had two children.[192]

37 iii. ISABEL LILLIAN WILFORD, born 23 May 1903 at Sonoma, California; died in Marin County, California, 7 June 1987.[193] Named after her father's younger sister and his mother-in-law, Isabel married Joseph Azevedo in 1927.[194]

15. Lilla Isabel "Lil"[2] Wilford (Priscilla[1] Clark, James[A]), born 4 October 1868 at Carson City, Nevada;[195] died after 1951, presumably in Rupert, Idaho.[196] She married (1) at Carson City, 31 October 1886, **Henry Heidenreich**, born January 1857 in Iowa.[197] They divorced before 1907.[198] She married (2) at Reno, Nevada, 22 November 1910, **Jesse Allen Thomas**, who died 22 November 1912,[199] and (3) at Ely, Nevada, 26 August 1917, **Isaiah Sutherland**.[200]

Orphaned at age ten months and a ward of the State of Nevada, "Lil" was raised by the Henry Ross family near Carson City. In 1930, after separating from

188. Henry Ross household, 1870 U.S. census, Ormsby Co., Nev., pop. sch., Carson City Twp. and post office, p. 10, dwell. 97, fam. 90. Henry Ross household, 1875 Nev. state census, vol. 2, part 1, Douglas Co., pp. 32–3, dwell. 79.

189. William "Welford" household, 1910 U.S. census Sonoma Co., Calif., pop. sch., Vallejo Twp., ED 165, sheet 5A, dwell./fam. 71; NA microfilm T624, roll 109.

190. Francis William Wilford death certificate, no. 86-012088 (1986), Calif. Office of Vital Records.

191. Severa Wilford death certificate, no. 78-083188 (1976), Calif. Office of Vital Records.

192. Anne Marguerite Wilford death certificate, no. 87-199720 (1987), Calif. Office of Vital Records; Severa Wilford household, 1930 U.S. census, Sonoma Co., Calif., pop. sch., Vallejo Twp., ED 49-74, sheet 4B, dwell./fam. 108; NA microfilm T626, roll 222.

193. Isabel Lillian Azevedo death certificate, no. 87-000748 (1987), Calif. Office of Vital Records.

194. Joseph Azevedo household, 1930 U.S. census, Marin Co., Calif., pop. sch., Novato Twp., ED 21-4, sheet 2A, dwell./fam. 28; NA microfilm T626, roll 17.

195. Priscilla Wilford Family Bible.

196. "Biography of Jane Pickett," 1, states that Lilly was living in 1951 in Rupert, Idaho.

197. Heidenreich-Wilford marriage record, 31 October 1886, Ormsby Co. Marriage Book 20:638, entry 1840N. Henry Heidenreich household, 1900 U.S. census, Ormsby Co., Nev., pop. sch., Carson Twp., Carson City, ED 36, sheet 6B, dwell./fam. 154; NA microfilm T623, roll 943.

198. Henry Heidenreich household, 1910 U.S. census, Ormsby Co., Nev., pop. sch., Carson City, Ward 1, ED 60, sheet 4A, dwell. 12, fam. 13; NA microfilm T624, roll 859. Henry was living with his second wife, Louisa Berning, born about 1883.

199. Thomas-Thomas marriage record, Washoe Co. Marriages A, entry 4174. Jesse Allen Thomas death certificate, no. 12-000883 (1912), Nev. Office of Vital Statistics.

200. Sutherland-Thomas marriage record, White Pine Co. Marriages 80:11.

her third husband, she worked as a servant for a Los Angeles family.[201] She spent her final years in southern Idaho.[202]

Lilla and Henry Heidenreich had two children:

38 i. ARTHUR CARL[3] HEIDENREICH, born 4 September 1887 at Carson City, Nevada.[203] He married in 1916, Muzelle Powell, who was born in Iowa in 1893.[204]

39 ii. ISABELLA HEIDENREICH, born in June 1890 in Nevada, probably at Carson City.[205]

Lilla and Jesse Thomas had a daughter:

40 iii. ALICE J.[3] THOMAS, born in September or October 1908 at Reno, Nevada.[206]

CONCLUSION

Lilla (née Wilford) (Heidenreich) (Thomas) Sutherland referred to her mother's family as "shipwrecked,"[207] but her family never knew what she meant. The intriguing reference triggered efforts—some forty years ago—to learn about Priscilla and her life. The effort verified truths, exposed distortions, uncovered Priscilla's motivations, and revealed that Lilla's description of her maternal family was metaphorical.

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201. Lillian Sutherland entry, 1930 U.S. census, Los Angeles Co., Calif., pop. sch., Los Angeles, Assembly Dist. 56, ED 19-74, sheet 13A, dwell. 149, fam. 154; NA microfilm T626, roll 134.

202. "Biography of Jane Pickett," 1.

203. Arthur Carl Heidenreich card, group H, draft board 2, Des Moines City, Iowa, *World War I Selective Service System Draft Registration Cards, 1917–1918* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, n.d.), microfilm M1509, roll 1A13. Arthur was sole support of his wife, mother, and sister.

204. Lucretia Powell household, 1910 U.S. census, Shelby Co., Iowa, pop. sch., Union Twp., ED 177, sheet 3A, dwell. 58, fam. 61; NA microfilm T624, roll 423. Arthur C. Heidenreich household, 1920 U.S. census, Polk Co., Iowa, pop. sch., Des Moines, Ward 3, ED 114, sheet 11A, dwell. 76, fam. 157; NA microfilm T625, roll 508. Arthur Heidenriech household, 1930 U.S. census, Polk Co., Iowa, pop. sch., Des Moines, Ward 5, ED 77-52, sheet 2A, dwell. 28, fam. 30; NA microfilm T626, roll 675.

205. Henry Heidenreich household, 1900 U.S. census, Ormsby Co., Nev., pop. sch., Carson Twp., Carson City, ED 36, sheet 6B, dwell./fam. 154.

206. J. A. Thomas household, 1910 U.S. census, pop. sch., Washoe Co., Nev., Reno, Ward 2, ED 69, sheet 14B, dwell./fam. 339; NA microfilm T624, roll 859. The Thomases reported that they had been married for four years, the age of their daughter Alice was "1⁶/₁₂," and "Lily" had three children, all living. The family was visited on 2 May and the official enumeration date was 15 April. See Eales and Kvasnicka, *Guide to Genealogical Research in the National Archives*, 29. Also, Isaiah Sutherland household, 1920 U.S. census, White Pine Co., Nev., pop. sch., East Ely, ED 62, sheet 4A, dwell. 97, fam. 125; NA microfilm T625, roll 1005.

207. "Biography of Jane Pickett," 1.

Uncovering Ancestors by Deduction: The Husbands and Parents of Eleanor (née Medley) (Tureman) (Crow) Overton

By Thomas W. Jones, Ph.D., CG, CGL

Inferential reasoning that eliminates possibilities until only one remains can sometimes establish a genealogical conclusion. If the surviving alternative meets the Genealogical Proof Standard, then the relationship is proved.

Missing, incomplete, and erroneous records need not block genealogical research. As case studies in genealogical journals regularly show, careful use of evidence can overcome these barriers. Specifically, *deduction*—inferring a conclusion from aggregated clues—can prove an individual's identity and origins.

Eleanor, wife of Obediah Overton, demonstrates the point. Of her three marriages, record of only the third survives. Original sources neither identify her parents directly nor specify that they had a daughter Eleanor. Widely disseminated misidentification, lost records, and conflicting evidence complicate the picture. Consequently, documenting Eleanor's marriages and origins required extensive searches and complex reasoning. The effort involved the following, which are typical of research on challenging genealogical questions:

- Reconstructing several generations of several families
- Using data from sources where the research subject is not named
- Tracing land ownership despite unrecorded transactions
- Applying contemporary law to infer information from records
- Basing conclusions on indirect evidence gleaned from diverse sources

The late 1790s birth of Eleanor's last child (Frances Ann Overton, Samuel C. Overton, or Sidney Overton, depending on the source), suggests that Eleanor

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was born after 1750.[1] As "Ellender Crow" she married Obediah Overton in Culpeper County, Virginia, on 31 January 1788.[2] Her last known record was dated 11 October 1824.[3]

Eleanor Overton has interested family historians for decades because two of her granddaughters became early Latter-day Saints (LDS) and Utah pioneers.[4] Retold family history, however, may have confused her name with a daughter's. In 1879 Eleanor's granddaughter called her "Sidney Eleanor Overton," and a 1952 LDS family group record identifies her as "Sidney Eleanor Crow or Crew or Clue."[5] Nevertheless, no known record created during Eleanor's lifetime calls her Sidney. Similarly, descendants identify one of Eleanor's daughters as "Sidney Eleanor Overton," but records during her lifetime call her "Sidney Overton" and "Sidney Hancock."[6]

Eleanor's marrying in Culpeper County implies that her natal family might be found there, but no "Crow or Crew or Clue" record names anyone who could have been the "Ellender Crow" who married Obediah Overton. Indeed, the only original source naming "Ellender" or Eleanor Crow is the record of her 1788 marriage to Obediah Overton.

Despite the absence of documentation—or perhaps because of it—an unknown family historian has identified Eleanor as a daughter of James Crow who died in Culpeper County reportedly on 27 July 1797 and his wife, Elizabeth

1. For Frances, Samuel, and Sidney's identification as Eleanor's children, see Sarah L. P. Porter, family group sheet for Obediah Overton, in "Family Group Records Collection; Archives Section, 1942–1969," Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City, Utah; microfilm 1,274,798. The typewritten form, citing records of Eleanor's granddaughters' families, was prepared before 24 June 1952, the earliest Latter-day Saints (LDS) ordinance date stamped on the form. For Frances's 1798 birth, see Mrs. George M. Bowles (Shelbyville, Ky.) to author, 17 March 1973, quoting a family record. For 1795–96, see John Riner household, 1850 U.S. Census, Franklin Co., Va., population schedule, Dist. 2, p. 66, dwelling/family 222; National Archives (NA) microfilm M432, roll 200. For Samuel's 1796–97 birth, see Saml. C. Overton household, 1850 U.S. census, Washington Co., Ind., pop. sch., Jackson Twp., p. 280, dwell./fam. 125; NA microfilm M432, roll 179. For Sidney's 1795 birth, see Mary Therese Hill, copyist, "Bible Record of Monroe Hancock, no date," in "Report of Genealogical Records Committee: District of Columbia Daughters of the American Revolution," series 1, vol. 32, "1936–1937," p. 39, DAR Library, Washington, D.C. For 1799–1800, see Sidney Hancock household, 1850 U.S. census, Franklin Co., Ky., pop. sch., p. 63, Dist. 2, dwell./fam. 186.

2. Overton-Crow marriage record, Culpeper Co. Marriage Register 1781–1853, p. 71, County Clerk, Culpeper, Va.; Culpeper Co. microfilm 50, Library of Virginia (LVA), Richmond.

3. Hancock to Overton, Orange Co. Deed Book 30:499–500, County Clerk, Orange, Va.; LVA Orange Co. microfilm 30. Monroe Hancock deeded personal property to Eleanor Overton, apparently widowed.

4. Susan Ward Easton-Black, *Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1848*, 50 vols. (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1987), 23:713 (Parthenia Overton), 33:295–96 (Catherine Dorcas Overton), and 33:297–99 (Dandridge Overton).

5. Endowments for the Dead D:158, entry 3520, St. George Temple, St. George, Utah; FHL microfilm 0,170,533. "Sidney Eleanor Overton" was baptized posthumously on 18 February 1879. The "heir or proxy" was Catherine Dorcas Overton Emmett, identified as "Gd. Daut." Also, Porter, family group sheet for Obediah Overton in "Family Group Records Collection; Archives Section, 1942–1969," FHL.

6. For "Sidney Eleanor Overton," see Porter, family group sheet for Obediah Overton in "Family Group Records Collection; Archives Section, 1942–1969," FHL. For "Sidney Overton," see Munroe B. Hancock marriage bond, Orange Co. Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns 9, leaf 153, County Clerk, Orange Va.; LVA Orange Co. microfilm 52. Also, Hill, copyist, "Bible Record of Monroe Hancock." For "Sidney Hancock," see 1850 U.S. census, Franklin Co., Ky., pop. sch., p. 63, Dist. 2, dwell./fam. 186.

(née Givins) Crow. Original records do not verify this allegation, which personal, not-for-profit, and commercial Web sites have disseminated.[7] James's will says that part of his estate was "to be equally Divided among my Children as followeth[:] Dennis, John, Frances Lillard, Sarah Thomas, Elisabeth Criglar, and my son son [*sic*] William," which eliminates him as Eleanor Overton's father, even though they shared the Crow surname, lived in the same county, and apparently differed in age by a generation.[8] Furthermore, records of Obediah Overton imply that Eleanor was widowed when they married and that her Crow surname came from a previous husband.

ELEANOR'S HUSBANDS

Obediah and Eleanor Overton remained in Culpeper County after their 1788 marriage there.[9] Beginning in 1793 they lived in Madison County, Virginia, carved from Culpeper County that year.[10] On 29 July 1800 the couple sold their land in Madison County.[11] Three months later they bought property in adjoining Orange County but deeded it less than a year afterward "with love and affection to our son Dudley Overton."[12] Obediah paid personal property taxes in Orange County in 1801–18.[13]

7. "29. Sidney Eleanor CROW (CREW) (CLUE)," in *Ancestors of James Franklin Cottam* (http://cottam_family.tripod.com/jamesfran/pafg05.htm). Thirteen entries for "Sidney Eleanor Crow" in "IGI/North America" and entry for "Sidney Eleanor Crow (Crew) (Clue)," individual record AFN: 8V68-LV based on ten submissions between 1983 and 1993 in "Family Search Ancestral File," both at *FamilySearch* (http://www.familysearch.org). Also, "Sidney Eleanor Crow" record based on "18 User-submitted trees," in "OneWorldTree," *Ancestry.com* (http://ancestry.com). All of the above were accessed on 22 March 2006.

8. James Crow will, Madison Co. Will Book 1:138–41, County Court, Madison, Va.; LVA Madison Co. microfilm 16. James's reported death date is the day that his will, dated 11 April 1797, was presented in court. He died, therefore, sometime between 11 April and 27 July. James's will also eliminates him as father of Mary Crow and James Crow who, like Eleanor, are reported online to be James's offspring.

9. Obediah Overton [various spellings] entries, Culpeper Co. personal property tax lists; 1787 (Francis Madison entry), list C, p. 11; 1789, list 2, p. 27; 1790, list C, p. 22; 1791, list B, p. 21; 1792, list B, p. 20; Virginia Auditor of Public Accounts, Richmond; all on LVA personal property tax records microfilm 89. Obediah was not found in Culpeper County in 1788, but Francis Madison's 1788 entry includes two unnamed white males over age sixteen. See list C, p. 30.

10. Obediah Overton entries, Madison Co. personal property tax lists; 1793, p. 24; 1794, p. 23; 1795, p. 22; 1796, p. 23; 1797, p. 16; 1798, p. 17; 1799, p. 21; 1800, p. 19; and 1801, p. 22; Virginia Auditor of Public Accounts; all on LVA personal property tax records microfilm 220. For Madison County's formation, see "An Act for Dividing the County of Culpeper," in *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619*, William Waller Hening, ed. (Philadelphia: Thomas Desilver, 1823), 13:558–59.

11. Overton to Willis, Madison Co. Deed Book 2:481–83, County Court, Madison, Va.; LVA Madison Co. microfilm 1.

12. Deer to Overton, Orange Co. Deed Book 22:108–9; and Overton to Overton, Orange Co. Deed Book 22:200–201; LVA Orange Co. microfilm 9. As a Virginia landowner in 1800, Dudley was at least nine years old in 1788, when his father married Eleanor Crow.

13. Obediah Overton entries, Orange Co. personal property tax lists, Peirce Sandford's district, Virginia Auditor of Public Accounts; LVA personal property tax records microfilm 263, as follows: 1801, unpaginated; 1802, p. 10; 1803, p. 10; 1804, p. 25; 1806, unpaginated; 1807, p. 9; 1809, unpaginated; 1810, p. 9; 1811, p. 9; 1812, p. 16; 1813, p. 23; 1814, p. 10; 1815, p. 16; 1816, p. 13; 1817, p. 13; 1818, p. 12. Virginia did not collect taxes in 1808. See "Using Personal Property Tax Records in the Archives at the Library of Virginia (Research Notes Number 3)," *Library of Virginia* (http://www.lva.lib.va.us/whatwehave/tax/rn3_persprop.htm).

In February 1804 Elizabeth Crow, "orphan of James Crow[,] ... made choice of Obadiah Overton for her guardian."[14] Children in this time and place had guardians when they had property or legal matters to administer.[15] Nothing suggests that Elizabeth had property; a desire to marry as a minor motivated her to select a legal representative. On 16 August 1804, six months after her guardianship choice and as required for Virginians under age twenty-one, her guardian consented to her marriage.[16]

From all adult males in Orange County, why did Elizabeth select Obediah Overton as her guardian? Correlating the 1804 Overton-Crow guardianship record with the 1788 Overton-Crow marriage record suggests the following:

- "Ellender" Crow was James Crow's widow.
- Elizabeth Crow was not only James's orphan but also Eleanor's daughter.
- As Eleanor's husband, Obediah was Elizabeth's stepfather.
- As Elizabeth's stepfather, Obediah was a likely choice for Elizabeth's guardian.
- James Crow died before 1788, when his widow married Obediah.
- Elizabeth Crow was born between 1783 and 1788, because she was under age twenty-one in 1804, when she selected a guardian, and was born before Eleanor's remarriage in 1788.

The bondsman for Obediah's guardianship of Elizabeth Crow was John Kinzer. A prior association between the men suggests a husband for Eleanor before James Crow. In Madison County on 12 April 1796—eight years before Elizabeth Crow's guardianship and marriage—Obediah Overton and Ambrose Medley consented by "Guardian for Lucey Tureman" to marry Kinzer. Obediah promised to pay one hundred fifty dollars if a legal impediment barred the marriage.[17] Typically, close kinsmen of the bride or groom provided such guarantees. Lucy was a daughter of Ignatius Tureman, whose 1781 will names her and—among others—Ambrose Medley (an executor) and Ignatius's wife, Eleanor Tureman.[18] Could Obediah have been Lucy Tureman's stepfather just as he was Elizabeth Crow's? Could Eleanor Tureman, "Ellender" Crow, and Eleanor Overton all be the same person? John Kinzer connects Eleanor to three husbands:

14. Elizabeth Crow guardianship, Orange Co. Minutes 4:538, Circuit Court, Orange, Va.; LVA Orange Co. microfilm 38.

15. "Chap. 33—An Act to reduce into one, the several acts concerning guardians, orphans, committees, infants, masters, and apprentices (Passed December 11, 1792)," in *The Statutes at Large of Virginia, from October Session 1792, to December Session 1806, Inclusive, in Three Volumes (New Series,) Being a Continuation of Hening*, Samuel Shepherd, comp. (1835; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1979), 1:102.

16. Thomas R. Moore bond, Orange Co. Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns 6, leaves 34–35; LVA Orange Co. microfilm 50. A note on the back of the bond says "the consent of Obediah Overton the guardian of the within Elizabeth Crow was personally given." For the law concerning parental or guardian's consent for a minor to marry, see "An Act to regulate the solemnization of marriages ...," in *The Statutes at Large of Virginia, from October Session 1792 to December Session 1806*, Shepherd, comp., 1:132.

17. John Kinser bond, loose marriage bonds, County Clerk, Madison, Va. Ambrose Medley penned the brief consent. Within the bond and consent, Kinzer's surname also appears as "Kinser" and "Kinzar."

18. Ignatius Tureman will, Culpeper Co. Will Book B:501–2, County Court, Culpeper, Va.; LVA Culpeper Co. microfilm 31.

- Ignatius Tureman, Kinzer's deceased father-in-law
- James Crow, father of Lucy whose guardianship Kinzer bonded
- Obediah Overton, guardian of Kinzer's future wife

Records of Obediah and Eleanor's land shed light on the possibility that the above men were Eleanor's husbands. Joshua Willis paid 160 pounds for Obediah and Eleanor Overton's property in Madison County on 29 July 1800.[19] The record, worded like a typical fee-simple deed, raises several paradoxes:

- Obediah does not appear as a landowner in Culpeper County and Madison County tax lists before (and after) he and Eleanor sold the land.[20]
- Deed indexes in both counties do not name Obediah Overton as a grantee.
- He inherited no land from his apparent father.[21]
- He received no colonial, Northern Neck, or state land grant or patent.[22]
- The 1801 tax collector noted Joshua Willis's land purchase from "O. Overton" but added no acreage to Willis's holdings.[23] The deed does not specify the tract's size, but its land description generates an open plat of between 479 and 494 acres.

Earlier land tax records raise further questions about the above deed. In 1784, two or three years after Ignatius Tureman's death, tax liability for his 307 acres was transferred to James Crow.[24] In the absence of a divorce, it can be assumed that Crow died before Eleanor's 1788 marriage to Obediah. Culpeper County and Madison County land tax books, however, carry James's listing for 307 acres through 1809. For 1801–9 the entry is "James Crow Dec[eased]."[25] Thereafter no one in Madison County paid taxes on, or had holdings increase by, 307 acres.[26]

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19. Overton to Willis, Madison Co. Deed Book 2:481–83.

20. Culpeper Co. land tax lists, 1782–1812, Virginia Auditor of Public Accounts; LVA land tax microfilm 78. Also, Madison Co. Land Tax Lists, 1793–1829, Virginia Auditor of Public Accounts; LVA land tax microfilm 184. Virginia's land tax lists begin in 1782. See "Using Land Tax Records in the Archives at the Library of Virginia," *Library of Virginia* (http://www.lva.lib.va.us/whatwehave/land/rn1_landtax.pdf).

21. John Howerton will, Spotsylvania Co. Will Book E:1171, County Court, Spotsylvania, Va.; LVA Spotsylvania Co. microfilm 28. For Obediah's relationship to Howerton, see Thomas W. Jones, "Howerton to Overton: Documenting a Name Change," *NGS Quarterly* 78 (September 1990): 169–81.

22. "Basic Search: Land Office Grants," *Library of Virginia* (http://ajax.lva.lib.va.us/F/?func=file&file_name=find-b-clas30&local_base=CLAS30).

23. Joshua Willis entry, 1801 Madison Co. land tax list, p. 24.

24. Ignatius Tureman entry, Hume and Waugh's list, p. 24, 1782 Culpeper Co. land tax list; and James Crow entry, "Alterations in property of Land in Culpeper County in the years [*sic*] 1784," unpaginated; both on LVA land tax books microfilm 78. Like the latter roll, the 1783 list contains "alterations" only.

25. James Crow Jr. entries in the following Culpeper Co. Land Tax Lists: 1787, Goodrich Lightfoot's dist., p. 3; 1788, John Hume's dist., unpaginated; 1789, John Gibbs's dist., p. 4; 1790, John Gibbs's dist., p. 4; 1791, Gibbs's dist., p. 5; 1792, Gibbs's dist., p. 4. The 1783–86 lists contain "alterations" only. Also, James Crow Jr. entries in the 1793–1800 Madison Co. Land Tax Lists, each on p. 6. Also, James Crow Dec[eased] entries, Madison County Land Tax Books, 1801–7 and 1809, each on p. 6.

26. 1810–12 Madison Co. land tax lists.

No tax record or deed directly conveys James Crow's land, but common law explains how it could have changed hands.[27] When a widow married, she became a "covered woman" and her land was taxed in the new husband's name. When he died, she regained her rights to the first husband's land, but upon remarrying, she again became a *feme covert* and her land rights became her third husband's.

If the widow Eleanor Tureman married (2) James Crow and (3) Obediah Overton, she may have lived on Tureman's land until 1800, when she and Obediah Overton sold it.[28] The Culpeper County and Madison County tax assessors inexplicably continued listing the land under Crow. Regardless, had the tract deeded in 1800 been Ignatius Tureman's, Eleanor and her husband were not entitled to sell it. Ignatius's 1781 will only loaned his land to Eleanor until their eldest daughter turned eighteen, after which Eleanor was to have one third of it "during her life."[29] Three additional deeds—making no mention of Obediah and Eleanor—explain the enigmas in their 1800 land sale:

- On 25 March 1799 Thomas and Mary Barbour sold "six hundred Acres more or Less" to Daniel Triplett. The deed recapitulates some unrecorded history of the property. Thomas Barbour had sold the tract undivided to William Lotspeich and Ignatius Tureman for 601 pounds. Lotspeich sold his moiety (interest) to Daniel Triplett for 300 pounds. At Tureman's death, his two daughters sold their moieties: Lucy and John Kinzer to Daniel Triplett for 300 pounds, and Susanna and Willis Overton to Lewis Overton for an unspecified amount.[30] Because no deeds had been made for any of these transactions, the parties agreed that (1) the original grantor (Barbour) would convey the entire tract directly to Daniel Triplett and (2) Triplett would separately convey Susanna's former rights directly to Lewis Overton.[31]
- On 16 May 1799 Daniel Triplett and his wife sold to Joshua Willis, for 766 pounds 5 shillings, land described as 325 acres—a transfer reflected in Willis's 1800 tax listing. The tract's boundaries match those of much of the property Thomas and Mary Barbour conveyed to Triplett in the March transaction.[32]
- On 8 September 1800 for a token five shillings Daniel Triplett sold to Joshua Willis land described as 120.5 acres—the land Lewis Overton had purchased from Willis and Susanna Overton, referred to in the March deed. Because Lewis Overton had in the interim sold the property to Joshua Willis for 160 pounds, the parties agreed that Triplett should sell directly to Willis. Oddly, this deed was recorded twice.[33]

27. See William Blackstone, *Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England* (Oxford, England: 1765–69), 1:430; online (http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/blackstone/bk1ch15.htm). For a discussion of husbands', wives', and widows' property rights in the early United States, see chapters 1–4 in Tapping Reeve, *The Law of Baron and Femme* (1862; reprint, Union, N.J.: The Lawbook Exchange, 1998), 49–142.

28. Tureman may have made the purchase soon after 24 August 1780, when he sold off other land. See Tureman to Johnson deed, Orange Co. Deed Book 17:375–77.

29. Ignatius Tureman will (1782), Culpeper Co. Will Book B:501–2.

30. Lewis and Willis were brothers. For documentation, see Jones, "Howerton to Overton," 175–78.

31. Barbour to Triplett, Madison Co. Deed Book 2:506–8.

32. Triplett to Willis, Madison Co. Deed Book 2:302–5. The land's description does not yield a closed plat, but it contained apparently 300–400 acres.

33. Ibid., 495–96 and 502–4. Its description yields an open plat containing about 90 acres.

The tract sizes in the above deeds do not match the land descriptions, nor do they add up. In interpreting these deeds, it is important to avoid unsupported assumptions. The deeds do not specify that the Lotspeich-Tureman shares were equal. Assuming equal shares, the quality of the land and the presence of buildings or improvements could make the dimensions uneven. The same applies to Tureman's daughters' shares, complicated by the unmentioned rights of thirds held by his widow.

The 25 March 1799 deed reports the purchase of approximately 600 acres. The land description, however, is identical to that in the 29 July 1800 Overton-Willis deed, which plats at between 479 and 494 acres. Given Ignatius Tureman's and James Crow's tax liability for 307 acres and the 325-acre figure in the 11 May 1799 deed for part of the original tract, the 600-acre approximation probably is correct and the land description incomplete.

Regardless of the acreage, the deeds of 25 March 1799, 11 May 1799, and 8 September 1800 show that by the latter date Joshua Willis owned the entire tract conveyed by Thomas Barbour to Ignatius Tureman and William Lotspeich. The three deeds, however, do not mention Eleanor Tureman's share of her late husband's land, giving the erroneous impression that Eleanor had relinquished her rights or had died before the deeds were written.[34] As explained above, however, Eleanor survived Ignatius, married James Crow in 1782–84, wed Obediah Overton in 1788, and was alive in 1824. Obediah and Eleanor's 29 July 1800 deed to Joshua Willis conveyed Eleanor's *rights* to land instead of the property itself. The tract's description matches that of the Lotspeich-Tureman purchase of 25 March 1799. The Overtons' deed cleared Joshua Willis's title to the Tureman-Lotspeich property, including land that Tureman's sons-in-law had conveyed without addressing their mother-in-law's life interest in one-third of their shares. The Overton-Willis deed's title-clearing purpose explains why it neither specified acreage nor affected the purchaser's tax listing.

The transfer of Ignatius Tureman's land tax liability to James Crow, Obediah Overton's guardianship of Crow's orphan, and John Kinzer's associations with all three men suggest they were husbands of the same Eleanor. Obediah and Eleanor Overton's deed, clearing title to land that Ignatius Tureman once owned, confirms it. Eleanor Crow who married Obediah Overton in 1788 was the remarried, and again widowed, widow of Ignatius Tureman.

ELEANOR'S PARENTS

Record of Eleanor's marriage to Ignatius Tureman may have been among the missing Culpeper marriage bonds, removing a likely source for learning her maiden surname. Furthermore, the well abstracted and indexed deed, probate, and tax records for Culpeper County and Madison County, where Eleanor's

34. Ignatius Tureman will (1782), Culpeper Co. Will Book B:501–2.

parents probably lived, do not show Eleanor Tureman, Crow, or Overton inheriting, owning, or selling property obtained from her parents.[35]

Born apparently in the 1750s, Eleanor died probably before 1853, when Virginia began recording births and deaths.[36] Original records of Eleanor's children do not name their parents.[37] In sum, no reliable source identifies Eleanor's maiden name or parents directly.

Paternal Possibilities

Albeit subtly, Ignatius Tureman's 1781 will points to Eleanor's parentage. The document names six people besides the widow and children: Robert Brooking, Samuel Brooking, Ephraim Klug, and Lidia Klug, all witnesses; and Ambrose Medley and Jacob Medley, both co-executors.[38] Records in the counties of Culpeper and Madison document associations among these nonheirs.

- On 6 January 1792 Charles Brooking named his four sons, including Robert and Samuel Brooking.[39] Therefore, the Brookings who witnessed Ignatius Tureman's 1781 will were brothers.[40]
- On 9 July 1795 Jacob Medley gave Ambrose Medley "slaves[,] goods[,] and chattels" for five shillings and "the love and affection which he has for his said Son."[41] Jacob, therefore, was Ambrose's father.
- On 19 May 1763 "Susannah Klugg" was authorized to administer "the Estate of her late Husband George Samuel Klugg, deced."[42] Klug had been pastor of Virginia's first Lutheran congregation.[43] Perhaps foreseeing the estate's division, "Susanna Klugg" executed a premarital agreement with Jacob "Medly" on 20 October 1774.[44] On

35. Eleanor's name appears as a grantor with her husband on four deeds in three counties. In the first, she sold land with Ignatius Tureman that her late brother-in-law, George Tureman, had purchased. See Darnell to Tureman, Spotsylvania Co. Deed Book H:125–27, County Court, Spotsylvania, Va.; LVA Spotsylvania Co. microfilm 4. Also, Tureman to Jenkins, Spotsylvania Co. Deed Book J:228–29; LVA Spotsylvania Co. microfilm 5. Second, Eleanor and Ignatius sold land in 1780 that he had purchased in 1777. See Winslow to Tureman, Orange Co. Deed Book 17:299–301; and Tureman to Johnson, Orange Co. Deed Book 17:375–77; LVA Orange Co. microfilm 7. Third, Eleanor sold rights to land with Obediah Overton that Ignatius Tureman had purchased. See Overton to Willis, Madison Co. Deed Book 2:481–83. Fourth, Eleanor sold land with Obediah Overton that he had purchased. See Deer to Overton, Orange Co. Deed Book 22:108–9; and Overton to Overton, Orange Co. Deed Book 22:200–201.

36. "Using Vital Statistics Records in the Archives at the Library of Virginia (Research Notes Number 2)," *Library of Virginia* (http://www.lva.lib.va.us/whatwehave/vital/rn2_vitalstats.htm).

37. Eleanor's children by Tureman (Susanna, Lucy) and Crow (Elizabeth) are documented above. For Obediah and Eleanor's children, see Jones, "Howerton to Overton," 175–78.

38. Ignatius Tureman will (1782), Culpeper Co. Will Book B:501–2.

39. Charles Brooking will (1792), Madison Co. Will Book 1:70–72.

40. In 1782 the only Brooking taxpayers in Culpeper Co. were Charles, William, Samuel, and Robert. See Culpeper Co. Personal Property Tax Lists, 1782, Robert Alcock's dist., p. 56; LVA personal property tax records 1782–1870, microfilm 89.

41. Jacob Medley to Ambrose Medley land record, Culpeper Co. Deed Book N:117–20, County Court, Culpeper, Va.; LVA Culpeper Co. microfilm 7.

42. George Samuel Klug administrator appointment, Culpeper Co. Minute Book, 1763–64, p. 325, County Court, Culpeper, Va.; LVA Culpeper Co. microfilm 40.

43. W. P. Huddle, *History of the Hebron Lutheran Church, Madison County, Virginia, from 1717 to 1907* (New Market, Va.: Henkel and Co., 1908), 2.

44. "Medly"-Klug agreement, Culpeper Co. Deed Book H:21–22; LVA Culpeper Co. microfilm, 5.

18 September 1775 "Mrs. Meadley Lately Mrs. Klug" presented an account of the estate of "the Revd. Samuel Klug."[45] The next day she was recorded as "Susanna Klug ... now the wife of Jacob Meadley."[46] No other record of their marriage survives but it connects Tureman's Medley executors to the Klug witnesses.

- On 19 September 1775 the Reverend Klug's estate, containing no land, was divided among nine children. The record names only the remarried widow and four sons-in-law.[47] Three Klug males, a generation younger than the minister, appear in Culpeper county records.[48] They apparently were three of the unnamed children in the Klug estate division because he was the only local older man with their surname. These sons include Ephraim Klug, who witnessed Ignatius Tureman's will in 1781. The two children remaining apparently were unmarried daughters.
- Susanna presumably was Rev. Klug's only wife and mother to his nine children.[49] Ephraim Klug administered her estate.[50] He apparently was a stepson of Jacob Medley, who married widow Susanna in 1774–75 and was a Tureman executor.
- At first sight, Ephraim and Lidia Klug's witnessing Ignatius Tureman's 1781 will suggests a married couple. If so, they married long before Ephraim wed Elizabeth Major on 24 August 1792[51]—a late date for a first marriage of Ephraim, who obtained land on 13 April 1775,[52] fathered an illegitimate child baptized in 1776,[53] and sold land—apparently as a single man—on 16 August 1779.[54] Ephraim apparently was of legal age by 1779,[55] and a first marriage thirteen or more years later would have been atypical. Rather than Ephraim Klug's first wife, however, Lidia could have been his sister, specifically one of Rev. Klug's two unnamed children in 1775. On 1 May 1781, less than two months after witnessing Tureman's will, "Lydda Klugg" witnessed a land sale to Ambrose Medley.[56] If Lidia was Rev. Klug's daughter, she was Ambrose Medley's stepsister. (Klug's widow married Ambrose Medley's father

45. George Samuel Klug estate accounts, Culpeper Co. Will Book A:151–52; LVA Culpeper Co. microfilm, 31.

46. Ibid., 152.

47. Ibid.

48. On 21 December 1765 Samuel Klug translated the will of Henry Huffman from German into English. See Culpeper Co. Will Book A:419–21. (This could not have been the father of that name, because he died before 19 May 1763. See Culpeper Co. Minute Book, 1763–64, p. 325.) Similarly, Ephraim and Michael Klug appear in lists of potential Culpeper County draftees in 1781. See John Blankenbaker, *The Culpeper Classes* (Chadds Ford, Pa., 1999), 22 ("Michale Klugg," list no. 70) and 29 ("Epharim Klugg," list no. 92).

49. For a similar conclusion, see "Rev. George Samuel Klug," *The Germanna Record* 6 (June 1965): 86–87; and Mary C. Padget and John Blankenbaker, "George Samuel Klug," *Beyond Germanna* 11 (January 1999): 608–9. The latter suggest that Klug married Susanna shortly after arriving in Virginia in 1738.

50. Susannah Medley estate sale return and account, Madison Co. Will Book 1:288–89.

51. Klug-Major marriage record, Culpeper Co. Marriage Register 1781–1853, p. 62.

52. Delph to "Clug," Culpeper Co. Deed Book G:533–36; LVA Culpeper Co. microfilm 4.

53. John Blankenbaker, trans., *"Hebron" Baptismal Register of the German Lutheran Church in Culpeper/ Madison Counties, Virginia 1750 to 1849: Transcribed, Translated and Indexed from the Church Records with a Commentary on the Relationships of the Sponsors to the Parents* (Chadds Ford, Pa., 2004), 40. The mother was identifed as "Rossel," perhaps Maria Rossel, one of the infant's baptismal sponsors. The entry, on p. 29 of the original register, says "On Oath, Ephraim Klugge is father."

54. "Klugg" and Delph to Sims, Culpeper Deed Book I:392–95; LVA Culpeper Co. microfilm 5. The deed mentions no wife of Ephraim, and no dower release is recorded.

55. Transacting business with minors in Virginia became illegal in 1642. See "Act LIII," *The Statutes at Large*, Hening, comp., 1:269.

56. Terrell to Medley, Culpeper Co. Deed Book L:70–72; LVA Culpeper Co. microfilm 6.

in 1774–75.) The Terrell-Medley deed, connecting Lidia to Ambrose Medley, supports this possibility. In any case, Lidia Klug appears related to Ephraim Klug as his sister or wife and to Ambrose Medley as his stepsister or stepsister-in-law.

Ignatius Tureman's will implies further connections. Executors of many eighteenth-century Virginia wills were close relatives of the testator or spouse; witnesses often were relatives or neighbors.

Of the six nonheirs named in Ignatius Tureman's will, witnesses Robert and Samuel Brooking may have been Ignatius's stepbrothers or half brothers. Ignatius's parents were Robert and Ann Tureman.[57] Robert died in Culpeper County in 1753–54 and left a will naming five children, including Ignatius.[58] Robert's widow, Ann, as executrix, presented an accounting of Robert's estate in 1761.[59] In 1765, however, Charles Brooking presented a guardian's account for the estate, and in 1770 he reported its final settlement.[60] This series of events suggests that Charles had married the widow, making Ann a *feme covert* and Charles responsible for Robert's orphans and estate.[61] If so, Charles's sons were Ignatius Tureman's stepbrothers or half brothers.[62]

Before writing his will Ignatius Tureman had a connection to Rev. Samuel Klug that strengthens his and Eleanor's likely kinship to the intermarried Klugs and Medleys. William Lotspeich, who purchased land with Ignatius Tureman, was one of four sons-in-law who received shares of Rev. Klug's estate.[63] Born in Frankenthal, Bavaria, on 23 December 1740, Lotspeich settled in Virginia by 1766.[64] In contrast, Tureman, born in Virginia in 1750, descended apparently

57. Ignatius Tureman birth record ("Ignatious & Ann Son & Daughr of Robert & Ann Turman born Decr 4th 1750"), Christ Church Parish (Middlesex Co., Va.) Register, 1663–1814, p. 296, Church Records Collection, LVA; FHL microfilm 0,030,821. For a transcription of this register, see C. G. Chamberlayne, transcr., *The Vestry Book of Christ Church Parish: Middlesex County, Virginia, 1663–1767* (Richmond: Old Dominion Press, 1927).

58. Robert Tureman will (1754), Culpeper Co. Will Book A:93–94.

59. "Acct of Turmon Estate," Culpeper Co. Will Book A:400.

60. Robert Tureman estate accounts, Culpeper Co. Will Book A:430, and Culpeper Co. Will Book B:97.

61. Culpeper marriage bonds and order books for this period, which might clarify Brooking's involvement in the Tureman estate, are missing. Brooking did not create a Culpeper County or Madison County deed naming his wife. See Brooking to Sampson, Culpeper Deed Book P:37–39; Brooking to Medley, Culpeper Deed Book P:39–41; and "Brooken" to "Brooken," Culpeper Co. Deed Book P:41–42; LVA Culpeper Co. microfilm 8.

62. Charles Brooking will (1792), Madison Co. Will Book 1:70–72.

63. "Klug Sett[lement]," Culpeper Co. Will Book A:152.

64. On 4 October 1766 "William Ludspike" was paid for "sawing." See William Johnston estate account, Culpeper Co. Will Book C:293; LVA Culpeper Co. microfilm 32. For biographical sketches of Lotspeich, see Johni Cerny and Gary J. Zimmerman, "William Lotspeich, Immigrant to Virginia," in *Before Germanna*, 15 vols. (Bountiful, Utah: American Genealogical Lending Library, 1990–2003), 11:49–53; Charles Herbert Huffman, ed., "Second Germanna Colony of 1717," *The Germanna Record* 6 (June 1965): 87–88; and Don Yoder, ed., "Frankenthal," in *Rhineland Emigrants* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1985), 61. Cerny and Zimmerman apparently examined the Frankenthal birth records of Johann Wilhelm Lotspeich and his siblings.

from English colonists with no close German-speaking relatives.[65] Why would he, probably about 1780, purchase land with a Bavarian immigrant? The best answer is that they were related by marriage. The likely relationship is one of the following:

- Tureman married Lotspeich's sister.
- Lotspeich married Tureman's sister.
- Tureman and Lotspeich married sisters.

Lotspeich had seven sisters. Judging from estate papers of his father and an unmarried maternal uncle, he had no stepsisters.[66] Only one of his four sisters surviving in 1778—Frederica—lived in North America. She had married John Francis Lucas Jacoby in London, England, in 1764 and settled in Kentucky by 1792.[67] Therefore, Tureman's wife, Eleanor, could not have been Lotspeich's sister or stepsister, ruling out the first of the above alternatives.

In 1774 and 1776 Lotspeich's wife was Magdalena.[68] In 1775 Lotspeich was one of Rev. Samuel Klug's four sons-in-law.[69] Magdalena, therefore, was Klug's daughter and not Tureman's sister. She was alive in 1800 and died reportedly in 1820.[70] No evidence suggests that Lotspeich had a wife before Magdalena, eliminating the second alternative above.

Because the first two alternatives can be eliminated, Tureman and Lotspeich probably married sisters. They married apparently before the Lotspeich-Tureman land purchase, which occurred probably between 4 December 1771, when

65. Ignatius Tureman birth record, Christ Church Parish Register, 1663–1814, p. 296. Ignatius's eponym—perhaps his grandfather—paid taxes in Virginia in 1704, which predates permanent German settlement in the colony. See "Virginia Quit Rent Rolls, 1704: King and Queen County," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 32 (April 1924): 150 (Ignatius Tureman entry). The first permanent German settlement in Virginia was in 1714. See Virginia Historical Society, "Becoming Virginians" in *The Story of Virginia: An American Experience* (http://www.vahistorical.org/sva2003/virginians.htm).

66. Yoder, ed., "Frankenthal," *Rhineland Emigrants*, 61. Yoder's work is an edited translation of Friedrich Krebs, "Amerikaauswanderer des 18. Jahrhunderts aus der Stadt Frankenthal" [American Immigrants of the Eighteenth Century from Frankenthal], *Mitteilungen der Westdeutschen Gesellschaft für Familienkunde* [Reports of the West German Society of Family History] 19 (1959): cols. 577–80. Krebs obtained the information from the estate papers "of Conrad Lotschbert [father of Johann Wilhelm Lotschberg or Lotspeich] (No. 879, dated October 24, 1778) in the City Archives of Frankenthal."

67. "Jacobi"-"Lotspeig" marriage record (16 July 1764), Marriages 1758–1770, p. 245, parish registers, Saint Martin in the Fields, Westminster, London; FHL microfilm 0,561,156. Also, John Christopher Lotspeich and Frederica Jacoby to executors of Ralph Landenberg, release, Bourbon Co. Deed Book C:317–21, County Court, Paris, Ky.; FHL microfilm 0,183,106. The release specifies that the widowed Frederica Jacoby was "formerly called Joanna Frederica Lotspeich of Frankenthal."

68. "Lodspike" to Rector, 17 October 1774, Culpeper Co. Deed Book G:384; and "Lodspike" to Dear, 21 October 1776, Culpeper Co. Deed Book H:332–34. Magdalena is named in both deeds.

69. "Klug Sett[lement]," Culpeper Co. Will Book A:152.

70. Barbour to Triplett, Madison Co. Deed Book 2:506–8. Magdalena "Lotspeick" signed the deed as wife of one of the land's owners between Barbour and Triplett. John Blankenbaker, "Note_1085," in *Germanna Colony History* (http://www.germanna.net/1cc.htm) suggests that Magdalena died in Lexington, Kentucky, in 1820. Elreeta Crain Weathers, in "Ahnentafel Chart for Amanda Elizabeth (Lewis) Steen," in *People and Places: Gazetteer of Hamilton County, Texas* (http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~gazetteer2000/ham_city/cemetery/howard/obits.htm) gives the date as 7 July 1820. Neither cites a source for this information.

Tureman turned twenty-one, and 28 March 1781, when he mentioned the land in his will.[71] Tureman's wife apparently was a sister or stepsister of Lotspeich's wife, Magdalena (née Klug) Lotspeich. This probable sibling was Eleanor, whom Ignatius had married before 1777, because no record suggests that he had an earlier wife.[72] If so, Eleanor's father was one of two men:

1. Rev. George Samuel Klug (the father of William Lotspeich's wife)
2. Jacob Medley (who, in 1774, became stepfather of William Lotspeich's wife)

In such situations inferential reasoning that eliminates possibilities until only one remains can establish a genealogical conclusion. If the surviving alternative meets the Genealogical Proof Standard, then the relationship is "proved."[73] Only three possibilities exist for the father of Ignatius Tureman's widow, the two above and the following:

3. Neither Rev. George Samuel Klug nor Jacob Medley

The third possibility can be eliminated because it would leave unexplained two important and apparently interrelated aspects of Ignatius Tureman's life: (1) his partnership with William Lotspeich; and (2) his trust in Jacob and Ambrose Medley to execute his will, administer his estate, and watch over his widow and young daughters.

This reasoning leaves only Rev. Klug and Jacob Medley as candidates for Eleanor's father. Unfortunately, no record specifies that either man had a daughter Eleanor. Klug, however, had two unnamed daughters who received shares of his estate in 1775.[74] Medley deeded his land to two sons and left no estate to probate and identify other offspring.[75]

When direct evidence is absent, an ancestor's associates often lead to relatives. Eleanor's case is more complicated, however, because her possible parental families were related—the widow Klug had married the widower Medley. Consequently, a relationship supporting one alternative also supports the other. For example, Ignatius Tureman may have chosen Jacob and Ambrose Medley to execute his will because they were Eleanor's father and brother. Alternatively, Ignatius may have selected them believing that, after his death, Jacob Medley—as husband of his widow's mother—would be the most significant male in her life, the logical

71. Ignatius Tureman birth record, Christ Church Parish Register, 1663–1814, p. 296; and Ignatius Tureman will (1782), Culpeper Co. Will Book B:501–2.

72. In 1777 Eleanor gave a dower release as Ignatius Tureman's wife. See Tureman to Jenkins, Spotsylvania Co. Deed Book J:228–29.

73. For the proof standard's criteria, see Board for Certification of Genealogists, *The BCG Genealogical Standards Manual* (Orem, Utah: 2000), 1–2.

74. "Klug Sett[lement]," Culpeper Co. Will Book A:152.

75. Jacob Medley to Ambrose Medley, Culpeper Co. Deed Book N:114–16; and Jacob Medley to Reuben Medley, Culpeper Co. Deed Book N:117–20. Both deeds identify the grantees as Jacob's sons.

person to represent her legally. Similarly, Ephraim and Lidia Klug's witnessing Ignatius's will and his joint land purchase with Lotspeich could have resulted from either a sibling or stepsibling relationship.

Onomastic evidence also supports either possibility. For example, Eleanor's daughter with James Crow, Elizabeth, bore the given name of Jacob Medley's wife and a daughter of Rev. Klug.[76] Medley's mother was Eleanor, but Eleanor Overton's second son, Samuel C. Overton, may have been Samuel "Clug" Overton, named for the minister.[77] Eleanor's first daughter, Susanna, had the name of Klug's widow and a possible daughter of Jacob Medley.[78]

The Clew Clue

Online and LDS sources identify Eleanor's maiden name as "Crow or Crew or Clue."[79] Crew or Clue might be a misreading of Crow, but could Clue, instead, be a variant of Klug, as another source suggests? In 1937 a granddaughter of "Mrs. William Chew Chewning of Orange County" reported the following:

> Mrs. Chewning was the mother of the noted Confederate spy, Marcus Chewning. Mrs. Chewning's great grand-father, Preacher Clew, stopped at Penny's [tavern in Spotsylvania County] for the night. After going to his room to retire he was sent for by some rowdy men who were also stopping there, to come down and join them in a game of cards. Upon refusing to do this, they took him forcibly from his room and dragged him down a flight of stairs. He died from the effects of this rough treatment.[80]

Mention of Marcus Chewning identifies his mother as Susanna (née Overton) Chewning, Eleanor's granddaughter.[81] Eleanor's father would have been Mrs.

76. For Elizabeth Medley, see Medley to Brooking, Culpeper Deed Book B:470–72; LVA Culpeper Co. microfilm 2. For Elizabeth (née Klug) Broyles, see Broyles and Broyles to Lotspeick, power of attorney (1801), Madison Co. Deed Book 3:129–30; LVA Madison Co. microfilm 2.

77. For Eleanor Medley, see Robert Medley will (1759), Culpeper Co. Will Book A:203–5. Robert names, among others, "my Honoured Mother Ellinor Medley" and "my Beloved Brother Jacob Medley." For Samuel C. Overton, see Porter, family group sheet for Obediah Overton in "Family Group Records Collection; Archives Section, 1942–1969," FHL.

78. For widow Susanna Klug, see Culpeper Co. Minute Book, 1763–64, p. 325. For Susanna Medley, see Robert Medley will (1759), Culpeper Co. Will Book A:203–5. Robert described Susanna as "cousin," but his identifying "my Beloved Brother Jacob Medley" and "my Beloved Cousin Ambrose Medley son to Jacob Medley" shows that Robert's *cousin* meant *nephew* and, by extension, *niece*, a common usage at the time.

79. Porter, family group sheet for Obediah Overton, in "Family Group Records Collection; Archives Section, 1942–1969," FHL; and *Ancestry.com* and *FamilySearch* entries cited previously.

80. Mildred Barnum, "Survey Report, Penny's Tavern: 1937 Jan. 8," Works Progress Administration of Virginia Historical Inventory, digital image, *Library of Virginia* (http://lvaimage.lib.va.us/VHI/html/27/0209.html). The informant was "Mrs. A. V. Wilson, Fredericksburg, Virginia."

81. "William B. Chewning and Susan his wife" were heirs of Willis Overton who had married Susanna Tureman. See Spotsylvania Co. Will Book U:334; LVA Spotsylvania Co. microfilm 35. Also Overton-"Sturman" marriage record, Culpeper Co. Marriage Register 1781–1853, p. 71. For Marcus Chewning, see William B. Chewning household, 1850 U.S. census, pop. sch., Orange Co., Va., p. 231, dwell. 241, fam. 243; NA microfilm M432, roll 967.

Chewning's great-grandfather. Could "Preacher Clew" have been Rev. Klug? If so, he would have been killed probably shortly before 19 May 1763, when Klug's widow became administratrix of his estate.[82] Virginia's newspaper would have reported the murder of the colony's only Lutheran minister, and a Spotsylvania County court would have noted it, but such records do not exist.[83] In the century or more after the event, retelling may have garbled facts. The incident may not have taken place at all, it may have pertained to another of Mrs. Chewning's four great-grandfathers, or details—including the victim's name and relationship to Mrs. Chewning—may have changed. In any case the report cannot be verified.

Eleanor Klug

Rev. Klug had two daughters whose names are unknown, but only an untraceable twentieth-century index entry names Eleanor Klug, reportedly born "1740, Madison, Virginia," as a daughter of George Samuel Klug and Susannah Castler.[84] Other Eleanor Klugs are too young to have been Ignatius Tureman's wife by 1777. On 14 April 1782 "Elianora Klug" was a baptismal sponsor.[85] Michael Klug and Ephraim Klug, two of the minister's apparent sons, had daughters Eleanor, a generation too young to have married Ignatius Tureman.[86]

Eleanor Medley

In 1759 Robert Medley named his niece, "Ellinor" Medley, as a residual legatee to receive fifteen pounds if her sisters, Susanna and Elizabeth Medley, predeceased him.[87] Eleanor did not inherit, because Susanna's legacy was paid to her husband in 1761.[88] Robert did not identify the sisters' father, but he named his four brothers. Three can be ruled out as the girls' parent:

- John Medley had daughters, apparently under "lawful age" and unmarried on 10 April 1762, Elizabeth, "Elinor," Mary, and Martha Medley—no Susanna.[89]
- James Medley, on 27 May 1759, had daughters Ann, "Elioner," Mary, and Elizabeth Medley—again no Susanna.[90] In addition, no record suggests that James ever lived

82. George Samuel Klug administrator appointment, Culpeper Co. Minute Book, 1763–64, p. 325.

83. Lester J. Cappon and Stella F. Duff, *Virginia Gazette Index: 1736–1780* (Williamsburg: Institute of Early American History and Culture, 1950), s.v. "Clew," "Klug," "Murder," and "Spotsylvania." No entries exist for "Clug" and "Clue." Also, Spotsylvania County Minutes, 1755–65, pp. 268–303, County Court, Spotsylvania, Va.; LVA Spotsylvania Co. microfilm 45. The minutes—the only Spotsylvania County court record for this time period—were read line by line from 2 August 1762 through 9 November 1763.

84. Eleanor Klug, IGI Individual Record, *FamilySearch* (http://www.familysearch.org/Eng/Search/frameset_search.asp).

85. Blankenbaker, trans., *Hebron Baptismal Register*, 21 (Joel Carpenter baptismal record).

86. Michael Klug will (1812), Madison Co. Will Book 2:379–80; LVA Madison Co. microfilm 16. Ephraim Klug will (1829), Madison Co. Will Book 6:161–62; LVA Madison Co. microfilm 18.

87. Robert Medley will (1759), Culpeper Co. Will Book A:203–5.

88. Robert Medley estate account, 11 July 1761, Culpeper Co. Will Book A:263.

89. John Medley will (1763), Culpeper Co. Will Book A:252–54.

90. James Medley Junior will (1774), Essex Co. Will Book 12:583–4, County Court, Tappahannock, Va.; LVA Essex Co. microfilm 47.

in Culpeper County. Unlike his brother Jacob Medley, nephew Ambrose Medley, and brother-in-law Reuben Shelton, to whom Robert bequeathed land, James received moveable property, also suggesting he resided elsewhere.

- Isaac Medley had daughters named on 13 July 1760 as Frances and Lucy Medley.[91] Like James, Isaac inherited moveable property from Robert and apparently never lived in Culpeper County.[92]

The above reasoning leaves only Jacob Medley as candidate for father of Robert Medley's niece "Ellinor" Medley. She was of the right name, age, location, and connections to be Ignatius Tureman's wife. Ignatius apparently appointed her father and brother, Jacob and Ambrose Medley, along with Eleanor, to execute his will. Less persuasive points support this conclusion:

- Rev. Klug's identified children—Elizabeth, Ephraim, Eve, Lidia (possibly), Magdalena, Michael, Samuel, and Susanna (possibly)—had Biblical names.[93] Eleanor's name, however, had other origins.
- If Eleanor were a daughter of Rev. Klug, she was likely unmarried on 19 September 1775, when his estate was divided.[94] Her daughter Susanna Tureman married on 20 December 1791.[95] The interval—sixteen years, three months, and one day—barely allows the 1775 spinster to have been mother of the 1791 bride. (It is, however, consistent with the 1775–80 birth that censuses suggest for Susanna.)[96] If Susanna married on her sixteenth birthday and her mother were Rev. Klug's daughter, her mother would have been probably six months pregnant and married when the minister's estate was divided. Otherwise, Susanna married at the unlikely age of fifteen or younger. More probably, Eleanor married Ignatius Tureman before the 1775 distribution of the Klug estate, ruling her out as Klug's daughter (because Ignatius was not named among Klug's sons-in-law). Virginia law when Susanna married, however, set no minimum age for brides whose parent

91. Isaac Medley will (1762), Lunenburg Co. Will Book 2:146–47, Circuit Court, Lunenburg, Va.; LVA Lunenburg Co. microfilm 19.

92. Aside from Robert Medley's will, Isaac Medley's only known Culpeper County record was the sale of land jointly with his apparent in-laws. See Medley and Towles to Severe, Culpeper Co. Deed Book B:377–81.

93. For Klug's sons, daughter Magdalena, and possible daughter Lidia, see above. For daughters Eva and Elizabeth, see Broyles and Broyles to Lotspeich, power of attorney, Madison Co. Deed Book 3:129–30. As described previously, Klug also had two probable daughters whose names are unknown. The given name of the wife of one son-in-law, Godfrey Yeager, also is unknown; however, a poorly documented Web site identifies her as "Susannah Klug." See Don Latham, "A Branscom Branscomb, Branscum, Broyles, and Cummings Genealogy, *Ancestry.com* (http://awt.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=lathamdr&id=I21656).

94. "Klug Sett[lement]," Culpeper Co. Will Book A:152.

95. Overton-"Sturman" marriage, Culpeper Co. Marriage Register 1781–1853, p. 71.

96. Willis Overton household, 1810 U.S. census, Spotsylvania Co., Va., p. 105, line 12; NA microfilm M252, roll 71. Willis Overton household, 1820 U.S. census, Spotsylvania Co., Va., p. 161, line 20; NA microfilm M33, roll 135. Susanna Overton household, 1840 U.S. census, Spotsylvania Co., Va., Berkeley Par., p. 17, household 256; NA microfilm M704, roll 575. Susanna's age in 1830 and 1850 is not believable for a woman who married in 1791. The oldest female in Willis Overton's 1830 household was born reportedly in 1790–1800. See 1830 U.S. census, Spotsylvania Co., Va., p. 92, line 28; NA microfilm M19, roll 195. The 1850 census reports the age of "Susan Overton" as sixty-eight. See William B. Chewning household, 1850 U.S. census, Orange Co., Va., pop. sch., p. 231, dwell. 241, fam. 243.

or guardian consented to the wedding.[97] Therefore, the tight interval between the Klug distribution and Susanna's marriage, although suggestive, does not eliminate Rev. Klug as Eleanor's father. Marriage consents for this period in Culpeper County, which might resolve the question of Susanna's age at marriage, do not survive.

- Like most colonial grooms, Ignatius or his immediate family probably associated with the bride's family before the marriage. In 1755 Jacob Medley sold land to Charles Brooking who, in the early 1760s, apparently became Ignatius Tureman's stepfather.[98] Also in 1755 Brooking purchased land adjoining Medley's, perhaps placing Ignatius near Medley's daughters.[99] In 1762 Jacob's brother John Medley named Brooking as executor of his will.[100] Jacob Medley's brothers, like Ignatius Tureman, were baptized at Christ Church in Middlesex County, Virginia.[101] These associations connect the Medleys to the Turemans before the mid-1770s, when Eleanor married Ignatius Tureman. No known connection links the Turemans and Klugs before the Tureman-Lotspiech land purchase—which occurred probably *after* Eleanor's marriage.
- Rev. Klug's known daughters married German-speaking immigrants or their children.[102] Eleanor's first husband's family, however, appears to have English origins.

The evidence is not as clear-cut as family historians might like. No record identifies Eleanor's parents directly, and no record or rationale definitely rules out either Klug or Medley as her parental family. As enumerated above, however, the evidence—especially record of Eleanor Medley and no record of Eleanor Klug in the right place and time—tilts decisively toward the Medleys. Jacob Medley, executor of Ignatius Tureman's will, apparently was father of Tureman's widow, Eleanor, who later married James Crow and Obediah Overton. Her mother probably was Jacob's wife in 1755–56, about the time Eleanor was born, Elizabeth (née Crosthwait) Medley.[103]

97. "An Act Concerning Marriages," *The Statutes at Large*, Hening, comp., 6:82. The law became effective on 10 June 1751.

98. Medley to Brooking, Culpeper Co. Deed Book B:270–72.

99. Burton to Brooking, Culpeper Co. Deed Book B:272–74.

100. John Medley will (1763), Culpeper Co. Will Book A:252–54.

101. Christ Church Parish Register, 1663–1814, Church Records Collection, LVA, pp. 102 ("James Son of John & Elianor Medly was born ye 1st of August 1712"), 103 ("John Son of John & Elianor Medley, baptized on 18 April 1714"), and 106 ("Robert son of John & Elianor Medley born May 6 baptized June 3 1716"). Robert Medley's will names the same mother and brothers. See Culpeper Co. Will Book A:203–5.

102. Klug's sons-in-law in 1775 were Matthias "Broile," Michael "Broile," William "Lutspich," and Godfrey Yeager. See "Klug Sett[lement]," Culpeper Co. Will Book A:152. For documentation of "Broile" (Broyles) origins, see B. C. Holtzclaw, "The Second Germanna Colony of 1717, Other Germanna Pioneers, The So-Called Third Germanna Colony of 1719, and Later Comers to the Hebron Church Community," *The Germanna Record* 6 (June 1965): 19–20. For "Lutspich" (Lotspeich) origins, see discussion in text. For Yeager's origins, see Claude L. Yowell, "Four Generations of the Yager Family of Germanna," *The Germanna Record* 10 (April 1967): 31–48.

103. Jacob's wife on 16 January 1755 was Elizabeth. See Medley to Brooking, Culpeper Co. Deed Book B:470–72. On 15 June 1756 Timothy Crosthwait named "my sister Elizabeth[,] Spoues [spouse] to Jacob Medley." See Timothy Crosthwait will (1756), Orange Co. Will Book 2:229, County Court, Orange, Va.; LVA Orange Co. microfilm 472.

GENEALOGICAL SUMMARY

1. Eleanor Medley, born probably in the early or middle 1750s to Jacob and Elizabeth (née Crosthwait) Medley, as discussed above; died after 11 October 1824 probably in Orange County, Virginia.[104] She married (1) **Ignatius Tureman**, before 15 May 1777, Culpeper County, Virginia,[105] (2) **James Crow**, 1782–84, Culpeper County,[106] and (3) **Obediah Overton (née Howerton)**, 31 January 1788, Culpeper County.[107]

Eleanor and Ignatius Tureman had two children:[108]

2 i. SUSANNA TUREMAN, born about 1775, Culpeper County;[109] died after 1850, probably in Orange County.[110] She married Willis Overton, 20 December 1791, Culpeper County.[111]

3 ii. LUCY TUREMAN, born 1780–81, Culpeper County; died after 1850, probably in Orange County.[112] She married John Kinzer, 12 April 1796, Madison County, Virginia.[113]

Eleanor and James Crow had one child:[114]

4 iii. ELIZABETH CROW, born 1784–85, Culpeper County;[115] died after 1850, perhaps in Clark County, Ohio.[116] She married (1) Thomas Moore, 16 August 1804, Orange County,[117] and (2) Paul Verdier, 4 December 1827, Orange County.[118]

Eleanor and Obediah Overton had at least four or five children:[119]

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104. Hancock to Overton, Orange Co. Deed Book 30:499–500.

105. Tureman to Jenkins, Spotsylvania Co. Deed Book J:228–29.

106. Date estimated from the transfer of Ignatius Tureman's land tax liability to James Crow. See Ignatius Tureman entry, Hume and Waugh's list, p. 24, 1782 Culpeper Co. land tax list; and James Crow entry, "Alterations in property of Land in Culpeper County in the years [*sic*] 1784," unpaginated.

107. Overton-Crow marriage record, Culpeper Co. Marriage Register 1781–1853, p. 71.

108. Ignatius Tureman will (1782), Culpeper Co. Will Book B:501–2.

109. Willis Overton household, 1810 U.S. census, Spotsylvania Co., Va., p. 105, line 12. Willis Overton household, 1820 U.S. census, Spotsylvania Co., Va., p. 161, line 205. Susanna Overton household, 1840 U.S. census, Spotsylvania Co., Va., Berkeley Par., p. 17, household 256.

110. William B. Chewning household, 1850 U.S. census, Orange Co., Va., pop. sch., p. 231, dwell. 241, fam. 243.

111. Overton-"Sturman" marriage record, Culpeper Co. Marriage Register 1781–1853, p. 71.

112. Lucy Kinzer household, 1850 U.S. census, Orange Co., Va., pop. sch., p. 68, dwell. 505, fam. 508.

113. John Kinser bond, loose marriage bonds, County Clerk, Madison, Va.

114. Elizabeth Crow guardianship, Orange Co. Minutes 4:538.

115. Elizabeth Verdier household, 1850 U.S. census, Orange Co., Va., pop. sch., p. 68, dwell. 503, fam. 506.

116. Elizabeth Verdier household, 1850 U.S. census, Clark Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Pike Twp., Dist. no. 20, p. 148, dwell. 997, fam. 1006; NA microfilm M432, roll 666. Elizabeth was also enumerated in Virginia.

117. Thomas R. Moore bond (to marry "Elizabeth Moore, widow of Orange County"), Orange Co. Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns 6, leaves 34–35.

118. Paul Verdier bond, Orange County Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns 11, leaves 202–3.

119. For Dandridge, Frances, Samuel, and Sidney's identification as Eleanor's children, see Porter, family group sheet for Obediah Overton, in "Family Group Records Collection; Archives Section, 1942–1969," FHL, which cites records from children of Dandridge Overton.

5 iv. DANDRIDGE OVERTON, born 14 December 1789, Culpeper County; died 22 May 1874, Washington County, Indiana.[120] He married Dorcas Wayman, 11 August 1813, Shelby County, Kentucky.[121]

6 v. [perhaps] NANCY OVERTON, born 22 April 1792, Culpeper County; died April 1830, Washington County, Indiana. She married Valentine "Felty" Baker, 1 June 1816, Washington County.[122]

7 vi. FRANCES OVERTON, born 1795–96 or 14 August 1798, Madison County;[123] died 19 April 1864, Franklin County, Kentucky.[124] She married John Riner, 12 December 1817, Orange County.[125]

8 vii. SAMUEL C. OVERTON, born 1796–97, Madison County; died perhaps after 1850 in Washington County, Indiana.[126] He married Elizabeth W. Martin, 15 January 1822, Washington County.[127]

9 viii. SIDNEY OVERTON, 1795 or 1799–1800, Madison County;[128] died reportedly 2 November 1851, Franklin County, Kentucky.[129] She married Munroe B. Hancock, 11 November 1818, Orange County.[130]

CONCLUSION

Research on Obediah Overton's wife Eleanor and inferential reasoning tracked her to two previous marriages, for which no records survive. No original source names her parents directly, but her first husband's will suggests possibilities. Identifying Eleanor's parents—like discovering many ancestors—required investigating several families, assembling evidence from many sources, and deducing kinships that no original record specifies.

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120. Dandridge Overton entry, Endowments for the Dead D:111–12, no. 2462, St. George Temple. Dandridge's grandson Franklin Overton Holt was informant, 22 January 1879.

121. Porter, family group sheet for Dandridge Overton in "Family Group Records Collection; Archives Section, 1942–1969," FHL.

122. See Betty Merle, "Raper Ancestors.Com," *RootsWeb's WorldConnect Project* (http://worldconnect.rootsweb.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=merle&id=106119). Nancy's children reportedly included "Sidney Ellen Baker." Possibly relying on oral history that had conflated generations, Porter, in her family group sheet for Obediah Overton, in "Family Group Records Collection; Archives Section, 1942–1969," FHL, suggests that "Sidney Eleanor Crow or Crew or Clue," after Obediah Overton's death, had married "Valentine or Felty Baker." Dandridge Overton, one of Eleanor's sons, married also in the county reported for Nancy Overton. See above.

123. For Frances's 1798 birth, see Bowles to author, 17 March 1973, quoting a family record. For 1795–96, see John Riner household, 1850 U.S. census, Franklin Co., Va., pop. sch., Dist. 2, p. 66, dwelling/family 222.

124. Bowles to author, 17 March 1973, quoting a family record.

125. Riner-Overton marriage record, Orange Co. Marriage Register 1:97. Obadiah Overton was bondsman.

126. Saml. C. Overton household, 1850 U.S. census, Washington Co., Ind., pop. sch., Jackson Twp., p. 280, dwell./fam. 125.

127. Overton-Martin marriage record, Washington Co. Marriage Records A:58–9.

128. For Sidney's 1795 birth, see Hill, copyist, "Bible Record of Monroe Hancock, no date," in "Report of Genealogical Records Committee: District of Columbia Daughters of the American Revolution," series 1, vol. 32, "1936–1937," p. 39, DAR Library. For 1799–1800, see Sidney Hancock household, 1850 U.S. census, Franklin Co., Ky., pop. sch., p. 63, Dist. 2, dwell./fam. 186.

129. Porter, family group sheet for Obediah Overton in "Family Group Records Collection; Archives Section, 1942–1969," FHL.

130. Hancock-Overton marriage record, Orange Co. Marriage Register 1:100.

Molly Welsh: Alleged Grandmother of Benjamin Banneker

By George Ely Russell, CG, FASG, FNGS

Facts notwithstanding, or even nonexistent, some published authorities persist in claiming fictitious ancestry for famous people. Claims of a lack of records should be a red flag that research was done in too narrow a geographic scope. Another frequent problem is failure to properly weigh the veracity of written versus hearsay evidence.

Undaunted by the apparent lack of documentary records relating to Benjamin Banneker's alleged white grandmother Molly Welsh, Silvio A. Bedini of the Smithsonian Institution authored *The Life of Benjamin Banneker*, "the definitive biography of the first black man of science," in 1972.[1] Relying largely upon family traditions and neighborhood stories, supplemented by a few primary documents from Baltimore County, Maryland, Bedini attempted to discover the Banneker family background. Figure 1 diagrams Bedini's hypothetical reconstruction of the family relationships. Was Bedini correct that Banneker's grandmother was Molly Welsh? Did Molly even exist?

UNRELIABILITY OF HEARSAY EVIDENCE

Orally transmitted family traditions grounded in fact may be confirmed by contemporary records, but others—mythical, fabulous, faulty, misassigned, or unreliable—may be refuted by original records. Bedini derived most of his Banneker family history from notes taken in 1836, thirty years after Benjamin Banneker's death and 135 years after Molly Welsh reportedly arrived in Maryland as a transported felon.

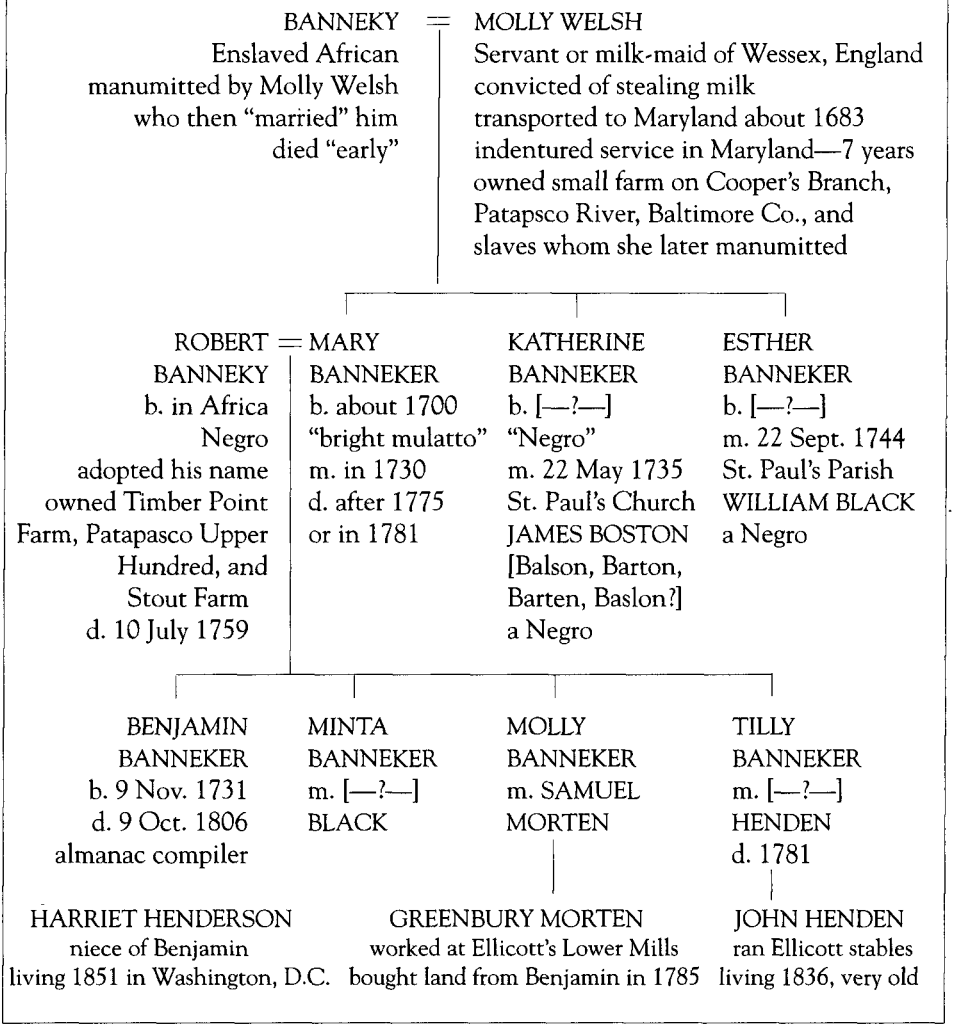
© George Ely Russell, CG, FASG, FNGS Mr. Russell is a Fellow of the American Society of Genealogists and a past editor of the *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*.

1. Silvio A. Bedini, *The Life of Benjamin Banneker* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972). The stories were later retold by Alice McGill in the children's book *Molly Bannaky* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999). The present article develops evidence of the existence of Molly Welsh and does not seek to extend or enlarge the genealogy of the Banneker family.

When confronted with hearsay information, researchers have a responsibility, even a duty, to doubt its veracity and to either document or discard such statements. No Banneker family researcher, including Bedini, has produced a single record confirming the family tradition of the existence of Molly Welsh as a white grandmother of Benjamin Banneker. But Molly Welsh was a real person who enjoyed a long life in Maryland.

Figure 1

The Banneker Family According to Bedini



EXPECTED RECORDS

If the stories relied upon by Bedini were true, a number of pertinent records should have been found to support them. Molly Welsh probably was baptized, but the record of her birth name and christening remains undiscovered. If the tale of her transportation to Maryland is correct, records of her arrest, imprisonment, indictment, sentencing, reprieve, and transportation from England to America should exist.

Supposedly appearing in Maryland after the 1683 discontinuance of the headright system of land grants, she was not among the claimants of immigrant headrights.[2] She is said to have acquired land and slaves. Though slave sales were not always recorded, acquisition of land was carefully recorded.

Maryland's severe laws and penalties regarding miscegenation were strictly enforced upon all parties concerned, including officiating clergymen. Thus, no marriage record for Molly Welsh and her alleged slave "Banneky" would have been made. Official documents in this era would rarely acknowledge mulatto children of a white person.

Few individuals or heirs were so profligate as to abandon their rights to hard-earned real and personal property. They, or the courts, generally took whatever legal action was needed to protect family holdings of land and chattels, including slaves. The Bannekers were free negroes. Either they or their former master, allegedly Molly Welsh, should have had their manumission or freedom documents officially recorded.

LOOKING IN THE WRONG PLACE

Bedini was misled by the family tradition. By 1836, when a member of the Ellicott family, patrons of Benjamin Banneker the "sable astronomer," began gathering notes on Benjamin's background, the Banneker grandchildren and neighbors remembered only that the family had long been settled at Oella near Ellicott's Mills on the Patapsco River in Patapsco Upper Hundred in western Baltimore County. Bedini found a land record confirming the 1737 purchase by Benjamin's father, Robert Banneker, of a one-hundred-acre part of *Stout* in Upper Patapsco Hundred.[3] Because the family tradition alleged that Molly Welsh owned a nearby farm, Bedini assumed that she also lived in Patapsco Upper Hundred, but he never documented her presence there or elsewhere in Baltimore County.

Such frustration is common when family traditions identify the first-known ancestor as an immigrant living only at the last known place. Experienced

2. Gust Skordas, *The Early Settlers of Maryland* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1968); Carson Gibb, *A Supplement to The Early Settlers of Maryland* (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 1997).

3. Robert Banneker land purchase, Baltimore Co. Land Records HWS #M:58, Maryland State Archives (MSA), Annapolis. Unless otherwise indicated, all referenced manuscripts are at MSA.

genealogists expand their research into adjoining counties, looking first in areas of earlier settlement on a popular migration route. Because Bedini overlooked Molly Welsh's possible residence elsewhere, he missed pertinent records. Having exhausted the record resources of Baltimore County, he would have learned more by examining the records of people named Welsh in adjoining counties.

WAS MOLLY WELSH A TRANSPORTED CONVICT?

British records of some fifty thousand convicted felons reprieved and transported to America have been gathered and published. If "Molly Welsh of Wessex," was convicted for "stealing milk" and transported to Maryland about 1683, as Banneker tradition alleges, that record should exist. But no convict of that name was transported to America before 1732.[4] That does not rule out the possibility that a "Molly" of a different maiden surname was so transported and that—after the usual seven-year indenture—she married a man surnamed Welsh. Official records would likely use the name "Mary" rather than the nickname "Molly." Records of Prince George's County, Maryland, identify such a Mary and her Welsh husband.

JOHN WELSH OF PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY

By a deed dated 2 November 1730, John Welsh of Anne Arundel County, merchant, sold to John Welsh Jr., planter, for thirty pounds sterling, a 160-acre part of *Welsh's Discovery*, a 600-acre tract located "west on the main flatts" of the Patuxent River in Prince George's County.[5] The designation "Jr." distinguished the buyer from the grantor John Welsh (1668–1733) of South River, Anne Arundel County, whose son John Welsh III (1719–84) was then a minor.[6] John Welsh is subsequently listed as owner of *Welsh's Discovery*.[7]

JOHN WELSH'S WILL

John Welsh of Prince George's County made his will 24 February 1748. Being "sick and weak," he bequeathed "unto *Mary* my wife" all of his land, negroes, and stock, and directed that, after her death, all his negroes were to be freed. To

4. Peter Wilson Coldham, *Bonded Passengers to America*, 9 vols. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983), 2:283 and 3:158. One Mary Welch was sentenced in October 1732 in Middlesex and transported to Virginia on the ship *Caesar* in 1732. Another Mary Welsh was sentenced in December 1742 in London and transported on the ship *Justitia* to America in March 1743.

5. John Welsh to John Welsh deed, Prince George's Co. Land Records Q:165. John Welsh Jr. registered the deed on 25 November 1730. The Patuxent River is the boundary between Anne Arundel and Prince George's counties.

6. Genealogical data concerning the Welsh family of Anne Arundel Co. may be found in Luther W. Welsh, *Ancestral Colonial Families. Genealogy of the Welsh and Hyatt Families of Maryland and their Kin; Giving the Colonial Generations of The Howard, Hammond, Maccubbin, Griffith, Greenberry, Dorsey, Van Swerigen, Baldwin, Gaither, Warfield and Duvall Families* (Independence, Mo.: Lambert-Moon, 1928), 11–21 and 29-30, which does not identify this John Welsh Jr.

7. Prince George's Co. Debt Books, 1753–1772, multiple references, MSA Index No. 58.

his mulatto Samuel Molton he bequeathed "all the moveables that will be left after the death of said wife Mary." James Crow and Solomon Turner witnessed the will, proved on 20 May 1749.[8]

No inventory, account, or distribution has been found. No acknowledged children survived Welsh, but he obviously felt responsibility for the future welfare of mulatto Samuel Molton, who ultimately inherited Welsh's personal estate.

MARY WELSH'S WILL

Although made in 1752, the will of Mary Welsh was not proved until her death twenty-three years later.[9] It reads:

> In the name of God Amen, the seventh day of January in the year of our Lord God 1752. I, Mary Welsh of Prince George County, widow, being very sick and weak in body, but of perfect mind and memory, thanks be to God, therefore calling to mind the mortality of my body, and knowing that it is appointed for all men once to die, I do make and ordaine this my Last Will and Testament, that is to say principally and first of all, I give and recommend my soul into the hands of God that gave it and for my body I recommend it to the earth, to be buried in a Christian-like and decent manner at the discretion of my Executors, nothing doubting but at the general resurrection I shall receive the same again by the mighty power of God, and as touching such wordly estate wherewith it hath pleased God to bless me with in this life, I give, devise and dispose of the same in the following manner and form. Imprimus, principally and first of all, I do set free and discharge my molatto Samuell Molton, whome I likewise constitute, make and ordain my only and sole Executor of this my Last Will and Testament, of all and singular my goods, chattles and stock of all kind whatsoever, by him freely to [be] possessed and enjoyed. I also leave Henry Leak and Shadar^{k} Hyatt as Trustees to see that my people have their right of freedom. Item. I also sett free and discharge all my Negroes, that is to say my Negroe Solomon and Juday his wife and their children. I also sett free my Negroes[10] Benj^{n} [11] and Aleck. And I do utterly disallow, revoke and disannull all and every other former testaments, wills and legacies, bequests and executors by me before this time named, willed and bequeathed. Ratifying and confirming this to be my Last Will and Testament. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal the day and year above written.
>
> /s/ Mary Welsh [seal]
>
> Signed, sealed, and delivered in the presents of us
>
> /s/ Richard Welsh Solomon T Turner

8. John Welsh original will, folder 47, box 7, Prince George's Co. Wills; recorded in Prince George's Co. Wills 1:415; and Maryland Provincial Wills 26:40.

9. Mary Welsh original will, folder 15, box 8, Prince George's Co. Wills; recorded in Prince George's Co. Wills T#1:30; and Maryland Provincial Wills 30:451–52.

10. Two words after "free my Negroes" in the original will are crossed out and completely obliterated, and the word "Benjn" was inserted above.

11. This is supposed to be Benjamin Banneker.

MARY WELSH REMAINS ON WELSH'S DISCOVERY FARM

Mary Banicker[12] requested that the following assignment be recorded in Prince George's County on 31 March 1758:

> I Mary Welsh received of Mary Banicker a full consideration for a mealato servant called Samuel Morter, and I therfour have assigned over to the said Mary Banicker, her ears, excrs, admnrs, or assigns, forever, the said mealato servant Samuell Morter, this 27 Feb. 1757.
>
> Witness: Jas. Crow /s/ Mary Welsh[13]

Mary Welsh owned *Welsh's Discovery* in the period 1758–72.[14]

As directed by her deceased husband's will, Mary Welsh of Prince George's County, planter, made releases of servitude dated 3 December 1773 and recorded the following day. "Induced by sundry considerations and good and lawful motives," she discharged the following negroes from the "service of me or my heirs:" *negro Ben, born free, age 43*; negro Alik, born free, age 45; Moses Adams, age 27; Robert Adams, age 29; Jane Adams, age 21; Henry Adams, age 32; Juday Adams, age 4; and Solemon Adams, age 22 months. Further, she bound herself "for £200 sterling to be paid to Ben." [15] "Negro Ben, born free, age 43," was Benjamin Banneker, alleged grandson of Mary Welsh.

THE DEATH OF MARY WELSH

Mary Welsh died shortly before 25 September 1775. On that date, Samuel Molton, the mulatto slave freed by her 1752 will, as sole executor, entered his bond of five hundred pounds sterling, indicating a sizeable estate. In the bond Mary Welsh was described as "late of Ann Arundel [crossed out] Prince George's County."[16] On the outside of her original will, filed in 1775, is written "Mary Welsh, Ann Arundel County [lined out] Prince George's County."[17]

Identified as administrator of Mary Welsh "*of Baltimore County*," Samuel Molton immediately filed suit in Prince George's County Court, charging Jeremiah and Josias Turner[18] and negroes Henry Adams, Robert, Jane, and Moses Adams for concealing assets of the Mary Welsh estate. Josias Turner was cited for concealing six cattle and one horse. Jane Adams was cited for concealing "divers effects," viz: two heifers, two cows, one calf, six barrows, one sow and pigs, twenty pounds of corn in ears, one horse, one gelding, 130 cords

12. Identified by Bedini as the "bright mulatto" daughter of Molly Welsh. See figure 1.
13. Mary Banicker deed, Prince George's Co. Land Records PP (1749–59): 104.
14. Prince George's Co. Debt Books, multiple references, MSA Index No. 58.
15. Releases of servitude, Prince George's Co. Land Records BB3:325–27.
16. Samuel Molton bond, folder 28, box 19, Prince George's Co. Bonds. Thomas Lloyd of Baltimore was security.
17. Mary Welsh original will, folder 15, box 8, Prince George's Co. Wills.
18. Solomon Turner, who witnessed the wills of both John and Mary Welsh, was father of both Jeremiah and Josias. Solomon Turner probate, Prince George's Co. Wills 1:486; and Maryland Provincial Wills 30:383.

of wood, one thousand pounds of tobacco, and thirty bushels of wheat. The case was continued in the November Term 1775 Court, but was discontinued in the January Term 1776.[19] No inventory, administrator's account, or distribution of Mary Welsh's clearly misappropriated and mismanaged estate has been found.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE RECORD FINDINGS

Several conclusions may be drawn from these unusual testamentary proceedings. Mary Welsh, identified as a widow when she made her will in January 1752, had not remarried before her death twenty-three years later. In 1752 she possessed valuable personal property and chattels in Prince George's County, but did not then make any testamentary provision for real property. She bequeathed her entire personal estate and chattels to Samuel Molton, described as [her] mulatto [slave] whom she freed and appointed executor of her will. She manumitted all of her negroes and mulattoes, including "Ben," described as "my people." No kinsmen were named, but Richard Welsh, undoubtedly a relative by marriage, witnessed her will. Although from 1748 through 1773 she resided on *Welsh's Discovery* on the west side of the Patuxent River in Prince George's County, by the time she died in 1775 she had relocated to Baltimore County.[20]

WELSH FAMILY ASSOCIATES AND LOCATIONS

Two trustees and two witnesses were named in Mary's 1752 will: Richard Welsh, Solomon Turner, Shadrach Hyatt, and Henry Leak. Solomon Turner and James Crow witnessed John Welsh's 1748 will. James Crow also witnessed Mary Welsh's 1757 assignment. We may approximate the whereabouts of John and Mary Welsh from data about these associates.

- Solomon Turner lived in Queen Anne Parish in Prince George's County in 1732 when he and wife Jane (née Prather) Turner had a daughter baptized at Saint Barnabas Church,[21] now located at Leeland. In 1748 he was granted a patent for fifty-acre *Solomon's Flower*, on the south side of Bennett's Creek in Prince George's County.[22] His will, dated Prince George's County, 5 February and proved 22 November 1757, named his wife Jane and children John, Josias, and Jeremiah Turner, and devised a tract named *Ralpho*.[23] Jeremiah and Jonas Turner patented the 637-acre tract *Ralpho* in Prince George's County on 11 August 1773.[24]

19. Returns from Prince George's Co., Maryland Testamentary Proceedings 47 (1775–77): 81–82.

20. The facts of her death in Baltimore Co., and the manumission of her slaves agree with the Banneker family tradition, as summarized in figure 1.

21. [daughter] Turner baptism, Saint Anne Parish Register, 26.

22. Solomon Turner patent, Maryland Land Patents T14 (1746–52): 159–61; and Maryland Certificates of Survey BY #1(1746–50): 174

23. Solomon Turner probate, Maryland Provincial Wills 30:383 and Prince George's Co. Wills 1:486. James Crow and Abednego Hyatt were witnesses.

24. Jeremiah and Jonas Turner patent, Maryland Land Patents BC #46 (1773–74): 159; and Maryland Certificates of Survey BC #45 (1771–74): 334.

- Shadrach Hyatt, son of Seth and Alice (née Davis) Hyatt, was baptized on 25 February 1720/21 at Saint Barnabas Church in Queen Anne Parish, Prince George's County.[25] He lived in Anne Arundel County at the time of his death, shortly before 29 September 1761, when his personal estate was inventoried.[26] His administration accounts were filed there in 1769 and 1771.[27]
- Henry Leeke had the 50-acre *Leeke's Lot* between Snowden's and Hawling's rivers in Prince George's County surveyed on 3 January 1746.[28] In addition, the 235-acre *Leeke's Lot Resurvey* was patented to him on 28 March 1747.[29] His will, made 21 September 1779 and proved 15 March 1780 in Montgomery County (part of Prince George's County prior to 1748), devised *Resurvey of Leeke's Lot* and gave land to Hawlings River Chapel, near the present day town of Unity.[30]
- James Crow served as lieutenant in Captain Thomas Sappington's Company, Prince George's County Militia, in 1748 with both Ensign Benjamin Welsh and Private Seth Hyatt.[31] He patented the 119-acre tract called *Locust Level* in Prince George's County on 14 May 1748.[32] At the time of his 1776 death his residence farm was called *Samuel's Forest.*[33]
- Richard Welsh married in All Hallows Parish, Anne Arundel County, on 14 April 1726 to Charity Jacob.[34] In 1728 he witnessed a deed of gift from [his mother] Elizabeth Welsh, widow, of Anne Arundel County, to her daughter Elizabeth, wife of William Fish.[35] In 1735 Richard Bennett "of Queen Anne's County, gent.," who had obtained a judgment against Richard Welsh of Anne Arundel County, planter, sold Welsh's fifty-one-acre dwelling tract and 3,114 pounds of Welsh's tobacco to John West.[36] In 1737 Richard was living on a plantation owned by Richard Snowden, and in 1737, 1741, and again in 1748, as Richard Welsh of Anne Arundel County, planter, he obtained loans of 1,830 pounds of tobacco, of 32.7.0 pounds sterling, and of 8,620 pounds of tobacco from Vachel Denton, Thomas Reynolds of Calvert County, and Richard Snowden of Anne Arundel County. He secured the loans with his goods, chattels,

25. Irma E. Gentry, "The Hyatt Lineage," *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin* 14 (Spring 1973): 24; and Shadrach Hyatt baptism, Queen Anne Parish Register, 17.
26. Shadrach Hyatt inventory, Maryland Inventories 78:1.
27. Shadrach Hyatt administration, Maryland Administration Accounts 61:255 and 65:241.
28. Henry Leeke survey, Maryland Certificates of Survey LGC (1739–47): 513.
29. Henry Leeke patent, Maryland Land Patents T13 (1746–49): 386; and Maryland Certificates of Survey BY#1 (1746–50):197.
30. Henry Leeke will, Montgomery Co. Wills A:254.
31. Capt. Thomas Sappington company muster roll, Colonial Wars Muster Rolls, folder 9, box 1; and Louise Hienton, *Prince George's Heritage* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1972), 157.
32. James Crow patent, Maryland Land Patents BY#2 (1747–51): 183; and Maryland Certificates of Survey BY#1 (1746–50):171.
33. Devised in his 1776 will, Prince George's Co. Wills T#1:73.
34. Welsh-Jacob marriage, All Hallows Parish Marriage Register.
35. Elisabeth Welsh deed, Anne Arundel Co. Land Records RD#1 (1728–29): 1.
36. Bennett to West land deed, Anne Arundel Co. Land Records RD#2 (1733–37): 283.

household goods, furniture, cattle, and tobacco crops as collateral.[37] Surely a relative, he was appointed a trustee by the 1752 will of Mary Welsh of Prince George's County. In 1752 Richard Welsh received a negro slave named Pompey, bequeathed to him by the 1733 will of Captain John[2] Welsh (John[1]) of Anne Arundel County.[38] As a kinsman, he approved the 1754 inventory of the personal estate of Benjamin Welsh of Anne Arundel County.[39] In 1755 he was granted a patent for five-acre *Hamutel's Choice* in Anne Arundel County.[40] Richard Welsh is not traced further in Anne Arundel County. Analysis of published material concerning this particular Welsh family does not reveal any place in it for a widow Mary Welsh in 1752.[41]

WHO WAS SAMUEL MOLTON?

The wills of John and Mary Welsh show that in 1748 Samuel Molton was a mulatto slave belonging to John Welsh of Prince George's County. John Welsh bequeathed to Molton any movables remaining after the death of John's wife Mary. Her 1752 will manumitted her mulatto slave Samuel Morton (as directed by her husband's will), bequeathed all of her goods, stock, and chattels to him, and appointed him as sole executor of her will. In 1753–72 Samuel Molton occupied the tract named *Ralpho* in Prince George's County.[42] In Prince George's County in 1757 Mary Welsh assigned her mulatto servant Samuel Morter [*sic*] to Mary Banicker.[43] In 1775, as executor of her will, Samuel Molton entered his bond, with Thomas Lloyd of Baltimore as his security. Molton then filed suit in Prince George's County attempting to recover his inheritance of Mary's personal estate then possessed by Solomon Turner's sons and several negroes surnamed Adams.

Uncertainties about the residence of Mary Welsh at the time of her death—whether in Prince George's, Anne Arundel, or most likely Baltimore County—necessitate a broad-ranging search for records of Samuel Molton after 1775. Samuel Molton probably was identical with Samuel "Morten," identified in the Banneker family story as the husband of Molly Welsh's alleged granddaughter Molly Banneker, sister of Benjamin Banneker. Samuel Morton headed a

37. Richard Welsh loan, Anne Arundel Co. Land Records RD#2 (1733–37): 513; RB#1 (1740–44): 89; and RB#3 (1748–50): 3.

38. Capt. John Welsh probate, Maryland Administration Accounts 33:186; and Maryland Provincial Wills 21:102, neither of which specifies this bequest.

39. Benjamin Welsh inventory, Maryland Inventories 57:204.

40. Richard Welsh patent, Maryland Land Patents BC#2 (1753–56): 120; Maryland Certificates of Survey BC#4 (1753–55): 304.

41. Welsh, *Ancestral Colonial Families. Genealogy of the Welsh and Hyatt Families of Maryland and their Kin*, 11–21.

42. Prince George's Co. Debt Books, many references, MSA Index No. 58. *Ralfo*, sixty-seven acres, was originally patented to George Scott of Prince George's Co. in 1740. As seen above, Solomon Turner's sons Jeremiah and Jonas Turner patented 637-acre *Ralpho*.

43. Mary Welsh assignment, Prince George's Co. Land Records PP (1749–59): 104.

household in Prince George's County in 1800.[44] Samuel Morton and his son Greenbury Morton lived in Patapsco Upper Hundred, Baltimore County, in 1810. Samuel with three free persons of color, and Greenbury with seven free nonwhite persons were then living next to *Dorsey's Forge Manor*.[45] Greenbury "Mortan" was located there in 1798, when he was taxed for a twenty-acre part of *Stout*, the original Banneker farm, then improved by a one-story log dwelling house measuring sixteen by fourteen feet.[46]

CONCLUSIONS

The cited records identify Mary Welsh and her husband, locate their farm, describe their associates, document her life, and demonstrate her association with Benjamin and Mary Banneker. Records do not support the allegation that Molly Welsh was transported to America as a convicted felon. They neither confirm nor refute the traditional maternal relationship between Mary Welsh and the Bannekers. They do, however, prove that Mary was married, not to a negro slave named "Banneky," but to a white plantation owner named John Welsh. Further, they show that after his death she continued to operate their plantation, and, in compliance with his will, provide for the manumission of their slaves and the freedom of their eight indentured Negro servants, including Benjamin Banneker.

44. Samuel Morton household, 1800 U.S. census, Prince George's Co., Md., p. 453; National Archives (NA) microfilm, M32, roll 11.

45. Samuel Morton household, 1810 U.S. census, Baltimore Co., Md., Patapasco Upper Hundred, p. 627; Greenbury Morton household, 1810 U.S. census, Baltimore Co., Md., Patapasco Upper Hundred, p. 644; both on NA microfilm M252, roll 13.

46. Baltimore Co. 1798 Assessment List.

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ARTICLES

(*Number 1 • March 2006*)

EDITORS' CORNER
"Unknown" or Just "Under Researched"? 3

FEATURE ARTICLES
A Case of Mistaken Racial Identity:
Finding Emma Dunham (née Kelley) Hawkins
Katherine E. Flynn, Ph.D., CG 5
Developing Family Narrative from Leads in Sources:
The Case of James W. and Nancy Parberry
John Philip Colletta, Ph.D. 23
Genealogical Research in Illinois
Diane Renner Walsh, CG 38

(*Number 2 • June 2006*)

EDITORS' CORNER
The "Compleat" Genealogist 83

FEATURE ARTICLES
Job[1] Davidson, Cooper in Baltimore, Maryland, and His Long Lost Descendants
in Ohio and Indiana: Using Occupation and Birthplace as Census Finding Aids
Helen Hinchliff, Ph.D., CG, FASG 85
A Son Proved ... an Ancestor Disproved: Thomas Caldwell
of Lunenburg County, Virginia
Carmen J. Finley, Ph.D., CG 101
Linguistic Analysis as a Genealogical Tool: The Camaur Case Study
Richard Camaur, J.D., CG 113

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS
Joseph Workman: Reflections of a Former Bondsman
Ruth Randall 125
Finding Original Materials by Using the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections
Mary McCampbell Bell, CG 133
BIBLE RECORDS
Burt Family Bible 143
Free Family Bible 146

(*Number 3 • September 2006*)

EDITORS' CORNER
Everyman as Genealogist 163
FEATURE ARTICLES
Identifying Parents Indirectly: Robert Dunn of Frederick County, Virginia
Victor S. Dunn, CG 165
The Three Wives of Philip Hart of Goffstown, New Hampshire
Julie Potter Miller, CG 177
Which Marie Louise Is "Mariotte"? Sorting Slaves with Common Names
Elizabeth Shown Mills, CG, CGL, FNGS, FASG 183
Which John Bray of St. Gennys in Cornwall Married Hephzibah Lillicrap at St. Juliot?
Ronald A. Hill, Ph.D., CG, FASG 205

(*Number 4 • December 2006*)

EDITORS' CORNER
Old "Genie" in a New Bottle 243
FEATURE ARTICLES
Namesakes, Name Changes, and Conflicting Evidence: The Search for the Mother of John Little Crow
Dawn C. Stricklin 245
Validating Inferences from Records: Jane Baker and Thomas Burnett of Kingston, Ontario
Brenda Dougall Merriman, CG, CGL 259
Uncovering Ancestors by Deduction: The Husbands and Parents of Eleanor (née Medley) (Tureman) (Crow) Overton
Thomas W. Jones, Ph.D., CG, CGL 287
Molly Welsh: Alleged Grandmother of Benjamin Banneker
George Ely Russell, CG, FNGS, FASG 305
2006 WINNER: FAMILY HISTORY WRITING CONTEST
The Life and Times of English Immigrant Priscilla (née Clark) (Pickett) (Pickett) Wilford
Richard Lee Tolman, Ph.D. 267

BOOK AND MEDIA REVIEWS

(*Number 1 • March 2006*)

Hanks. *Akee Tree: A Descendant's Search for his Ancestors on the Eskridge Plantations*. By Tony Burroughs. 68
Crook. *Fendall Hall: A True Story of Good Times and Bad Times on the Chattahoochee River*. By Richard A. Smallwood Sr. 68
McCarty and Much. *The McCartys of the Northern Neck: 350 Years of a Virginia Family*. By Donald W. Moore, CG. 69
Hamilton. *The Making and Unmaking of a Revolutionary Family: The Tuckers of Virginia, 1752–1830*. By Margaret Ruth Amundson, CG. 70
Beatty and Vick. *Joseph Vick of Lower Parish, Isle of Wight County, Virginia, and His Descendants*. By Barbara Vines Little, CG. 70
Carmack. *The Family Tree Guide to Finding Your Ellis Island Ancestors*. By June C. DeLalio, CG. 71
Glazier and Filby. *Italians to America: Lists of Passengers Arriving at U.S. Ports*. By June C. DeLalio, CG. 72
Merriman. *About Genealogical Standards of Evidence: A Guide for Genealogists*. By Kay Haviland Freilich, CG, CGL. 72
Graham. *1805 Georgia Land Lottery: Fortunate Drawers and Grantees*. By Barbara Smallwood Stock. 73
Boyd. *Family Maps of Leake County, Mississippi: With Homesteads, Roads, Waterways, Towns, Cemeteries, Railroads, and More*. By Jane J. Williams, CG. 74

(*Number 2 • June 2006*)

Douhan. *The Ancestry of Russell Makepeace of Marion, Massachusetts, 1904–1986: A Descendant of Thomas Makepeace of Dorchester, Massachusetts*. By Helen Schatvet Ullmann, CG, FASG. 148
Benson. *The Read Family of Salem, Massachusetts*. By Joyce Pendery, CG. 148
Styles. *Turner and Banks, Pioneer Families of Western North Carolina: Descendants of Joseph and Mary Turner, Descendants of Rachel Ruth Turner and Andrew E. Banks from 1738 to 2002*. By Jeffrey L. Haines, CG. 149
Irvine. *Trace Your Orkney Ancestors: A Guide to Sources for Orcadian Family and Local History*. By Norman Douglas Nicol, Ph.D. 150
Kane and Aiken. *The American Counties: Origins of County Names, Dates of Creation, and Population Data, 1950–2000*. By Sandra M. Hewlett, CG. 150
Thompson. *Cambridge Cameos: Stories of Life in Seventeenth-Century New England*. By Joan A. Hunter, M.L.S., CG. 151
Boyd. *Family Maps of Ste. Genevieve County, Missouri: Deluxe Edition with Homesteads, Roads, Waterways, Towns, Cemeteries, Railroads, and More*. By Patricia Walls Stamm, CG, CGL. 151
Anderson. *The Great Migration: Immigrants to New England, 1634–1635, vol 4, I–L*. By Marya Castro Myers, CG. 152
Haberstroh and DeGrazia. *Voices of the Irish Immigrant: Information Wanted Ads in* The Truth Teller, *New York City, 1825–1844*. By Donn Devine, CG, CGL. 153
Grannum and Taylor. *Wills and Other Probate Records: A Practical Guide to Researching Your Ancestors' Last Documents*. By Jeffrey L. Haines, CG. 154

(*Number 3 • September 2006*)

Waak. *My Bones Are Red: A Spiritual Journey with a Triracial People in the Americas*. By Rachal Mills Lennon, CG. 221

Ely. *Israel on the Appomattox: A Southern Experiment in Black Freedom from the 1790s Through the Civil War*. By Christopher A. Nordmann, Ph.D., CG. 222
Joyce. *Bartlett Eaves (ca. 1765–ca. 1833): His Ancestors and Descendants*. By Lynne M. Darrouzet, J.D., CG. 223
Steele. *Ebbets: The History and Genealogy of a New York Family*. By Richard Haberstroh, AG, CG. 224
Rose and Ingalls. *The Complete Idiot's Guide to Genealogy*, 2nd ed. By Elizabeth Kelley Kerstens, CG, CGL. 225
Redmonds. *Christian Names in Local and Family History*. By Jeffrey L. Haines, CG. 225
Sperry. *Kirtland, Ohio: A Guide to Family History and Historical Sources*. By Wallace D. Huskonen, CG. 226
Horle, Foster, and Wolfe. *Lawmaking and Legislators in Pennsylvania: A Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3. By Scott C. Steward. 227
Rapaport. *New England Court Records: A Research Guide for Genealogists and Historians*. By Sandra MacLean Clunies, CG. 227
Anderson. *The Pilgrim Migration: Immigrants to Plymouth Colony, 1620–1633*. By Charles E. Healy, Ph.D. 228
Poss. *Wilkes County (Washington), Georgia: Newspaper Abstracts 1810–1815*, vol. 2. By Joye Lett Quinn, CG. 228

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Index to Volume 94
2006

Dawne Slater-Putt, Compiler
Thomas W. Jones, Editor
Melinde Lutz Sanborn, Editor

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Index to Volume 94

Entries for persons with no surnames or with unknown surnames are found at the beginning of this index. They include those who lived in a time or culture without surnames or who were enslaved and never took a surname. The modifiers *ackn.* (acknowledged, for assistance rendered) and *cited* (for sources of information) refer to individuals in text and notes. Authors, contributors, and reviewers are identified as such, to distinguish them from individuals treated historically. Known maiden names appear in parentheses, as do dates and other information that distinguish people of the same common name.

Subject entries appear also under the following broader headings:

computers and software	ethnic and immigrant groups
methodology and subject areas	records and sources
religions and religious groups	ships

Abbreviations are limited to geographic sites, titles, and the following identifiers:

ackn.	acknowledged	*aka*	also known as
b.	born	Ch.	Church
Cem.	Cemetery	Co./co.	Company/County/county
Cong.	Congregation	CW	Civil War
d.	died	dau.	daughter of
Dist.	District	f.	father of
h.	husband of	Inf.	Infantry
m.	married	Par.	Parish
prob.	probably	Regt.	Regiment
s.	son of	sis.	sister of
St.	Saint, Street	Twp.	Township
Univ.	University	*var., vars.*	variously spelled
w.	wife of		

—NO SURNAME—

Aleck, 128, 309–10
Alice (m. John Mill), 218
Andres, 188, 198, 201
Ann (m. Digory Bray), 209
Ann (m. Robert Tureman), 296
Anne Hyacinthe, 190
Banneky, 306–7
Barnabé, 189
Barney, 124
Benjamin, 309–11
Bonaventure, 189
Catherine, 200
Charles, 124
Clarisse. *See* no surname, Marie Louise
Colonel. *See* Hatche, Auchi
Crazy Horse (Indian chief), 246
Dan, 128
Dominique (m. Marguerite Metoyer), 186
Easter, 128
Eleanor (m. John Medley), 299, 302
Elizabeth (m. [—?—] Welsh), 312
Elizabeth (m. Christopher Wonnacot), 214
Elizabeth (m. Edwin Hawkins), 18
Elizabeth (m. Thomas Caldwell), 107
Emma (m. Martin Benz), 284
Ernst (archduke of Austria), 117
Eunice (m. Charles Crysler), 262
Fanchon, 193
Frances G. (m. George Frank Pickett), 282
François *dit* Choera, 189, 193
François, 184, 189–90, 192, 199–204
Françoise, 190, 201
Grace (m. Nicholas Pearce Lillicrap), 206
Ignace, 199

Isabel (m. Louis Grandbois), 284
Jane (m. Joseph Fuge), 211
Jane (m. Thomas Caldwell), 106–8
Jane (m. Thomas Mills), 277
Jean Baptiste Augstin, 200
Jean Baptiste *dit* Chocra, 189
Jean Baptiste, 198
Jesse (son of Wowinape), *Dec. cover*
Joe, 124
John (son of Reuben Little Crow), 258
Juday, 309
Judith (m. Richard Randolph), 223
Laura (m. Hortensio von Copmaul), 115
Leopold (Holy Roman Emperor), 117
Louis Barnabé, 200
Louis Philippe I (Duc d'Orleans), 202
Louis XIV (king of France), 202
Luce (m. John Bray), 209, 213
Lucia (m. Adalberto Camaul), 114, 122
Lucinda (m. Jesse Perkins), 222
Marguerite *dit* Yancdose, 189
Marie, 196
Marie Adelaïde de Mariotte. *See* Mariotte, Marie Adelaïde
Marie Angelique, 198
Marie Françoise, 184, 189–90, 192, 198–204
Marie Françoise *dit* Cha Cha, 188, 198–201
Marie Gertrude *dit* Digmy, 189
Marie Jeanne *dit* Jeanneton, 189, 193
Marie Louise *dit* Mariotte, 183–204
Marie Louise Jr., 192–3, 198–99
Marie Louise, 188, 191–92, 194, 199, 201
Marie Louise, 198. *aka* Clarisse
Marie Philomene, 201
Marie Silesie, 198
Marie Susanne, 186
Marie Thérèse *dit* Coincoin, 184–86, 188–92, 194
Marie Thérèse, 191, 198
Mary (m. John Welsh), 305–14
Mary (m. Joseph Turner), 149
Mary (m. Stephen Bray), 209, 212, 215
Mary (m. Thomas Barbour), 292
Micodon, 191
Nellie (m. Alexander Davidson), 100
Nick, 128
Phebey (m. Silvanus Baker), 20
Pompey, 313
Rachel (m. Job Davidson), 94–95
Rachel, 197
Rebecca (m. William Caldwell), 105
Sally (m. Joseph Fox), 182
Sarah (m. Edward Smeeth), 215
Solomon, 309
Susannah (m. George Samuel Klug and Jacob Medley), 294–95
Susanne, 200–201
Thomasina (m. Thomas Bray), 209
William (son of Julia Red Eagle), 258

—A—

Abbott, A. W., 91
Ablustan. *See* Give Him Up
Abraham Lincoln National Cem., 49
Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, 41, 46–47, 50, 52, 54–55, 57, 59–60, 63–66
Abraham, Terry (*cited*), 133–34
Ackerman, George, 88
Adams
  Corlyn L. H. (*cited*), 270
  Henry, 310, 313
  James N. (*cited*), 41, 46
  Jane, 310, 313
  Juday, 310, 313
  Moses, 310, 313
  Robert, 310, 313
  Solemon, 310, 313
Adams Co., Ill., 43
Africa, 306
Ailsworth, Timothy S. (*cited*), 111
Alabama, 33, 223
  Eufaula, 69
  land patent sales, 151–52
  Limestone Co., 140
  Madison Co., 140
  Montgomery, 32, 35–36
  Tuscaloosa, 182
Albemarle Co., Va., 103, 141
Alcock, Robert, 294
Alden, I. M. (*cited*), 6
Aldrich
  Allie. *See* Capitola Lenwire
  Capitola Lenwire, 275, 281–82. *aka* Allie
  Emma (Mitchell), 281
  Horton Uriah, 281
Alexander Co., Ill., 43
Alexander, Sylvanus, 148
Alexandria, Va., 10
Allen, James R. (*cited*), 50
Allen, S.D., 256–57. Trinity Epis. Cem., 256–57
Allman, Lula Marchant (*cited*), 268
Alpert, Jan Nutter (*cited*), 86
Alston family papers, 134
Alta, Utah, 277
Alton, Ill., 39, 49, 66
Alvord, Clarence W. (*cited*), 38–39, 57
Amelia Co., Va., 106–7
American Catholic Historical Society, 153

American Colonization Society, 138
American Party, 138
American Revolution, 22, 70, 141–42, 149, 227
  1st N.Y. Inf. Regt., 141
  Kaskaskia Campaign, 62
Amundson, Margaret Ruth (*reviewer*), 70
Anderson
  Marie Lorraine Epps (*cited*), 101–3
  Mary Clayton (*cited*), *Dec. cover*
  Robert Charles (*cited*), 111; (*reviewed*), 152–53, 228
Andrews, William L. (*cited*), 5
Angel, Myron (*cited*), 270
Anjou, Gustav (*cited*), 103, 111
Anne Arundel Co., Md., 308, 310, 312–13. All Hallows Par., 312
Arbuthnott, Alexander, 124
Ardglass, Ireland, 277
Ardis, Ann L. (*cited*), 5
Argentina, 121, 124
Arkansas
  Helena, 92
  land patent sales, 151–52
Armant, Joseph Marie, 191
Armstrong, Mary, 273–74
Arrington, Leonard (*cited*), 269, 275
Ashford, Conn., 141
Ashley
  Elizabeth (Burnett), 266
  John, 264–66
  Margaret (Chrysler), 264–66
  William, 140
Astor, John Jacob, 224
Atkins, Anna, 21
Atlanta, Ga., 54
Atlantic Ocean, 206
Augusta Co., Va., 103, 141
Auken, Charles Curry (*reviewed*), 50–151
Australia, 264, 270
Austria, 114, 118, 121–23
  Cormòns. *See* Italy
  Görz. *See* Gorzia
  Gradisca. *See* Gorzia
  Unterweißenbach, 114, 118
  World War I, 119
Aylett family, 140
Azevedo
  Isabel Lillian (Wilford), 285
  Joseph, 285
Azores, 13

—B—

Babcock, Rufus (*cited*), 52
Bahamas, 124
Bailey, Robert E. (*cited*), 44
Baker
  Charles, 264
  Deliverance (O'Killey), 20
  Eliza Jane, 264
  Emeline, 10–11, 16, 19
  Felty. *See* Valentine
  Hannah, 20
  James, 264
  Jane (Chrysler), 259–66
  John, 264
  Judah, 21
  Margaret (Burnett), 263–66
  Mary Jane, 262–65
  Mercy (Burgess), 21
  Nancy (Overton), 304
  O. Kenneth (*cited*), 51
  Patience (Berry), 21
  Phebe (Chase), 20–22
  Rebecca, 19, 21
  Rebecca (Baker), 21
  Sally Ann (Phillips), 20
  Samuel, 21
  Sarah, 262–65
  Sidney Ellen, 304
  Silas, 20
  Silvanus, 17, 20, 22
  Valentine, 304. *aka* Felty
  William, 261–66
Baldwin family, 308
Baltimore Co., Md., 305–8, 311, 313–14. Patapsco River, 306–7
Baltimore, Md., *June cover*, 92–93, 313
Bancroft, Hubert H. (*cited*), 277
Banicker, Mary, 310, 313. *See also* Banneker, Banneky
Banks
  Andrew E., 149
  family, 149
  Rachel Ruth (Turner), 149
Banneker. *See also* Banneky, Banicker
  Benjamin, 305–14
  Esther, 306
  Katherine, 306
  Mary, 306
  Minta, 306
  Molly, 306, 313
  Robert, 307
  Tilly, 306
Banneky. *See also* Banneker, Banicky
  Robert, 306
Bannister River, Va., 111
Barbour, 297
  Mary ([—?—]), 292
  Thomas, 292–93
Barker
  Elwood I. (*cited*), 269, 271, 277
  Jane (Pickett), 268, 277
  John Thompson, 277
Barnum, Mildred (*cited*), 299
Barren Co., Ky., 26, 29–30
Barrett, Louisa, 263. *See also* Burnett
Bartley, Scott Andrew (*cited*), 140
Bath, England, 268
Bath Road, Ont., 264
Battle, Thomas C. (*cited*), 13
Baumgartner
  Johann, 118
  Magdalena (Camaur), 118
Bavaria, *Sept. cover*
  Frankenthal, 296–97
Baxter
  Cornelius, 20

Baxter (*continued*)
Hannah (Crowell), 20
Joanna (Marchant), 20
Thankful, 19
Thomas, 20
Baym, Nina (*cited*), 6
Bayou Pierre, La., 191
Bay Park, Cornwall, 206, 211–12
Beall, Ann Fendall, 69
Beatty
J. D. (*cited*), 283
John D. (*reviewed*), 70–71
Beaufort Co., N.C., 221
Bedini, Silvio A. (*cited*), 305–8, 310
Bee Co., Tex., 222
Beers, Henry Putney (*cited*), 56
Belgium, 121–22, 124
Bell
James M., 251
Mary (*cited*), 83
Mary McCampbell (*author*), 133–42; (*cited*), 41, 134
Belleville, Ill., 53, 55–56
Bellfontaine, Ill., 39
Belting, Natalia (*cited*), 55
Benicia, Calif., 283. Military Cem., 283
Bennett Co., S.D., 247, 255
Bennett, Richard, 312
Benson, Richard H. (*reviewed*), 148–49
Benz
Emma ([—?—]), 284
Martin, 284
Rosa, 284
Bergeron, Antoine, 185–86, 195–96
Berkshire, England, 268, 274–77
Bermuda, 70
Bermudes y de Soto
Manuel, 189
Marie (St. Denis), 189
Berry
Patience, 21
Thankful, 22
Betteridge, Harold J. (*cited*), 116
Bevine, Francis F. (*cited*), 88
Biegener, E. M. (*cited*), 53
Big Thunder. *See* Wakinyantanka
Billington, Ray Allen (*cited*), 39
Billy Graham Center Archives (Ill.), 52
Bird, F. W. (*cited*), 13
Birmingham Dist., England, 269
Bitton, Davis (*cited*), 269, 275
Black
[—?—], 306
Esther (Banneker), 306
Laura, 95, 98–99. *aka* Davidson, Laura
Minta (Banneker), 306
William, 306
Black Bear, Harry, 258. *aka* Mato Sapa
Black Hawk War (Ill.), 62–63
Black Owl, Anna, 256. *aka* Hinhan Sapa
Blackstone, William (*cited*), 108, 292
Blackwell, Jean (*cited*), 14–15
Bland family, 70
Blankenbaker, John (*cited*), 295, 297, 300
Board for Certification of Genealogists, 225, 243; (*cited*), 165
Boisdoré, Antoine, 191
Bond Co., Ill., 43
Boone Co., Ill., 43
Boston. *vars.* Balson, Barten, Barton, Baslon
James, 306
Katherine (Banneker), 306
Boston, Mass., 10
Bowen, Louisa H. Univ. Archives and Special Collections, 52, 66
Bowles, Mrs. George M. (*cited*), 288, 304
Boyd, Gregory A. (*reviewed*), 74, 151–52
Bozarth
Andrew F., 281
Ulea Jane (Read) Wharton, 281
Bracken, Alice, 278
Brackett, [—?—], 151
Bradford, William, 228
Brandi, Adele (*cited*), 121
Branstetter, Mary Willia (*cited*), 30–31
Branton, Katherine (*cited*), 24
Bratti, Roberta Gilbert (*cited*), 10
Bray
Ann ([—?—]), 209
Ann (Mill), 217–19
Anne (Ward), 219
Christian, 211–12
Degory, 209, 211, 216, 219. *var.* Digory
Dewens, 211
Duence, 212
Elizabeth, 216–19
Henry, 209–13
Hephzibah (Lillicrap), 205–20
Jane, 212, 214
Jane (Ferrett), 209, 212–13
Jane (Smeeth), 214–16
Joan, 211, 216–17
Joan (Gare), 216–17
Joanna, 216, 218. *var.* Joan
Johanna, 206–7
John, 163, 205–20
Luce, 211–12
Luce ([—?—]), 209, 213
Luce (Marshall), 211, 214
Lucy, 215–16
Margaret, 211, 213–14
Mary, 206–7, 215
Mary ([—?—]), 209, 212, 215
Mary (Medland), 213
Mary (Rawle), 209, 211, 216, 219
Prudence (Mark), 215–16
Samuel, 206–8, 216–19
Stephen, 209–12, 215–16, 219
Thomas, 205, 209–14
Thomasin, 206–7, 211
Thomasina ([—?—]), 209
Thomazin (Cock), 213
William, 211–12, 216–17
William Marshall, 215
Brent
John, 108–11
Margaret (Caldwell), 108–12

Bresson, Antoine. *See* Bergeron, Antoine
Brevelle, Jean Baptiste, 191
Brichford, Maynard (*cited*), 46
Bridgerule Par., Devon, 206–7, 217–20
Briggs, Dora Lenora, 279
Brigham Young Univ., 226
Brockman, Paul (*cited*), 39
Broile. *See* Broyles
Brooken. *See* Brooking
Brooking, 299. *var.* Brooken
  Ann ([—?—]) Tureman, 296
  Charles, 294, 296, 302
  Robert, 294, 296
  Samuel, 294, 296
  William, 294
Brooklyn Dodgers, 224
Brooks, Thomas (*cited*), 64
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 42
Brown
  Anna (Nutt), 177, 179–82. *var.* Ann, Anne
  Eliza A., 178–79
  Joseph, 177, 179–82
  Margaret Kimball (*cited*), 50, 55, 57
  Sterling A. (*cited*), 14
Brown Cloud, Charles, 247, 250, 252, 254–55. *aka* Mahpiya Gi
Brown Co., Ill., 43
Browning, Sarah, 20
Brownjohn, Mary, 275
Brown Univ., 16
Broyles, 299, 301. *var.* Broile
  Elizabeth (Klug), 299, 301
  Matthias, 302
  William, 302
Bruce, John Edward (*cited*), 13–14
Brunner, [—?—], 95
Brunswick Co., Va., 103–5, 111
Bryant
  Charles G., 10–11
  Emily (Chase), 10
  Lucy, 271
Buard
  Denis, 187–88
  family, 192, 198–99, 203
  Gabriel, 188, 191–93, 195, 198, 201
  Marianne, 199
  Marie Thérèse, 198
  Widow, 194, 199–201
Buckland-Denham Par., England, 267, 272–74
Buck Mountain, Va., 103
Buck, Solon Justus (*cited*), 57, 59
Buechel, Eugene (*cited*), 253
Buecker, Thomas R. (*cited*), 250
Buffalo, N.Y., 283
Buffalo, Va., 103
Buffington Island, 27
Bureau Co., Ill., 43
Burgess
  Mercy, 21
  Zilpha, 21
Burkholder, Ruth (*cited*), 260
Burley, Idaho, 279
Burnett
  Betty (*cited*), 55
  Charles W., 260, 265
  Elizabeth, 266
  Henry W., 260, 265
  Hester (Taylor), 260
  James Edgar, 260, 263, 265
  Jane (Crysler) Baker, 259–66
  John, 263, 266
  Louisa, 260, 263, 265
  Margaret, 263–66
  Mary (Chrysler), 261, 265
  Minnie (Fuller), 260
  Orlando, 260, 262–63, 265
  Permilia, 260–61, 265
  Thomas, 259–66
  Thomas W., 259, 265
Burroughs, Tony (*reviewer*), 68
Burt
  Annie E. (Mouser), 143
  Bible, 143–46
  Ebenezer D., 143–46
  Ellenora A., 143–45. *var.* Elenora
  Elizabeth Jane, 143–44
  Elva S. (Riley), 144
  Evaline (Sayers), 143
  Flora L. (Cass), 143, 145
  Grace L., 144
  Grace Luella, 143
  Isaac Newton, 144
  Isabel (Rankin), 143–44
  Jane (Carothers), 143
  John, 143
  John F., 144
  Joseph Guthrie, 143–44
  Lula Iloe, 144
  Margaret Ann, 143–44
  Mary Ann, 144
  Mary Ann (Guthrie), 143, 146
  Mary J. (Smith), 144
  Mathew Hamilton, 143–44
  Nancy (Mitchell), 143
  Robert George, 143–44
  S. K., 146
  Silas, 143–44
  Susan K. (Sampsell), 143
  Thankful J. (Cass), 143
  Thomas W., 144
  Tillie Clark, 144–45
  W. W., 143
  William Warner, 144–45
Burton, 302
  H. Sophie (*cited*), 185
  William J. (*cited*), 64
Burton Dassett, England, 148
Butler Co., Ky., 141
Byers, Paula K. (*cited*), 131
Byrd, William, 103

—C—

Cabmaur. *See also* Copmaul
Cahokia, Ill., 51, 55, 57. *See also* French Cahokia
Caldwell
  Andrew, 204
  David, 102, 104–5, 107–10
  Elizabeth ([—?—]), 107
  George, 107
  Henry, 107
  James, 102, 105
  Jane ([—?—]), 106–8
  John, 101–8, 110–12, 204
  Lettitia, 107
  Margaret, 102, 107–12

Caldwell (*continued*)
Margaret (Phillips), 101–3, 111–12
Paul, 107
Rebecca ([—?—]), 105
Robert, 102, 104, 106, 110
Sarah, 107
Thomas, 101–12, 204
Violet, 107, 204. *var.* Vilote
William, 101, 103, 105–7, 111
Caledonia, Ohio, 145. Zook's Cem., 145
Calhoun Co., Ill., 43
Calhoun, John C., 105
Caliente, Nev., 279
California, 270, 272, 275, 281
Benicia, 283. Military Cem., 283
Exeter, 93
Gilroy, 271, 277, 283
Great Central Valley, 93
Hangtown. *See* Placerville
Los Angeles Co., 93
Los Angeles, *June cover*, 93, 284. Odd Fellows Cem., 93
Martin Co., 285
Marysville, 99
Pacoima, 279
Petaluma, 285
Placerville, 270, 275, 281. *var.* Hangtown
San Francisco, 87, 99–100, 271
Santa Rosa, 285
Sears, 284
Sonoma, 285
Sonoma Co., 275
Stockton, 281–82
Tehama, 282
Truckee, 282–83
Tulare Co., 93
Vallejo, 284–85
Watts, 93
West Los Angeles, 281
Calvert Co., Md., 312
Calverton, V. E. (*cited*), 14
Camauër, 119, 121–24. *See also* Camaur
Anna Maria (Poré), 122
Bernard (*cited*), 122–23
Elizabetha, 122
Helena, 122
Joannes Gaspar, 122
Josephus, 122
Camaul, 119. See also Camaur, Camawer, Camhouwer, Camor, Comaul, Comaur, Copmaul
Adalberto, 122
Alberto, 114
Anna Maria, 121
Antonio, 114, 122. *var.* Antorius
Daniele, 121
Giovanni, 115
Lucia ([—?—]), 114, 122
Maria Theresia (Vernié), 122
Camauli, 118, 119, 121–22. See also Camaur, Copmaul, Kappenmaul
Mattia, 115
Camaulo, 118. *See also* Kappenmaul
Camaur, 122, 123. *See also* Camaul, Camaur, Camawer, Camhouwer, Camor, Comaul, Comaur, Copmaul
Alberto, 114
Gian Domenico, 113, 115
Magdalena, 118
Richard (*author*), 113–24; (*cited*), 83
surname, 113–24
Camauro, 118. *See also* Camaur
Camawer, 122. *See also* Camauër, Camaur
Cambridge, Mass., 151
Camhouwer, 122. *See also* Camauër, Camaur
Camor, 120. *See also* Camauër, Camaur
Campbell Co., Va., 103
Campbell family, 68
Camp Butler National Cem., 49
Camp Chase, Ohio, 28
Camp Douglas, Ill., 28
Camp Lee, Va., 29
Canada
genealogical education, 73
lineage societies, 73
Loyalist families, 259–66
manuscripts, 133–42
Ontario, 259–66. *aka* Canada West, Upper Canada
Quebec, 259. *aka* Canada East
Upper. *See* Ontario
Canada East. *See* Quebec
Canada West. *See* Ontario
Cane River, La., 183–204. *aka* Rivière Aux Canes
Cape Cod, Mass., 13, 148
Capmaul, 121. *See also* Camaur
Cappenmaul, 118. *See also* Camaur, Copmaul, Kappenmaul
Cappnmaul, 117–18, 120–21, 123. *See also* Kappenmaul
Gaspar, 115
Cappon, Lester J. (*cited*), 300
Carey, [—?—] (Judge), 112
Carlisle, Emily (*cited*), 268
Carlson, Theodore L. (*cited*), 61
Carlyon, Thomas, 216
Carlyle, Ill., 39
Carmack, Sharon DeBartolo (*cited*), 23; (*reviewed*), 71–72
Carol, S. J. (*cited*), 246
Caroo, A. W. (*cited*), 7
Carothers, Jane, 143
Carpenter, Joel, 300
Carrier, Lois A. (*cited*), 38–40, 57, 63
Carrington, Paul, 108
Carroll Co., Ill., 43
Carson City, Nev., 267, 270–72, 274–75, 281, 284–86
Carson Valley, Utah, 270–71
Carter
[—?—] (*cited*), 278
Clarence Edwin (*cited*), 39, 57, 60
Carteret Co., N.C., 221

Cass Co., Ill., 43
Cass, Thankful J., 143
Castle, Mary, 275
Castler, Susannah, 300
Castronuovo, Leonardo, 117
Caswell Co., N.C., 149
Cécile, Jean Baptiste, 202
Center for Hancock History: The Mormon Collection, 52
Central Falls, R.I., 13
Cerny, Johni (*cited*), 296
Cervignano, 121
Cetanwakanmani, *Dec. cover. aka* He Who Walks Pursuing a Hawk
Chace. *See* Chase
Cha Cha, Marie Françoise. *See* no surname, Marie Françoise *dit* Cha Cha
Chamberlain, George Walter (*cited*), 21
Chamberlayne, C. G. (*cited*), 296
Champaign Co., Ill., 43
Channel Islands, 154
Chapman, Grace Olive (*cited*), 20
Charlotte Co., Va., 102–7, 112
Charlottesville, Va., 136
Chase
  Abbie, 11
  Anna (Atkins) Sears Doane, 21
  Charlotte, 11
  Daniel, 18
  Emeline (Baker), 10–11, 16, 19
  Emily, 10
  Gabriela Ann, 9–12, 18
  Job, 21
  Johial, 10
  John Carrol (*cited*), 21
  Lavina, 11–12
  Mary "Polly" (Nickerson), 21
  Patience, 11
  Patience (Godfrey), 20
  Phebe, 20–22
  Richard, 22
  Samuel, 17, 21–22
  Thankful (Berry), 22
  Thomas, 88
  Warren, *March cover*, 8, 10–11, 16–19
  Zilpha (Burgess), 21
Chatham, Mass., 19–22
Chattahoochee River, 68–69
Chattanooga, Tenn., 33, 37
Chautauqua, N.Y., 6
Chester, Ill., 66
Chever
  Guillaume, 192
  Jeanne, 192
Chewning
  Marcus, 299
  Susanna (Overton), 299–300
  William B., 299, 301, 303. *var.* William Chew
  William Chew, 299
Cheyenne, 255
Chicago Historical Society, 41–42, 46
Chicago, Ill., 28, 40–43, 45, 53, 56, 58, 60, 65, 67
Chicago Public Library, 42
Chieveley, England, 274–76, 278
Chirokas, Christine (*ackn.*), 5; (*cited*), 19
Chocra, Jean Baptiste. *See* no surname, Jean Baptiste *dit* Chocra
Choera, François. *See* no surname, François *dit* Choera
Chotmau. *See also* Camaur
Chotmaul, 118, 121. *See also* Camaur, Kappenmaul
  Alexander, 120
  Federicus, 118, 120
  Gaspar, 120
Christian Co., Ill., 43
Christiania, Norway, 278
Christiansen, Lila F. M. (*cited*), 268
Christie, [—?—], 94
Chrysler. *vars.* Chrystler, Crysler
  Charles, 262
  Eunice ([—?—]), 262
  Jane, 259–66
  Margaret, 264, 266
  Mary, 261, 265
  Uncle, 262
  William, 262
  William B., 263
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), 52–53, 226, 268, 271, 288; Family History Library, 44, 47, 49–50, 54, 56, 60; Manifesto, 278–79; Newbury Conference, Berkshire, England, 268
Churchill, Charles L., 93
Cincinnati, Ohio, 27, 39, 98
Civil War, *June cover*, 26–29, 33–34, 46, 69, 141, 201, 222
  11th Ind. Inf., 92
  120th Ind. Inf., 91
  58th Ohio Vol. Inf., 98
  129th Ohio Vol. Inf. (Co. C), 98
  158th Ohio Vol. Inf. (Co. D), 97
  168th Ohio Vol. Inf. (Co. K), 98
  Confederate service records, 142
  federal taxes, 67
  Grand Army of the Republic, 64
  Illinois, 51, 62–64
  Indiana, 90–92
  Missouri, 62
  New York, 63
  Ohio, 63
  Pennsylvania, 63
  politics, 138
  Virginia, *Sept. cover*
Clark
  Aquila, 273
  Charlotte, 274
  Charlotte Annie, 273
  Fanny (Hurle), 272–73
  Flora L., 143, 145
  George, 274
  James, 267, 272–74, 277, 281–82, 284–85
  Jane, 274
  Mary (Sheppard), 273

Clark (*continued*)
Priscilla, 267–86
Sarah, 274
William, 274
Clark Co., Ill., 43
Clark Co., Ohio, 87, 89–90, 94, 303
Clarke Co., Ga., 228
Clay Co., Ill., 43
Clay, Henry, 138
Clear Creek, Nev., 282
Clew, Preacher, 299–300
Climbs the Rock, 252, 256. *aka* Inyan Ali
Clinton Co., Ill., 43
Clogston, Lucinda B., 178–79, 182
Cloutier
Alex, 187, 192
Alexis, 196–97, 201–2
Jean Baptiste Sévère, 197
Clover Valley, Utah, 270
Clow
Homer Alfred, 282
Priscilla M. (Pickett), 282
Clue, Sidney Eleanor. *See* Crow, Eleanor (Medley) Tureman
Clunies, Sandra MacLean (*reviewer*), 227–28
Coates, W. Paul (*cited*), 13
Cobb, David A. (*cited*), 46
Cobmaul, 117. *See also* Camaur, Copmaul, Kappenmaul
Gaspar, 115, 117. *var.* Janzili
Cobmaur, Federicus, 115, 120. *See also* Camaur
Coceancig, 119. *See also* Coceani, Cociani
Coceani, 119. *See also* Coceancig, Cociani
Cociani, 119. *See also* Coceancig, Coceani
Cock, Thomazin, 213
Co. Down, Ireland, 277
Coffee
Abraham, 166
Eliza (Dunn), 166
Coincoin, Marie Thérèse *dit*. *See* no surname, Marie Thérèse *dit* Coincoin
Coindet, Antoine, 196
Coldham, Peter Wilson (*cited*), 308
Coles Co., Ill., 43
College of William and Mary, 222
Colletta, John Philip (*author*), 23–37; (*cited*), 23, 31, 34, 37
Collins
Lewis (*cited*), 30–31, 33
Richard H. (*cited*), 30–31, 33
Colmaulo, *See* Camaur
Colorado
land patent sales, 151–52
Columbiana Co., Ohio, 131
Columbus, Ohio, 28
Colwill
family, 220
William, 220
Comar, 119. *See also* Camaur
Comaul, 117, 119. *See also* Camaul, Camaur, Comaur, Copmaul
Alberto, 114–15
Francesco, 114
Gian Paolo, 115
Hortensius, 117
Leonardo, 117
Comauli, 117–19, 121. *See also* Camaur, Kappenmaul
Comaulo, 118. *See also* Copmaul, Kappenmaul
Sabida, 115
Comaur, 119. *See also* Camaul, Camaur, Comaul, Copmaul
Alberto, 114.
Madalena, 119
Zuan, 114–15, 119
Comauri, 121–22
Comauro. *See also* Camaur, Copmaul
Elisabetta, 115
Hortensio, 115
Comes Behind, 249–50, 252. *aka* Ilazata Yu. *See also* Run and Left Her
Comes in Sight. *See* Wowinape
computers and software
ArchivesUSA, 136
Ellis Island Web site, 72
Every Library in Illinois, 40
FirstSearch, 136
Google, 150
Illinois Digital Archives, 42
I-Share, 40, 46–47
Online Computer Library Center (OCLC), 134–35
Research Libraries Group Union Catalog (RLG), 134–37, 141
Statewide Illinois Library Catalog, 40
Wikipedia, 50
WorldCat, 40
Comstock Lode, 270–71
Conant, Dorothy Davis (*cited*), 85, 88
Concordia Historical Institute, 53
Concord, Va., 103
Connecticut
Ashford, 141
Cook Co., Ill., 43, 45, 48, 58–59
Coos Bay Stave and Lumber Co., San Francsico, 100
Copmaul, 117–18, 121. *See also* Camaur, Kappenmaul
Federicus, 115
Heinrich. *See* der Maul
Hieronymus, 117
Janzilo, 118
Copmaull. *See* Camaur
Copmauri. *See* Camaur
Corliss, Carlton J. (*cited*), 40
Cormòns, Austria. *See* Italy
Cormòns, Italy, 113–14, 117–18, 119–23
Cornwall, England, 205–20
Bay Park, 211–12
Crackington, 206, 210. *var.* Crakington
Hallagather, 206, 210, 212
Hole. *See* Trehole
Jacobstow Par., 206
Kencreek, 208
Launcells Par., 206–7, 217–18
Lesnewith Par., 206
Marhamchurch, 207, 217–19

North Petherwin Par., 206
Otterham Par., 206–7, 214–16
Pencuke, 206
Penhalt, 206, 209, 212
Penham, 216
Poundstock, 206–8, 210, 212–13, 216–17, 219
St. Gennys Par., 205–20
St. Juliot Par., 205–20
Southill, 208
Stratton Par., 206–7
Tintagel Par., 213
Trehole, 213. *var.* Hole
Tremaine Par., 206
Trencreek, 206, 219
Trewint, 206–8, 216–17, 219
Warbstow Par., 206
Week St. Mary Par., 206
Whitstone Par., 206
Wooda, 209
Cottage City, Mass., 15, 142
Cottam, James Franklin, 289
counties (American), 150–51
Coutii, Lee Etta Vaccarini (*cited*), 201–3
Cox
Esaias H., 91
Mary, 272
Richard J. (*cited*), 88
Crackington, Cornwall, 206, 210. *var.* Crakington
Craig, John, 103
Cram, George Franklin (*cited*), 25
Craven Co., N.C., 221
Crawford Co., Ill., 43
Crawfordsville, Ind., *June cover*, 85–87, 90–92, 100
Creek Indian Wars, 229
Creese, Ann, 207
Crew, Sidney Eleanor. *See* Crow, Eleanor (Medley) Tureman
Criglar, Elizabeth (Crow), 289
Crocheron, Augusta Joyce (*cited*), 278
Crockett, 68
Crook, Charles M. (*reviewed*), 68–69
Crosthwait
Elizabeth, 302–3
Timothy, 302
Crow
Amy Johnson (*cited*), 135
Dennis, 289
Eleanor (Medley) Tureman, 287–304
Elizabeth, 289–90, 294, 299, 303. *var.* Elisabeth
Elizabeth (Givins), 288–89
Frances, 289
James, 288–93, 299, 302–3, 309, 311–12
John, 289
Mary, 289
Sarah, 289
Sidney Eleanor. *See* Eleanor (Medley) Tureman
Susanna, 299
William, 289
Crowell
Charlotte (Chase), 11
Hannah, 20
Hersey, 10–11
Ruth, 22
Crysler. *See* Chrysler
Cuba, 64
Cub Creek, Va., 102–10
Culpeper Co., Va., 288–89, 291–93, 295–96, 301–4
Cumar, 119
Cumberland Co., Ill., 43
Cumberland Gap, 39
Cumberland, Md., 39
Cumberland, R.I., 11, 19
Cunningham, Andrew, 106
Cutmaul. *See* Camaur
Cutter, Irving (*cited*), 53
Cutting and Co., San Francisco, 100

—D—

Dabney
Charles William, 140
family, 140
Dakota Sioux (Santee), 245
Dan River, Va., 103
Danville, Ill., 49, 65
Darnell, [—?—], 294
Darrouzet, Lynne M. (*reviewer*), 223–24
Daurat, Philomene, 195, 203
Davidson. *See also* Davis
Alexander, 87, 94–95, 99–100
Charles, 93
Charles H. B., 95
Eliza, 85, 88
Elizabeth, 89
Elizabeth (Kloff), 89–90, 92
Elizabeth (Miller), 85, 88
Emily Ann, 94
Faithful (Pierpoint), 88–89
Florence, 99
Frances Bell, 96
George, 85–89, 98
George M., 87, 91–92, 100
George W., *June cover*, 89–90, 92–93
Harriot, 85, 88
Harry C., 96
Henry, 85, 88–90, 93–99
James, 85
Job, 85–100
John, *June cover*, 90, 92, 100
Laura, 95. *aka* Black, Laura
Laura Alice (Ensminger), 9, 92–93
Laura (Black), 98–99
Lucretia, 89
Mary, 95
Mary Ann (Miller), 90–92
Mary Olive, 96
Mattie, 99
Nancy (Lavelly), 93–97, 99
Nellie ([—?—]), 100
Ophelia, 99–100
Othelia Ann, 94
Otho, 94
Otho W., 95, 97–99
Priscilla W. (Peck), 96–98
Rachel ([—?—]), 94–95
Rebecca C. (Remley), 95–96

Davidson (*continued*)
Samuel, 87, 89, 91–92
Samuel Mitchell, 90, 100
Susan (Fender) Linn, 90
Thomas A., 90
Upton, 94–97
William Henry, 94–95
Davis. *See also* Davidson
Alice, 312
Anne (Swindell), 87
Arthur P. (*cited*), 14
Charlotte, 87
Dorothy, 88
Elizabeth, 89
Francis Earlougher, 85
Frank E., 85, 87
Henry, *June cover*, 85–86, 89
Henry Harrison, 85
James, 89
James E. (*cited*), 38, 40
John, 89
Nicholas, 140
Rebecca Robinson (*ackn.*), 125–26, 128–29
Richard, 107
Richard C. (*cited*), 138
Thomas, 89
Walter Swindell, *June cover*
Davison, 87
Day
Samuel, 92, 167–68
Wyatt (*ackn.*), 16
Dean, Laurie Cena (*cited*), 50, 55, 57
Dear, 297
DeBaptiste, George, 127
de Berardinis, Robert (*cited*), 39, 50, 62
de Blanc, César, 189–90, 195
Deer, 289, 294
DeGraffenried family papers, 134
DeGrazia, Laura Murphy (*reviewed*), 153
DeKalb Co., Ill., 43
de la Chaise, Louis Antoine, 190–91
DeLalio, June C. (*reviewer*), 71–72
Delaware
Dover, 141
Wilmington, 153
Delph, 295
De Mallie, Raymond J. (*cited*), 246
DeMarce, Virginia Easley (*cited*), 69, 221
de Mézières
Antoine Maguet, 202
Charlotte, 202
Den Boer, Gordon (*cited*), 46
Denel, A. C., 97
Dennis, Mass., *March cover*, 6, 9, 12, 18–21
Dennison, Addie E. (Warren), 180
Dennisport, Mass., 18
Denton, Vachel, 312
der Maul, Heinrich, 117. *See also* Kappenmaul
Derbanne
Louis, 195–96
Marie Louise Doralise, 203
Derick, Pauline Wixon (*cited*), 10
des Kappenmaul, Mertlein, 116. *See also* Kappenmaul
de Soto
family, 189–90
Manuel, 191
Marie (St. Denis), 191
Detroit, Mich., 129–30. Central Meth. Epis. Ch., 130. Detroit National Bank, 130
de Vaugine, Étienne, 193
deVille, Winston (*cited*), 62
Devine, Donn (*reviewer*), 153
Devon, England, 206–8, 217–18
Bridgerule, 206–7, 217–20
East Putford, 208
Ifracombe Par., 207
River Tamar, 206
DeWitt Co., Ill., 43
Digmy, Marie Gertrude. *See* no surname, Marie Gertrude *dit* Digmy
Dillow, Myron D. (*cited*), 52
Doane
Anna (Atkins) Sears, 21
Elisha, 22
Gilbert (*cited*), 225
Mehitable, 20, 22
Mehitable (Nickerson), 22
Nehemiah, 21
Doherty, Matison, 91
Dolet
Pierre, 185–86, 188, 191
Pierre Jr., 191–92
Donelson, [—?—], 111
Dorchester, Mass., 148
Dorsey family, 308
Dougherty, Thomas, 103
Douglas Co., Ill., 43
Dover, Del., 141
Dowhan, Zelinda Makepiece (*reviewed*), 148
Downs, Sarah Jane, 146–47
Doyle
Arthur Conan (*cited*), 177
William, 112
Dubuque, Iowa, 53
Duckett, Kenneth W. (*cited*), 142
Duffey
Florence, 96
Frances Bell (Davidson), 96
Lowell M. (*cited*), 126–27, 129
Duff, Stella F. (*cited*), 300
Duke Univ., N.C., 137–38
DuMelle, Grace (*cited*), 40
Dunham, Gabriela Ann (Chase), 9–12, 18
Dunlop, Robert H. (*cited*), 32
Dunn
Abigail, 166
Catherine (Wickersham), 166–67
Eliza, 166
family, 163, 166
Hannah (Shepherd), 166
Ida Mae (Pope), *Sept. cover*
Isabella, 167–68
James, 165
Robert, *Sept. cover*, 165–76
Robert Jr., 165
Victor S. (*author*), 165–76; (*cited*), *Sept. cover*
William, *Sept. cover*
DuPage Co., Ill., 43

Dupré
family, 186–87
Jean Baptiste, 202
Joseph Emanuel, 203
Joseph I, 193
Joseph II, 203
Joseph III, 197
Marie Denèges Elsida, 203
Marie Doralise, 197, 201, 203
Noel, 197
Philippe Valsain, 197, 203
Durham, John G., 141
Duvall family, 308
Dwyer, Clifford (*cited*), 41, 134
Dyer, Bill, 222
Dykes, DeWitt S. Jr. (*cited*), 131–32

—E—

Eads Bridge, 40
Eales, Anne Bruner (*cited*), 32, 270, 286
Earle
J. H. (*cited*), 6
John Milton (*cited*), 13
Easson
Permilia (Burnett), 260
Robert, 260
Eastern Lunatic Asylum, Ky., 138
East Lansdale, R.I., 18
Easton-Black, Susan Ward (*cited*), 268, 288
East Providence, R.I., 18
East Putford, Devon, 208
East St. Louis, Ill., 40, 60, 65
Eaves
Bartlett, 223–24
William, 223
Ebbet, Daniel, 224. *See also* Ebbets
Ebbets, 224–25. *See also* Ebbet
Charles, 224
John, 224
John Augustus Nicoll, 224
Ebbets Field, 224
Eden Center, N.Y., 283
Eden, N.Y., 283–84
Eden Theological Seminary, Mo., 56
Edgar
James, 263, 265
Mary Jane (Baker), 262–65
Edgar Co., Ill., 43, 51
Edwards Co., Ill., 43
Edwardsville, Ill., 39, 52, 66
Effingham Co., Ill., 43
Efird, Kim (*cited*), 49, 57
Eichholz, Alice (*cited*), 140
Ekberg, Carl J. (*cited*), 38
Elba, Idaho, 279
Elbert Co., Ga., 228
Elgin, Ill., 58
Eliot, [—?—], 151
Ellicott family, 306–7
Ellicott's Mills, Md., 306–7
Ellis Island, N.Y., 71–72
Ellison, Marion (*cited*), 270
Elson
Henry, 214
Margaret (Bray), 214
Elwood, Ill., 49
Ely, Melvin Patrick (*reviewed*), 222–23
Ely, Nev., 276, 285
Emmett, Catherine Dorcas (Overton), 288
Emmett, Idaho, 278–79
Emory Univ., Ga., 54
England, 226, 271, 307. *See also* Great Britain
Bath, 268
Berkshire, 268, 273, 275–77
Birmingham Dist., 269
Buckland-Denham Par., 267, 272
Burton Dassett, 148
Chieveley, 274–76, 278
control of Illinois, 38–39
Cornwall, 205–20
Devon, 206–8, 217–20
Frome, 268, 273
Lancashire, 273
Leicestershire, 275
Liverpool, 207, 268
Lockwood, 273. Cobden Row, 273
London, 297
National Archives, The, 154
Newbury, 274
Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 154
Public Record Offices. *See* England, National Archives
Rode, 272
Somerset Co., 267
Somersetshire, 267, 272–73
South Croxton, 275
The National Archives, 154
Warminster, 277
Warwickshire, 148
Wessex, 306
wills, 154
Wiltshire, 273, 277
Wolverhampton, 273
Yorkshire, 273
England, Archie (*cited*), 278
Ensley
Julia Ann (Pierpoint), *June cover*, 85, 89
William, 89
Ensminger, Laura Alice, 90, 92–93
Erie Canal, 40
Escamilla, Patricia Baldwin (*cited*), 271
ethnic and immigrant groups
African American. Black Codes (Pa.), 125–26; black freedom pre-Civil War, 222–23; Code Noir (La.), 188, 190; schools, 132; slave research, 183–204; slavery, 125–32; Freedmen's Bureau, 68; Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, 6, 13–15
Cahokia mound builders, 38
Cheyenne, 255
Choctaw, 68
Creek, 68. land (Ga.), 228; slaveholding, 124
Creek Indian Wars, 229

ethnic and immigrant groups (*continued*)
Dakota Sioux (Santee), 245
Danish Lutherans, 53
French Canadians (Ill.), 38
French Catholics (Ill.), 51; governance of Ill., 56–57, 59, 61; troops in Illinois, 62
Friulian (language), 113; linguistic principles, 116–17
German. crop failure (1840s), *Sept. cover*; linguistic principles, 116–17; Shenandoah Valley, Va., 140; Illinois, 60; Lutherans, 53
Illini, 38
Illinois immigrant groups, 38–39
Irish,153. Illinois, 40, 60; immigration, 72; immigrants to N.Y., 153; linguistic principles, 116–17
Lakota Sioux (Teton), *Dec. cover*, 245–58
Linguistic analysis, 113–24
Mdewakanton Lakota, *Dec. cover*
Melungeon, 221
Nakota Sioux (Yankton), 245
Native American, 68. Cahokia mound builders, 38; Choctaw, 68; Creek, 68, 124; Illini, 38. *See also individual tribes*
Norwegian Lutherans, 53
Oglala Sioux research, 245–58
Polish immigrants in Ill., 60
Redbone, 221–22
Sioux, *Dec. cover*, 245. Oglala research, 245–58
Swedish. Lutherans, 53; Swenson Center, 45
Ethnic works (*reviewed*), 221–23
Eufaula, Ala., 69
Evans, Elaine (*cited*), 44
Evanston, Ill., 54
Everyman as genealogist, 163
Exeter, Calif., 93

—F—

family histories (*reviewed*), 68–71, 148–50, 223–25
Fayette Co., Ill., 43
Fayette Co., Pa., 126, 131
Fender, Susan, 90
Fenton
Bonnie (*cited*), 53
Sarah (Baker) Harris, 262–65
William J., 262–63, 265
Ferrett, Jane, 209, 212–13
Fever River Expedition, 63. *See also* Winnebago War
Filby, P. William (*reviewed*), 72
Fink, Sam. index (*cited*), 66
Finley, Carmen J. (*author*), 101–12; (*cited*), 83, 104–5
Fish
Elizabeth (Welsh), 312
William, 312
Fishback, Mason M. (*cited*), 59
Flandreau, S.D., *Dec. cover*
Flynn
James D. (*cited*), 16
Katherine E. (*author*), 3, 5–22; (*cited*), *March cover*
Kathleen (Kuhle) (*cited*), 16
Ford Co., Ill., 43
Fort Bridger, Wyo., 278
Fort Creek, Va., 107
Fort Dearborn, Ill., 63. *See also* Chicago
Fort Douglas, Utah, 283–84
Fort Gaines, 124
Fort Shaw, Mont., 283
Foster
Frances Smith (*cited*), 5
Joseph S. (*reviewed*), 227
Fox
Joseph, 182
Sally ([—?—]), 182
France, 56
Frankenthal, Bavaria, 296–97
Franklin
Benjamin, 125, 227
John H., 91
Franklin Co., Ill., 43
Franklin Co., Ky., 304
Frederick Co., Va. *See* Frederick Co., W.Va.
Frederick Co., W.Va., 165–76
Frederick, Md., 93
Free
Bible, 146–47
Charles Edwin, 146–47
Elizabeth (Sommes), 146
Lewis, 146–47
Morris Franklin, 146–47
Phebe Anna, 146–47
Sarah Jane (Downs), 146–47
Susan Anne (Grant), 146–47
William Grant, 147
Freetown, Pa., 125
Freiherrenvon von Czoernig, Carl (*cited*), 117
Freilich, Kay Haviland (*reviewer*), 72–73
French, Arthur A., 147
French Cahokia, Ill., 41, 44, 57. *See also* Cahokia
Frome, England, 268, 273
Fromkin, Victoria A. (*cited*), 116
Fuge
Jane ([—?—]), 211
Joseph, 211
Fuller, Minnie, 260
Fullwood, Steven G. (*cited*), 14–15
Fulton Co., Ill., 43

—G—

Gage, Joanna, 20
Gaines, Elizabeth Venable (*cited*), 102–3, 105

Gaither family, 308
Gallatin Co., Ill., 43
Galloway, Joseph, 227
Gare, Joan, 216. *var.* Gayer
Garland
  John, 139
  Susan (Packe), 139
Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary Archives, Ill., 54
Gates, Henry Louis Jr. (*cited*), 5–6, 15–16
Gayer. *See also* Gare
  Benjamin, 216
  Joan, 216
Geauga Co., Ohio, 226
Geib, W. J. (*cited*), 25
Genealogical Proof Standard, 73, 245, 287, 298
Genealogical Society of Utah, 42
General Assembly of Pennsylvania, 227
general guides (*reviewed*), 225
Gentry, Irma E. (*cited*), 312
Geographic Names Information System, 49
Georgia, 91, 223
  archives, 229
  Atlanta, 54
  Clarke Co., 228
  Creek Indian land, 228
  Elbert Co., 228
  Emory Univ., 54
  Glascock Co., 228
  Greene Co., 228
  Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, 137
  Hart Co., 228
  land lottery, 73–74
  Lincoln Co., 228
  Madison Co., 228
  McDuffie Co., 228
  Oglethorpe Co., 228
  Savannah, *March cover*, 18
  Taliaferro Co., 137, 228
  Univ. of Ga. Libraries, 137
  Upson Co., 132
  Warren Co., 69, 228
  Washington, 228–29
  Wilkes Co., 228–29
Georgia Genealogical Society, 229
Germany, 282
Getz
  Israel Luther, 146
  Lillie Susan, 147
  Phebe Anna (Free), 146–47
Gibb, Carson (*cited*), 307
Gibbs, John, 291
Gifford, Samuel, 99
Gill Mills. *See also* Mills
  Jane ([—?—]), 277
  Thomas, 277
  William, 268–73, 277–78, 283
Gilroy, Calif., 271, 277, 283
Give Him Up, 252, 256. *aka* Ablustan
Givins, Elizabeth, 288–89
Glascock Co., Ga., 228
Glasgow, Ky., 26
Glazier, Ira A. (*reviewed*), 72
Glenn
  Andrew, 279
  Mary Elizabeth Tolman, 279; (*cited*), 268–69, 275, 278
Gloss, Kenneth (*cited*), 14
Gloster, Hugh M. (*cited*), 14
Godfrey
  Joshua, 17, 20, 22
  Naomy (Kelley), 22
  Patience, 20
  Phebe (Gould), 22
Goffstown, N.H., 178–79, 181–82. Westlawn Cem., 178
Goings, 221
Gold
  John T., 96
  Rebecca C. (Remley) Davidson, 96
Gooch, William, 103
Goose Creek, Idaho, 278
Gorizia, 113–15, 117–19, 121–23. *aka* Görz, Gradisca
  Sesana, 116
Görz, Austria. *See* Gorizia
Goshen Road, 39
Gould, Phebe, 22
Gouldrup, Lawrence P. (*cited*), 23
Gradisca, Austria. *See* Gorizia
Graham, Paul K. (*reviewed*), 73–74
Grand Army of the Republic, 42; Ill., 64
Grandbois
  Isabel ([—?—]), 284
  Louis, 284
  Martha Jane, 276, 284–85. *aka* Jennie, Mattie
Grange, Robert T. (*cited*), 246
Granite, Utah, 278–79
Grannum, Karen (*reviewed*), 154
Grant, Susan Anne, 146–47
Great Britain, 56, 308. *See also* England
  British felons in America, 308
Great Central Valley, Calif., 93
Great Chicago Fire, 58
Great Depression, *Sept. cover*
Great Lakes, 40
Great Migration, 152–53
Green
  [—?—] (Packe), 139
  Thomas, 142
  William, 139
Greenbury family, 308
Greene Co., Ga., 228
Greene Co., Ill., 43
Greene Co., Ohio, 95
Green River, Ky., 29–31, 33
Grieve, Robert (*cited*), 11
Griffith family, 308
Gruber, Donna J. Redhead (*contributor*), 143–46
Grundy Co., Ill., 43
Guthrie, Mary Ann, 143, 146
Gutman, Herbert G. (*cited*), 131
Gutteridge, Ann, 275

—H—

Haberstroh
  Diane Fitzpatrick (*reviewed*), 153
  Richard (*reviewer*), 224–25

Hadley, George P. (*cited*), 177–78, 182
Hageness, Mari Lee Beatty (*cited*), 34
Hagerstown, Md., 93–94, 97, 99
Haig, Robert Murray (*cited*), 67
Haines
  Elijah M. (*cited*), 59
  Jeffrey L. (*reviewer*), 149, 154, 225–26
Halifax Co., Va., 149
Hallagather, Cornwall, 206, 210, 212
Hamilton
  Nicholas Esterhazy Stephen Armitage (*cited*), 267
  Phillip (*reviewed*), 70
Hamilton Co., Ill., 43
Hammes, Raymond H. (*cited*), 61–62
Hammond
  Cora Lucille, 281
  family, 308
  James T., 143
  Margaret A. (Burt), 143–44
Hancock, 303
  Monroe B., 288, 304
  Sidney (Overton), 288, 304
Hancock Co., Ill., 43
Hangtown, Calif. *See* Placerville
Hanks, Stephen (*reviewed*), 68
Hanover Co., Va., 140
Harden, Molly, 21. *var.* Harding
Hardin Co., Ill., 43
Harding
  Margery (*cited*), 62
  Molly. *See* Harden, Molly
Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Ga., 137
Harris
  Abraham, 263, 265
  Ann. *See* Harry
  N. Dwight (*cited*), 59
  Sarah (Baker), 262–64
  Sharon M. (*cited*), 5
  Trudier (*cited*), 5
Harrison
  Robert G., 91
  Wilson R. (*cited*), 220
Harrisonburg, Va., 140
Harry, Ann, 210. *var.* Harris
Hart
  Abel H., 178
  Anna (Nutt) Brown, 177, 179–82
  Anna (Warren), 178–79
  Eliza A. (Brown) Warren, 178–82
  family, 163
  Louisa B., 178
  Lucinda B. (Clogston), 178–79, 182
  Mary (Sargent), 178
  William, 178
Hart Co., Ga., 228
Hart Co., Ky., 29–30
Harwich, Mass., 19–20, 22
Hatche, Auchi, 124. *aka* Colonel
Hat Creek, Va., 103
Hattox, Phillip, 132
Hawes
  family, 139
  James W. (*cited*), 21
Hawkins
  Benjamin Arnon, *March cover*, 7, 12, 18
  Edwin, 18
  Elizabeth ([—?—]), 18
  Emma Dunham (Kelley), *March cover*, 5–22, 142
  Gayla Elizabeth, 12
  Megda Dunham (*ackn.*), *March cover*, 7, 9, 12
Haywood Co., N.C., 149
Headdon. *var.* Heddon
  Johanna (Bray), 207–8, 218
  Thomas, 207, 218
Healy, Charles E. (*reviewer*), 228
Hébert, Michael L. (*cited*), 46
Heflin, Barbara S. (*cited*), 43, 60
Heidenreich
  Arthur Carl, 286
  Henry, 276, 285–86
  Isabella, 286
  Lilla Isabel (Wilford), 276, 285–86
  Muzell (Powell), 286
Hein, Linda (*ackn.*), *Dec. cover*
Heintzman Co., Toronto, 263
Helena, Ark., 92
Helm
  April Leigh (*cited*), 61
  Matthew L. (*cited*), 61
Henden
  [—?—], 306
  John, 306
  Tilly (Banneker), 306
Henderson
  Harriet, 306
  William Abbot (*cited*), 41, 134
Henderson Co., Ill., 43. public library, 50
Hendricks Co., Ind., 90
Henning-Dyson, Erika (*ackn.*), 5, 7; (*cited*), 15–16
Hening, William Waller (*cited*), 103, 105, 289, 295
Henry
  Jane ([—?—]) Caldwell, 106–8
  Joseph, 141
  Lucy (Shumate), 141
  Robert, 108
Henry Co., Ill., 43
Henwood, John Jr., 208
Herber, Mark D. (*cited*), 214
Herold, John B., 112
Her Road, 252, 257. *aka* Tacanku
He Who Walks Pursuing a Hawk. *See* Cetanwakanmani
Hewlett, Sandra M. (*reviewer*), 150–51
Hienton, Louise (*cited*), 312

Higgens
Joan (*cited*), 213
Ray (*cited*), 213
Higgins
Joan (*cited*), 207
Ray (*cited*), 207
Hildenbrand, Suzanne (*cited*), 15
Hill
Elizabeth (Slade), 277
Emily, 277
Mary Therese (*cited*), 288, 304
Ronald A. (*author*), 205–20; (*cited*), 220; (*contributor*), 37
Thomas, 277
William D., 94–95
Hillsborough Co., N.H., 181
Hinchliff, Helen (*author*), 85–100; (*cited*), 83
Hine, Darlene Clark (*cited*), 191
Hinhan Sapa. *See* Black Owl, Anna
Historical Foundation of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, 55
Historical Records Survey, 44
Hite, Molly (*cited*), 5, 7
Hoch, Nicole L. (*cited*), 61
Holden, Robert J. (*cited*), 63
Hole, Cornwall. *See* Trehole
Holman Library, Ill., 54, 66
Holmes Co., Miss., 25
Holsclaw, Birdie Monk (*cited*), 136
Holt, 181
Franklin Overton, 304
Holtzclaw, B. C. (*cited*), 302
Hone, E. Wade (*cited*), 60, 109
Hooksett, N.H., 179–81. Head Cem., 181
Horle, Craig W. (*reviewed*), 227
Horn, John, 195
Howard
family, 308
Robert P. (*cited*), 38, 40, 59–60, 66–67
Howells, Cyndi (*cited*), 143
Howerton, 303. *See also* Overton
John, 291
Howes
Abigail, 16, 18
Content (Smith), 21
David, 16–17, 19
Hope, 19
Hope (Sears), 21
Rebecca (Baker), 19
Thomas, 19–21
Howland, John, 20
Howser
Eliza J., 144
Tillie Clark (Burt), 144–45
Hubbard, William, 105
Huddle, W. P. (*cited*), 294
Hudgins, Dennis (*cited*), 104
Hudson, N.H., 179–82. Sunnyside Cem., 180
Huffman
Charles Herbert (*cited*), 296
Henry, 295
Hume, John, 291, 303
Hump, Mrs., 248, 254–55, 257–58 *aka* Noga, Nunga. *See also* Red Eagle; Red Eagle, Anna; Red Eagle, Olive
Hunter
C. D. (*cited*), 29, 31
Joan A. (*reviewer*), 151
Hurle
Fanny, 272–73
Mary (Cox), 272
Richard, 272
Hush, Mary, 89
Huskonen, Wallace D. (*reviewer*), 226
Hutson, Jean Blackwell (*cited*), 14–15
Hyannis, Mass., 148
Hyatt
Alice (Davis), 312
family, 308
Seth, 312
Shadrach, 309, 311–12

—I—

Iberia, Ohio, 145
Ibrook, 152
Idaho
Burley, 279
Elba, 279
Emmett, 278–79
Goose Creek, 278
Marion, 279, 281
Murtaugh, 279
Rupert, 276, 285
Saint Charles, 277
Shoshone, 281
Twin Falls, 275, 277
Ifracombe Par., Devon, 207
Ilazata Yu. *See* Comes Behind
Illinois, 26
Abraham Lincoln National Cem., 49
Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, 41, 46–47, 50, 52, 54–55, 57, 59–60, 63–66
Adams Co., 43
Alexander Co., 43
Alton, 39, 49, 66
Archdiocese of Chicago, 56
archives, libraries, and societies, 40–46
Baptists, 52
Belleville, 53, 55–56
Bellfontaine, 39
Billy Graham Center Archives, 52
Bond Co., 43
Boone Co., 43
Bowen, Louisa H. Univ. Archives and Special Collections, 52, 66
British governance, 61
Brown Co., 43
Bureau Co., 43
Cahokia, 51, 55, 57
Calhoun Co., 43
Camp Butler National Cem., 49
Camp Douglas, 28
Carlyle, 39
Carroll Co., 43
Cass Co., 43

Illinois (*continued*)
Center for Hancock History: The Mormon Collection, 52
Champaign Co., 43
Chester, 66
Chicago, 28, 40–43, 45, 53, 56, 58, 60, 65, 67
Christian Co., 43
Civil War, 51
Clark Co., 43
Clay Co., 43
Clinton Co., 43
Coles Co., 43
Cook Co., 43, 45, 48, 58–59
court records, 56–59
Crawford Co., 43
Cumberland Co., 43
Danville, 49, 65
DeKalb Co., 43
DeWitt Co., 43
Douglas Co., 43
DuPage Co., 43
East St. Louis, 40, 60, 65
Edgar Co., 43, 51
Edwards Co., 43
Edwardsville, 39, 52, 66
Effingham Co., 43
Elgin, 58
Elwood, 49
Evangelical United Brethren, 54
Evanston, 54
Fayette Co., 43
Ford Co., 43
Fort Dearborn, 63. *See also* Chicago
Franklin Co., 43
French Cahokia, 41, 44
French governance, 56–57. 59
Fulton Co., 43
Gallatin Co., 43
Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary Archives, 54
genealogical research, 36–37
General Assembly, 57
German immigrants, 60
Great Fire, 58
Greene Co., 43
Grundy Co., 43
Hamilton Co., 43
Hancock Co., 43
Hardin Co., 43
Henderson Co. Public Library, 50
Henderson Co., 43
Henry Co., 43
history and settlement, 38–40
Holman Library, 54, 66
Irish, 40, 60
Iroquois Co., 43
Jackson Co., 43
Jacksonville, 54
Jacksonville Female Academy, 66
Jasper Co., 43
Jefferson Co., 43
Jersey Co., 43
Jews, 53
Jo Daviess Co., 43
John A. Logan Collection, 64
Johnson Co., 43
Joliet, 56, 66
Kane Co., 43
Kankakee Co., 43
Kaskaskia, 39, 41, 51, 55–57, 61–62
Kaskaskia Academy of the Visitation. *See* Menard Academy
Kendall Co., 43
Knox Co., 43
Lake Co., 43
land patent sales, 151–52
LaSalle Co., 43
Lawrence Co., 43
Lebanon, 54, 66
Lee Co., 43
libraries, 45–46
Livingston Co., 43
Logan Co., 43
Lovejoy Library, 45, 52, 66
Lutherans, 53
MacMurray College, 54
Macomb, 53
Macon Co., 43
Macoupin Co., 43
Madison Co., 43
major resources, 46–67
Marion Co., 43
Marshall Co., 43
Mason Co., 43
Massac Co., 43
McDonough Co., 43
McHenry Co., 43
McKendree College, 54, 66
McLean Co., 43
Menard Academy, 66–67. *aka* Kaskaskia Academy of the Visitation
Menard Co., 43
Menard Penitentiary, 66
Mercer Co., 43
Methodists, 54
military records, 62–65
Monroe Co., 39, 43, 52–53
Montgomery Co., 43
Monticello College, 66
Morgan Co., 43, 63
Moultrie Co., 43
Mound City, 49
Mount Vernon, 58
naturalizations, 65
Nauvoo, 52–53
New Design, 39, 52
Newberry Library, 40, 45–46, 56, 60
newspapers, 66
Ogle Co., 43
Ottawa, 58
Peoria, 53, 56–57, 65, 67
Peoria Co., 43
Perry Co., 43
Pfeiffer Library, 54
Piatt Co., 43
Pike Co., 43
Pitts Theology Library Archives, 54
Polish immigrants, 60
Pope Co., 43
Presbyterians, 54–55
prison records, 66

Pulaski Co., 43
Putnam Co., 43
Quincy, 49, 53, 65
Randolph Co., 43, 50, 53–54, 57
Richland Co., 43
Rock Island, 49
Rock Island Co., 43
Rock Spring Seminary. *See* Shurtleff College
Rockford, 56
Roman Catholics, 55–56
Saline Co., 43
Sangamon Co., 43, 63
school records, 66–67
Schuyler Co., 43
Scott Co., 43
Shawneetown, 39
Shelby Co., 43
Shurtleff College, 66. *aka* Rock Spring Seminary
Southern Illinois Univ., 52; libraries, 40
Spanish American War, 64
Springfield, 49, 56, 58, 64–65, 67
St. Clair Co., 43–44, 48, 57
Stark Co., 43
Stephenson Co., 43
Swenson Center, 45
tax records, 67
Tazewell Co., 43
Turner, Jonathan Baldwin papers, 66
Union Co., 43
United Church of Christ, 56
Univ. of Chicago, 281
Univ. of Illinois, 46. Library, 40
Vermilion Co., 43
Virginia governance, 61
Wabash Co., 43
Warren Co., 43
Washington Co., 43, 53
Wayne Co., 43
Westchester, 56
Western Illinois Univ., 52
White Co., 43
Whiteside Co., 43
Will Co., 43
Williamson Co., 43
Winnebago Co., 43
Woodford Co., 43
world wars, 64
Illinois and Michigan Canal, 40, 60–61
Illinois Adoption Registry, 48
Illinois Central Railroad, 60
Illinois Department of Public Health, 48–49
Illinois Department of Veterans' Affairs, 62
Illinois Digital Archives, 42
Illinois General Assembly, 49, 66
Illinois Great River Conference (Methodist), 54
Illinois Historical Survey, 42
Illinois Manufacturer's Association, 42
Illinois Military Tract, 61
Illinois Newspaper Project, 66
Illinois Regional Archives Depository, 42–44, 48–49, 58–60, 65, 67
Illinois Soldiers' and Sailors' Home, 62, 65. *See also* Illinois Veterans Home
Illinois State Archives, 44–45, 47–51, 57–66
Illinois State Genealogical Society, 44, 49, 62
Illinois State Historical Library, 41
Illinois State Library, 40, 45–47, 50–51
Illinois Territory, 39
Illinois Veterans Home, 65. *See also* Illinois Soldiers' and Sailors' Home
immigration guides (*reviewed*), 71–72
Indiana, 27, *June cover*
  11th Ind. Inf. (CW), 92
  120th Ind. Inf. (CW), 90–92
  Civil War, 90–92
  Crawfordsville, *June cover*, 85–87, 90–92, 100
  Hendricks Co., 90
  Jefferson Co., 127
  Lafayette, 87, 91
  land patent sales, 151–52
  manuscripts, 134
  Montgomery Co., 86–87
  Tippecanoe Co., 87, 91
  Univ. of Notre Dame Archives, 134
  Washington Co., 304
Indiana Territory, 39, 50
Ingalls, Kay Germain (*reviewed*), 225
international guides (*reviewed*), 150
Inyan Ali. *See* Climbs the Rock
Iowa, 286
  Dubuque, 53
  Union Co., 37
Ireland, 60
  Ardglass, 277
  Co. Down, 277
  Co. Tyrone, *Sept. cover*, 165
  Sligo, 277
Iroquois Co., Ill., 43
Irvine, James M. (*reviewed*), 150
Irwin family, 35
Isaacson, Karen Sophia, 278
Isle Brevelle, La., 202, 204. St. Augustin's Chapel, 202, 204
Isle of Man, wills, 154
Isle of Wight Co., Va., 70–71
Issaquena Co., Miss., 24–25
Ista Ska. *See* White Eyes, Jacob
Italy
  Cormòns, 113–14, 117–18
  San Marco, 114
  Schwartzenegg, 114
  Sesana. *See* Schwartzenegg
  Visnovico. *See* Vysnoyitsch
  Vysnouitsch, 114
  World War I, 119

Ivy, 221

—J—

Jackson
  Alburtus, 132
  Edmund, 132
  Holly A. (*cited*), 9
  Jethro, 132
  Mark, 132
  Nancy (*contributor*), 146–47
  Robert, 132
Jackson Co., Ill., 43
Jacksonville Female Academy, Ill., 66
Jacksonville, Ill., 54
Jacob, Charity, 312
Jacobi. *See* Jacoby
Jacobs, Hannah, 227
Jacobstow Par., Cornwall, 206
Jacobus, Donald Lines (*cited*), 106
Jacoby. *var.* Jacobi
  Frederica (Lotspeich), 297
  John Francis Lucas, 297
James, James Alton (*cited*), 62
James Madison Univ., Va., 140. *aka* Madison College
Jancal, Matjar (*cited*), 118
Jarvis, Maria, 273–74, 276
Jasper Co., Ill., 43
Jeanneton, Marie Jeanne. *See* no surname, Marie Jeanne *dit* Jeanneton
Jefferson Co., Ill., 43
Jefferson Co., Ind., 127
Jenkins, 294, 298, 303
Jersey Co., Ill., 43
Jewish Federation of Southern Ill., 53
Jo Daviess Co., Ill., 43
Johnson, 292, 294
Johnson Co., Ill., 43
Johnson-Cooper, Glendora (*cited*), 15
Johnston
  J. Stoddard (*cited*), 26
  William, 296
Joliet, Ill., 56, 66
Joliet, Louis, 38
Jones, Thomas W. (*author*), 287–304; (*cited*), 165, 291, 294; (*editor*), 3, 83, 163, 263
Jordan, John W., 137
Joyce, Janey Eaves (*reviewed*), 223–24
Juchereau de St. Denis, Louis, 189. *See also* St. Denis

—K—

Kamaur, 123. *See also* Camaur
  Agnes, 123
  Josef, 123
Kam, Isaiah Israel, 53
Kane Co., Ill., 43
Kane, Joseph Nathan (*reviewed*), 150–51
Kangi Ciqala. *See* Little Crow; Little Crow, Reuben
Kankakee Co., Ill., 43
Kansas City, Mo., 283
Kansas State Historical Society, 68
Kaplan, Carol (*contributor*), 147
Kappenmaul, 116, 121, 123. *See also* Camaur
Karrol, Monty (*cited*), 53
Karrow, Robert W. Jr. (*cited*), 46
Kaskaskia Academy of the Visitation. *See* Menard Academy
Kaskaskia, Ill., 39, 41, 51, 55–57, 61–62
Katzner, Kenneth (*cited*), 113
Keishner, 94
Keller, William E. (*cited*), 46
Kelley. *See also* O'Killey
  Abigail (Howes), 16, 18
  Alice May, 9–11, 18
  Amos, 22
  Eleazer, 17, 20
  Elihu, 16–17, 19
  Emma Dunham, *March cover*, 5–22, 142
  Gabriela Ann (Chase), 9–12, 18
  Hannah (Baker), 20
  Hiram, 9, 16, 18
  Isaac Dunham, 9–10, 18
  Louise H. (*cited*), 19
  Naomy, 22
  Oliver S., 96–97. *See also* Kelly
  R. Dudley (*cited*), 20
  Ruth (Crowell), 22
  Thankful (Baxter), 19
Kelly, Oliver S. *See* Kelley, Oliver S.
Kencreek, Cornwall, 208
Kendall Co., Ill., 43
Kennon
  Richard, 104–8, 110
  William Jr., 104–8, 110
Kent
  Lisa B. (*ackn.*), 268, 270
  Robert, 73
Kentucky, 26, 35, 39, 60, 111, 297
  Barren Co., 26, 29–30
  Butler Co., 141
  Eastern Lunatic Asylum, 138
  Franklin Co., 304
  Glasgow, 26
  Green River, 29–31, 33
  Hart Co., 29–30
  Lexington, 29, 138, 197
  Logan Co., 141
  Louisville, 39, 91
  Munfordville, 31, 33
  politics, 138
  Shelby Co., 304
  Warren Co., 141
  Woodsonville, 29, 33–34
Kerstens, Elizabeth Kelley (*reviewer*), 225
Kethley, T. William (*cited*), 141
Kilby, Kenneth (*cited*), 86, 87–88
Killey. *See* Kelley
Kimball, Stanley Buchholz (*cited*), 52

Kingston, Ontario, 259–66
King William Co., Va., 139–40
Kinney, 95
Kinzer. *vars.* Kinser, Kinzar
  John, 290–93, 303
  Lucy (Tureman), 290–94, 303
Kirtland, Ohio, 226
Kleinworth, Ruth, 285
Kloff, Elizabeth, 89–90, 92
Klug. *var.* Klugg
  Elizabeth, 299, 301
  Elizabeth (Major), 295
  Ephraim, 295–96, 299–301
  Eve, 301
  George Samuel, 294–302. *aka* Samuel
  Lidia, 295–96, 299, 301
  Magdalena, 297–98, 301
  Michael, 295, 300–301
  Samuel, 301. *See also* George Samuel
  Susanna, 301
  Susannah ([—?—]), 294–95
  Susannah (Castler), 300
Knowleton, 141
Knowllen, Utah, 279
Knox Co., Ill., 43
Kobmaul. *See also* Camaur
Komauli, 121
Komaur. *See also* Camaur
Komavli, 121
Krebs, Friedrich (*cited*), 297
Kumar, 119
Kvasnicka, Robert M. (*cited*), 32, 270, 286
Kwedar, Melinda F. (*cited*), 50

—L—

Lachatanere, Diana (*ackn.*), 15
Ladefoged, Peter (*cited*), 118–19
Ladusaw, William A. (*cited*), 120–21
Lafavre, John S., 37
Lafayette, Ind., 87, 91
Lake Co., Ill., 43
Lake Co., Ohio, 226
Lake Tahoe, Nev., 271
Lakota Sioux (Teton), 245
Lamson, Nathan, *Dec. cover*
Lancashire, England, 273
Landenberg, Ralph, 297
Lange, Dominique, 202
Lanno
  Edward, 284
  George Henry, 283–84
  Henriette Frances, 283–84
  John Casper, 276, 282–83
  Leo J., 283–84
  Rosa (Benz), 284
  Sarah (Wilford), 276, 282–83
  Walter, 284
  Wilford, 283–84
  William, 284
LaSalle Co., Ill., 43
Lassise, Antoine, 203
Latham, Don (*cited*), 301
Launcells Par., Cornwall, 206–7, 217–18
Lavelly, Nancy, 93–97, *99*
Lawrence Co., Ill., 43
Lawrenceville, Va., 104
Leader, 252, 256
Leading Cow, 252, 255–56. *aka* Pte Kaskayuzapi
Leak. *See* Leeke
Leake Co., Miss., 74
Leaton, James (*cited*), 54
Lebanon, Ill., 54, 66
Lebeau, B. Pierre (*cited*), 38
Lecomte, 201
  Ambroise, 187, 192, 196–97
  Louise Marguerite, 202
Le Cour
  Jacques "Jacob" Reuben, 204
  Louis Toussaint Barthelemy, 204. *See also* Le Court de Prelle
  Marie Zeline, 204
Le Court De Prelle. *See also* Le Cour, Le Court
  Barthelemy, 204
  Louis Mathias, 192
Lee Co., Ill., 43
Leeke, Henry, 309, 311–12. *var.* Leak
Leeland, Md., 311
Lee, Ulysses (*cited*), 14
Le Gear, Clara E. (*cited*), 47
Leicestershire, England, 275
Leisenring, Eliza Hay (*cited*), 89
Lennon, Rachal Mills (*cited*), 195, 203; (*reviewer*), 221–22
Leonard, Lewis Alexander (*cited*), 27
Leroy
  Barthlehemy, 204
  Jeanne, 204
Lesnewith Par., Cornwall, 206
Levasseur
  Marie Emy, 203
  Marie Felonise, 203
  Remy Victorin, 203
Levin, Charlotte (Davis), 87
Levy, George (*cited*), 28–29
Lewis
  Amanda Elizabeth, 297
  Jane, 127, 129
  John, 140
  Leslie W. (*cited*), 5
Lexington, Ky., 29, 138, 297
Liberia, 68, 138
Library of Congress, 47, 136, 153
Lightbown, Patsy M. (*cited*), 119
Lillard
  Frances (Crow), 289
  Joseph, 54
Lillicrap
  Grace ([—?—]), 206
  Hephzibah, 205–20
  Nicholas Pearce, 206
Limestone Co., Ala., 140
Lincoln, Abraham, 67, 138
Lincoln Co., Ga., 228
Lincoln Presidential Library. *See* Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library
Lincoln, R.I., 11, 18

Linn. *aka* Lynn
John, 90
Susan (Fender), 90
Little, Barbara Vines (*ackn.*), 101; (*reviewer*), 70–71
Little Bear, 249, 253, 257. *aka* Little Crow, John; Mato Ciqala
Little Crow, 248–49, 251, 253–54. *aka* Kangi Ciqala. *See also* Little Crow, Reuben
Anna (Trouble in Front), 247, 251–53, 256
Bessie, 250, 252, 257
Chief, *Dec. cover. aka* Taoyateduta
Goldie Lucy, 247, 251
John, *Dec. cover*, 245–58. *aka* Zuya Terila. *See also* Loves War
Julia, 252, 257
Louise, 256. *See also* Many Camps
Martha, 250, 252, 257
Reuben, 247, 249–50, 252, 255–68. *aka* Kangi Ciqala. *See also* Little Crow
Sydney, 250, 252, 257
William, 252, 257
Liverpool, England, 207, 268
Livingston Co., Ill., 43
Ljubljana, 121
Llorens, Belisaire, 203
Lloyd, Thomas, 310, 313
Locke, Alain (*cited*), 14
Lockwood, England, 273. Cobden Row, 27
Logan Co., Ill., 43
Logan Co., Ky., 141
Logan, J. B. (*cited*), 55
Logan, Utah, 279
London, England, 297
Lone Man, 247–50, 252–54, 255, 258. *aka* Wicasa Isnala
Longacre, Glenn (*cited*), 45, 67
Lord, Eliot (*cited*), 271
Los Angeles, Calif., *June cover*, 93. Odd Fellows Cem., 93
Los Angeles Co., Calif., 93, 284
Lotschberg. *See* Lotspeich
Lotschbert, Conrad. *See also* Lotspeich
Lotspeich. *vars.* Lotschberg, Lotschbert, Lutspich
Frederica, 297
Johann Wilhelm, 296–97
Magdalena (Klug), 297–98
William, 292–93, 296–99, 301–2
Louisiana, 223
Bayou Pierre, 191
Cane River, 183–204. *aka* Rivière Aux Canes
Code Noir, 188, 190
Isle Brevelle, 202, 204. St. Augustin's Chapel, 202, 204
land patent sales, 151–52
Natchitoches, 184, 186–87, 189, 191–92, 202
New Orleans, 191, 194
Opelousas, 191, 196
Rivière Aux Canes. *See* Cane River
Louisiana Purchase, 39, 196
Louisville and Nashville Railroad, 31, 33
Louisville, Ky., 39, 91
Louse Creek, Va., 106
Lovejoy Library, Ill., 45, 52, 66
Loveland, Katherine, 279
Loves War, 249, 253, 256, 258. *aka* Zuya Terila. *See also* Little Crow, John
Lovett, Lori (*cited*), 48
Loyalist families (Canada), 259–66
Lucas Co., Ohio, 284
Lund, Anne Marguerite, 285
Lunenburg Co., Va., 101–12, 204
Lutspich. *See* Lotspeich
Lynn. *See* Linn
Lyvvars, 152

—M—

Maccubin family, 308
MacMurray College, Ill., 54
Macomb, Ill., 53
Macon Co., Ill., 43
Macor, 120
Macori, 120
Macoupin Co., Ill., 43
Maddieson, Ian (*cited*), 118–19
Madison College, Va. *See* James Madison Univ.
Madison Co., Ala., 140
Madison Co., Ga., 228
Madison Co., Ill., 43
Madison Co., Va., 289–93, 303
Madison, Va., 300
Maestrich, Netherlands, 114–15, 122
Maghet, Madalena, 119
Mahpiya Gi. *See* Brown Cloud, Charles
Mailloche, Bertrand, 185, 194–95
Maine
Sedgwick, 149
Maison, Minnie Marie, 278–79. *var.* Manchaune
Major, Elizabeth, 295
Makepeace
Henry, 148
Russell, 148
Thomas, 148
Malan, Nancy (*cited*), 45, 67
Manchaune, Minnie Marie, 278–79. *var.* Maison
Manchester, N.H., 179–80
Mann, John Henry (*cited*), 213
Manon, Marie, 200
Many Camps, 248–53, 255–57. *aka* Many Tipis, Tipi Ota, Wicot Ota. *See also* Little Crow, Louise

Many Tipis. *See* Little Crow, Louise; Many Camps
Marchant
  Abraham, 268
  Joanna, 20
  Joanna (Gage), 20
  Mary, 277
  Samuel, 20
Marcorig, 120
Marhamchurch Par., Cornwall, 206–7, 217–19
Marion Co., Ill., 43
Marion, Idaho, 279, 281
Marion, Mass., 148
Mariotte
  Maria Delaïda. *See* Marie Adelaïde
  Marie Adelaïde, 186–87, 188, 193, 196–97, 199, 201–4. *aka* Mariotte, Maria Delaïda
  Marie Anne, 202
  Marie Louise *dit*. *See* no surname, Marie Louise *dit* Mariotte
Mark, Prudence, 215–16
Marquette, Jacques, 38
Marshall Co., Ill., 43
Marshall, Luce, 211, 214
Marteny, 94
Martha's Vineyard, Mass., 142
Martin Co., Calif., 285
Martin, Elizabeth W., 304
Maryland, 90, 99, 305–8
  Anne Arundel Co., 308, 310, 312–13. All Hallows Par., 312
  Baltimore, *June cover*, 85–100, 313
  Baltimore Co., 305–8, 311, 313–14. Patapsco River, 306–7
  Calvert Co., 312
  Cumberland, 39
  Ellicott's Mills, 306–7
  Frederick, 93
  Hagerstown, 93–94, 97, 99
  independent cities, 150
  Leeland, 311
  Montgomery Co., 312
  Oella, 307
  Patuxent River, 308, 311
  Prince George's Co., 308–12, 314. Bennett's Creek, 311; Hawley's River, 312; Queen Anne Par., 311–12; Saint Barnabas Ch., 311–12; Snowden's River, 312
  South River, 308
  Unity, 312
  Upper Patapsco Hundred, 307, 313
Marysville, Calif., 99
Mason Co., Ill., 43
Mason Valley, Nev., 281
Massac Co., Ill., 43
Massachusetts, 7
  Boston, 10
  Cambridge, 151
  Cape Cod, 13, 148
  Chatham, 19–22
  Cottage City, 15, 142
  Dennis, *March cover*, 6, 9, 12, 18–21
  Dennisport, 18
  Dorchester, 148
  Harwich, 19–20, 22
  Hyannis, 148
  Marion, 148
  Martha's Vineyard, 142
  Middlesex Co., 151
  Nantucket, 15
  New Bedford, 10
  Plymouth Co., 148
  Salem, 148–49
  Yarmouth, 19–22
Matchette, Robert B. (*cited*), 62
Matheny, Emma R. (*cited*), 108
Mato Ciqala, 249, 253, 257. *aka* Little Bear; Little Crow, John
Mato Sapa. *See* Black Bear, Harry
Matthews
  Edwin, 11
  Patience (Chase), 11
Mattullath Manufacturing Co., San Francisco, 100
Maur, 120
Mauri, 120
Mauric, 120
Mauro, 120
Mavric, 120
Mayhew, Catherine Merwin (*ackn.*), 142
McAllesse, Charles J., 112
McCalla
  Andrew J., 138
  John Moore Jr., 138
McCarty
  Daniel, 69–70
  family, 69–70
  William M. (*reviewed*), 69–70
McCaskill, Barbara (*cited*), 5, 6
McCausland, 93
  Marcus, 87–88
McCleary, Henry, 129–30
McCloskey, Ebenezer P., 91
McCowan, Ann Jane, 279
McCue family, 141
McCuniffe, 264
McDonough Co., Ill., 43
McDowell, Deborah (*cited*), 7
McDuffie Co., Ga., 228
McGill, Alice (*cited*), 305
McHenry Co., Ill., 43
McKay, M. K. (*cited*), 67
McKendree College, Ill., 54, 66
McKibben
  Ellenora A. (Burt), 143, 145
  James W., 143, 145
McLain, Darrell (*cited*), 54
McLean Co., Ill., 43
McMullin, Phillip W. (*cited*), 61
McMurray
  family, 35
  Nancy, 23–37
McPhail, Michael, 100

McQueen, Peter, 124
McVetty, Suzanne (*cited*), 117
Mecham, Leonidas Devon (*cited*), 278
Medicine Root Dist., S.D., 248
Medland, Mary, 213
Medley, 296
  Ambrose, 290, 294–96, 298–99, 301
  Ann, 300
  Eleanor, 287–304
  Eleanor ([—?—]), 299, 302
  Elizabeth, 300
  Elizabeth (Crosthwait), 302–3
  Frances, 301
  Isaac, 301
  Jacob, 294–95, 298–99, 301–3
  James, 300–2
  John, 300, 302
  Lucy, 301
  Martha, 300
  Mary, 300
  Reuben, 298
  Robert, 299, 302
  Susanna, 300
  Susannah ([—?—]) Klug, 294–95
Meites, Hyman L. (*cited*), 53
Melton, J. Gordon (*cited*), 54
Memphis, Tenn., 55
Menard Academy, Ill., 66–67. *aka* Kaskaskia Academy of the Visitation
Menard Co., Ill., 43
Menard Penitentiary, 66
Menard, Pierre, 50
Mercer Co., Ill., 43
Merkley, Annie Pearl Barker (*cited*), 268
Merle, Betty (*cited*), 304
Merrimack Co., N.H., 181
Merriman, Brenda Dougall (*author*), 259–66; (*cited*), 243, 263, 266; (*reviewed*), 72–73
methodology
  evidence standards, 72–73
  family narratives, 23–37
  Henry numbering system, 69
  identifying parents indirectly, 165–76
  linguistic analysis, 113–24
  names. Christian, 225–26; name changes, 245–58; same name, 205–20
  research by deduction, 287–304
  slave research, 183–204
  validating inferences from records, 259–66
  methodology works (*reviewed*), 72–73
Metoyer
  Dominique, 200, 203–4
  family, 184
  Frumance Azenor, 203
  Jean Baptiste Dominique, 203
  Jean Baptiste Dominique II, 201
  Marguerite, 186
  Marie Cephalide, 202–3
  Marie Lise, 204
  Marie Marguerite, 203
  Pierre, 186, 198–200
  Toussaint, 198
Mexican War, 127, 138; (Ill.), 62–63
Meziérès, Athanase de, 189
Miami Co., Ohio, 90, 92. Piqua Twp., 90
Michaels, Mary (*cited*), 64–65
Michigan
  Detroit, 129–30. Central Meth. Epis. Ch., 130. Detroit National Bank, 130
  land patent sales, 151–52
  Oceana Co., 93
  Shelby, 93
  Wayne Co., 129. Phyllis Wheatley Home, 129
Middlesex Co., Mass., 151
Middlesex Co., Va., 139, 302. Christ Ch., 302
Midland Dist., Ont., 261
Mill
  Hephzibah (Lillicrap) Bray, 205–20
  Richard, 207
Mill Creek, S.C., 105
Miller
  Alice ([—?—]), 218
  Ann, 217–19
  Chas., 87
  Edward, 215
  Elizabeth, 85, 88
  Elizabeth (Bray), 217–19
  Francis S., 91
  Hephzibah (Lillicrap) Bray, 205–20
  Jane C., 90
  John, 218
  Louise L. (*cited*), 94
  Mary Ann, 90–92
  Mary (Bray), 215
  Nicholas, 85, 88
  Patricia Ann Bates (*ackn.*), 268, 280
  Richard, 217–19
  Samuel Bray, 219
Mills, 271
  Avelina, 278. *aka* Woodmansee, E. H.
  Elizabeth Shown (*author*), 183–204; (*cited*), 3, 184, 186, 188–92, 194–95, 198–204; (*contributor*), 124, 132, 182
  Emily (Hill), 277
  Gary B. (*cited*), 184–87, 189, 191, 201, 221
  Jane ([—?—]), 277
  Louisa Avelina (Sleater), 268–69, 271, 277, 283
  Thomas, 277
  William Gill, 268–73, 277–78, 283
Miluck, Nancy (*cited*), 271
Minert, Roger P. (*cited*), 116
Minnesota
  land patent sales, 151–52

miscellaneous guides (*reviewed*), 225–26
Mississippi, 32, 36, 223, *Dec. cover*
  Holmes Co., 25
  Issaquena Co., 24–25
  land patent sales, 151–52
  Leake Co., 74
  Oxford, 97
  Rolling Fork Landing, 24
  Tchula, 25, 37
  Vicksburg, 93, 97
  Warren Co., 71
  Yazoo River, 25
Mississippi River, 38–40
Mississippi River Valley, 38–39, 51
Missouri, 53
  Civil War, 62
  Eads Bridge, 40
  Eden Theological Seminary, 56
  independent cities, 150
  Kansas City, 283
  land patent sales, 151–52
  Ste. Genevieve Co., 151–52
  St. Louis, 40, 53, 55, 66–67, 268, 274–75, 277
  Visitation Academy, 66–67
  Webster Groves, 56
Mitchell
  Elizabeth Jane (Burt), 143–44
  Emma, 281
  Nancy, 143
  Oliver, 143
Mniokadawin, *Dec. cover. aka* Planting in Water
Moline, Norman (*cited*), 39
Molton. *See* Morton
Monongahela River, 128
Monroe Co., Ill., 39, 43, 52–53
Montana, 255
  Fort Shaw, 283
Montgomery, Ala., 32, 35–36
Montgomery Co., Ill., 43
Montgomery Co., Ind., 86–87
Montgomery Co., Md., 312
Monticello College, Ill., 66
Moore
  Donald W. (*reviewer*), 69–70
  Elizabeth (Crow), 303
  Karl R. (*cited*), 44
  L. H. (*cited*), 52, 56
  Thomas R., 290, 303
Moren, 199
Morgan Co., Ill., 43, 63
Morgan, John Hunt, 26–28, 33
Mormons. *See* Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
Morrill Land Grant Act (1862), 32
Morrison, William, 50
Morris, Patrick (*cited*), 47
Morrow, Carol (*ackn.*), 245
Morten. *See* Morton
Morter. *See* Morton
Morton. *vars.* Molton, Morten, Morter
  Greenbury, 306, 314
  Molly (Banneker), 306
  Samuel, 306, 309, 311, 313–14
Moss
  Edward, 271
  Peter, 271
Moulton, E. Butler (*ackn.*), *March cover*, 5, 7–9, 16; (*cited*), 11–12
Moultrie Co., Ill., 43
Mound City, Ill., 49
Mount Vernon, Ill., 58
Mouser, Annie E., 143
Much, Kathleen (*reviewed*), 69–70
Munfordville, Ky., 31, 33
Munson, Mary Olive (Davidson), 96
Murdoch, Alex, 99
Murphy
  Edward, 185
  Nathan W. (*cited*), 87
Murtaugh, Idaho, 279
Myers, Marya Castro (*reviewer*), 152–53

—N—

Nakota Sioux (Yankton), 245
Nanda, Serena (*cited*), 253
Nantucket, Mass., 15
Nash, Gary B. (*cited*), 125–26, 131–32
Nashua, N.H., 179–80, 182
Nashville, Tenn., 52
Natchitoches, La., 184, 186–87, 189, 191–92, 202
National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), 61, 63–64, 68; Great Lakes Region, 45, 65, 67
National Genealogical Society, 143, 146; Family History Writing Contest, 267–86
National Inventory of Documentary Sources, 134, 136, 138
National Personnel Records Center, 64
National Road, 39
National Stockyards, 40
National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections (NUCMC), 133–42
Nauvoo, Ill., 52–53
Nazzi, Giorgio (*cited*), 123
Nebraska, 255, 257
  land patent sales, 151–52
Nebraska State Historical Society, *Dec. cover*
Neill
  Abigail (Dunn), 166
  Lewis, 166
  Richard D. (*cited*), *Dec. cover*
  Thomas, 166–69
Nelson, Emmanuel S. (*cited*), 5
Nephi, Utah, 279
Netherlands, 122
  Maestrich, 114–15

Nevada, 272, 276
Caliente, 279
Carson City, 267, 270–72, 274, 276, 281, 284–86
Clear Creek, 282
Comstock Lode, 270–71
Ely, 285
independent cities, 150
Lake Tahoe, 271
Mason Valley, 281
Reno, 276, 285–86
Verdi, 275, 281–82, 285
Virginia City, 270
Nevada Territory, 270
New Bedford, Mass., 10
Newberry Dist., S.C., 105
Newberry Library, 40, 45–47, 56, 60
Newbury, England, 274
New Design, Ill., 39, 52
New England, 40, 60, 149, 151–53, 227–28. court records, 227–28
New Hampshire
Goffstown, 178–79, 181–82. Westlawn Cem., 178
Hillsborough Co., 181
Hooksett, 179–81. Head Cem., 181
Hudson, 179–82. Sunnyside Cem., 180
Manchester, 179–80
Merrimack Co., 181
Nashua, 179–80, 182
New Jersey, 69
Palmyra, 282
New Orleans, La., 191, 194
Newton, Marjorie (*cited*), 270
New York, 40, 60, 224–25, 284
1st Regt. Inf. (1779–81), 141
Brooklyn Dodgers, 224
Buffalo, 283
Chautauqua, 6
Civil War, 63
Ebbets Field, 224
Eden, 283–84
Eden Center, 283
Ellis Island, 71–72
Irish, 153
New York, 69, 224–25, 268. Brooklyn Cem., 224
Sheridan, 149
West Seneca, 283. St. John's Orphan Asylum, 283; St. John's Protectory, 283
New York Historical Society, 141
New York Public Library, 6, 153
New York State Library, 153
Nickerson
Abbie, 16
John, 21
Mary "Polly," 21
Mehitable, 22
Molly (Harden), 21
Nicol, Norman Douglas (*reviewer*), 150
Nissenbaum, Stephen (*cited*), 128
Nordmann, Christopher A. (*reviewer*), 222–23
Norman
Mary (Bray), 206–7
Thomas, 207
North America, 45
North Carolina, 39, 149, 221, 223, 229
Beaufort Co., 221
Carteret Co., 221
Caswell Co., 149
Craven Co., 221
Duke Univ., 137–38
Haywood Co., 149
Person Co., 149
Raleigh, 137
Rutherford Co., 221
Wilkes Co., 221
North Carolina State Archives, 134
Northcutt, Dennis (*cited*), 64
Northern Neck, Va., 69–70, 291
North Petherwin Par., Cornwall, 206
Northumberland Co., Va., 223
Northwest Territory, 39, 41
Norton, Margaret Cross (*cited*), 50
Norway
Christiania, 278
Nothing, 252, 258. *aka* Takuni
Noyes, 100
Nutt, Anna, 177, 179–82. *var.* Ann, Anne

—O—

Oceana Co., Mich., 93
Oella, Md., 307
Offett, Joseph, 96
Oglala Sioux, 245–58
Ogle Co., Ill., 43
Oglethorpe Co., Ga., 228
Ohio, *June cover*, 26–27, 53, 60, 85–100
58th Ohio Vol. Inf. (CW), 98
Caledonia, 145. Zook's Cem., 145
Camp Chase, 28
Cincinnati, 27, 39, 98
Civil War, 63
Clark Co., 87, 89–90, 94, 303
Co. C, 129th Ohio Vol. Inf. (CW), 98
Co. D, 158th Ohio Vol. Inf. (CW), 97
Co. K, 168th Ohio Vol. Inf. (CW), 98
Columbiana Co., 131
Columbus, 28
Geauga Co., 226
Greene Co., 95
Iberia, 145
Kirtland, 226
Lake Co., 226
Lucas Co., 284
Miami Co., 90, 92
Piqua, 92
Salineville, 28
Springfield, 87, 94–95, 97, 99
Washington, 90

Ohio River, 26, 33, 39, 127
O'Killey. *See also* Kelley
  Deliverance, 20
  Eleazer, 20
  Sarah (Browning), 20
Oklahoma
  land patent sales, 151–52
Okloknee River, 124
Old 96th Dist., S.C., 105
Oliver, James S. (*cited*), 38
Olsen, Ethel Elizabeth, 281
Ontario, 259–66
  Bath Road, 264
  church records, 261
  district marriage registers, 261
  Kingston, 259–66
  Midland Dist., 261
  Pittsburgh Twp., 264
  Yorkville, 260
  Toronto, 260, 262–64. Heintzman Co., 263
Onuf, Rachel (*cited*), 16
Onya Napa. See Run and Left Her
Opelousas, La., 191, 196
Ophir, Utah, 278
Orange Co., Va., 289–90, 299, 303–4
Oregon
  Portland, 68
O'Reilly, Patrick. *See* Reilly, Patrick
O'Riely, Patrick. *See* Reilly, Patrick
Orkney Islands, Scotland, 150
Orphan Train (Ill.), 48
Ottawa, Ill., 58
Otterham Par., Cornwall, 206–7, 214–16
Overton
  Catherine Dorcas, 288
  Dandridge, 288, 303–4
  Dorcas (Wayman), 304
  Dudley, 289
  Eleanor (Medley) Tureman Crow, 287–304
  Elizabeth W. (Martin), 304
  Frances Ann, 287–88, 303–4
  Lewis, 292
  Nancy, 304
  Obediah, 287–93, 299, 302–4
  Parthenia, 288
  Samuel C., 287–88, 299, 303–4
  Sidney, 287–88, 303–4
  Susanna, 299–300
  Susanna (Tureman), 292–94, 299, 302–3
  Willis, 292, 299, 301, 303
Owens, William, 196
Oxford, Miss., 97

—P—

Pacific Barrel and Keg Factory, San Francisco, 100
Packe, 139
  Richard, 139
  Sarah, 139
Pacoima, Calif., 279
Padger, Mary C. (*cited*), 295
Paillette, Germaine, 201
Paire, Marie Thérèse (Buard), 198
Palmer, James Caldwell (*ackn.*), 103
Palmyra, N.J., 282
Parberry
  family, 35
  George D., 30
  James W., 23–37
  Nancy (McMurray), 23–37
  Tiler W., 31
Parker, Mary (*cited*), 67
Patterson, John A. (*cited*), 50
Patuxent River, Md., 308, 311
Paul, R. Eli (*cited*), 246, 250
Pavie, Étienne, 198
Pawtucket, R.I., 6, 12
Pearson, Richard S., 91–92
Pease, Theodore Calvin (*cited*), 38, 51, 54, 59
Peck
  Baker W., 96
  Halsey I., 98
  John Mason (*cited*), 46
  Priscilla W., 96–98
Peden, Henry C. Jr. (*cited*), 87
Pencuke, Cornwall, 206
Pendery, Joyce (*reviewer*), 149
Penhalt, Cornwall, 206, 209, 212
Penham, Cornwall, 216
Pennsylvania, 86, 89, 102–3, 125–32, *Sept. cover*
  Civil War, 63
  Fayette Co., 126, 131
  Freetown, 125
  General Assembly, 227
  law, 227
  Philadelphia, 55, 268
  Philadelphia Naval Hosp., 282
  slaves, 132
Penn, William, 125
Peoria Co., Ill., 43
Peoria, Ill., 53, 56–57, 65, 67
Perkins, 221
  Jesse, 222
  Lucinda (Willis?), 222
  Olive, 222
Perrin Collection (Ill.), 44, 48, 50, 57
Perry Co., Ill., 43
Person Co., N.C., 149
Petaluma, Calif., 285
Peterson, Carla L. (*cited*), 5, 7
Petterchak, Janice A. (*cited*), 38, 63, 66
Petty, Gerald M. (*cited*), 27
Peura, Marcia P. (*cited*), 126–27, 129
Pfeiffer Library (Ill.), 54
Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center, 153
Philadelphia Naval Hosp., 282
Philadelphia, Pa., 55, 268
Philadelphia Synod, 102–3
Philbrick, Francis S. (*cited*), 59, 67
Philippe, Anne Marie, 203
Philippines, 283

Phillips
Anthony, 17, 20, 22
James, 208
Margaret, 101–3, 111–12
Mehitable (Doane), 20, 22
Sally Ann, 20
Piatt Co., Ill., 43
Pickens, Israel, 103, 106
Pickett. *var.* Piggot
Allie. *See* Capitola Lenwire (Aldrich)
Andrew. *See* Walter Marni
Ann (Todd), 275
Capitola Lenwire (Aldrich), 275, 281–82. *aka* Allie
Dora Lenora (Briggs), 279
Elizabeth, 278
Frances G. ([—?—]), 282
George, 268–70, 272–76, 285
George Frank, 282
George W., 275, 281–82
James, 273–74, 276
Jane, 270, 273, 276
Louisa, 268–69, 273, 275. *See also* Maria Louisa
Mannie, 269, 279–80. *var.* Manny
Maria (Jarvis), 273–74, 276
Maria Louisa, 269–71, 273, 275, 277–81
Mary, 273, 276
Mary (Armstrong), 273–74
Mary (Brownjohn), 275
Mary (Castle), 275
Matthew, 268, 276
Priscilla (Clark), 267–86
Priscilla (Clark) Pickett, 267–86
Priscilla M., 282
Sarah, 277
Violet Execter (*cited*), 279
Walter Marni, 282. *aka* Andrew
William Armstrong, 269, 272–74, 278
Pierce, Margaret (*cited*), 40
Pierpoint
Faithful, 88–89
John, 89
Julia Ann, *June cover*, 85, 89
Mary (Hush), 89
Piggot. *See* Pickett
Pike Co., Ill., 43
Pilgrim migration, 228
Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, S.D., 245, 247–51, 253, 255–58. Medicine Root Dist., 248; Pass Creek Dist., 248, 250, 257; Skokpaya, 250; Yellow Bear Camp, 247, 256
Piqua, Ohio, 92
Pittsburgh Twp., Ont., 264
Pitts, Kristi Tolman (*cited*), 278
Pitts Theology Library Archives, Ill., 54
Place of Refuge. *See* Wowinape
Placerville, Calif., 270, 275, 281. *var.* Hangtown
Planting in Water. *aka* Mniokadawin
Pluma, Italy, 114
Plymouth Colony, Mass., 228
Plymouth Co., Mass., 148
Podeschi, Gwen (*cited*), 41
Pohl, Heinz Dieter (*cited*), 118–19
Polk, James K., 138
Pollock, A., 145
Pony Express, 270
Pope. *var.* Popp
Ida Mae, *Sept. cover*
Michael, *Sept. cover*
Pope Co., Ill., 43
Popp. *See* Pope
Poré, Anna Maria, 122
Porteous, Laura (*cited*), 189
Porter
Dorothy B. (*cited*), 15
family, 299
Roger (*cited*), 269
Sarah L. P. (*cited*), 288, 303–4
Portland, Ore., 68
Poss, Faye Stone (*reviewed*), 228–29
Poundstock, Cornwall, 206–8, 212–13, 216–17, 219
Powell
Muzelle, 286
Paul (*cited*), 59
Powers, Marla N. (*cited*), 246
Prather, Jane, 311
Prentis
family, 139
Robert, 139
Presbyterian Church in America Historical Center, 55
Presbyterian Historical Society, 55
Price
Catherine (*cited*), 246
Sally (Shirk) (*ackn.*), 143
Prince Edward Co., Va., 103, 106–7, 204, 222–23. Israel Hill, 222–23
Prince George's Co., Md., 308–11, 313–14. Bennett's Creek, 311; Hawley's River, 312; Queen Anne Par., 311–12; Saint Barnabas Ch., 311–12; Snowden's River, 312
Pringle, 93
Mark, 85, 88
Providence, R.I., 6
Provo, Utah, 226
Pte Kaskayuzapi. *See* Leading Cow
Pulaski Co., Ill., 43
Pullam, Geoffrey K. (*cited*), 120–21
Pumroy, Eric (*cited*), 39
Putnam Co., Ill., 43

—Q—

Quaife, Milo (*cited*), 62
Quebec, 259, 264
Diocese of Quebec, 55
Quincy
Gabriela Ann (Chase) Kelley, 9–12, 18

Herbert Smith, 10–11, 18
William S., 10–11
Quincy, Ill., 49, 53, 65
Quinn
D. Michael (*cited*), 279
Joyce Lett (*reviewer*), 228–29

—R—

Rachal
Louis Casimir, 204
Marie Zelia, 204
Philomene, 202
Seraphin, 202
Raleigh, N.C., 137
Ramsay
Agnes, 129
Charles, 129, 131
James Cross Jr., 126–29
Jane (Workman), 131
John Cross Jr., 128, 131
John Cross Sr., 131
Joseph, 128
Mary H. (Scott), 129
Samuel, 128
Thomas, 128–32
Thomas Sr., 126, 129
Warwick, 129–30
William W., 128, 130–31
Randall
Eunice Kelley (*cited*), 19–20
Ruth (*author*), 125–32, (*cited*), 83
Randolph Co., Ill., 43, 50, 53–54, 57
Randolph
family, 70
Judith ([—?—]), 223
Richard, 222–23
Rankin, Isabel, 143–44
Rapaport, Diane (*reviewed*), 227–28
Rappahannock Co., Va., 69
Rawle, Mary, 211, 216, 219
Ray, John (*cited*), 88
Read
Ann Jane (McCowan), 279
Clement Jr., 108
Cora Lucille (Hammond), 281
Ethel Elizabeth (Olsen), 281
family, 148–49
George, 277, 281
George Franklin, 275, 279
Isaac, 149
Maria Louisa (Pickett) Tolman, 269–71, 275, 278–81
Robert Locke, 279, 281
Thomas, 148
Ulea Jane, 281
Waldemer P. (*cited*), 275, 278–79, 281
Waldemer Pickett, 281
William, 149
Reconstruction (Civil War), 35, 203
records
baptisms, 205
business, 139
census (federal), 85–100
chancery, 166
church (Ont.), 261
court. Ill., 56–59; New England, 227–28; order books, 166
diaries, 133
family Bibles, 133
Freedmen's Bureau, 68
historians' papers, 140
Illinois, 41–42, 44–47
land, 151–52, 166; Ill., 60–61
lawyers' papers, 140
letters, 133
manuscript collections, 133–42
marriage, 141, 166; registers (Ont.), 261
military, 141; Ill., 62–65
naturalization (Ill.), 65
newspaper, 228–29; Ill., 66
photographs, 133
prison (Ill.), 66
probate, 154, 166
Sanborn fire insurance maps, 47
school (Ill.), 66–67
soundex, 147
tax (Ill.), 67
wills, 154
Rector, 297
Red Eagle, 248–58. *aka* Wanbli, Luta, Wanbi Sa. *See also* Hump; Red Eagle, Anna; Red Eagle, Olive
Anna, 248, 255. *See also* Hump; Red Eagle, Olive
John, 252
Julia, 248, 252, 257–58. *aka* Shot Her Horse, Tasunka Oun
Martha. *See* White Eyes, Martha
Olive Nellie, 247–48, 255. *See also* Hump; Red Eagle, Anna
Redmonds, George (*cited*), 116, 124; (*reviewed*), 225–26
Reece, J. N. (*cited*), 63
Reed
Daniel Alden, 149
Ida (*cited*), 261
William, 149
Reeve, Tapping (*cited*), 292
reference works (*reviewed*), 150–51
regional sources (*reviewed*), 73–74, 151–53, 227–29
Reid, Nancy Thatcher (*cited*), 10
Reilly, Patrick, 153. *aka* O'Reilly, O'Riely
religions and religious groups
Baptist, 51. baptisms and marriages (Ky.), 141; First Baptist Ch., Charlottesville, Va., 136; Ill., 52; Southern Baptist Historical Society and Archives, 52
Catholic. *See* Roman Catholic

religions and religious groups (*continued*)
Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons), 52–53
Covenanter, 69
Episcopalian. schools for blacks, 132
Evangelical United Brethren. Ill., 54
Jewish. Ill., 53; Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives, 53; Loeb Farm School for Jewish Children, 53
Lutheran. ELCA Region 5 Archives, 53; Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, 53; German Evangelical Lutheran Synod, 53; Ill., 53
Methodist, 51. Ill., 54; marriages (Ky.), 141
Mormons. *See* Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
Presbyterian. Act of Toleration, 103; Ill., 54–55; Philadelphia Synod, 102–3
Quakers. *See* Society of Friends
Roman Catholic, 51. American Catholic Historical Society, 153; Archdiocese of Chicago, 56; Diocese of Belleville, Ill., 55–56; Diocese of Joliet, Ill., 56; Diocese of Peoria, Ill., 56; Diocese of Quebec, 55–56; Diocese of Rockford, Ill., 56; Diocese of Springfield, Ill., 56; Ill., 55–56; manuscripts, 134; Philadelphia Archdiocesan Historical Research Center, 153; slave research, 183–204; *Truth Teller* newspaper, 153
Society of Friends (Quakers), 125, 149; schools for blacks, 132
United Church of Christ. Ill., 56
Remington, Gordon L. (*cited*), 111
Remley, Rebecca C., 95–96
Reno, Nev., 276, 285–86
Repositories of Primary Sources, 134, 138
research guides (*reviewed*), 154
Revolutionary War. *See* American Revolution
Reynolds
Benjamin S., 141
Thomas, 312
Rhode Island, 10–11, 149
Central Falls, 13
Cumberland, 11, 19
East Lonsdale, 18
East Providence, 18
Lincoln, 11, 18
Pawtucket, 6, 12
Providence, 6
Rumford, 13, 18
Smithfield, 18
Ribera, Piero (*cited*), 119
Richland Co., Ill., 43
Richmond, Va., 29
Ridenour
Carla (*ackn.*), 143, 146
Dennis (*ackn.*), 143, 146
Riley
Elva S., 144
Glenda (*cited*), 34
Riner
Frances (Overton), 304
John, 288
Ring, George F., 24
Rittenhouse
David, 227
Hannah Jacobs, 227
Rivière Aux Canes, La. *See* Cane River
River Tamar, Devon, 206
Roanoke River, Va., 104. *aka* Staunton River
Robinson
Christopher, 139
Millie Sackett (*cited*), 128, 130
William H., 112
Robush, Jack (*ackn.*), 101
Rockford, Ill., 56
Rockingham Co., Va., 140
Rock Island Co., Ill., 43, 49
Rock Spring Seminary. *See* Shurtleff College
Rocky Mountains, 277
Rode, England, 272
Rodgers, John (*cited*), 105
Rogers, 112
Deunce (Bray), 212
William Warren Jr. (*cited*), 36
Rolling Fork Landing, Miss., 24
Rose
Christine (*reviewed*), 225
Philip H., *March cover*, 9
Ross, 94
family, 282
Henry, 270, 275, 281–82, 285
Natalie Hardacker (*cited*), 10
Rossel, 295
Maria, 295
Ross-Larson, Bruce C. (*cited*), 24
Rouquier
François, 195, 199–200
Marianne (Buard), 199
Widow, 200–201
Rowland, Dunbar (*cited*), 25
Ruelle, 199
Rumford, R.I., 13, 18
Run and Left Her, 250, 256. *aka* Onya Napa. *See also* Comes Behind

Runyon, 95
Rupert, Idaho, 276, 285
Ruppert, Gary B. (*contributor*), 112
Russell, George Ely (*author*), 243, 305–14; (*cited*), 243
Russinow, Dennison I. (*cited*), 119
Rutherford Co., N.C., 221
Ryland, Elizabeth Hawes, 139

—S—

Saint Charles, Idaho, 277
St. Clair Co., Ill., 43–44, 48, 57
St. Denis
  family, 184, 188, 190, 192
  Louis de, 189, 191
  Louise Juchereaude de, 189
  Marie, 189, 191
  Pierre, 189
  Rose Juchereau de, 190
Ste. Genevieve Co., Mo., 151–52
St. Gennys Par., Cornwall, 205–20
St. John's Orphan Asylum, N.Y., 283
St. John's Protectory, N.Y., 283
St. Juliot Par., Cornwall, 205–20
St. Louis, Mo., 40, 55, 66–67, 268, 274–75, 277
St. Zille
  Jean Baptiste Mariotte, 202–3
  Jean Baptiste Oscar, 203
Salem, Mass., 148–49
Saline Co., Ill., 43
Salineville, Ohio, 28
Salt Lake City, Utah, 44, 269–70, 274, 276–78, 280–83. C. R. Savage Pioneer Photography, 280
Sampsell, Susan K., 143
Sampson, 296
Sanborn
  George F. Jr. (*cited*), 118
  Melinde Lutz (*editor*), 3, 83, 163, 243, 287
Sanders, Beverly M. (*cited*), 61
Sandford, Peirce, 289
Sandy Creek, Va., 107
San Francisco, Calif., 87, 99–100, 271
Sangamon Co., Ill., 43, 63
Sangster, Thomas S., 165
San Marco, Italy, 114
Santa Rosa, Calif., 285
Sapp, Peggy (*cited*), 57
Sargent, Mary, 178
Satzik, Julie A. (*cited*), 56
Saunders, Wm. H., 132
Savage, C. R. Pioneer Photography, 280
Savannah, Ga., *March cover*, 18
Sayers, Evaline, 143
Scandinavia, influence of Scotland, 150
Schebler, James (*cited*), 39
Schmidt
  Christoph, 112
  Martha Mae (*cited*), 54
  Norbert (*cited*), 119
Schomburg, Alfred (Arturo Alfonso) (*cited*), 13–14
Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, 6, 13–15
Schroeder, Erich K. (*cited*), 60
Schuyler Co., Ill., 43
Schwartz, Meryl F. (*cited*), 5
Schwartzenegg, Italy, 114
Scotland, 69
  Orkney Islands, 150
  Scandinavian influence, 150
  wills, 154
Scott
  George, 313
  Mary H., 129
  Richard, 151
Scott Co., Ill., 43
Sears
  Anna (Atkins), 21
  Hope, 21
  Paul, 21
Sears, Calif., 284
Seattle, Wash., 281
Sedgwick, Maine, 149
Seineke, Kathrine Wagner (*cited*), 50
Selmer, Marsha L. (*cited*), 46
Sesana, Gorizia, 116
Sesana, Italy. *See* Schwartzenegg
Severe, 301
Shambip Co., Utah, 269
Sharbrough, Beau (*cited*), 86
Shawneetown, Ill., 39
Shelby Co., Ill., 43
Shelby Co., Ky., 304
Shelby, Mich., 93
Shelton, Reuben, 301
Shenandoah Valley, Va., *Sept. cover*, 165; Germans, 140
Shenandoah Valley, W.Va., *Sept. cover*, 165
Shepard, Marsha (*cited*), 65
Shepherd
  Hannah, 166
  Samuel (*cited*), 290
Sheppard, Mary, 273
Sheridan, N.Y., 149
Sherman
  Joan R. (*cited*), 16
  Robert M. (*cited*), 19
  Ruth Wilder (*cited*), 19
ships
  Chimborazo, 268
  Emerald Isle, 268
  Mayflower, 20, 148
  Roxbury (schooner), 10
Shirk, Elva (Wilcox), 143
Shoshone, Idaho, 281
Shot Her Horse. *See* Red Eagle, Julia
Shumate
  Bailey, 141
  Lucy, 141
Shurtleff College, Ill., 66. *aka* Rock Spring Seminary

Sims, 295
  Richard, 194. *var.* Syms
Sinnette, Elinor Des Verney (*cited*), 13
Sioux. Dakota, 245; Nakota, 245; Lakota, 245; Oglala, 245–58
Skordas, Gust (*cited*), 307
Slade, Elizabeth, 277
Slagel, M. E. (*cited*), 29, 31
Slarkey, 273
  Charlotte Annie (Clark), 273
Sleater
  Louisa Avelina, 268–69, 271, 277, 283
  Mary (Marchant), 277
  Robert, 277
Sligo, Ireland, 277
Slingore, John, 99
Sloan, E. L. (*cited*), 277
Slovenia, 116
Smallwood, Richard A. Sr. (*reviewer*), 69–70
Smeeth
  Christian (Bray), 212
  Edward, 215
  Jane, 214–16
  Sarah ([—?—]), 215
Smith
  Content, 21
  Cynthia H. (*cited*), 41
  Mrs. J. L., 283
  Leonard H. Jr. (*cited*), 21
  Mary J., 144
  Norma H. (*cited*), 21
Smithfield, R.I., 18
Smithsonian Institution, 305
Snow, William D., 91
Snowden, Richard, 312
Soderlund, Jean R. (*cited*), 125–26, 131–32
Somerset Co., England, 267
Somersetshire, England, 267, 272–74
Sommes, Elizabeth, 146
Sonoma, Calif., 285
Sonoma Co., Calif., 276
South Carolina, 222, 229
  Mill Creek, 105
  Newberry Dist., 105
  Old 96th Dist., 105
South Croxton, England, 275
South Dakota
  Allen, 256–57. Trinity Epis. Cem., 256–57
  Bennett Co., 247, 255
  Flandreau, *Dec. cover*
  Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, 245, 247–51, 253, 255–58. Medicine Root Dist., 248; Pass Creek Dist., 248, 250, 257; Skokpaya, 250; Yellow Bear Camp, 256–57
Southeby, William, 125
Southern Baptist Historical Society and Archives, 52
Southern Illinois Univ., 52; Libraries, 40
Southerton, Don (*cited*), 249
Southill, Cornwall, 208
South River, Md., 308
Spada, Nina (*cited*), 119
Spanish-American War, 64, 283. 13th Regt. U.S. Inf., 283
Spencer, Jennifer (*cited*), 60
Sperry, Kip (*reviewed*), 226
Spotsylvania Co., Va., 299–300
Springfield, Ill., 49, 56, 58, 64–65, 67
Springfield, Ohio, 87, 94–95, 97, 99
Springfield, Va., 60
Stamm, Patricia Walls (*reviewer*), 151–52
Starita, Joe (*cited*), 247
Stark Co., Ill., 43
Stark, Sandra M. (*cited*), 38
Staunton River, Va. *See* Roanoke River
Stedham, Joseph, 141
Steele, Edward E. (*reviewed*), 224–25
Steen, Amanda Elizabeth (Lewis), 297
Steil, Mark, (*ackn.*), *Dec. cover*
Steinger, Lane (*cited*), 53
Stephenson Co., Ill., 43
Stephenson, Richard W. (*cited*), 47
Stevens, Mike (*cited*), 248
Steward, Scott C. (*reviewer*), 227
Stewart, John, 106
Stock, Barbara Smallwood (*reviewer*), 73–74
Stockton, Calif., 281–82
Stoddard, Chris (*cited*), 15
Stone, Susan C. (*cited*), 283
Stratford-Devai, Fawne (*cited*), 260
Stratton Par., Cornwall, 206–7
Straw, Dorothy (*cited*), 19
Stricklin, Dawn (*author*), 245–58; (*cited*), 243, *Dec. cover*
Strunk, William Jr. (*cited*), 24
Stuart, John, 106
Sturdevant, Katherine Scott (*cited*), 23
Styles, Marshall L. (*reviewed*), 149
Sutherland
  Isaiah, 276, 285
  Lilla Isabel (Wilford) Heidenreich Thomas, 276, 285–86
Sutton, Robert (*cited*), 46
Svensk Arkivin formation, 45
Sweat, 221
Sweden, 122
Swedish National Archives, 45
Sweet, William Warren (*cited*), 52, 54
Swenson Center, 45
Swindell, Annie, 87
Syms, Richard, 185. *See also* Sims
Szucs, Loretto Dennis (*cited*), 40

—T—

Tacanku. See Her Road
Tademy, Lalita (*cited*), 195
Takuni. *See* Nothing
Taliaferro Co., Ga., 137, 228
Tallapoohatchee River, 124
Taoyateduta. *See* Little Crow, Chief
Tarbox
  Gwen Athene (*cited*), 15
  Ronald (*ackn.*), 205
Tasunka Oun. *See* Red Eagle, Julia
Taylor
  Nigel (reviewed), 154
  Robert J. Jr. Foundation, 229
Tazewell Co., Ill., 43
Tchula, Miss., 25, 37
Tehama, Calif., 282
Temple Univ., 15
Tennessee, 33, 39, 147
  Chattanooga, 33, 37
  Memphis, 55
  Nashville, 52
Terrell, 295–96
Terry, Imogene McCreight Fitzgerald (*cited*), 103
Tevebaugh, John Leslie (*cited*), 50
Texas, 223
  Bee Co., 222
Thomas
  Alice J., 286
  Elizabeth (Bray), 218
  Jesse Allen, 276, 285–86
  Lilla Isabel (Wilford) Heidenreich, 276, 285–86
  Sarah (Crow), 289
Thompson
  Edwin A. (*cited*), 142
  Joseph J. (*cited*), 55
  Roger (*reviewed*), 151
Thomson, Hazel Marchant (*cited*), 268
Tintagel Par., Cornwall, 213
Tipi Ota. *See* Little Crow, Louise; Many Camps
Tippecanoe Co., Ind., 87, 91
Todd
  Ann, 275
  Governor, 27
Tolman
  Alice (Bracken), 278
  Cyrus Ammon, 275, 278–79
  Elizabeth (Pickett), 278
  George Orin, 279–80
  Karen Sophia (Isaacson), 278
  Katherine (Loveland), 279
  Maria Louisa (Pickett), 269–71, 275, 278–81
  Mary Elizabeth, 279–80
  Minnie Marie (Maison), 278–79. *var.* Minnie Marie (Manchaune)
  Minnie Marie (Manchaune), 278–79. *var.* Minnie Marie (Maison)
  Richard Lee (*author*), 267–86; (*cited*), 243
Tolzmann, Don Heinrich (*cited*), 40
Tooele Co., Utah, 269, 274, 278
Toronto, Ont., 260, 262–64
Towles, 301
Tramaine Par., Cornwall, 206
Trehole, Cornwall, 213. *var.* Hole
Trencreek, Cornwall, 206, 219
Treweeks
  Ann (Harry), 210
  John, 208–10, 212–13, 215–16. *aka* Bray, John
  Mary, 208, 210, 212, 215
Trewint, Cornwall, 206–8, 216–17, 219
Trieste, 121–22
Triplett, 297
  Daniel, 292
Trouble In Front
  Anna, 247, 251–53, 256
  Charles, 256
Truckee, Calif., 282–83
Trussell, John B. B. Jr. (*cited*), 125
Tucker
  family, 70
  St. George, 70
Tuckybatche, 124
Tulare Co., Calif., 93
Tunstall, Molly, 139
Tureman
  Ann ([—?—]), 296
  Eleanor (Medley), 287–304
  George, 294
  Ignatius, 290–98, 300, 302–3
  Lucy, 290–94, 303
  Robert, 296
  Susanna, 292–94, 301–3
Turnbaugh, Roy C. (*cited*), 57
Turner
  family, 149
  Jane (Prather), 311
  Jeremiah, 310–11, 313
  John, 311
  Jonathan Baldwin papers, 66
  Joseph, 149
  Josias, 310–11, 313
  Mary ([—?—]), 149
  Rachel Ruth, 149
  Solomon, 309–11, 313
Turnip Creek, Va., 105
Tuscaloosa, Ala., 182
Tuttle, Helen (*cited*), 181
Twin Falls, Idaho, 275, 277
Tyon, Thomas (*cited*), 251
Tyrone Co., Ireland, *Sept. cover*

—U—

Uglow, William, 214
Ullmann, Helen Schatvet (*reviewer*), 148
Union Co., Ill., 43
Union Co., Iowa, 37
United Kingdom, 154
United States, 121
  Air Force, 64
  Army, 64
  Bureau of Land Management, 60, 74
  Congress, 60–61, 196

United States (*continued*)
Department of Veterans Affairs, 49
District Court, 65
Geological Survey, 47
House of Representatives, 149
Infantry. 13th Regt., 283
Land Office, 196
manuscripts, 133–42
Navy, 62, 282
Post Office Dept., 46
Supreme Court, 40
United Steelworkers of America (Dist. 31), 42
Unity, Md., 312. Hawley's River Chapel, 312
Univ. of Chicago, 281
Univ. of Georgia Libraries, 137
Univ. of Illinois, 46. Library, 40
Univ. of Notre Dame Archives, 134
Univ. of Utah, 281
Univ. of West Virginia, 141
Unterweißenbach, Austria, 114, 118, 124
Upper Canada. *See* Ontario
Upper Patapsco Hundred, Md., 307, 313
Upson Co., Ga., 132
Utah, 268–69, 276, 278, 283, 288
Alta, 277
Brigham Young Univ., 226
Carson Valley, 270–71
Clover Valley, 270
Fort Douglas, 283–84
Granite, 278–79
Knowllen, 279
land patent sales, 151–52
Logan, 279
Nephi, 279
Ophir, 278
Provo, 226
Salt Lake City, 44, 269–70, 274, 276–78, 280–83. C. R. Savage Pioneer Photography, 280
Shambip Co., 269
Tooele Co., 269, 274, 278
Univ. of Utah, 281
Utah Territory, 270

—V—

Vallé, Francois (*cited*), 38
Vallejo, Calif., 284–85
Valsain, Philippe, 201
van Booma, L. G. J. (*cited*), 122
Van Schaick, Goose, 141
Van Swerigen family, 308
Varangue, Jean, 193
Venolia, Jan (*cited*), 24
Verdier
Elizabeth (Crow) Moore, 303
Paul, 303
Verdi, Nev., 275, 281–82, 285
Vermilion Co., Ill., 43
Vermont, 140
Vernié, Maria Theresia, 122
Vick
DiAnn (*reviewed*), 70–71
family, 70–71
free persons of color, 71
Joseph, 70–71
slaves, 71
Vicksburg, Miss., 97
Vicksburg, Va., 93
Vidrignano, Michael of, 120
Vincentia, Domenico of, 117
Virginia, 56, 58, 70, *Sept. cover*, 165, 223, 303
Albemarle Co., 103, 141
Alexandria, 10
Amelia Co., 106–7
Augusta Co., 103, 141
Bannister River, 111
Brunswick Co., 103–5, 111
Buck Mountain, 103
Buffalo, 103
Campbell Co., 103
Camp Lee, 29
Charlotte Co., 102–5, 106–7, 112
Charlottesville, 136
Civil War, *Sept. cover*
College of William and Mary, 222
colonial, 69–70
Concord, 103
Cub Creek, 102–10
Culpeper Co., 288–89, 291–93, 295–96, 301–4
Dan River, 103
Fort Creek, 107
Frederick Co. *See* West Virginia
free blacks, 222–23
Halifax Co., 149
Hanover Co., 140
Harrisonburg, 140
Hat Creek, 103
Illinois, control of, 61
independent cities, 150
Isle of Wight Co., 70–71
James Madison Univ., 140. *aka* Madison College
King William Co., 139–40
Lawrenceville, 104
Louse Creek, 106
Lunenburg Co., 101–12, 204
Madison, 300
Madison Co., 289–93, 303
Madison College. *See* James Madison Univ.
Middlesex Co., 139, 302. Christ Ch., 302
Northern Neck, 69–70, 291
Northumberland Co., 223
Orange Co., 289–90, 299, 303–4
Prince Edward Co., 103, 106–7, 204, 222–23. Israel Hill, 222–23
Rappahannock Co., 69
Richmond, 29
Roanoke River, 104. *aka* Staunton River
Rockingham Co., 140
Sandy Creek, 107
Shenandoah Valley, *Sept. cover*, 165
Spotsylvania Co., 299–300
Springfield, 60
Staunton River. *See* Roanoke River
Turnip Creek, 105
Walkers, 103

Wallace Creek, 105
Warren Co., 71
Wheeling. *See* West Virginia
Williamsburg, 139
Virginia City, Nev., 270
Visitation Academy, Mo., 66–67
Visnovico, Italy. *See* Vysnouitsch
Vogel, Virgil J. (*cited*), 46
Vogt, John (*cited*), 141
Voke, Albert F. (*cited*), 142
Volkel, Lowell M. (*cited*), 61, 63
Volz, Peter, 112
Von Copmaul. *See also* Copmaul
Cristoforus, 115
Hortensio, 115
Laura ([—?—]), 115
von Schivizhoffen, Ludwig Schviz (*cited*), 115
Vysnouitsch, Italy, 114

—W—

Waak, Patricia Ann (*reviewed*), 221–22
Wabash Co., Ill., 43
Wade
Alice (*cited*), 24
John, 213
Margaret (Bray), 211, 213
William, 211
Wagner, Anthony (*cited*), 116
Wakinyantanka, *Dec. cover. aka* Big Thunder
Wales, wills, 154
Walker, James R. (*cited*), 246, 249, 251, 258
Walkers, Va., 103
Wallace Creek, Va., 105
Walle, Dennis (*cited*), 46
Waln, Carl (*cited*), 248
Walsh, Diane Renner (*author*), 38–67; (*cited*), 44
Walton
George H., 30
Izaak (*cited*), 83
Warbstow Par., Cornwall, 206
War Cloud, Paul (*cited*), 52
Ward, Anne, 219
Warfield family, 308
Warminster, England, 277
Warms, Richard (*cited*), 253
War of 1812, 148
Ill., 62–63; Fort Dearborn, 63
muster and pay rolls, 142
Red Stick faction, 124
Warren
Addie E., 180
Anna, 178–79
Charles H., 180
Eliza A. (Brown), 178–82
Harry M., 180
Robert E. (*cited*), 38
William, 180–82
William F., 180
Warren Co., Ga., 69, 228
Warren Co., Ill., 43
Warren Co., Ky., 141
Warren Co., Miss., 71
Warren Co., Va., 71
Warwickshire, England, 148
Washington
Seattle, 281
Washington Co., Ill., 43, 53
Washington Co., Ind., 304
Washington, D.C., *Dec. cover*, 306. Smithsonian Institution, 305
Washington, Ga., 228–29
Washington, Ohio, 90
Wassmann, Harry (*cited*), 283
Watts, Calif., 93
Waugh, 303
Wayland, John Walter (*cited*), 140
Wayman, Dorcas, 304
Wayne Co., Ill., 43
Wayne Co., Mich., 129. Phyllis Wheatley Home, 129
Weathers, Elreeta Crain (*cited*), 297
Webb family, 139
Webster Groves, Mo., 56
Webster
Kimball (*cited*), 180
Lyman, 179, 181
Week St. Mary Par., Cornwall, 206
Welsh
Benjamin, 312–13
Charity (Jacob), 312
Elizabeth, 312
Elizabeth ([—?—]), 312
Luther W. (*cited*), 308, 313
John, 308, 313–14
John Jr., 308–9
John III, 308
Mary ([—?—]), 305–14
Molly, 305–14
Richard, 309, 311–13
Wessex, England, 306
Westchester, Ill., 56
Western Illinois Univ., 52
West, John, 312
West Los Angeles, Calif., 281
West Seneca, N.Y., 283. St. John's Orphan Asylum, 283; St. John's Protectory, 283
West Virginia
Frederick Co., 165–76
Shenandoah Valley, *Sept. cover*, 165
Wheeling, 39
Wharton
Clarence, 281. *aka* Don
Don. *See* Clarence
Ulea Jane (Read), 281
Wheeling, Va. *See* Wheeling, W.Va.
Wheeling, W.Va., 39
White
E. B. (*cited*), 24
Elizabeth Pearson (*cited*), 20, 22
Hercules, 223
Virgil D. (*cited*), 63
White Co., Ill., 43
White Eyes
Jacob, 258. *aka* Ista Ska
Martha, 258. *aka* Red Eagle, Martha

Whitehead, Thomas (*ackn.*), 15
Whiteley
  Henriette Frances (Lanno), 284
  Newton, 284
Whiteman, Maxwell (*cited*), 14–15
Whiteside Co., Ill., 43
Whitney, Ellen M. (*cited*), 38, 63
Whitstone Par., Cornwall, 206
Wicasa Isnala. *See* Lone Man
Wickersham, Catherine, 166–67
Wicoti Ota. *See* Many Camps
Wilcox
  Elva, 143
  Grace Luella (Burt), 143
  William C., 143
Wilderness Road, 39
Wilford
  Anne Marguerite (Lund), 285
  Ann (Gutteridge), 275
  Edward, 275
  Francis William, 285
  Isabel Lillian, 285
  Lilla Isabel, 273, 276, 285–86. *aka* Lil
  Martha Jane (Grandbois), 276, 284–85. *aka* Jennie, Mattie
  Priscilla (Clark) Pickett Pickett, 267–86
  Ruth (Kleinworth), 285
  Sarah, 271, 273, 276, 282–83
  Severa Louis, 285
  William, 268, 271–73, 275–76
  William M., 276, 284–85
Wilkes Co., Ga., 228–29
Wilkes Co., N.C., 221
Will Co., Ill., 43
Willcox
  Grace L. (Burt), 144
  William C., 144
Williams
  David J. (*cited*), 32
  Jane J. (*reviewer*), 74
  Julie L. (*cited*), 5–6
Williamsburg, Va., 139
Williamson Co., Ill., 43
Willie Handcart Co., Wyo., 277
Willis
  John C. (*cited*), 24
  Joseph, 222
  Joshua, 291–93
Willis?, Lucinda, 222
Willoughby, 181
Wilman, Frederick, 275
Wilmington, Del., 153
Wilson
  Mrs. A. V., 299
  Gladys Benedict (*cited*), 34
  Howard McKnight (*cited*), 103
  Jean G. (*cited*), 57
Wiltshire, England, 273, 277
Winacott. *See* Wonnacot
Winnebago Co., Ill., 43
Winnebago War (Ill.), 62–63
Winslow, 294
Wisconsin, 275
  land patent sales, 151–52
Wolfe, Laurie M. (*reviewed*), 227
Wolverhampton, England, 273
Wonnacot. *var.* Winacott
  Christopher, 214
  Elizabeth ([—?—]), 214
  Mary, 214
Wood
  Ralph (*cited*), 73
  Virginia (*cited*), 73
Wooda, Cornwall, 209
Woodford Co., Ill., 43
Woodruff, Wilford, 278
Woodmansee, E. H., 278. *aka* Mills, Avelina
Woodsonville, Ky., 29, 33–34
Workman
  Anne, 129
  Cassius, 129
  Jane, 131
  Jane (Lewis), 127, 129
  Joseph, 125–32
World War I
  Austria, 119
  Ill., 64
  Italy, 119
World War II, 163
  Ill., 64–65
Wowinape, *Dec. cover. aka* Comes in Sight, Place of Refuge
Wright
  Emerson R., 140
  Melissa (*cited*), 44, 56
Wyoming, 255–56
  Fort Bridger, 278
  Rocky Mountains, 277
  Willie Handcart Co., 277

—Y—

Yancdose, Marguerite. *See* no surname, Marguerite *dit* Yancdose
Yarmouth, Mass., 19–22
Yates, Helen K. (*cited*), 108
Yazoo River, Miss., 25
Yeager, Godfrey, 301–2
Yoder, Don (*cited*), 296–97
Yorkshire, England, 273
Yorkville, Ont., 260
Young
  Ann Fendall (Beall), 69
  Brigham, 269, 274
  Edward Brown, 69
  family, 68–69
  William Henry, 69
Yowell, Claude L. (*cited*), 302

—Z—

Zarnetti, 119. *See also* Zarnettig
Zarnettig, 119. *See also* Zarnetti
Zauner, Phyllis (*cited*), 270
Zimmerman, Gary (*cited*), 296
Zuppel, 119. *See also* Zuppello
Zuppello, 119. *See also* Zuppel
Zuya Terila, 249, 253. *See also* Little Crow, John; Loves War

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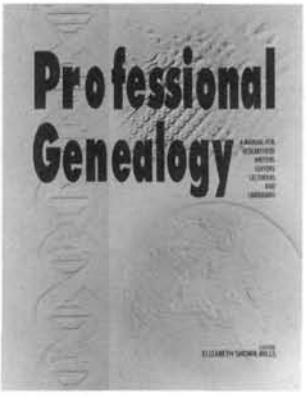
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