

National Genealogical Society Quarterly



Volume 106, No. 1, March 2018

The
National Genealogical Society

presents . . .

Faces of America

On the Cover:

JEAN (MILLIKIN) MORTON
1814–1872

In 1838 Jean Millikin, advanced in pregnancy with her first child, emigrated from Scotland with her husband, Thomas Morton; her sister and brother-in-law, Catherine and Samuel Robb; and Samuel's brother and sister-in-law, John and Mary Robb. After six hard weeks at sea, they arrived at New York harbor in May. The already arduous journey continued over land and water, traversing more than seven hundred miles to Lapeer County in the new state of Michigan. There, in June 1838, Jean gave birth to daughter Anna.

Jean and Thomas purchased one-hundred-sixty acres in an area called "The Scotch Settlement" in Bristol, now Almont, Michigan. Thomas wrote to family and friends back in Craigie, Ayrshire, encouraging them to emigrate and join the settlement. Between 1838 and 1852 many did, including Jean's parents, John and Jennett (Reid) Millikin.

Thomas managed a successful farm. He became a community leader, helping establish the "Scotch Presbyterian Society," its church and cemetery, and a small school.

Jean likely appreciated living near family and friends. She bore ten children: six girls and four boys. By 1858 she had suffered the loss of an infant daughter and two young sons. She was forty-eight in 1862, when her portrait was printed as a carte de visite. As she sat for the photographer her eyes showed fear and worry. Her eldest son, John, would carry her likeness with him while serving in the Union Army. John returned in summer 1865. He was ill, perhaps with consumption. He died at home three months later, at age twenty-one.

The Mortons had donated an acre of their farm for the society's church and cemetery. Eight of the ten Morton children are buried there, near their parents. Of their four sons, only Thomas survived to middle age. Descendants stem only from three of the couple's daughters: Anna Morton Rowan, Janette Reid Morton Lamond, and Marion Morton Ives.

Credits: The carte de visite (by an unidentified photographer) and the documentation of Jean's life are in care of her great-great granddaughter, Barbara Laughlin Adler, PhD; 1404 Coventry Square; Ann Arbor, MI 48103; adlerb@cuaa.edu. Barbara and her sister Kathleen began compiling a family history of Jean Millikin and Thomas Morton in 1991. Searching records for their families was made easier because, like many Scottish women, Jean retained her maiden name throughout her life.

National Genealogical Society Quarterly

Promoting Genealogical Scholarship Since 1912

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EDITORS' CORNER

Transitions

"To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven: A time to be born, and a time to die; a time to plant, and a time to pluck up that which is planted; A time to kill, and a time to heal; a time to break down, and a time to build up; A time to weep, and a time to laugh; a time to mourn, and a time to dance."

Ecclesiastes 3:1–4 (King James Version)

Students of family history rediscover forgotten transitions and document them. While lives progress from birth to death, relationships begin and end, migrations adventure across countries and oceans, and myriad economic, occupational, and other changes occur—each in its own “season.” Those turnings can be seamless or disruptive. Either way, genealogical research often leads to understanding life’s changing directions.

Transitions provide raw material for genealogical research. Some turning points are recorded—for example, property acquisitions and dispositions, military enlistments and discharges, and religious milestones. The records that survive contain genealogical evidence.

The inevitability of life’s turning points sometimes makes them predictable. Examples include the span of childbearing years, eligibility for military service and taxation, and DNA recombination or mutation as it passes through generations. Such predictability allows genealogists to anticipate what records might exist and to generate hypotheses.

Articles in this issue provide examples of transitions and the resulting records. The authors skillfully analyze predictable transitions to understand what seems unpredictable. By analyzing probates, handwriting, land records, and information about neighbors, Claire Ammon differentiates same-named men in a community at overlapping times. She then traces one man through

three states and a Canadian province. His life events, but not the places he settled, follow a predictable pattern for a man maturing from his youth to his death. Harold Henderson uses records of transitions to understand a man who seemed married simultaneously to three of his clients’ daughters. Warren Bittner finds an unpredictable origin by using records of religious transitions naming predictable associates with the same origin. Cheryl Storton follows parallels, associates, and records of transitions to identify a woman’s parents. Rebecca Walch identifies colonial petitioners refusing removal from their homes. They created a record to prevent an unwanted transition.

On a personal note, throughout 2018 the *NGS Quarterly* will undergo its own transition leading up to our retirement at the year’s end. As we have done together for the past twelve years, we will prepare this year’s issues for publication. Throughout the year, we also will work with our well-qualified successors, Alison Hare and Nancy Peters, to ensure a seamless transition to their editorship, beginning in 2019. Predictably, one “time” will turn to another, and the *NGS Quarterly* will continue to demonstrate high standards of research, reasoning, and writing.

—Melinde Lutz Byrne and

Thomas W. Jones

NGSQ, March 2018

NGS Quarterly

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Which Amos Lockwood of Fairfield County, Connecticut, Was Gilbert's Son, and Where Did He Go?

By Claire Ammon, CG

Neighbors' identities suggest testator Amos was not Gilbert's son. Land records and signatures leave no doubt.

When two people of the same name and similar age lived in the same town around the same time, differentiating them complicates research. Comparing friends, associates, and neighbors—the “FAN Club”—helps identify pieces of evidence.¹ Once reassembled, they can form a picture. Sometimes the pieces are widely scattered. Clues to tracking Gilbert Lockwood's son Amos come from records in England, Louisiana, Nova Scotia, New York, Texas, and Virginia, besides his native Connecticut.

GILBERT LOCKWOOD'S SON AMOS

In 1768 seven of Gilbert and Mercy (“Marcy”) Lockwood's children—Elnathan, Amos, Edward, Solomon, Andrew, Noah, and Gilbert—were baptized at St. John's Episcopal Church in Stamford, Connecticut, while the family lived in adjoining Greenwich. Gilbert and Mercy's daughters Tamer and Ruth Lockwood were baptized there as adults on 8 January 1795.²

The Lockwood children's names appear under “Baptism of Infants,” indicating all seven had not yet attained “years of discretion to answer for themselves.” Under Anglican canon law such children were baptized as if newborns.³ If the Lockwood

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1. Elizabeth Shown Mills, “QuickLesson 11: Identity Problems & the FAN Principle,” *Evidence Explained: Historical Analysis, Citation & Source Usage* (<https://www.evidenceexplained.com/content/quicklesson-11-identity-problems-fan-principle>).

2. St. John's Episcopal Church (Stamford, Conn.), Records 1748–1859, p. 5[?—illegible second digit], Lockwood children's baptisms, 40 9 [sic] March 1768; and p. 23, Lockwood daughters' baptisms, 8 January 1795; the church, Stamford. The children are named in the order shown.

3. Edmund Gibson, *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani: or, the Statutes, Constitutions, Canons, Rubrics and Articles, of the Church of England*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon, 1761), 372, title 18, “The Sacrament of Baptism,” chapter 11, “Baptism of those of Riper Years.”

children were born at two-year intervals and the youngest was newborn, the oldest was about twelve in 1768, or born in 1755–56. If the listing's order reflects their respective ages, then Amos, named second, was born about 1757–58.

On 6 April 1805 the intestate estate of Gilbert Lockwood of Greenwich was distributed among his widow, Mercy; sons Richard, Gilbert, Noah, Andrew, Elnathan, Edward, Solomon, and Amos; and daughters Tamer and Ruth. Amos—not involved in the proceedings—inherited a little more than an acre of Gilbert's land.⁴

Six years later, on 19 March 1811, Gilbert's son Gilbert, also of Greenwich, made his will. Omitting his brother Amos, young Gilbert—a bachelor—mentioned his brothers Richard, Andrew, and Noah Lockwood; sister Tamer, wife of Aaron Clark; and sister Ruth and her son William.⁵

In March 1812, the elder Gilbert Lockwood's late widow's dower was distributed among his heirs: Tamer Clark; Ruth, Noah, Andrew, Richard, Elnathan, Edward, and Amos Lockwood; and representatives of the elder Gilbert's deceased sons Gilbert and Solomon Lockwood. Again, Amos received a little more than an acre.⁶ Although Amos did not inherit from his brother Gilbert in 1811, he apparently was believed living in March 1812, when named in his late mother's dower division.

A SECOND AMOS LOCKWOOD?

In 1812 Amos Lockwood of Greenwich bequeathed his “personal Estate” to his “dear friend” Phebe Brown and “dear niece” Harriett Lockwood, both of Greenwich. He named Phebe as executrix. David Mead, Sarah Peck, and Shadrach Mead witnessed the will. Its date, 2 June 1812, and proof, on 10 April 1816, frame Amos's death.⁷ The testator could have been the elder Gilbert's son Amos, believed living in 1812, but he was not Gilbert's son.

Only one Amos Lockwood headed a Connecticut household in 1790, 1800, and 1810—apparently the 1812 testator. No Amos Lockwood headed a household in nearby Westchester County, New York.⁸ In 1790 Amos lived in the

4. Stamford Probate District, Conn., box 158, Gilbert Lockwood (1803), for distribution, 6 April 1805, and bond, 4 October 1803; Record Group (RG) 4: Probate Courts; Connecticut State Library (CSL), Hartford.

5. *Ibid.*, box 158, Gilbert Lockwood (1811), for Gilbert Lockwood, will, 19 March 1811.

6. *Ibid.*, distribution of dower of late widow of “Gilbert Lockwood Senior,” 3 March 1812. Information about the senior Gilbert Lockwood appears in the file for his namesake son. Also, Stamford Probate District, Register of Probate Records 11:195–96, Gilbert Lockwood (1811); CSL microfilm 4296.

7. *Ibid.*, box 157, Amos Lockwood (1816), for Amos Lockwood, will, 2 June 1812.

8. Author's search of “1790 United States Federal Census,” *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=5058>). Also, “1800 United States Federal Census,” *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=7590>). Also, “1810 United States Federal Census,” *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=7613>).

Norwalk-Stamford area of Fairfield County, Connecticut, and in 1800 and 1810 in adjoining Greenwich. Together the censuses indicate he was born between 1755 and 1765.⁹

That range coincides with the estimated 1757–58 birth of Gilbert and Mercy's son Amos. Also, Gilbert Lockwood and some of his adult sons or siblings were, like testator Amos, enumerated in Norwalk-Stamford in 1790 and Greenwich in 1800.¹⁰ Nonetheless, neighbors' identities suggest the testator was not Gilbert's son. Land records and signatures confirm it.

Amos first appears in Greenwich deeds in 1787.¹¹ Witnesses to his will and two of the estate's appraisers were enumerated near him, suggesting they were his neighbors. See table 1.

Amos, enumerated in 1790, executed a deed in Greenwich that year, saying his father was Jeremiah Lockwood.¹² Jeremiah devised his son Amos land in Stanwich, straddling the Greenwich-Stamford boundary.¹³

Amos's signatures in Jeremiah's estate records of 1787–92 can be compared with those of the 1812 testator and Gilbert's son Amos. See figure 1, showing that Gilbert's son's signature differs from the others.

Jeremiah's son was the only Amos Lockwood heading Fairfield County households in 1790, 1800, and 1810. Born in 1755–65, he died probably in 1816, when his will was proved. It suggests he had no wife or child.

GILBERT'S SON AMOS

The only Amos Lockwood enumerated in Connecticut in 1820, in Greenwich, was born between 1775 and 1794.¹⁴ He was too young to be either Jeremiah's son, born in 1755–65, or Gilbert's son, born around 1757–58. Although Gilbert's Amos

9. 1790 U.S. census, Fairfield Co., Conn., Norwalk and Stamford, p. 329, col. 2, Amos Lockwood; microfilm M637, roll 1, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Also, 1800 U.S. census, Fairfield Co., Conn., Greenwich, pp. 8–9, Amos Lockwood; NARA microfilm M32, roll 1. Also, 1810 U.S. census, Fairfield Co., Conn., Greenwich, p. 345, Amos Lockwood; NARA microfilm M252, roll 1.

10. 1790 U.S. census, Fairfield Co., Conn., Norwalk and Stamford, p. 323, col. 2, Noah, Andrew, Edward, and Gilbert Lockwood; and p. 320, col. 2, Elnathan Lockwood. Also, 1800 U.S. census, Fairfield Co., Conn., Greenwich, pp. 4–5, Edward Lockwood; and pp. 18–19, Edward, Gilbert, Noah, and Andrew Lockwood. The Gilbert Lockwood entries could pertain to Amos's brother or father.

11. Greenwich, Conn., Grantee [index]: H–O, series 1 (1640–1872), 383, Amos Lockwood, 27 April 1787; Town Hall, Greenwich; CSL microfilms 1321–22.

12. Greenwich, Register of Deeds 13:102, Lockwood to Silleck, mortgage, 10 April 1790; CSL microfilm 1328.

13. Stanford Probate District, box 160, Jeremiah Lockwood (1786), Jeremiah Lockwood, will, 21 August 1786. Lockwood named wife Rebekah; sons Amos, Solomon, Samuel, and Stephen Lockwood; and daughters Rebekah Sherwood and Betsey Sillick. For Stanwich, see *List of Congregational Ecclesiastical Societies Established in Connecticut Before October 1818* (Hartford, Conn.: Connecticut Historical Society, 1913), 29.

14. "1820 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=7734>). Also, 1820 U.S. census, Fairfield Co., Conn., Greenwich, p. 144, Amos Lockwood; NARA microfilm M33, roll 1.

Table 1
Some Neighbors and Associates of Amos Lockwood in
Fairfield County, Connecticut

1790 CENSUS ^a	1800 CENSUS ^b	1810 CENSUS ^c	LAND RECORDS	PROBATE FILE ^d
David and James Brown	David and James Brown	David Brown	James Brown ^e	Phebe Brown (heir)
Samuel Mills	Samuel Mills		Samuel Mills ^f	
Shadrach Mead	Shadrach Mead	Shad. Mead		Shadrack Mead (witness)
David Mead	David Mead	David Mead	Nathaniel and Matthew Mead ^g	David Mead (witness)
Samuel Peck J ^r Samuel Peck 3 ^d Samuel Peck	Samuel Peck	Sam. Peck		Samuel Peck (appraiser)
James Sherwood	James Sherwood		James Sherwood ^h	
	Gideon Close	Gid Close		Gideon Close (appraiser)
Elisha Belcher	Elisha Belcher		Elisha Belsher ⁱ	Elisha Belcher (creditor)
	Sylvanus Silleck		Silvanus Silleck ^j	Silvenus Sillick (creditor)

a. 1790 U.S. census, Fairfield Co., Conn., Norwalk and Stamford, pp. 324 (Peck), 327 (D. Mead), 328 (D. Brown, Peck J^r, and Belcher), 329 (J. Brown, Lockwood, and Mills), and 330 (S. Mead, Peck 3^d, and Sherwood); microfilm M637, roll 1, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).

b. 1800 U.S. census, Fairfield Co., Conn., Greenwich, pp. 6–7 (D. Mead, Close, Belcher, Silleck, and J. Brown), 8–9 (Sherwood, Lockwood, Mills, D. Brown, and Peck), and 10–11 (S. Mead); NARA microfilm M32, roll 1.

c. 1810 U.S. census, Fairfield Co., Conn., Greenwich, pp. 344 (Brown), 345 (Close, Peck, D. Mead, and Lockwood), and 346 (S. Mead); NARA microfilm M252, roll 1.

d. Stamford Probate District, Conn., box 157, Amos Lockwood (1816), for will, 2 June 1812; inventory, 4 June 1816; and accounts, 10 April 1816 and 22 June 1816; Record Group 4: Probate Courts; Connecticut State Library (CSL), Hartford.

e. Greenwich, Conn., Register of Deeds 13:482, Sherwood to Lockwood, 6 September 1791; and 14:186, Lockwood to Rundall, 23 February 1799; Town Clerk; CSL microfilm 1329. Also, *ibid.*, 12:452, Lockwood to Lockwood, 20 April 1787; CSL microfilm 1328.

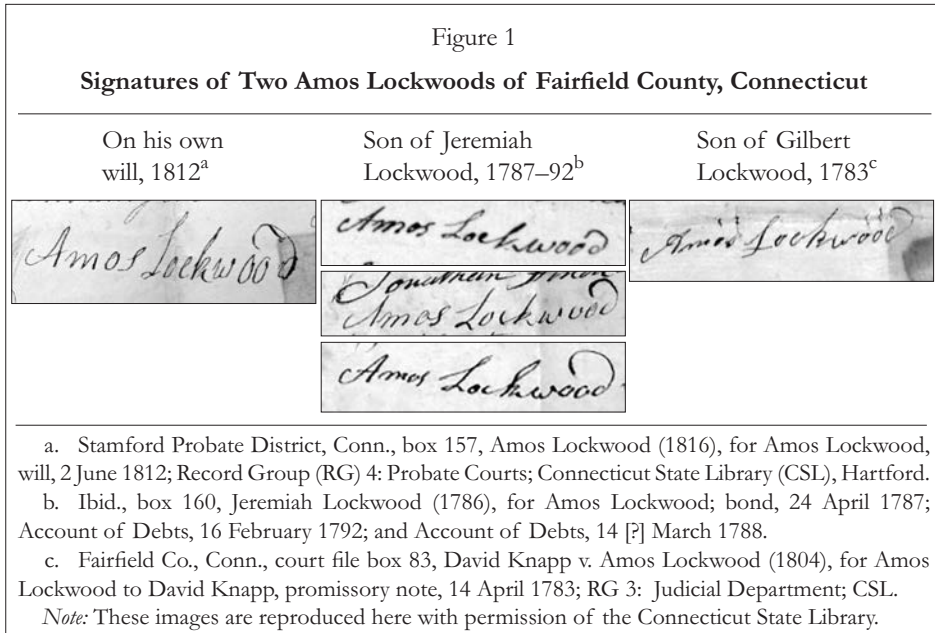
f. *Ibid.*, 12:228, 27 April 1787, and 12:454, 20 April 1787, and 13: 392, 27 October 1788; all Lockwood to Lockwood. Also, 13:482, Sherwood to Lockwood, 6 September 1791, and 14:186, Lockwood to Rundall, 23 February 1799.

g. *Ibid.* 13:482, Sherwood to Lockwood, 6 September 1791.

h. *Ibid.*

i. *Ibid.*, 12:228, 27 April 1787 and 12:452, 20 April 1787; both Lockwood to Lockwood; 13:120, Lockwood to Silleck (mortgage), 10 April 1790; 13:156, Lockwood to Silleck, 29 February 1792; 13: 446, Silleck to Lockwood, 10 April 1790; 13: 482, Sherwood to Lockwood, 6 September 1791; 13:494, Silleck to Lockwood, 29 February 1792; and 14:186, Lockwood to Rundall, 23 February 1799.

j. *Ibid.* 13:102, 10 April 1790; 13:156, 29 February 1792; both Lockwood to Silleck. Also, *ibid.*, 13:446, 10 April 1790; 13:494, 29 February 1792 [not 1794]; both Silleck to Lockwood; 14:342, Lockwood to Silleck, 21 November 1797. Also, *ibid.*, 14:186, Lockwood to Rundall, 23 September 1799.



was not enumerated by name in Fairfield County, he could appear as an adult in pre-1790 records. Three pre-1820 church or vital records name Amos Lockwood in Stamford or Greenwich. All predate 1790:¹⁵

- On 19 April 1778 Amos Lockwood married Phebe Lockwood in Greenwich's Second Congregational Church.¹⁶
- On 9 February 1780 their daughter Sarah, of Greenwich, was baptized in Stamford at St. John's Episcopal Church.¹⁷
- On 22 April 1784, Amos Lockwood's wife Elizabeth and their son Amos were baptized at St. John's. The family was "of Standwich."¹⁸

15. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/0078333594>), digital film 0078333594, image 67, Spencer P. Mead, in "Abstract of Church Records of the Town of Greenwich, County of Fairfield, And State of Connecticut," typescript, 1913, p. 63, mentions only Phebe's marriage, in 1778. Also, Spencer P. Mead, *Abstract of Church Records of the Town of Stamford, County of Fairfield, and State of Connecticut, from the Earliest Records Extant to 1850* (1924; reprint Salem, Mass.: Higginson, 1999). Also, "Church Records Index," card file, undated; CSL. Also, "Connecticut Town Birth Records, pre-1870 (Barbour Collection)," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=1034>). Also, "Connecticut Town Marriage Records, pre-1870 (Barbour Collection)," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=1062>). Also, "Connecticut Town Death Records, pre-1870 (Barbour Collection)," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=1063>).

16. Frederic W. Bailey, ed., *Early Connecticut Marriages as Found on Ancient Church Records Prior to 1800, Fourth Book* (New Haven, Conn.: Bureau of American Ancestry, 1899), 89. Attempts to locate the original were unsuccessful.

17. St. John's Episcopal Church, Records 1748–1859, p. 88, baptism of Sarah Lockwood, 9 February 1780.

18. Ibid., p. 24, baptism of Elizabeth Lockwood, and p. 80, baptism of Amos Lockwood, both on 22 April 1784.

Amos's Stanwich residence raises questions about whether he was Jeremiah's son, who had inherited land there, or Gilbert's son. Jeremiah's children were not baptized in Stamford or Greenwich, however, leaving the family's church affiliation undetermined.¹⁹ Gilbert's children had been baptized at St. John's.²⁰

Apparently Gilbert's son Amos had married Phebe and had a daughter Sarah; then he married Elizabeth and had a son Amos. Amos's wife Phebe died after 1778, when she and Amos married, and before August 1783, the latest month when Amos and Elizabeth could have conceived their son.²¹

On 14 April 1783 Amos, son of Gilbert Lockwood, formerly of Greenwich and living in New York City, borrowed twenty-two pounds, five shillings, from David Knapp, which he never repaid. By 10 February 1804, when Amos's whereabouts were unknown in Fairfield County, its court levied an execution on his real estate, identified as the homestead of the late Gilbert Lockwood of Greenwich.²²

AMOS LOCKWOOD, REFUGEE SON OF GILBERT

Around 1783, when Amos borrowed money from David Knapp in New York City, he signed a petition there to be evacuated to Canada with other Loyalists. His signature resembles that of Gilbert's son.²³ See figure 2.

Amos left Greenwich likely to avoid the confusion caused by plundering and the "constant quartering of troops" there during the Revolutionary War.²⁴ New York City, "the last loyalist stronghold in the thirteen revolted colonies," attracted refugees.²⁵ As the war's outcome became obvious, a group of Loyalists—the Port

19. Greenwich's and Stamford's church-record indexes list no Jeremiah, Rebekah/Rebecca, or Stephen Lockwood, no James or Rebekah Sherwood, and no marriage of Betsey/Elizabeth to Sylvanus Selleck/Silleck. See *FamilySearch*, digital film 007833594, images 181–83, 212, and 213–14; Mead, "Abstract of Church Records of the Town of Greenwich," pp. 177–79, 208, and 209–10. Samuel Lockwood's entries do not identify him as Jeremiah's son, and his dates suggest he is unrelated. Solomon Lockwood's entries could pertain to Jeremiah's or Gilbert's son. Stamford's church-records index shows no baptisms for Jeremiah's heirs or list any James Sherwood and no record of Betsey/Elizabeth's marriage to Sylvanus Selleck. See Mead, *Abstract of Church Records of the Town of Stamford*, 436–39, 468–69, and 470–71.

20. St. John's Episcopal Church, Records 1748–1859, p. 5[?—illegible second digit], Lockwood children's baptisms, 40 9 [sic] March 1768; and p. 23, Lockwood daughters' baptisms, 8 January 1795.

21. Spencer Mead's comprehensive abstracts do not mention Phebe's death. See Mead, *Abstracts of Church Records of the Town of Stamford*.

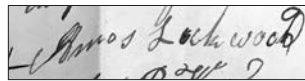
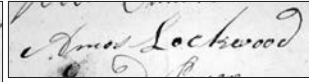
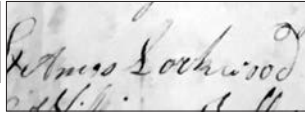
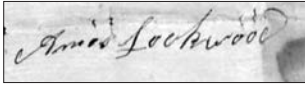
22. Fairfield Co., Conn., court file box 83, David Knapp v. Amos Lockwood (1804); RG 3: Judicial Department; CSL. The file includes the promissory note Amos signed in 1783 giving his residence as New York City.

23. Petition to His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton from the refugees about the time of the evacuation of New York containing signatures of about 800 leading Loyalists, ca. 1783; no. 639, Oversize Documents Collection; Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax.

24. Spencer P. Mead, *Ye History of Ye Town of Greenwich* (New York: Knickerbocker, 1911), 182, quoting a town meeting on 12 August 1783.

25. Stephen Kimber, *Loyalists and Layabouts: The Rapid Rise and Faster Fall of Shelburne, Nova Scotia: 1783–1792* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 2008), 9.

Figure 2

Signatures of Amos Lockwood in Three StatesSon of Gilbert Lockwood,
Connecticut, 1783^aWitness, Northhampton County,
Virginia, 1789 and 1801^bLoyalist, New
York, ca. 1783^c

a. Fairfield Co., Conn., court file box 83, David Knapp v. Amos Lockwood (1804), for Amos Lockwood to David Knapp, promissory note, 14 April 1783; Record Group 3: Judicial Department; Connecticut State Library. The image is reproduced here with permission of the Connecticut State Library.

b. Littleton Addison, will, 12 January 1789; in Northampton Co., Va., file 11; bundle “Wills AA–Bri, 1 to 119”; box “Original Documents Wills, 1685–1854, A–E”; and Severn Groten, will, 11 October 1801; in file 450; bundle “Wills Gaa–Har, 397 to 496,” box “Original Documents Wills, 1685–1854, F–J”; both at Circuit Court, Eastville, Va. Donald W. Moore provided the images.

c. Petition to His Excellency Sir Guy Carleton from the refugees about the time of the evacuation of New York containing signatures of about 800 leading Loyalists, ca. 1783; no. 639, Oversize Documents Collection, Nova Scotia Archives, Halifax. The image is reproduced here with the permission of the Nova Scotia Archives.

Roseway Associates—planned to settle near Shelburne, Nova Scotia.²⁶ Amos, a carpenter with a child and servant, joined them.²⁷

On 14 November 1783 Amos boarded an armed transport ship, H.M.S. *Clinton*, in New York. The party arrived at Port Roseway, Nova Scotia, on 24 December 1783. Joshua, Elizabeth, and Mary Lockwood also traveled on the *Clinton*, besides four Lockwood children: Thomas, age fifteen; Silas, fourteen; Sarah, eleven; and Phebe, one. All are listed separately except Silas and Sarah.²⁸ That proximity and their ages suggest they were siblings. Given Amos’s 1778 marriage and his age, only

26. Marion Robertson, “Prologue to 1783” and “The Port Roseway Associates, the Provincial Regiments and the Freed Blacks,” in *King’s Bounty: A History of Early Shelburne, Nova Scotia* (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nova Scotia Museum, 1983), 1–50.

27. Minutes of the Proceedings of the Port Roseway Associates, 1782; manuscript group (MG) 100, vol. 220, no. 16; microfilm 9678, Nova Scotia Archives (NSA), Halifax.

28. Muster Table, H.M.S. *Clinton*, 1 November–31 December 1783, no. 374, Amos Lockwood; no. 446, Joshua Lockwood; no. 487, Elizth Lockwood; no. 534, Mary Lockwood; no. 579, Tho^s Lockwood; no. 587, Silas Lockwood; no. 588, Sarah Lockwood and child under ten; and no. 39, Phebe Lockwood; ADM 36/9966, The National Archives, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, U.K. Also, “Loyalist Refugees on HMS *Clinton* Voyages 1783,” *United Empire Loyalists’ Association of Canada* (<http://www.uelac.org/Loyalist-Research/HMS-Clinton-Passengers-1783.php>).

Phebe could have been his child. His wife Elizabeth perhaps joined him on the *Clinton*. If so, he married her in 1782–83, after joining the Port Roseway Associates but before embarking.

No evidence indicates Amos stayed in Nova Scotia.²⁹ Refugees there encountered “the most inhospitable clime a wretch ever set foot on.”³⁰ Others complained of food shortages and other hardships.³¹ Similar dissatisfaction could have spurred Amos’s departure.

Amos visited Connecticut in April 1784, when his wife Elizabeth and son Amos were baptized at St. John’s Episcopal Church in Stamford.³² Their stay apparently was temporary, because Amos appears in no Fairfield County census through 1810.³³ In 1804 the county believed he had “absconded to parts . . . unknown.”³⁴

LINKS TO VIRGINIA

In 1929 Elizabeth (Lockwood) Willborn, in Texas, identified her grandfather as William F. Lockwood, born in 1788, as well as his brother Amos Brown Lockwood, both natives of Stamford, Connecticut. She wrote, “Amos B. married Mariah Du Bois in New York in 1815,” and “William, and Amos mooved to Botan Rauge La in 1818.” She thought “their parents, and the sisters [apparently Elizabeth and Virginia] settled in are [or] close to Norfolk, Virginia,” where the sisters held inherited “family property.”³⁵

29. Crown Land Grant Index; NSA microfilm 12627. Also, NS [Nova Scotia] Land Papers: 1749–1800; RG 20, Series “A”; NSA. Also, Allan Everett Marble, *Deaths, Burials and Probate of Nova Scotians, 1749–1799: From Primary Sources* (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Genealogical Association of Nova Scotia, 1990). Also, Allan Everett Marble, *Deaths, Burials and Probate of Nova Scotians, 1800–1850: From Primary Sources* (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Genealogical Association of Nova Scotia, 1999). Also, Terrence M. Punch, *Religious Marriages in Halifax, 1768–1840, From Primary Sources* (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Genealogical Association of Nova Scotia, 1991). Also, Heather A. Long, *Marriages in Nova Scotia (Excluding Halifax City), 1752–1841* (Halifax, Nova Scotia: Genealogical Association of Nova Scotia, 2009). The author thanks Virginia Clark for examining those sources.

30. “Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Port-Roseway,” *Massachusetts Gazette*, Springfield, Mass., 3 February 1784, page 1, cols. 2–3.

31. “Copy of a letter from one of the settlers in Port Roseway,” *Connecticut Gazette*, New London, 4 June 1784 page 2, col. 1.

32. St. John’s Episcopal Church, Records 1748–1859, p. 24, baptism of Elizabeth Lockwood, and p. 80, baptism of Amos Lockwood, both on 22 April 1784.

33. No Amos besides Jeremiah’s son was enumerated in Fairfield County through 1810. See “U.S. Federal Census Collection,” *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/group/usfedcen>).

34. Fairfield Co., court file box 83, Knapp v. Lockwood (1804), for Writ of Attachment, 10 February 1804.

35. Elizabeth Lockwood Wellborn (Fort Worth, Tex.) to Mrs. Almira A. Bissell, letter, 28 January 1929; Lockwood Folder; Special Genealogical Files; CSL.

William Ferris Lockwood

Elizabeth Willborn had correctly named her grandfather—her father, Thomas Lockwood, born in Louisiana, was William’s son.³⁶ Contradicting Elizabeth’s belief that William was born in Connecticut, censuses show Virginia.³⁷ In 1850 “Wm F. Lockwood,” reportedly fifty-two, lived at Fort Brooke, Florida, in the household of Thomas Lockwood, twenty-five and born in Louisiana.³⁸ William’s probate record confirms Thomas was his child.³⁹

William, born reportedly in 1788, apparently was the elder Gilbert Lockwood’s grandson. William’s middle name was Ferris.⁴⁰ On 11 August 1770 Gilbert and “Mercy Lockwood late Mercy Ferris” and others, all of Greenwich, Connecticut, sold land formerly belonging to their “mother & grandmother Abigail Ferris.”⁴¹ If Mercy Ferris was William’s paternal grandmother, like his middle name suggests, his father was the Loyalist Amos Lockwood, Gilbert’s son. If so, William’s brother, Amos Brown Lockwood, was the Loyalist’s son Amos, baptized in 1784 at St. John’s Episcopal Church in Stamford.

Amos Brown Lockwood

In 1830 the only Lockwoods in Louisiana were William, in East Baton Rouge, and Amos (“Emus”), in West Baton Rouge. Amos’s age, in his forties, is consistent with the child Amos—son of Loyalist Amos and his wife Elizabeth—baptized at

36. For Elizabeth’s father, see “Texas, Death Certificates, 1903–1982,” *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=2272>) > Potter > 1941 > Jul-Sep > image 44, Tex., Standard Certificate of Death 38949 (1941), Elizabeth Lockwood Willborn. The informant was Elizabeth’s daughter “Mrs. R. A. Porter.” For the relationship, see “Aged Woman Dies in Local Hospital,” *Amarillo Daily News*, Amarillo, Tex., 1 September 1941, page 1, col. 6. For Thomas’s father, see St. Joseph’s Catholic Church (East Baton Rouge, La.), item SJBR-9, p. 152, Thomas Lockwood baptism, 24 October 1825; Diocese of Baton Rouge, Department of Archives.

37. 1880 U.S. census, Bastrop Co., Tex., population schedule, Election Precinct 14, enumeration district (ED) 11, p. 1, dwelling/family 5, Thomas Lockwood household; NARA microfilm T9, roll 1290. Also, 1900 U.S. census, Scurry Co., Tex., pop. sch., precinct 1, ED 134, sheet 5A, dwell./fam. 89, Thomas Lockwood household; NARA microfilm T623, roll 1668. The 1900 census says Thomas was born in September 1825.

38. 1850 U.S. census, Hillsborough Co., Fla., pop. sch., Tampa Bay Fort Brook, fol. 249v, dwell./fam.10, Thomas Lockwood household; NARA microfilm M432, roll 58.

39. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/005888295>), digital film 005888295, image 570, Thomas Lockwood and Harvey Lockwood, petition for letters of administration, 1 June 1853, in Hillsborough Co., Fla., probate packet 106, William F. Lockwood (1853).

40. Bureau of Land Management, “Land Patent Search,” *General Land Office Records* (<http://www.glorerecords.blm.gov/PatentSearch>), Florida, General Land Office, certificate 631 (1850) and certificate 636 (1852), William Ferris Lockwood (Manatee Co., Fla.). At the time, the land lay in Hillsborough County. Only one William Lockwood lived in Florida in 1850. See “1850 United States Federal Census,” *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=8054>).

41. Stamford, Conn., Register of Deeds H:296, Ferris and others to Palmer, 11 August 1770; Town Hall; CSL microfilm 4248.

Stamford in 1784.⁴² Mrs. M. Lockwood's heading an East Baton Rouge household in 1840 implies Amos had died in the 1830s.⁴³ In 1850 Mariah Lockwood, fifty-five and born in New York, lived there with her apparent children William, age twenty-seven; Louisa, twenty-three; Virginia, twenty-two; Gilbert, twenty; and Susan, eighteen.⁴⁴ Amos and "Mary" also had a son George Washington Lockwood.⁴⁵ Son Gilbert was named apparently for Amos Brown Lockwood's grandfather in Connecticut.

In 1880 two of Amos Brown Lockwood's sons lived in Louisiana.⁴⁶ William F. Lockwood, fifty-seven, with a father reportedly born in Connecticut and mother in New York, lived in East Feliciana Parish.⁴⁷ Gilbert Lockwood, forty-nine, with a father reportedly born in Virginia and mother in New York, lived in East Baton Rouge.⁴⁸ Gilbert's parents were "Emos Brown Lockwood" and "Maria Dubois," consistent with Elizabeth Willborn's information.⁴⁹

Confusing his sons about his birthplace, Amos Brown Lockwood, the loyalist's son, was baptized in Connecticut in 1784. He soon moved with his family to Virginia, like Elizabeth Willborn had suggested.

AMOS IN VIRGINIA

From 1787 through 1804 Amos Lockwood paid taxes in Northampton County, Virginia. See table 2. Those records, showing when young males in Amos's household turned sixteen, suggest he had several sons.⁵⁰ The one who appeared in 1800, born likely in 1783–84, could have been Amos and Elizabeth's son Amos baptized in Connecticut in 1784.

42. "1830 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=8058>). Also, 1830 U.S. census, East Baton Rouge, La., fol. 244, W^m Lockwood; and West Baton Rouge, La., fol. 270, Emus Lockwood; NARA microfilm M19, roll 43.

43. 1840 U.S. census, West Baton Rouge, La., fol. 4, Mrs. M. Lockwood; NARA microfilm M704, roll 129. Also, *Diocese of Baton Rouge Catholic Church Records* (Baton Rouge, La.: The Department of the Archives of the Diocese of Baton Rouge, 1978–2007), contains no record of Amos's burial. The author thanks Amy L. Jones, MLIS, Certified Archivist, who checked all parishes.

44. 1850 U.S. census, East Baton Rouge Parish, La., pop. sch., City of Baton Rouge, fol. 170r, dwell./fam. 286, Mariah Lockwood household; NARA microfilm M432, roll 229.

45. St. Joseph's Catholic Church, item SJBR-9, p. 7, no. 18, George Washington Lockwood, born on 11 March 1817 and baptized on 24 March 1822.

46. "1880 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=6742>), shows only one William Lockwood born around 1823 and one Gilbert Lockwood born around 1830 enumerated in Louisiana.

47. 1880 U.S. census, East Feliciana Parish, La., pop. sch., ward 7, ED 116, p. 4, dwell./fam. 31, W^m F. Lockwood household; NARA microfilm T9, roll 453.

48. 1880 U.S. census, East Baton Rouge Parish, La., pop. sch., Baton Rouge, ward 1, ED 103, pp. 78–79, dwell. 812, fam. 850, Gilbert Lockwood household; NARA microfilm T9, roll 452.

49. St. Joseph's Catholic Church, item SJBR-10, p. 221, Lockwood-Legendre marriage, 29 May 1854.

50. Virginia's 1790 and 1800 federal censuses and 1810 schedules for several counties, including Northampton, are missing. See Anne Bruner Eales and Robert M. Kvasnicka, *Genealogical Research in the National Archives of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: NARA, 2000), 40. Those losses impair establishing Amos's household composition and his and other household members' ages.

Table 2
**Amos Lockwood's Tax Assessments on
 Tithables between Ages Sixteen and Twenty-One**

TAX YEARS	NUMBER OF TITHABLES
1787–88	0
1789	1
1790–96	0
1797	1
1798	0
1799	1
1800–1802	2
1803	3
1804	2

Source: Virginia Auditor of Public Accounts, Personal Property Tax Lists, Northampton Co., Va., 1787, Littleton Upshur's Dist., alphabetical, p. 5, Amos Lockwood; and similarly 1788, Upshur's Dist., p. 6; 1789, Upshur's Dist., p. 7; 1790, Upshur's Dist., p. 6; 1791, Upshur's Dist., p. 6; 1792, Upper Dist., p. 6; 1793, William Snead's Dist., p. 7; 1794, Snead's Dist., p. 8; 1795, p. 14; 1796, p. 16; 1797, p. 14; 1798, p. 18; 1799, p. 12; 1800, p. 16; 1801, p. 16; 1802, p. 15; 1803, p. 16; 1804, p. 17; Personal Property Tax microfilm 254, Library of Virginia, Richmond. After 1794 the county was not divided into districts.

Amos witnessed wills in Northampton County on 12 January 1789 and 11 October 1801. His signatures on both documents resemble those of the Connecticut man and Loyalist. See figure 2.

Amos neither bought nor sold land in Northampton County.⁵¹ Court proceedings, however, mention him in 1789 and 1801.⁵² On 8 July 1794 Amos signed a bond in Northampton County to marry "Joice" Twiford.⁵³ In 1800, in adjoining Accomack County, Amos received payment for making a coffin—consistent with the Loyalist's occupation of carpenter.⁵⁴

51. Northampton Co., Va., Index to Deeds (1733–1917): Grantor A–L, pp. 531–52, and Grantee A–L (1733–1917), pp. 431–48; County Clerk; LVA Northampton Co. microfilms 24 and 25.

52. Northampton Co., Order Book 32:5–6, Hadlock v. Lockwood, 10 September 1789; County Court, Eastville, Va.; LVA Northampton Co. microfilm 52. Also, Northampton Co., Order Book 34:64–65, Panamore, executor of Powell v. Ward, 9 November 1801; LVA Northampton Co. microfilm 53. Amos was a witness for Ward's administrator.

53. Northampton Co., marriage bond, Lockwood-Twiford, 8 July 1794; Circuit Court. The author thanks clerk Traci L. Johnson for the image. Northampton Co., Marriage Bonds and Consents, 1706–1819; LVA Northampton Co. microfilm 102; does not include the Lockwood-Twiford marriage. Also, Northampton Co., Marriage Register, 1706–1853, alphabetically arranged; LVA Northampton Co. microfilm 62. None of those records has Amos's original signature.

54. Barry W. Miles and Moody K. Miles III, *Abstracts of the Wills and Administrations of Accomack County, Virginia 1800–1860* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage, 2000), 555, has only one reference to Amos Lockwood. See Accomack Co., Va., Wills & C, 1800–1804, p. 572, Thomas Vere estate account, payment to Amos Lockwood, [no day visible] November 1800; County Court, Accomack, Va.; LVA Accomack Co. microfilm 59.

In 1804 Amos had moved across Chesapeake Bay to Norfolk County, Virginia. On 29 October he and Edmond Twiford witnessed a will.⁵⁵ Twiford likely was Amos's in-law or stepson.

Amos Lockwood Sr. and Amos Lockwood (with no designation) first paid taxes in Norfolk County in 1805.⁵⁶ The younger Amos apparently was Amos Brown Lockwood, baptized in Connecticut in 1784. They appear also in 1806.⁵⁷ In 1807 and 1809, only one Amos paid taxes, suggesting the older Amos, born in Connecticut about 1757–58, had died.⁵⁸ Contrary to Elizabeth Willborn's belief, Amos left no property or estate in Norfolk County or adjoining Norfolk.⁵⁹

Samuel Lockwood first paid tax in Norfolk County in 1807.⁶⁰ Born likely in 1790,

55. Norfolk Co., Va., Will Book 4, fol. 78, will of Upshur Colloney, 29 October 1804; Courthouse, Portsmouth, Va.; LVA Norfolk Co. microfilm 49. The loose papers for Will Book 4 do not include Upshur's will. See Norfolk Co., Loose Wills, 1778–1845, index; LVA Norfolk Co. microfilm 48A.

56. Virginia Auditor of Public Accounts, Personal Property Tax Lists, Norfolk Co., 1805, Andrew Kidd's District, p. 18, Amos Lockwood Sr. and Amos Lockwood; LVA Personal Property Tax microfilm 249.

57. Ibid., 1806, p. 16.

58. Ibid., 1807, p. 18, Amos Lockwood; and 1809, p. 21, Amos Lockwood.

59. Norfolk Co., General Index to Deeds 2 (1742–1799) and 3 (1800–1836); County Court, Portsmouth, Va.; LVA Norfolk Co. microfilm 41. Also, Norfolk City, Va., Hustings & Corporation Court General Index to Deeds, 1 (1784–1807) and 2 (1808–1833); Hustings Court, Norfolk; LVA Norfolk City microfilm 16. Also, Norfolk Co., Will Book 3 (1788–1802) and 4 (1802–1817); County Court, Portsmouth; LVA Norfolk Co. microfilm 49. Also, Norfolk Co., Will Book 5 (1818–1836); LVA Norfolk Co. microfilm 50. Also, Norfolk Co., Loose Wills, 1778–1845, index. Also, Norfolk Co., Order Books 1801–1815 (gap from May 1812 to September 1814); LVA Norfolk Co. microfilms 59, 60, 248, and 280. Also, Norfolk Co., Minute Book 12 (1812–1814); LVA Norfolk Co. microfilm 66. Also, Sharon Rea Gable and Truitt M. Bonney, *Norfolk County, Virginia (Extant) Administrator Bonds 1711–1850* (Suffolk, Va.: privately published, 2008). Also, Sharon Rea Gable and Truitt M. Bonney, *Norfolk County, Virginia Guardian Bonds 1801–1850* (Suffolk, Va.: privately published, 2008). Also, Norfolk City, Order Books, 14–21 (1805–1817); LVA Norfolk City microfilms 32, 33, and 34. Also, Norfolk City, Hustings & Corporation Court, General Index to Wills 1 (1784–1928); LVA Norfolk City microfilm 23. Also, Norfolk City, Will Book 2 (1800–1810); LVA Norfolk City microfilm 19. Also, Kristina Steinlein DeLuise, *City of Norfolk Virginia, Will Book 3, 1810–1820* (Virginia Beach, Va.: privately published, 2015). Also, Kristina Steinlein DeLuise, *City of Norfolk Virginia, Will Book 4, 1820–1828* (Virginia Beach, Va.: privately published, 2015). Also, Kristina Steinlein DeLuise, *City of Norfolk Virginia, Will Book 5, 1828–1835* (Virginia Beach, Va.: privately published, 2015).

60. Virginia Auditor of Public Accounts, Personal Property Tax Lists, Norfolk Co., 1807, Kidd's District, p. 18, Samuel Lockwood.

61. 1850 U.S. census, Princess Anne Co., Va., pop. sch., fol. 204v, dwell. 642, fam. 653, Samuel Lockwood, age sixty; NARA microfilm M432, roll 971. Samuel's apparent age of 16–25 in 1820 is improbably young for an 1807 taxpayer. See 1820 U.S. census, Norfolk Co., Va., p. 30, Samuel Lockwood; NARA microfilm M33, roll 131. Later censuses are consistent with birth in 1790. See 1830 U.S. census, Princess Anne Co., Va., p. 278, Samuel Lockwood, age 30–39; NARA microfilm M19, roll 194. Also, 1840 U.S. census, Princess Anne Co., Va., fol. 190r, Samuel Lockwood, age 50–59; NARA microfilm M704, roll 574.

he was young.⁶¹ His age and surname suggest he was the senior Amos's son. His early appearance outside a paternal household is consistent with Amos's death in 1806–7.

CONCLUSION

In 1768 at Stamford, Connecticut, Amos Lockwood, son of Gilbert and Mercy (Ferris) Lockwood, was baptized at about age ten, as if an infant. Amos married Phebe Lockwood in Greenwich in 1778, and their daughter, Sarah, was baptized in 1780. In 1783 Amos, living in New York City, took out a loan. As the Revolutionary War ended, he joined a Loyalist association bound for Nova Scotia. He arrived there with a daughter Phebe and wife Elizabeth. In 1784 he returned to Stamford, where his wife Elizabeth and son Amos Brown Lockwood were baptized. Three years later Amos appeared in Northampton County, Virginia, where his sons Samuel and William Ferris Lockwood were born. The family moved to nearby Norfolk County around 1804–5, where the senior Amos died in 1806–7. Amos's death created no probate records. Creditor David Knapp had acquired Amos's inheritance from his parents. In 1811 his brother Gilbert, still in Connecticut, omitted Amos from his will, perhaps knowing Amos had died. The senior Gilbert Lockwood's Connecticut-born son had lived in New York, Nova Scotia, and Virginia. He had indeed "absconded to parts . . . unknown."

Details in records about Amos's neighbors and associates eventually allowed his parents to be identified. Data from records of a Canadian province and three American states shed light on his life. Information from other states and a passenger list in an English archive helped locate him. Amos's case illustrates that thorough genealogical research involves broad searching, attending to detail, noting context, and assembling disparate information.

A Delayed Evacuation

The Freeman's Journal or the North-American Intelligencer,
Philadelphia, Pa., 19 March 1783, page 3, col. 3.]

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in New-York, to his friend in Philadelphia, dated the 11th instant.

"The packet is not yet arrived. The fleet destined for port Roseway (Nova-Scotia) are, it is said, to take on board about 4000 troops of the new corps, &c. together with the refugee families, and is actually to sail before the 1st of April. Every body now speaks freely on the subject of evacuating this place, and many are preparing for this event. I do not think, however, the evacuation can possibly take place before the month of June."

Botetourt County, Virginia, Petitions for Exemption from Civil War Service

[Petitions for Exemption from Service, 1862, BC 1044257; Botetourt Co. court records, box 70; Records Center Annex, Library of Virginia, Richmond.]

Botetourt Co Va March 23 1862

Gentlemen of the boar[d] of Justice I here by write you a few lines to in form you of my situation. all of my sons and sonenlas are inservice but one and my husban is ded and left me alone with one small grand child and my sons wife and child₁

he inlisted and I have no one to make asurport for me if he is taken away frome me so I would be veary thankful to you if you would exyempt him for my surport₁ John S is my eldest son he belongs to Capt Stricklen com₁ please leave him for my comfort and you will oblidge me and I will be thankfull [sic] to you all₁

Elizabeth Perry, widow

To the Board of Exemption Botetourt Co April 17th 1862

Mr George Lemon, has a family of six children, not able yet, to render him much help, he is not able himself to und=ergo hard labor. The free boy he has hired Jordan Pierce is his only dependant to assist him in making a crop. We hope the Board will exem=pt him, on Mr Lemon's account₁

Wm E Walker

James Parcton

C M Reynolds

James River, March 6th 1862

Dear Sir,

I want you to do me a favor by getting John H Pullen off of the draft get him off honorably if it is in your power and they tell me you are one of the committee appointed to decide who shall go, Under the present circumstances I think he will be justifiable in getting off. Now Mr. Rudisell you know my condition at the present for better than I can tell you.

I have an unruly Negro that I cant [sic] manage if you take John Pullen I shall have to hire him out and then I will have no one. All my boys are gone now and my house burnt to the ground and no prospect of getting another if my overseer is taken away, I havent [sic] words to thank you for the kindness you have allready [sic] [page break] done me and if you save Pullen of a draft I never can find words to express my gatitute [sici] do the best you can for your friend, Mary J Pyle [illegible word]

Mr J G Rudisell

Think of the family of little children I To have to support and then say if This man ought to go₁

—*Transcriptions contributed by Leslie Anderson, MSLS*

Pity the Poor Pfuhl: The Bavarian Origin of Lorenz Full of Lake County, Indiana

By F. Warren Bittner, CG

*One of Lorenz's associates left a record seeming to specify his and
Lorenz's mutual origin, but the associate was not there. Or was he?*

Studying clusters of associates can help track migrations between states and across oceans. Frustration results, however, when following an immigrant's associate to a place of origin fails to find the immigrant's family. Lorenz Full's case addresses the opposite problem.¹ An associate's records suggest both families' origin. Baptismal records of that locality include candidates for Lorenz's family, but not the associate's. Does the associate's absence disprove Lorenz's origin?

NO CLUE IN CIVIL RECORDS

No comprehensive finding aids exist for records in German-speaking Europe. Successful research usually focuses on a village or town, sometimes identified from American records. Decennial censuses—showing the Fulls in Lake County, Indiana, from 1850 through 1880—give births about 1809 for Lorenz and 1812 for his wife, in Germany or, more specifically, Bavaria.² Nineteenth-century Bavaria encompassed

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1. Original records spell Lorenzo's surname Fall, Foll, Fool, Fuhl, Full, Pfuhl, Toll, Tull, Vall, Voll, and Vull. The most common German spelling is Full, pronounced similar to the English "Fool."

2. 1850 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., population schedule, Ross Twp., p. 288, dwelling/family 87, Lawrence Fall household; microfilm M432, roll 157, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Also, 1860 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., North Twp., p. 117, dwell. 807, fam. 813, Larens Foll household; NARA microfilm M653, roll 274. Also, 1870 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., North Twp., p. 11, dwell. 94, fam. 95, Lorenzo Full household; NARA microfilm M593, roll 333. Also, 1880 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., North Twp., enumeration district (ED) 66, p. 6, house no. 53 (no dwell./fam. no.), Lawrence Full household; NARA microfilm T9, roll 291.

more than forty-six thousand villages and towns.³ One of those communities could yield information about Lorenz's pre-American history, but which one?

Lorenz Full, identified as son of Lorenz and Margaretha, married in 1848 at the Catholic church in St. John, Lake County. Lorenz and his bride, Barbara Schmidt, lived at Turkey Creek, a Catholic settlement.⁴ The civil marriage license, spelling Lorenz's surname three ways on one page, names no parent.⁵

In 1854 Lorenz bought land in northern Lake County that lies today in the city of Hammond.⁶ By April 1855 the family had settled there.⁷ The next year Lorenz reported entering the country at Buffalo, New York, on 2 August 1847, renounced allegiance to the "King of Bavaria," and became an American citizen.⁸ Otherwise, he and Barbara avoided the courthouse and city hall.⁹ No lists of border crossings or immigrant arrivals at Buffalo or Canadian ports survive to document Lorenz's arrival or birthplace.¹⁰

3. Hiltrud Wuttke and Petra Suess, *Gazetteer of Localities and Parishes of Bavaria, Germany*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Family History Library, 1992).

4. St. John the Evangelist Catholic Church (St. John, Ind.), records 1, chronologically arranged, Full-Schmitt marriage, 26 February 1848; Catholic Diocese of Gary, Ind.; microfilm 1,887,607, item 1, Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City. For the narrative, the author has modified Latin names from church records, but citations give original spellings. In this case, the record says "Laurentium Full filium Laurentii et Margaretæ Full . . . ambo ex loco Turkey Creek" [Lorenz Full son of Lorenz and Margaretha Full . . . both residing at Turkey Creek]. The Turkey Creek settlement, near present-day Turkey Creek Golf Course in Merrillville, Ind., does not appear in censuses and nineteenth-century Lake County, Ind., histories. Catholics resided there from 1845 through at least the 1890s. See Charles Blanchard, ed., *History of the Catholic Church in Indiana*, 2 vols. (Logansport, Ind.: A. W. Bowen, 1898) 1:459–60.

5. Lake Co., Ind., Marriage Records A:184, Foley-Schmidt, 26 February 1848; Circuit Court, Crown Point, Ind. At the top of the license the surnames are "Folel" and "Schmit," at the center of the page "Folee" and "Schmit," and at the bottom "Toll" and "Schmitt."

6. Ind., Swamp Lands, vol. 9 West, "Book 23: Swamp Land Patents of the County of Lake 4," no. 3603, Letters Patent to "Lawrence Toll," 17 January 1854; Indiana State Archives (ISA), Indianapolis. Also, *ibid.*, vol. 10 West, no. 4076, Letters Patent to "Lawrence Foll," 20 January 1854.

7. When Lorenz's daughter was baptized, the family lived in Calumet (today's Hammond), Ind. See St. John the Baptist Catholic Church [since about 1874 The Church of the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul] (Turkey Creek [now part of Merrillville], Ind.), baptisms, unpaginated, Catharina Full, 15 April 1855; Catholic Diocese of Gary; FHL microfilm 1,887,610, item 5. The volume's first twenty pages or so, until 1858, are neither paginated nor chronological.

8. Lake Co., Naturalization Records 2:89, Lorenz Full, 13 October 1856; Circuit Court.

9. Lorenz and Barbara are not listed in Lake Co., Civil File Index; County Court, Crown Point. Also, Lake Co., Court of Common Pleas Index, 1853–1871 (the only available early volume); Lake County Historical Society, Crown Point. Also, Martha Daugherty Latko and Marlene Polster, *Abstract and Index to Lake County, Indiana, Circuit Court Docket Book: Jan. 2 1884–June 12, 1888* (Valparaiso, Ind.: Northwest Indiana Genealogical Society, 2008).

10. For "Before April 1908, people were able to move freely across the border from the United States into Canada; no record of immigration exists for those individuals," see "Border Entries," *Library and Archives Canada* (<https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/immigration/immigration-records/Pages/border-entries.aspx>).

Barbara died on 28 June 1890 in Hammond.¹¹ Lorenz died on 19 January 1893 and is buried next to Barbara.¹² His burial record, indicating birth on 29 September 1809, gives no birthplace.¹³ Today the deteriorating tombstone, nearly unreadable in 1996, has no hint of an inscription.¹⁴ Surviving Lake County newspapers from the 1890s have no obituary for Barbara or Lorenz.¹⁵ His will and probate packet give no information about his origin.¹⁶

Civil records name Lorenz's birthplace only as Bavaria. At least one of his associates, however, could have come from the same place and left specific information about it. Lorenz's Catholic marriage, community, and burial suggest Catholic records would identify his associates.

ASSOCIATES IN CATHOLIC RECORDS

Lorenz lived in Turkey Creek in 1848, when he and Barbara married. Two years later St. John the Baptist Catholic Church opened there. Its third baptism, on 6 May 1850, initiated Lorenz and Barbara's son into the Catholic community.¹⁷ In 1851 Lorenz donated two dollars to the church.¹⁸

Roman Catholic immigrants typically chose close friends, neighbors, and relatives for their children's godparents. Reciprocal choices reflect social networks, sometimes predating immigration. Some of Lorenz's children's godparents, and parents of Lorenz's godchildren, likely came from his Bavarian birthplace. At least one might have identified that place for a record extant today. Lorenz's children had six godparents of record:

- Matthias Elbert
- Margarita Hegner, wife of Franz Geib
- Joseph Hümpher, son of Franz Hümpher

11. St. Joseph Catholic Church (Hammond), Funeral Register F:6, Barbara Full, 28 June 1890; Catholic Diocese of Gary; FHL microfilm 1,887,906, item 9. Also, St. Joseph Cemetery (Hammond), Full marker, block B, lot 29, south half; author's photograph, 2016. Also, St. John–St. Joseph Cemetery (Hammond), sexton records, Barbara Full, service 28571, St Joseph, block B, lot 29, south half; sexton's office.

12. St. Joseph Catholic Church (Hammond), Funeral Register F:10, Laurance Full, 19 January 1893. The record gives his birth date as "29 Sept 1809." Also, St. Joseph Cemetery, Full marker, block B, lot 29, south half. Also, St. John–St. Joseph Cemetery, sexton records, "Lawrance" Full, service 28572, St Joseph, block B, lot 29, south half.

13. St. Joseph Catholic Church (Hammond), Funeral Register F:10, Laurance Full, 19 January 1893.

14. *St. Joseph Cemetery, 1551–167th Street, Hammond, IN, North Township, Lake County, IN, Row by Row, Alphabetical Index (Married / Maiden Names)* (Valparaiso, Ind: Northwest Indiana Genealogical Society, 1996), 4, gives Lorenz's name as "Torraz Full."

15. *Weekly Crown Point Register*, Crown Point, Ind., and *Lake County Star*, Crown Point; microfilm, Public Library, Hammond.

16. Lake Co., probate box 26, will box 5, case 643, Lawrence Full (1893); microfilm C–E–14, "Case 608–676," Probate Office, Crown Point.

17. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, unpaginated, Matthius Full, 6 May 1850.

18. *Ibid.*, list of contributions, 1851.

- Catharina Albert, daughter of Frederick Albert
- Joseph Albert, son of Michael Albert
- Anna Maria Rick, daughter of George Rick and wife of Michael Albert¹⁹

Lorenz and Barbara's infant son, Matthias, became godfather for a son of sponsor Matthias Elbert:

- Mathias Elbert, son of Mathias Elbert, 12 August 1850²⁰

Lorenz, Barbara, or both, sponsored five children of their own children's baptismal sponsors:

- Peter Geib, son of Francis Geib and Margaret Hegner, 20 October 1848²¹
- "Margaritha Himpfer," daughter of Joseph "Himpfer" and Catharina Albert, 25 April 1860²²
- George Humpfer, son of Joseph Humpfer and Catharina Albert, 1 November 1867²³
- Henry Humpfer, son of Joseph Humpfer and Catharina Albert, 8 September 1871²⁴
- Lawrence Albert, son of Frederick Albert, 19 August 1858²⁵

Lorenz was godfather of two children, including one named Lorenz, whose mother's surname was Full:

- Lorenz Knörzer, son of Leonhard Knörzer and Margaretha Full, 19 October 1851²⁶
- Margaretha Knörzer, daughter of Leonhard Knörzer and Margaretha Full, 17 April 1860²⁷

The priest identified godfather Lorenz Full's parents as Lorenz Full and Elisabeth Henlein.²⁸ Lorenz's marriage record to Barbara Schmidt says they were Lorenz Full and Margaretha (no surname). Do those records refer to two men with the same name and different mothers?

19. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, unpaginated, Matthias Full, 6 May 1850; Catharina Full, 15 April 1855; and Josephus Full, 24 May 1857.

20. Ibid., Mathias Elbert, 12 August 1850. Matthias Full was a godfather when only six months old. Infant godparents are unusual in Catholic baptisms. The priest apparently made an exception for a namesake.

21. St. John the Evangelist Catholic Church, records 1:7, no. 50, Petrus Geib baptism, 20 October 1848.

22. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, chronologically arranged, Margaritha Himpfer, 25 April 1859.

23. St. Joseph Catholic Church (Dyer, Ind.), p. 9, entry 19, Georgius Humpfer, baptism, 1 November 1867; Catholic Diocese of Gary; FHL microfilm 1,887,612.

24. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, chronologically arranged, Henry Humpfer, 8 September 1871.

25. Ibid., Laurentius Albert, 19 August 1858.

26. Ibid., Laurentius Knoezer, 19 October 1851.

27. Ibid., Margaretha Knoezer, 17 April 1860.

28. Ibid., Laurentius Knoezer, 19 October 1851.

SIX ASSOCIATED FAMILIES

Baptismal records identify five families—Knörzer, Elbert, Geib, Albert, and Hümpher —associated with Lorenz. A sixth, the family of Lorenz's wife, Barbara Schmidt, also might share his origin.

Knörzer Family

Margaretha Full, Johann Leonhard Knörzer's wife, was born in 1814–15, about five years after Lorenz.²⁹ She died at Calumet (today's Hammond), Indiana, on 17 April 1860.³⁰

Lorenz Full and Johann Leonhard Knörzer owned abutting land.³¹ Their families appear a page or two apart in censuses. Both men were born in Bavaria.³² Lake County sources do not mention Knörzer's origin, just as they do not specify Lorenz's birthplace.

Schmidt Family

The Bavarian birthplace and parents of Lorenz's wife, Barbara Schmidt, are unknown. Schmidts lived near the Fulls in Indiana.³³ With one exception, no evidence suggests Lake County Schmidts were Bavarian or associates of Barbara and Lorenz.

One of them, Nicholas Smith, could have been Barbara's brother. Enumerated three dwellings after the Fulls in 1850, he was fifty with a Germanic birthplace, comparable to Barbara's age of thirty-five and birthplace.³⁴ Jacob Smith, one of Lorenz's creditors, could have been Nicholas's youngest son.³⁵ Nicholas and his

29. 1850 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., North Twp., p. 314, dwell./fam. 7, Leonhard Knoerzer household.

30. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, burials, chronologically arranged, Margaretha Knoerzer, 19 April 1860.

31. Ind., Swamp Lands, vol. 9 West, "Book 23: Swamp Land Patents of the County of Lake, 4," Letters Patent to "Lawrence Toll, 17 January 1854. Also, Martha Daugherty Latko, *Compilation of Early Land Sales and Purchases, Including Lake County Canal, Swamp, Winamac and First Federal Patents* (Valparaiso, Ind.: Northwest Indiana Genealogical Society, 2006), 173 and 360.

32. 1850 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., North Twp., p. 288, dwell./fam. 87, Lawrence Fall household; and p. 314, dwell./fam. 7, Leonhard Knoerzer household. Also, 1860 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., North Twp., p. 115, dwell. 794, fam. 800, John L. Knoltzer household; and p. 117, dwell. 807, fam. 813, Larens Foll household. Also, 1870 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., North Twp., p. 10, dwell. 87, fam. 88, John L. Knoertzer household; and p. 11, dwell. 94, fam. 95, Lorenzo Full household. Also, 1880 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., ED 66, p. 6, house no. 53 (no dwell./fam. no.), Lawrence Full household; and p. 7, house 7 (no dwell./fam. no.), Leonhard Knoertzer household.

33. See, for example, 1850 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., Ross Twp., p. 289, dwell./fam. 95, Matthias Schmit household.

34. Ibid., dwell./fam. 90, Nicholas Smith household.

35. Lake Co., probate box 26, will box 5, case 643, Lawrence Full (1893), for Henry Backmann, "Final Account Current," 5 June 1894. For Jacob living with Nicholas, see 1850 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., Ross Twp., p. 289, dwell./fam. 90, Nicholas Smith household.

wife attended the Catholic church at Turkey Creek. His parents were Johannes Schmit and Elisabetha Kühn.³⁶ Perhaps they were Barbara's as well.

Lake County records do not specify Nicholas's birthplace. In 1854, within a few years of settling there, he sold his land and moved away.³⁷

Elbert Family

The household of Matthew Elbert as enumerated just before the Full household in 1850.³⁸ Matthew's father also was Matthew/Mathias.³⁹ Father and son Mathias Elbert, seventy-three and twenty-eight, arrived with other relatives at Baltimore on 7 November 1840, reportedly from "Osterkapel."⁴⁰ The place, as written, is unknown, but Osterkappeln lay in the Kingdom of Hanover, which became part of Prussia in 1866.⁴¹ In 1860 the son's birthplace was Prussia.⁴² Besides not sharing Loren's Bavarian origin, the families lived at opposite ends of Lake County after 1854.⁴³

Geib Family

Francis Geib, who immigrated in September 1841, was Lorenz's first associate to arrive in Lake County.⁴⁴ He bought land there on 1 December 1843.⁴⁵ In 1850 he was enumerated just after Lorenz's household.⁴⁶ In 1870 someone gave his birthplace as Prussia.⁴⁷ No evidence suggests Francis came from Bavaria.⁴⁸

36. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, unpaginated, Nicolaus Schmit, 8 February 1852.

37. Lake Co., Deed Book K:532–33, Schmidt to W&E Canal, 2 April 1855; Recorder, Crown Point.

38. 1850 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., Ross Twp., p. 288, dwell./fam. 86, Matthew Elbert household.

39. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, unpaginated, Matthaius Full, 6 May 1850, for "Patrini fuerunt Matthaues Elbet, filius Matthaei." [Godparents were Matthias Elbet, son of Matthias.]

40. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/007066712>), digital film 007066712, image 124, port of Baltimore, Md., arrival on 7 November 1840, SS *Johannes*, manifest, Elbert party; from NARA microfilm M255, roll 3.

41. Christopher Clark, *Iron Kingdom: The Rise and Downfall of Prussia, 1600–1917* (New York: Penguin, 2007), 542–43.

42. 1860 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., Ross Twp., p. 7, dwell./fam. 49, Mathias Elwert household.

43. Latko, *Compilation of Early Land Sales*, 177.

44. "U.S. Naturalization Record Indexes, 1791–1992 (Indexed in World Archives Project)," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=1629>) > Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Iowa > Soundex Index to Naturalization Petitions for the United States District and Circuit Courts, Northe... > F-652 Fred through G-100 Fritz August > image 6278, card for Francis Geib, naturalized at Crown Point, Ind., 2 August 1847; from NARA microfilm M1285, roll 60.

45. Latko, *Compilation of Early Land Sales*, 177.

46. 1850 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., Ross Twp., p. 288, dwell./fam. 88, Francis Geib.

47. 1870 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., Ross Twp., p. 23, dwell. 157, fam. 160, Francis Geib.

48. Undocumented online information says Francis was born in the Palatinate and his father was Franz Anton Geib, born there, at Bellheim, in 1795. See "Massoth-Berg Family Tree" by "Maryhart184," *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/1127466/person/24653982524/facts>), for Francis Geib, 1816–1871. That father does not match St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, unpaginated, Fransisca Schillo, 30 March 1855, where the godfather is "Fransiscus Geib filius Nicolai" [Francis Geib son of Nicholas]. Bellheim, in the Palatinate, was never in Prussia.

Albert Family

Lorenz Full and Frederick Albert associated with each other for at least twenty-five years. Both filed naturalization papers the same day. Frederick had entered the United States at Buffalo on 3 August 1847, one day after Lorenz, suggesting they were fellow travelers.⁴⁹ In 1860 Frederick was enumerated eight houses after Lorenz.⁵⁰ In 1870 seventeen dwellings separated them.⁵¹ They had known each other since their arrival at Buffalo, if not before.

For two periods, 1858–59 and 1867–68, Turkey Creek baptismal records noted German birthplaces for parents and some godparents. One says the Albert family came from Unteroberndorf, Bavaria.⁵² Church records of that little village, in the former Prince-Bishopric of Bamberg, document several generations of the Albert family but do not mention Fulls or Barbara Schmidt.⁵³

Hümpher Family

A Hümpher baptismal record in 1858 indicates the father, Joseph, was from “Wulfertshausen,” Bavaria.⁵⁴ Although Bavaria has no place of that exact name, four Bavarian towns are possibilities for Joseph’s origin:⁵⁵

- Wiffertshausen, near Augsburg, Upper Bavaria district
- Wulfertshausen, village in Singenbach community, Upper Bavaria district
- Wülfershausen an der Saale, Lower Franconia district
- Wülfershausen bei Arnstein, Lower Franconia district

The first three towns’ Catholic baptismal records mention no Full or Hümpher.⁵⁶ The fourth town has no Hümpher surname in its Catholic baptismal, marriage, and

49. Lake Co., Naturalization Records 2:89, Frederick Albert, 13 October 1856.

50. 1860 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., North Twp., p. 116, dwell. 799, fam. 805, Fredric Albert household; and p. 117, dwell. 807, fam. 813, Larens Foll household.

51. 1870 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., North Twp., p. 14, dwell. 111, fam. 112, Frederick Albert household.

52. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, unpaginated, Laurentius Albert, 19 August 1855.

53. St. Leonhard Katholische Kirche (Breitengüßbach, Bavaria), records, 1790–1850, author’s line-by-line reading; Archiv des Erzbistums Bamberg [archive of the Archdiocese of Bamberg], Bamberg, Germany.

54. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, chronologically arranged, Fredericus Himpher, 22 October 1858.

55. Wuttke and Suess, *Gazetteer of Localities and Parishes of Bavaria*. Also, Roger P. Minert, *Bavaria Place Name Indexes: Identifying Place Names Using Alphabetical and Reverse Alphabetical Indexes* (Provo, Utah: GRT, 2006). Also, Erich Uetrecht, *Meyers Orts- und Verkehrs-Lexikon des Deutschen Reichs: auf Grund amtlicher Unterlagen von Reichs-, Landes- und Gemeindebehörden* [Meyer’s place and transportation gazetteer of the German Empire: on the basis of official documents of national, state, and local authorities] (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1912–13). The author eliminated Wolfertshausen, an “outlying farm” of Oberempfenbach in the Lower Bavaria district, because it was too small to be given as a place of origin.

56. The author read each town’s Catholic baptismal records for 1784–1845.

death records.⁵⁷ They do, however, show baptisms of Lorenz Full and Elisabetha Henlein's children:

- i. Elisabeth Full, 8 July 1805⁵⁸
- ii. Michael Full, 25 January 1807⁵⁹
- iii. Lorenz Full, 8 March 1809⁶⁰
- iv. Margaretha Full, 9 April 1811⁶¹
- v. Margaretha Full, 6 November 1814⁶²

COMPARING THE EVIDENCE

Lorenz Full and Elisabetha Henlein's third child, born in 1809, could be Lorenz Full, the baptismal sponsor in Lake County in 1851. Six parallels support the hypothesis:⁶³

- The Bavarian child born in 1809 and the Indiana baptismal sponsor were named Lorenz Full.
- The 1809 child is the only Lorenz Full born in Wülfershausen between 1790 and 1830. An Indiana record gives a similar birthplace of an associate of Lorenz Full.
- Like the child born in Wülfershausen in 1809, the Lake County baptismal sponsor had a father named Lorenz Full.
- Both had a mother named Elisabeth Henlein.
- Their ages are similar.
- A sister of Lorenz born in 1809 could have been Margaretha Full, mother of Johann Leonhard Knörzer's children baptized in Lake County between 1851 and 1860.

That corroboration suggests that Lorenz Full baptized in Wülfershausen settled in Lake County, where he married Barbara Schmidt and raised a family. Conflicting evidence, however, precludes a conclusion.⁶⁴ Some evidence suggests Lorenz Full born in Wülfershausen and Lorenz Full who settled in Lake County were two men:

57. The author read every Wülfershausen baptismal, marriage, and death record line by line from 1780 through 1860, without finding any occurrence of the Humpfer surname.

58. Sankt Kilian Katholische Kirche (Filiale der Pfarrei Burghausen) [St. Kilian Catholic Church (part of Burghausen Parish)] (Wülfershausen, Bavaria, Germany), Kirchenbuch [church record], Band [volume] A2, baptisms, p. 75, Elizabeth Full, 9 July 1805; Archiv und Bibliothek des Bistums Würzburg [archive and library of the diocese of Würzburg], Würzburg, Germany.

59. Ibid., pp. 170–71, Michael Full, 25 January 1807.

60. Ibid., p. 180, Lorenz Full, 8 March 1809. A different hand wrote *Michael* above *Lorenz*. Someone looking for the baptism of Lorenz's brother Michael mistakenly assumed Lorenz's record was Michael's and changed the entry.

61. Ibid., p. 187, no. 47, Margaretha Full, 9 April 1811.

62. Ibid., p. 205, no. 57, Margaretha Full, 6 November 1814.

63. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, unpaginated, Laurentius Knoezer, 19 October 1851.

64. Genealogical proof requires, among other criteria, resolving conflicting evidence. See "The Genealogical Proof Standard," in Board for Certification of Genealogists, *Genealogy Standards* (Nashville, Tenn.: Ancestry.com, 2014), 1–3; also 27–28, for standard 48, "Resolving evidence inconsistencies," and standard 49, "Unresolved evidence inconsistencies."

- The Lake County Lorenz's marriage record names Margaretha (no surname) as his mother, but the mother of the child born in Wülfershausen was Elisabeth Henlein.⁶⁵
- Lorenz's birth in Wülfershausen on 8 March 1809 occurred six months before 29 September 1809, the birth date recorded in Lake County on Lorenz Full's burial record.⁶⁶
- Lorenz in Lake County associated with Joseph Hümpher, whose origin—mentioned in Lake County—was Wülfershausen. Because Joseph's surname appears in no baptismal, marriage, or burial record in Wülfershausen, that origin seems erroneous. Wülfershausen church records could coincidentally name another Lorenz Full.

That evidence addresses the error of conflating two men of the same name. Such pitfalls arise often, especially in places like Germanic Europe, where names unusual in America can be common and unrelated people with the same names interacted.⁶⁷

REVISITING “REASONABLY EXHAUSTIVE RESEARCH”

Unresolved conflicting evidence calls for reviewing findings and identifying untapped sources. Research cannot be “reasonably exhaustive” when it leaves significant conflicts unresolved.⁶⁸ In this case, repeated line-by-line readings of Wülfershausen's Catholic baptismal, marriage, and burial records had yielded no

65. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, unpaginated, Laurentius Knoezer, 19 October 1851.

66. Sankt Kilian Katholische Kirche, Band A2, baptisms, p. 180, Lorenz Full, 8 March 1809. For birth on 29 September 1809, see St. Joseph Catholic Church (Hammond), Funeral Register F:10, Laurance Full, 19 January 1893.

67. For one example, see St. Margarethen-Kirche (Lehrberg, Middle Franconia, Bavaria), marriage of Johann Leonhard Büttner (son of Johann) to Maria Barbara Körber (daughter of Johann), 10 February 1873; parish office. Also, St. Laurentius-Kirche (Flachslanden, Middle Franconia), marriage of Johann Leonhard Büttner (son of Johann) to Maria Barbara Körber (daughter of Johann), 2 November 1856; parish office. The towns are five miles apart. Thorough research has shown no relationship between either Büttner family or either Körber family. Fritz Bähre and Dorothee Helene Bähre conceived an illegitimate child in 1854. See See Evangelisch-Lutherische Marien-Petri Kirchen Wennigsen, Lower Saxony), 1853–1872, p. 20, no. 62, Heinrich Freidrich Bähre, 2 November 1854; Landeskirchliches Archiv Hannover [central church archive of Hanover], Hannover, Germany. The parents' paternal lines, traced to the 1600s, are unrelated. The earliest recorded ancestor for Fritz Bähre is Claus Jürgen Bähre. See Evangelisch-Lutherische Margarethenkirche (Gehrden, Lower Saxony), volume 1689–1759, p. 226, Behren-Graben marriage, 1 December 1698; Landeskirchliches Archiv Hannover. The earliest recorded ancestor for Dorothee Helene Bähre is Hans Bähre, born before 1699. See Evangelisch-Lutherische Marien-Petri Kirchen, church book 1713–1788, baptisms, p. 37, Johann Heinrich Bähre, son of Hans Bähre and Catharine Elisabeth Schasse, 29 March 1720.

68. Besides resolving conflicting evidence and other criteria, genealogical proof requires “reasonably exhaustive research.” See “The Genealogical Proof Standard,” in Board for Certification of Genealogists, *Genealogy Standards*, 1–3; also, pp. 14–15, for standard 17, “Extent [of research],” and standard 18, “Terminating the plan.”

Hümpfers. That research, however, had bypassed less accessible confirmation records.⁶⁹

Joseph Hümpfer was confirmed in Wülfershausen in 1838. Besides naming him, the record points to his birthplace and links him to Lorenz Full:

[In translation] Joseph Hümpfner, son of Franz Hümpfner and Dorothea Schneider of Wipfeld, who now has taken residence in Wülfershausen. His confirmation witness is Lorenz Full, the son of Lorenz Full.⁷⁰

Joseph Hümpfer, son of Franz, was godfather of Catharina, daughter of Lorenz and Barbara Full in Lake County in 1855.⁷¹ In 1836, when Joseph was ten, Franz married his third wife, Lorenz Full's sister Margaretha, at Wipfeld, fifteen miles from Wülfershausen:

[In translation] Married on the 16 August 1836 were Franz Hümpfner, a farmer, a widower of Elisabetha Caesar, son of Georg Hümpfner and Magaretha Müller, born on the 19 October 1796 in Forst [and] Margaretha Full, daughter of the farmer Lorenz Full and Elisabetha Hähnlein, single, born 9 April 1811. Witness is barrel maker Schneider of Wipfeld.⁷²

As a result of that marriage, the elder Lorenz Full, Margaretha's father, became Joseph Hümpfer's stepgrandfather. The younger Lorenz Full, Margaretha's brother, became Joseph's stepuncle.

Shortly after their marriage, the newlyweds moved to Wülfershausen, Margaretha's home town. Joseph Hümpfer, Franz's son from a previous marriage, accompanied them. Indiana church records accurately list Wülfershausen as his origin. Joseph lived in Wülfershausen for most of his teen years. He was not born there, but he was from there.

Wülfershausen's confirmation records yielded the information necessary to resolve evidence conflicts. They helped establish that one Lorenz Full settled in Lake County, where he married Barbara Schmidt and raised a family:

- Elisabetha Henlein's son married Barbara Schmidt. The marriage record showing that Lorenz's mother was Margaretha reflects a recording error. Lorenz was born in Wülfershausen, where he associated with Joseph Humpfer. Joseph, who was confirmed there, became Lorenz's stepnephew. In Indiana, Joseph was the baptismal sponsor for one of Lorenz and Barbara's children. They and their son

69. At the time, the confirmations, on separate fiche from the baptisms, were in the archives vault.

70. Sankt Kilian Katholische Kirche, Band A2, confirmations, chronologically arranged, Joseph Hümpfner, 3 May 1838.

71. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, unpaginated, Catharina Full, 15 April 1855.

72. Sankt Johannes der Täufer [St. John the Baptist] Katholische Kirche (Wipfeld, Lower Franconia, Bavaria), marriages, chronologically arranged, Huempfer-Full, 16 August 1836; Archiv und Bibliothek des Bistums Würzburg.

became godparents for three of Joseph's children. Wülfershausen records identify no Lorenz Full with wife Margaretha.

- Lorenz's Wülfershausen baptismal record, giving his birth date as 8 March 1809, is correct. Created soon after his birth, it provides information from the event's eyewitnesses and participants in the event. The birth date in his burial record, 29 September 1809, is wrong. Written eighty-nine years after the birth, it gives unreliable birth information from an unknown person.
- Incomplete research seemed to indicate Joseph Humpfer's absence from Wülfershausen's Catholic records. Extending the research revealed his presence and numerous associations with Lorenz Full, not just in Indiana but also in Wülfershausen. The presence and multiple associations cannot be merely coincidental.

CONCLUSION

One Lorenz Full, born in Wülfershausen, Bavaria, left records in Lake County, Indiana. Lorenz's origin is proved by reasonably thorough research, evidence analysis, resolution of conflicts, documentation, and written explanation.⁷³ Tracing friends and associates is consistently successful for identifying difficult-to-find origins of immigrants, whether they came in the sixteenth century or the twenty-first.

GENEALOGICAL SUMMARY

1. **Johann Lorenz^{a-1} Full** (Johann Georg^A, Johannes^B, Johannes^C, Johannes^D), son of Johann Georg Full and Maria Dorothea Seübert, was born on 25 April 1783 in Wülfershausen bei Arnstein.⁷⁴ Lorenz married there on 7 February 1804, **Elisabetha Hehnlein**, daughter of Johannes Georg Hehnlein and Maria Elisabetha Weth.⁷⁵ Elisabetha, born there on 19 October 1772, confirmed in 1782, and died there on 14 September 1846.⁷⁶

Lorenz and Elisabetha named their last two children, born about three years apart, Margaretha. The girls lived together until their early teens, creating birth, confirmation, death, and other records of their name. The occurrence is unusual.

In 1847 Lorenz, with his second son and youngest daughter, left Wülfershausen, in Lower Franconia, for America.⁷⁷ The children settled in Indiana by 1850.⁷⁸

73. The sentence restates the five criteria for genealogical proof. See "The Genealogical Proof Standard," in Board for Certification of Genealogists, *Genealogy Standards*, 1–3.

74. Sankt Kilian Katholische Kirche, Band A2, p.106, Johannes Laurentius Full baptism, 25 April 1783. Also, *ibid.*, Band A1, p. 204, Jo'es Georgius Full baptism, 16 May 1735. Also, *ibid.*, Band A1, p. 84, Joannes Full baptism, 27 December 1661. Also, *ibid.*, p. 129, Joannes Full baptism, 29 January 1688.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 56, Full-Henleinin marriage, 7 February 1804.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 75, Elisabetha Hehnlein baptism, 19 October 1772; and confirmations, chronologically arranged, Elisabeth Hehnlein, 1782. Also, *ibid.*, p. 96, Elisabeth Full death, 14 September 1846.

77. *Intelligenzblatt Unterfranken* [Lower Franconia intelligence sheet], 1847, 90:1203–94 and 1270; and 97:1310b.

78. 1850 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., Ross Twp., p. 288, dwell./fam. 87, Lawrence Fall household; and North Twp., p. 314, dwell./fam. 7, Leonard Knoerzer household.

The father, who died apparently en route, is numbered here as the family's first-generation immigrant.

Johann Lorenz and Elisabetha had five children born in Wülfershausen:

- 2 i. ELIZABETH^b FULL, born on 8 July 1805; died on 10 February 1808, in Wülfershausen.⁷⁹
- 3 ii. MICHAEL^b FULL, born on 25 January 1807; confirmed there on 23 April 1822.⁸⁰
- + 4 iii. LORENZ^{b-2} FULL, born on 8 March 1809;⁸¹ died on 19 January 1893, at Hammond, Indiana;⁸² married on 26 February 1848, at St. John, Indiana, Barbara Schmidt.⁸³
- + 5 iv. MARGARETHA^{b-2} FULL, born on 9 April 1811;⁸⁴ died on 9 July 1854, at Chicago, Illinois;⁸⁵ married (1), on 16 August 1836, at Wipfeld, Lower Franconia, Franz Hümpfner, and (2), on 2 July 1849, at Chicago, Nicolaus Krämer.⁸⁶
- + 6 v. MARGARETHA^{b-2} FULL (again), born on 6 November 1814;⁸⁷ died on 17 April 1860, at Calumet, Indiana;⁸⁸ married about 1848, Johann Leonhart Knörzer.⁸⁹

Generation Two

4. **Lorenz^{b-2} Full** (Johann Lorenz^{a-1}, Johann Georg^A, Johannes^B, Johannes^C, Johannes^D), born on 8 March 1809 in Wülfershausen and confirmed there 23 April 1822, died on 19 January 1893 at Hammond, Indiana.⁹⁰ Lorenz married on 26 February 1848 at St. John, Indiana, **Barbara Schmidt**.⁹¹ Barbara was born at

79. Sankt Kilian Katholische Kirche, Band A2, baptisms, pp. 160–61, Elizabeth Fullin, 8 July 1805; and deaths, p. 96, Elizabeth Full, 10 February 1808.

80. Ibid., pp. 170–71, baptisms, Michael Full, 25 January 1807; and, confirmations, chronologically arranged, Michael Full, 23 April 1822.

81. Sankt Kilian Katholische Kirche, Band A2, baptisms, p. 180, Lorenz Full, 8 March 1809.

82. St. Joseph Catholic Church (Hammond), Funeral Register F:10, Laurance Full, 19 January 1893.

83. St. John the Evangelist Catholic Church, records 1, chronologically arranged, Full-Schmitt marriage, 26 February 1848.

84. Sankt Kilian Katholische Kirche, Band A2, baptisms, p. 187, no. 47, Margaretha Fullin, 9 April 1811.

85. St. Peter Catholic Church (Chicago), deaths, 1847–1860, p. 376, no. 41, Margaretha Kremer, 10 July 1854; FHL microfilm 1,704,695, item 7.

86. Sankt Johannes der Täufer Katholische Kirche, marriages, chronologically arranged, Huempfer-Full, 16 August 1836. Also, St. Peter Catholic Church, marriages, 1847–1857, p. 263, no. 21, Krämer-Full, 2 July 1849; FHL microfilm 1,704,695, item 7.

87. Sankt Kilian Katholische Kirche, Band A2, baptisms, p. 205, Margaretha Fullin, 6 November 1814.

88. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, burials, chronologically arranged, Margaretha Knoerzer, 19 April 1860.

89. Estimated from 1850 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., North Twp., p. 314, dwell./fam. 7, Leonhard Knoerzer household.

90. Sankt Kilian Katholische Kirche, Band A2, baptisms, p. 180, Lorenz Full, 8 March 1809; and confirmations, p. 217, Lorenz Full, 23 April 1822. Also, St. Joseph Catholic Church (Hammond), Funeral Register F:10, Laurance Full, 19 January 1893.

91. St. John the Evangelist Catholic Church, records 1, chronologically arranged, Full-Schmitt marriage, 26 February 1848.

1813–14 in Bavaria.⁹² She died of “old age” on 28 June 1890 at Hammond.⁹³

Before their marriage Lorenz, Barbara, or both apparently had either two daughters or one recorded under two names:

- 12 i. GERTRUDE^{c3} FULL or SCHMIDT, born, say in 1832, in Bavaria (because she seems absent from Lorenz’s 1850 household and later); living in 1893, when Lorenz bequeathed one-hundred dollars to “my daughter Gertrude Ross and her heirs”; married [—?—] Ross.⁹⁴
- 13 ii. CAROLINA^{c3} FULL, born in 1835–36 in Bavaria; living in Lorenz and Barbara’s household in 1850.⁹⁵

Lorenz and Barbara had four children:

- 14 iii. MATTHIAS³ FULL, born on 20 February 1850, at Turkey Creek, Indiana;⁹⁶ died on 25 September 1916, at Dundee, Illinois;⁹⁷ married (1) on 2 October 1873, at Hobart, Indiana, Pauline Bach; (2), on 6 January 1885, at Napierville, Illinois, Caroline Lang.⁹⁸
- 15 iv. LEONARD FULL, born on 10 July 1851, in Lottaville (now part of Merrillville), Indiana;⁹⁹ died on 17 March 1915, at Hammond;¹⁰⁰ unmarried.

92. 1860 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., North Twp., p. 117, dwell. 807, fam. 813, Larens Foll household.

93. St. Joseph Catholic Church (Hammond), Funeral Register F:6, Barbara Full, 28 June 1890. Also, St. John–St. Joseph Cemetery, sexton records, Barbara Full, service 28571, St. Joseph, block B, lot 29, south half.

94. Lake Co., probate file 26, will box 5, case 643, Lawrence Full (1893).

95. 1850 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., Ross Twp., p. 288, dwell./fam. 87, Lawrence Fall household.

96. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, unpaginated, Matthias Full, 6 February 1850.

97. Ill., death certificate 17,119 (1916), M. M. Fuller; Illinois State Archives, Springfield; FHL microfilm 1,531,029.

98. Lake Co., Marriage Records C:414, Fuhl-Bach, 2 October 1873. Also, DuPage Co., Ill., Marriage Licenses 1:84, no. 1100, Full-Lang, 6 January 1885; County Clerk, Wheaton., Ill.

99. Leonard’s baptism, now not in the baptismal register, could have been recorded. Lacunae in the volume leave gaps, early pages are bound out of order, and a page of 1851–52 baptisms is missing. For his birth date, see St. Joseph Cemetery, Leonard Full marker, section south, S13; author’s photograph, 2016. For his birthplace, see Robert Kite, transcription of “Leonhard Full Passes Away,” *Lake County Times*, Hammond, 18 March 1915, page 2, col. 4; in “Fuhl Genealogy, May 1979, Trip to Ind.,” research notebook; author’s files. Leonhard appears with Lorenz and Barbara Full in 1860 and 1870 as the second child. See 1860 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., North Twp., p. 855, dwell. 807, fam. 813, Larens Foll household. Also, 1870 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., North Twp., p. 11, dwell. 94, fam. 95, Lorenzo Full household.

100. Lake Co., Death Records CH-4:51, certificate 15-52, Leonard Full (1915); City Health Office Hammond. Also, St. John–St. Joseph Cemetery, sexton records, Leonard Full, service 18829, St. Joseph, section S, block AA2, grave 98.

- 16 v. CATHERINE FULL, born on 5 January 1855, at Calumet, Indiana;¹⁰¹ died on 2 October 1903, at Hobart;¹⁰² married there (1), on 8 January 1873, Anton Stocker; and (2), on 9 June 1891, Patrick D. O'Boyle.¹⁰³
- 17 vi. JOSEPH GEORGE FULL, born 13 January 1857, Calumet;¹⁰⁴ died 28 November 1916, Chicago;¹⁰⁵ married (1), 1 October 1885, Chicago, Carrie Overhew; (2), 24 November 1889, Chicago, Mrs. Mary (Weber) Zoller.¹⁰⁶

5. **Margaretha^{b-2} Full** (Johann Lorenz^{a-1}, Johann Georg^a, Johannes^B, Johannes^C, Johannes^D), born on 9 April 1811 in Wülfershausen and confirmed there 22 May 1823; died on 9 July 1854 at Chicago.¹⁰⁷ She married (1), on 16 August 1836, in Wipfeld, Lower Franconia, **Franz Hümpher**, the twice-widowed son of Johann Georg Hümpher and Maria Margarethe Schmich (or Schneider).¹⁰⁸ Franz died about 1848.¹⁰⁹ Margaretha married (2), on 2 July 1849, at Chicago, **Nicolaus Krämer**, born in 1804–5 in the Duchy of Holstein, son of Simon Krämer.¹¹⁰

101. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, unpaginated, Catharina Full, 15 April 1855.

102. "Indiana, Death Certificates, 1899–2011," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=60716>) > 1903 > 06 > image 1813, Ind., Certificate of Death 205 (1903), Catherine O'Boyle.

103. Lake Co., Marriage Records C:368, Stocker-Full license, 6 January 1873. Also, Lake Co., Marriage Record E:561, O'Boyle-Stocker, 9 June 1891.

104. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, unpaginated, Josephus Full, 24 May 1857.

105. Ill., death certificate 32,789 (1916), Joseph G. Full; FHL microfilm 1,852,310.

106. Cook Co., marriage license no. 95,693, Full-Overhew, 1 October 1885; FHL microfilm 1,030,149. Also, Cook Co., marriage license no. 146,700, Full-Weber, 24 November 1889; FHL microfilm 1,030,186.

107. Sankt Kilian Katholische Kirche, Band A2, baptisms, p. 187, no. 47, Margaretha Full, 9 April 1811; and confirmations, p. 219, Margaretha Full, 22 May 1823. Also, St. Peter Catholic Church, deaths, 1847–1860, p. 376, no. 41, Margaretha Kremer, 10 July 1854.

108. Sankt Johannes der Täufer Katholische Kirche, marriages, chronologically arranged, Huempfer-Full, 16 August 1836. Also, Sankt Georg Katholische Kirche (Schonungen, Lower Franconia, Bavaria), Band A3, baptisms, p. 82, Franciscus Himpfer, 19 Oct 1796; Archiv und Bibliothek des Bistums Würzburg. For Franz's prior marriages, see Sankt Johannes der Täufer Katholische Kirche, marriages, chronologically arranged, Hümpher-Casar, 13 February 1827, for "Married on the 13 Feb 1827 were the widower Franz Huempfer, son of Georg Huempfer, (his first wife was Dorothea Schneider), he was born in Forst on the 19 October 1796 and Elisabeth CASAR," transcribed and translated by Marion Wolfert. For Elisabeth's death, see *ibid.*, deaths, Elisabeth Hümpher, 7 February 1836.

109. Franz Humpher purchased land on 9 August 1847. See Latko, *Compilation of Early Land Sales*, 406. He died by 2 July 1849, when his widow remarried. See St. Peter Catholic Church, marriages, 1847–1857, p. 263, no. 21, Krämer-Full, 2 July 1849.

110. St. Peter Catholic Church, marriages, 1847–1857, p. 263, no. 21, Krämer-Full, 2 July 1849. For Nicholas's birth data, see 1860 U.S. census, Cook Co., Ill., pop. sch., Chicago, ward 10, p. 332, dwell. 2980, fam. 2881, Nick Cramer household; NARA microfilm M653, roll 168. For his father, see St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, unpaginated, Nicolaus Knotzer, 26 June 1853, which gives Margaretha Full and Nicolaus Kramer (with his father's name) as godparents and the sister Margaretha Full as the mother. For another mention of Nicolaus, see *ibid.*, Nicolaus Adler, 27 November 1853.

Margaretha and Franz immigrated to America in the early 1840s. They settled below the southern tip of Lake Michigan, on the Indiana side of the Indiana-Illinois border. Franz bought federal land there in 1847.¹¹¹

Margaretha had no children with either husband. She helped rear each man's two children brought into the marriage.¹¹² Before Margaretha's first marriage, when getting permission to marry in Bavaria was difficult, she and an unknown man conceived twins:¹¹³

- 18 i. [—?—]^c FULL, son, stillborn on 24 November 1835, in Wülfershausen.¹¹⁴
- 19 ii. [—?—] FULL, son, born and died on 24 November 1835, in Wülfershausen.¹¹⁵

6. **Margaretha^{b-2} Full** (Johann Lorenz^{a-1}, Johann Georg^A, Johannes^B, Johannes^C, Johannes^D), born on 6 November 1814 in Wülfershausen and confirmed there 27 April 1826; died on 17 April 1860 at Calumet, Indiana, the day her last child was born.¹¹⁶ Margaretha married about 1848, **Johann Leonhart Knörzer**.¹¹⁷ Born on 28 February 1811 in Bavaria, Leonhart died on 16 April 1892 at Hammond, Indiana.¹¹⁸

Leonhart and Margaretha had five children:

- 20 i. LAWRENCE³ KNÖRZER, born on 11 October 1851, at Turkey Creek (now part of Merrillville), Indiana;¹¹⁹ died or disappeared 1860–70.¹²⁰
- 22 ii. NICOLAUS KNÖRZER, born on 7 June 1853, at Turkey Creek;¹²¹ died 1853–60.¹²²

111. Latko, *Compilation of Early Land Sales*, 406, land purchased 9 August 1847.

112. For the Hümpfner children, see St. Peter Catholic Church, marriages, p. 263, no. 21, Schott-Hemfer, 3 July 1849, and Hempher-Hait, 29 August 1849. For the apparent Krämer children, see 1850 U.S. census, Cook Co., Ill., pop. sch., Chicago, ward 1, fol. 156r, dwell. 458, fam. 459, Nick Cramer household; NARA microfilm M432, roll 102.

113. For Bavaria's restrictive marriage policies, see Warren F. Bittner, "Without Land, Occupation, Rights, or Marriage Privilege," *NGS Quarterly* 100 (September 2012): 165–87.

114. Sankt Kilian Katholische Kirche, Band A2, deaths, p. 154, Margaretha Full's twin sons, 24 November 1835.

115. Ibid.

116. Sankt Kilian Katholische Kirche, Band A2, baptisms, p. 205, no. 57, Margaretha Full, 6 November 1814. Also, Sankt Kilian Katholische Kirche, Band A2, confirmations, p. 222, Margaretha Full, 27 April 1826. Also, St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, burials, chronologically arranged, Margaretha Knoerzer, 17 April 1860.

117. Estimated from 1850 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., North Twp., p. 314, dwell./fam. 7, Leonhard Knoerzer household.

118. St. Joseph Catholic Church (Hammond), Funeral Register F:8, John L. Knoerzer, 16 April 1892. Also, St. John–St. Joseph Cemetery, sexton records, Johann Knoerzer, service 24446, St. Joseph, block D, Lot 55 4, space 6.

119. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, unpaginated, Laurentius Knoerzer, 19 October 1851.

120. For his absence from the family, see 1870 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., North Twp., p. 10, John L. Knoerzer household.

121. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, unpaginated, Nicolaus Knoerzer, 26 June 1853.

122. For Nicolas's absence from the household at age seven, see 1860 U.S. census, Lake Co., Ind., pop. sch., p. 115, dwell. 794, fam. 800, John L. Knoltzer household.

- 23 iii. THOMAS KNÖRZER, born on 13 February 1855, at Calumet;¹²³ died on 9 February 1946, at Hammond;¹²⁴ married, on 4 October 1901, at Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, Magdalena Baltes.¹²⁵
- 24 iv. JOSEPH KNÖRZER, born on 8 April 1857, at Turkey Creek;¹²⁶ died on 29 November 1914, at Hammond;¹²⁷ married, on 10 November 1887, at Lake County, Indiana, Katie Baltes.¹²⁸
- 25 v. MARGARETHA KNÖRZER, born on 17 April 1860, at Calumet; died there on 20 April 1860.¹²⁹

123. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, unpaginated, Thomas Knoetzer, 15 April 1855.

124. "Dead at 91, City's Oldest Native Dies," *Hammond Times*, Hammond, Ind., 10 February 1946, page 1, col. 7.

125. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/004266235>), digital film 004266235, image 348, Luzerne Co., Pa., Marriage License Docket 24:282, no. 30457, Knoerzer-Baltes, 10 April 1901.

126. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, unpaginated, Josephus Kneser, 24 May 1857.

127. "Death of J. Knoerzer," *Lake County Times*, 30 November 1914, page 2, cols. 4–5.

128. Lake Co., Marriage Record E:191, Knoerzer-Baltes, 10 November 1887.

129. St. John the Baptist Catholic Church, baptisms, chronologically arranged, 17 April 1860; and burials, chronologically arranged, 20 April 1860; both for Margaretha Knoerzer,

Power of Attorney to his Wife

Know all men by these presants that I Joseph Renshall of Charles Citty County Planter doe hereby Constitute and appointe my Loveing wife Sarah to be My true and Lawfull Atturney for me & in my name to act & doe in All Causes whatsoever aganst or for me in Charles Citty County Court Hereby ratifying & Confirming the same as if I were personally present As Wittness my hand this 1st day of November 1699

Test

D Clarke

Joseph IR Renshall
his marke

Source: Library of Virginia, *Making History: Transcribe* (<http://www.virginiamemory.com/transcribe/scripto/transcribe/1014/3373> : accessed 31 March 2018), image of Charles City Co., Order Book, 1694–1700, p. 449. This record comes from a portion of a book taken from the Charles City courthouse during the Civil War. A Pennsylvania family returned it to the Library of Virginia in 2016, where it was reunited with a portion of the book returned decades earlier.

—Contributed by Nicki Birch, CG

Fannie Fern Crandall and Her Three-Timing Darling Husband

By Harold A. Henderson, CG

A Civil War pension file's "bit players" reveal half-siblings and deceptions.

Sources illuminate forgotten lives, one question at a time. One piece of evidence can answer several questions. Knit together, those answers tell an inevitably incomplete but plausible story. In Fannie Fern Crandall's case, the story also was surprising.

Charles Welcome Crandall and Frances Letitia Denison married on 2 May 1855 in Brookfield, Madison County, New York. Their two children, Fannie Fern Crandall and Harriet "Hattie" Heloise Crandall, were born in Walworth County, Wisconsin.¹ Hattie's life is well documented. She married a Seventh Day Baptist minister, had four daughters, and died in 1910 at forty-six.² Fannie lived until 1955, but her life was a puzzle.

WHO WAS FANNIE?

Easily found but conflicting bits of information identify Fannie:

- A Crandall genealogy calls her "Fanney T. [who] . . . m[arried] Mr. Brown, r[esidence] Washington, D.C."³
- Her father's hometown obituary—perhaps also the Crandall genealogy's source—names her "Mrs. Fanny P. Brown of Washington, D.C."⁴

© Harold A. Henderson, CG; 1355 West Springville Road; La Porte, IN 46350; librarytraveler@gmail.com. Mr. Henderson is a researcher and writer working primarily in the Midwest and its northeastern feeder states. Fannie Fern (Crandall) Darling has no living descendants; the author's wife descends from Fannie's sister. The author thanks Patty McIntyre, Geoff Gentilini, Hilary Derby, Barry Kline, and anonymous reviewers for research assistance. Referenced websites were viewed on 1 February 2018.

1. Charles W. Crandall, dependents circular, 4 June 1898, in Ella A. Crandall, widow's pension file XC 922,737, service of Charles W. Crandall (Co. D, 22nd Wis. Inf., Civil War); Dept. of Veteran's Affairs, St. Louis, Mo. For a childless New York-born couple, age twenty-five, that could have been Charles and Frances, see 1860 U.S. census, Otsego Co., N.Y., population schedule, Burlington, p. 393, dwelling/family 165, Charles Crandell household; microfilm M653, roll 840, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). For identical biographical sketches of Charles, see *History of Walworth County, Wisconsin* (Chicago: Western Historical, 1882), 765 and 800.

2. For documentation of Hattie's life, see Harold Henderson, "A Stitch in Time: Female Descendants of Polly Holmes (1805–1839) of Madison County," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 148 (July 2017): 173–90, at 183.

3. John Cortland Crandall, *Elder John Crandall of Rhode Island and His Descendants* (1949; reprint, Salem, Mass.: Higginson, 1984), 496.

4. "Local Matters," *Brookfield Courier*, Brookfield, N.Y., 1 February 1905, page 3, col. 3.

- Her death notice, calling her “Fanny F. Darling,” identifies her as aunt of two of Hattie’s daughters, “Frances L. Burdick and Mrs. John C. Bergin of New Mexico.”⁵

On 5 July 1887 Fannie Fern Crandall’s father, Charles W. Crandall, a disabled Civil War veteran, requested a pension increase in a Wheeling, West Virginia, court. “Fannie F. Darling” attested to his identity.⁶ Two years later on 24 June 1889, in Brookfield, New York, she again witnessed Charles’s signature.⁷ She was his daughter:

- In 1898 Charles, who had married Frances Letitia Dennison, said his daughter “Fannie F. Crandall” was born on 20 May 1864.⁸ Fannie Fern Darling’s father was a Crandall, her mother a Denison, and her birth date 20 May 1864.⁹
- In spring 1886 in Chicago, Fannie F. Crandall signed an affidavit describing Charles’s disability. Her signature resembles Fannie F. Darling’s of July 1887 and June 1889.¹⁰
- On 14 January 1891 newspaper readers in Brookfield learned that “Mrs. Fannie Darling has secured a situation in a pension agency in Washington [D.C.] and leaves for there this week. Chas. Crandall and family will also remove to Washington soon. They have resided in this village for two or three years past.”¹¹ For six of the seven years after the move, Fannie F. Darling and Charles W. Crandall lived at the same addresses in the nation’s capital, likely with wife and mother Frances Letitia (Denison) Crandall, who died in D.C. on 15 February 1899.¹²

WHO WAS MR. DARLING?

City directories in 1916, 1918, 1919, and 1920 name Fannie as Frank I. Darling’s widow.¹³ Frank Ira Darling was an agent, attorney, and special examiner for the

5. For Fannie Darling’s death notice and funeral announcement, identifying her as “late of 1425 North Columbus Ave,” see *Los Angeles Times*, 14 April 1955, sec. 1, page 36, col. 3. For the relationship, see Henderson, “A Stitch in Time,” 173–90, at 183–84.

6. Charles W. Crandall, Application for Increase of Pension, 5 July 1887, in Ella A. Crandall, widow’s pension file XC 922,737.

7. Charles W. Crandall, Declaration for Increase of an Invalid Pension, 24 June 1889, in Ella A. Crandall, widow’s pension file XC 922,737.

8. Charles W. Crandall, dependents circular, 4 June 1898, in Ella A. Crandall, widow’s pension file XC 922,737.

9. *Los Angeles Times*, 14 April 1955, sec. 1, page 36, col. 3.

10. Fannie F. Crandall, General Affidavit, undated but received at the pension office on 20 May 1886; and Charles W. Crandall, applications, 5 July 1887 and 24 June 1889; all in Ella A. Crandall, widow’s pension file XC 922,737.

11. “Local Affairs . . . In Brief,” *Brookfield Courier*, 14 January 1891, page 3, col. 3.

12. Washington, D.C., certified copy of death certificate 123,621 (1899), Mrs. Frances L. Crandall; in Ella A. Crandall, widow’s pension file XC 922,737. In all but one year from 1892 to 1898 Fannie and her father appear in Washington, D.C., directories. See *Boyd’s Directory of the District of Columbia* (Washington, D.C.: William H. Boyd, 1892), 334 (Crandall) and 348 (Darling); and similarly: (1893), 330 and 343; (1894), 344 (Crandall only, Darling absent); (1895), 327 and 340; (1896), 325 and 339; (1897), 325 (“Crandell”) and 338; and (1898), 335 (“Crandell”) and 349.

13. *Ibid.* (1916), 366; (1918), 383; (1919), 475; and (1920), 508.

federal pension bureau.¹⁴ Whether or not he married Fannie, he fathered her child:¹⁵

- Fannie's daughter, Flora, used the Darling surname until her marriage.¹⁶
- Flora's full name—Flora Iris Darling—echoes Frank Ira Darling's name.¹⁷
- Like Flora's father, Frank was born in Michigan.¹⁸
- In 1884 in Chicago, Fannie's father, Charles W. Crandall, lived at 714 West Van Buren. Frank lived at 709.¹⁹
- Frank and Charles were attorney and client. In the mid-1880s Frank worked at 84 Metropolitan Block in Chicago.²⁰ The handwriting in Charles's 4 January 1886 letter to the Commissioner of Pensions appears to be Frank's. Below the signature is the notation "per D," suggesting that Frank Darling had signed Charles's name. The return address is 84 Metropolitan Block.²¹ In 1889, while living in Brookfield, Charles, using a form that F. I. Darling of Grand Rapids, Michigan, had preprinted, named Darling as his agent.²²

14. For "attorney," see U.S., House of Representatives, *Irregular Practices of Certain Attorneys: Letter from the Secretary of The Interior, Transmitting, in Response to a Resolution of the House of Representatives, Copies of Orders, Correspondence, & C., Relating to the Irregular Practices on the Part of Attorneys Practicing before the Pension Office*, executive documents series, 48th Congress, 1st session, no. 172 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1884), 1277–78, Frank J. [I.] Darling, affidavit, 30 October 1882, exhibit 3 in case of Milo B. Stevens. For "examiner," see *Grand Rapids City Directory: 1889* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: R. L. Polk, 1889), 290.

15. Incomplete databases show no marriage for Frank and Fannie. See "Birth, Marriage, and Death," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/category.aspx?cat=34>) and "Search Historical Records," *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search>), searches for Darl*, Cran*, and Frank Darling nationally and in Michigan (*Ancestry* only) and Ohio. Also, "Search Marriage Records," *West Virginia Division of Culture and History* (www.wvculture.org/vrr/va_mcsearch.aspx). Also, "Pennsylvania, Marriage Registers, 1885–1889," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=2489>).

16. 1910 U.S. census, Washington, D.C., pop. sch., enumeration district (ED) 12, sheet 14A, dwell. 200, fam. 283, Henry Mullen household; NARA microfilm T624, roll 149. Also, *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia* (1912), 491; and similarly: (1913), 505; (1914), 382; and (1915), 377.

17. For Flora's full name, see *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/004259077>), digital film 004259077, image 289, District of Columbia, marriage records 195:222, no. 75,222, Frey-Darling application, license, and return, 4 September 1916. Flora's groom was physician John P. Frey (1885–1970), not the labor union activist (1871–1957) of the same name.

18. For Flora's father's birthplace, see 1920 U.S. census, Washington, D.C., pop. sch., ED 271, sheet 11A, dwell. 99, fam. 215, John P. Frey household; NARA microfilm T625, roll 212. Also, 1930 U.S. census, Los Angeles Co., Calif., pop. sch., Glendale, ED 19-964, sheet 3B, dwell. 123 [77]/fam. 124 [77], John P. Frey household; NARA microfilm T626, roll 127. For Frank, see 1860 U.S. census, Ingham Co., Mich., pop. sch., Mason Village, p. 165, dwell. 1280, fam. 1266, Ira O. Darling household; NARA microfilm M653, roll 545. Also, *Official Register of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887), 1:529.

19. *Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago* (Chicago: Chicago Directory Co., 1884), 350 and 372.

20. *Ibid.*, 372; and similarly: (1885), 383; and (1886), 404.

21. Charles W. Crandall, letter to Commissioner of Pensions, 4 January 1886, in Ella A. Crandall, widow's pension file XC 922,737.

22. Charles W. Crandall, Declaration for Increase of Pension, 29 July 1889, in Ella A. Crandall, widow's pension file XC 922,737.

- In 1948 Flora's husband, with whom Fannie had lived for some thirty years, named Fannie and Frank as Flora's parents.²³

FRANK IRA DARLING, TRAVELING MAN

Frank spent his adult life helping Civil War veterans and their survivors deal with the pension bureau—working for the bureau or as an independent claims agent for clients. That work allowed him exceptional mobility. Between 1876 and 1897 he moved frequently, living in Mason, Michigan; Cleveland, Ohio; Chicago, Illinois; Washington, D.C.; Grand Rapids, Michigan; and Ann Arbor, Michigan.²⁴ He lived in Buffalo, New York, for a year in 1894–95.²⁵

Frank's work with veterans and their families often took him from home, wherever it was.²⁶ The job required personality and salesmanship to gain trust, but not so much as to overwhelm. While employed as a special examiner for the Pension Bureau, Frank died in Reading, Pennsylvania, on 31 December 1897.²⁷

Frank had put his personality to other uses. Two women claiming to be Frank's wife met the train transporting his body back to Michigan for burial. Each brought children to prove it: one had three offspring, and the other, a generation younger, had two. Their public mortification suited the conventions of Victorian melodrama, generating headlines like "His Double Life" and "Two Wives Weep for Darling."²⁸

23. Los Angeles Co., Calif., death cert. 9214 (1948), Flora Darling Frey; Registrar-Recorder/County Clerk, Los Angeles Calif.

24. "Harry Jerome Darling" in Charles Moore, ed., *History of Michigan* (Chicago: Lewis, 1915), 3:1276–78 at 1277. Harry likely was the sketch's informant.

25. "Frank J. [sic] Darling," *Buffalo Enquirer*, Buffalo, N.Y., 4 January 1898, page 1, col. 1.

26. For instance, local newspapers announced Frank's visits during six months in 1882 to meet veterans at ten destinations: Midland, Mich. (14–15 April); Plymouth, Mich. (28–29 April); Corunna, Mich. (26–27 June); Pontiac, Mich. (30 June–1 July); Auburn, Ind. (17–18 July); Woodstock, Ill. (14–15 August); Ottawa, Ill. (30–31 August); Bloomington, Ill. (9–10 October); Decatur, Ill. (13–14 October); and Charleston, Ill. (18–19 October). See, under various headlines (usually "Soldiers, Attention!"), *Isabella County Enterprise*, Mount Pleasant, Mich., 5 April 1882, page 1, col. 5; *Milford Times*, Milford, Mich., 22 April 1882, page 2, col. 3, and 17 June 1882, page 2, col. 2; *Times*, Owosso, Mich., 9 June 1882, page 5, col. 2; *Waterloo Press*, Waterloo, Ind., 6 July 1882, page 5, col. 4; *Marengo Republican*, Marengo, Ill., 28 July 1882, page 4, col. 4; *Ottawa Free Trader*, Ottawa, Ill., 5 Aug. 1882, page 1, col. 2; *Bloomington Daily Pantagraph*, Bloomington, Ill., 6 October 1882, page 3, col. 3; *Morning Review*, Decatur, Ill., 25 September 1882, page 1, col. 3; and *Mattoon Gazette*, Mattoon, Ill., 29 September 1882, page 5, col. 4.

27. *Reading Times*, Reading, Pa., 1 January 1898, page 4, col. 2. Also, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/004209102>), digital film 004209102, images 1431–32, "Return of Deaths in the County of Kent [Michigan] for the Year Ending December 31, A.D. 1897," no. 6717, Frank I. Darling, 31 December 1897. The body's arrival in Michigan could have triggered the registration. For Frank's living in Reading in 1897, see *Directory of Reading* (Reading, Pa.: W. H. Boyd, 1897), 198.

28. "His Double Life," *Grand Rapids Herald*, 7 January 1898, page 5, col. 1. Also, *Find A Grave* (<https://www.findagrave.com/>), memorial 38,040,618, digital image, 9 January 2013, by Connie West Stewart of clipping from *Ingham County News*, Mason, Mich., 6 January 1898; and digital image, 2 January 2013, by Jim Agar of clipping, "Two Wives Weep for Darling," *Grand Rapids Press*, 6 January 1898, page 1.

Both women were daughter's of Frank's clients.²⁹ Within days Frank's mother died of peritonitis and "mental shock."³⁰ Her son's death and the ensuing disclosures contributed to her death.³¹ Fannie does not appear in the accounts. What did Fannie know and when did she know it?

HOW IT HAPPENED

On 8 February 1864 Fannie's father, Charles W. Crandall, with another soldier was carrying a two-hundred-pound meat tray. "While passing into the door of the barracks his comrade stumbled and fell pushing him [Charles] backwards on to a wood pile with the loaded tray on top of him, injuring the spine and spinal nerves near the left shoulder blade."³² Hospitalized and rated half disabled, he was discharged with a disability certificate on 19 October 1864.³³ On 20 October 1879, while living in Walworth County, Wisconsin, Charles applied for a pension, which he received, with retroactive payments, in July 1881.³⁴

Charles seemingly recovered. In Milwaukee on 9 May 1883 he applied for an increased pension. Doctors found no disability. "He claims paralysis of the whole left side to such an extent as to require aid in dressing & undressing. But the most careful & extensive measurements of arm & leg fail to show even the most trifling difference in the sizes of the two sides." When a second examination, in September, found nothing, a doctor secretly followed Charles down the street. "He walked as well with left leg as the right and put his left hand in pocket with perfect ease. The disability does not exist."³⁵

29. For one client, see Henry J. Haight, Declaration for an Original Invalid Pension, 29 July 1889, in Henry J. Haight (service of Henry J. Haight, 24th Mich. Inf., Civil War), pension no. S.C. 479,960; Case Files of Approved Pension Applications . . . , 1861–1934; Civil War and Later Pension Files; Record Group (RG) 0 15: Department of Veterans Affairs; National Archives (NA), Washington, D.C. For Henry's daughter, see Frank Munsell, ed., "Darling, Harry Jerome," *American Ancestry*, vol. 11 (1898; reprint, Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Publishing 1968), 75–76 at 75. Frank's son Harry Jerome Darling was its likely informant. For the other client, see "U.S., Civil War Pension Index: General Index to Pension Files, 1861–1934," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=4654>) > Truman, Geo. W.–Tullar, John F. > image 1426, card for Franklin Tubbs, application 1,028,282, 8 June 1891; from NARA microfilm T288, roll 480. For Franklin's daughter, see 1900 U.S. census, Kent Co., Mich., pop. sch., Grand Rapids, ward 6, ED 70, sheet 18B, dwell. 331, fam. 369, Frank L. Tubbs household; NARA microfilm T623, roll 722.

30. "Death Records, 1897–1920," *Seeking Michigan* (<http://seekingmichigan.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p129401coll7/id/947724/rec/1>), Mich., Certificate and Record of Death 299 (1898), Cordelia Rice.

31. *Jackson Citizen*, Jackson, Mich., 14 January 1898, page 4, col. 1.

32. Charles W. Crandall, declaration for invalid pension, 20 October 1879, in Ella A. Crandall, widow's pension file XC 922,737.

33. Army of the U.S., Certificate of Disability for Discharge, Charles W. Crandall, 19 October 1864, in Ella A. Crandall, widow's pension file XC 922,737.

34. Charles W. Crandall, declaration for pension, 20 October 1879, in Ella A. Crandall, widow's pension file XC 922,737. For the approval and retroactive payments, see "Original Invalid Pension."

35. Examining Surgeon's Certificates, Charles W. Crandall, 9 May and 5 September 1883, in Ella A. Crandall, widow's pension file XC 922,737. The underlining appears in the original.

Charles lost his pension and moved his family to Chicago. With a partner, he ran a grocery store.³⁶ He also worked as a painter.³⁷

With fateful consequences Charles met a seasoned, confident young pension attorney, his neighbor Frank Ira Darling—"one of the most efficient men in the service."³⁸ In late 1885 Charles left for Florida, hoping "to regain his health in that mild climate."³⁹ On 30 June 1886, writing from St. Andrew Bay, he appealed to the Pension Bureau's boss, the Secretary of the Interior, to reinstate his pension.⁴⁰

When her parents went south, "Miss Fannie F. Crandall," twenty-two, remained in Chicago, on her own for the first time. She wrote a detailed and impassioned account of her father's sufferings, concluding, "I have no pecuniary interest in this case and am only concerned except that I am the claimant's daughter and desire my father to regain the pension I believe has been unjustly taken from him."⁴¹ F. I. Darling's covering affidavit says, "I am personally well acquainted with affiant and know her to be a lady of the strictest integrity and one who could not be influenced to tell an untruth much less to take a false oath."⁴² At the time Fannie was a clerk at 82 Metropolitan Block, next to Frank's office, at number 84.⁴³

Some months later, in December 1886, Fannie conceived Flora Iris Darling, Frank's third child with his wife Clara was five months old.⁴⁴

The pension bureau restored Charles's pension on 28 March 1887.⁴⁵ His family soon reunited in Wheeling, West Virginia. There on 5 July 1887 Charles's daughter, as Fannie F. Darling, witnessed Charles's signature on a request for a pension increase.

36. "The Courts: A Firm of Retail Grocers Object to Being Closed Out," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 17 Jan. 1883, page 15, col. 3.

37. *Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago* (1884), 350.

38. Ibid., 372. Quotation from "Intolerable Hypocrisy [*sic*]," *Grand Rapids Weekly Leader*, Grand Rapids, Mich., 10 July 1889, page 3, col. 7. The item's author objected to Frank's dismissal from a patronage post, suggesting the tribute is overblown.

39. Fannie F. Crandall, General Affidavit, received at Pension Bureau on 20 May 1886, in Ella A. Crandall, widow's pension file XC 922,737.

40. Charles W. Crandall to Secretary of the Interior, letter, 30 June 1886, in Ella A. Crandall, widow's pension file XC 922,737.

41. For the quotation and "Prior to December 1885 I lived with my parents," see Fannie F. Crandall, General Affidavit, probably 3 April 1886, in Ella A. Crandall, widow's pension file XC 922,737.

42. F. I. Darling, supplementary affidavit, 3 April (1886), in Ella A. Crandall, widow's pension file XC 922,737.

43. *Lakeside Directory of Chicago* (1886), 372 (Frank's office) and 380 (Fannie's office).

44. "Search Birth Records," *West Virginia Culture and History* (http://www.wvculture.org/vrr/va_bcdetail.aspx?Id=2993034), Ohio Co., W.Va., Register of Births 3:229, no. 150, "Darling, —," 10 September 1887. Fannie reported the birth, identifying the child's parents as herself and Frank Darling. Also, Los Angeles Co., death cert. 9214, Flora Darling Frey, 24 June 1948, giving her birth date as 10 September 1887. For Clara's child, see "Harry Jerome Darling" in Moore, ed., *History of Michigan*, 3:1277.

45. J. J. Bartlett (Acting Commissioner of Pensions) to Secretary of the Interior, letter regarding appeal of Charles W. Crandall, 2 May 1887, in Ella A. Crandall, widow's pension file XC 922,737, wrote "Since the filing of the appeal the appellant has been restored to the rolls under certificate issued March 28, 1887."

On 10 September she gave birth to the child she had conceived the preceding December.⁴⁶ On the 28th she again witnessed Charles's signature.⁴⁷

Frank continued moving. He spent 1887 in Washington, D.C., as a special examiner in the pension bureau.⁴⁸ In 1888–93 he worked in Grand Rapids, Michigan.⁴⁹

Fannie, meanwhile, went to Oswego, New York, and learned stenography. Back in Madison County in October 1890, she advertised to teach others the trade.⁵⁰ She landed a job in Washington, D.C., in 1891.⁵¹ Working for the Patent Office, first as a copyist, later as a clerk from 1909 to 1919, she lived in Washington almost thirty years.⁵²

What Frank and Fannie's relationship was, or what Fannie thought it was, remains imponderable. Fannie had lived in the same household as Flora's husband, her son-in-law, for more than two decades.⁵³ In 1948, when Flora died, he accurately identified Flora's father but not his birthplace.⁵⁴

WHO WAS MR. BROWN?

Fannie lived and worked as Fannie Darling from 1887 to 1900.⁵⁵ She used the surname Brown in 1903 and 1905.⁵⁶ She returned to Darling by 1909.⁵⁷

46. "Search Birth Records," *West Virginia Culture and History*, Ohio Co., Register of Births 3:229, no. 150, "Darling, —," 10 September 1887. Also, Los Angeles Co., death cert. 9214 (1948), Flora Darling Frey.

47. Charles W. Crandall, requests for pension increase, 5 July and 28 September 1887, in Ella A. Crandall, widow's pension file XC 922,737.

48. *Official Register of the United States*, 1887, p. 529.

49. *Grand Rapids City and Kent County Directory* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: R. L. Polk, 1888), 270; and similarly: (1889), 290; (1890), 313; (1891), 327; (1892), 337; and (1893), 363.

50. *Brookfield Courier*, 29 October 1890, page 3, col. 2.

51. "Local Affairs . . . In Brief," *Brookfield Courier*, 14 January 1891, page 3, col. 3. The article's saying Fannie was to work in a "pension agency" is apparently a misstatement. Her name does not appear in the indexes of the biennial *Official Register of the United States* for 1893, 1895, 1897, or 1899. Also, her city directory entries in Washington, D.C., during the 1890s name no employer.

52. *Official Register of the United States* (1909), 259; (1911), 259; (1913), 271; (1915), 280; (1917), 281; and (1919), 383. Also, 1910 U.S. census, Washington, D.C., pop. sch., ED 12, sheet 14A, dwell. 200, fam. 283, Henry Mullen household.

53. 1920 U.S. census, Washington, D.C., pop. sch., ED 271, sheet 11A, dwell. 99, fam. 215, John P. Frey household. Also, 1930 U.S. census, Los Angeles Co., Calif., pop. sch., ED 19-964, Glendale, sheet 3B, dwell. 123, fam. 124, John P. Frey household. Also, 1940 U.S. census, Los Angeles Co., Calif., pop. sch., Glendale, ED 19-192, sheet 9A, household 178, John P. Frey household; NARA microfilm T067, roll 230.

54. Los Angeles Co., death cert. 9214 (1948), Flora Darling Frey.

55. *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia* (1892), 334 (Crandall) and 348 (Darling); and similarly: (1893), 330 and 343; (1894), 344 (Crandall only, Darling absent); (1895), 327 and 340; (1896), 325 and 339; (1897), 325 ("Crandell") and 338; (1898), 335 ("Crandell") and 349; and (1900), 368 (Fannie alone).

56. In 1905 Flora Darling and stenographer Fannie F. Brown lived together. See *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia* (1905), 256 and 357. That year they visited Ocean City, Maryland. See "Crowds at Ocean City," *Baltimore Sun*, 27 August 1905, page 7, col. 7. "Miss Flora Darling" cohosted a party at 918 I Street, N.W., in Washington in 1903, when stenographer Fannie F. Brown lived at 919. See "The Whirl of Society," *Washington Evening Star*, 2 November 1903, page 5, col. 6. Also, *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia* (1903), 273. Charles W. Crandall's hometown obituary calls his daughter Fannie P. Brown. See "Local Matters," *Brookfield Courier*, 1 February 1905, page 3, col. 3.

57. *Official Register of the United States* (1909), 259.

No marriage record is known for Fannie.⁵⁸ No male Brown lived at Fannie F. Brown's addresses in 1903 and 1905.⁵⁹ Since 1897 Frank's death had given Fannie a plausible claim to widow status. Why would she take a new surname?

CONCLUSION

After Frank's death, events not involving Fannie revealed he was a practiced deceiver. Were she, Clara, and Anna the only women he misled? Did other women on Frank's pension circuit see their experience mirrored in the sensationalized news of January 1898? Regardless, the scandalous origins of Frank's known children seem not to have blighted their lives.

GENEALOGICAL SUMMARY

1. **Frank Ira¹ Darling**, born on 25 December 1853 in Mason, Michigan, died on 31 December 1897 in Reading, Pennsylvania. His parents were Ira Orsticle and Cordelia (Case) Darling.⁶⁰ Frank's mother died on 11 January 1898.⁶¹

Frank married on 2 February 1876 in Ingham County, Michigan, **Clara Virginia Haight**,⁶² reported daughter of Henry Jerome and Mary E. (Stevenson) Haight.⁶³ Clara was born on 8 December 1854 in Saline, Michigan, and died on 30 July 1909

58. Apparently no Fann* or Franc* Crandall or Darling married a Brown near Washington, D.C., between 1890 and 1910. See searches of "District of Columbia: Compiled Marriage Index, 1830–1921," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=60261>). Also, "District of Columbia Marriages 1811–1950" and "District of Columbia Marriages, 1830–1921" (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1803979> and <https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/1674801>). Also, "Search Marriage Records," *West Virginia Culture and History*. Also, "Marriage Records Index Collection, 1719–1898 (bulk)," *Library of Virginia* (va.virginia.gov/public/guides/marriage-records). Also, "Uncover Connections in our Marriage License Collection," *Howard County [Maryland] Historical Society* (<http://hchsmsearch.org/search.php>), searches for Crandall, Crandell, Crandle, and Darling.

59. Several Fanny/Fannie/Frances Brown/Browne entries appear in District of Columbia directories during the decade or so of Fannie Darling's absence from them. Clerk and stenographer occupations make them candidates for Fannie Darling. See *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia* (1901), 277; (1902), 284 (two entries); (1904), 264; (1906), 286; and (1910), 326. Fannie and Flora Darling lived elsewhere in the city in 1910, none of those candidates is confirmed as Fannie Darling, and no Brown lived at their addresses.

60. Munsell, ed., *American Ancestry*, 11:75. Also, *Find A Grave*, memorial 38,040,618, digital image, 9 January 2013, by Connie West Stewart of clipping from *Ingham County News*, 6 January 1898. For the cause of death, see *FamilySearch*, digital film 004209102, images 1431–32, "Return of Deaths in the County of Kent for the Year Ending December 31, A.D. 1897," no. 6717, Frank I. Darling, 31 December 1897.

61. "Death Records, 1897–1920," *Seeking Michigan*, Mich., Certificate and Record of Death 299 (1898), Cordelia Rice.

62. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/004674160>), digital film 004674160, image 228, Ingham Co., Mich., Record of Marriages 4:157, no. 3139, Darling-Haight, 2 February 1876. For Clara's middle name, see Moore, ed., *History of Michigan*, 3:1277.

63. Munsell, ed., *American Ancestry*, 11:75. For Clara's father's full name, see Moore, ed., *History of Michigan*, 3:1276–78.

in Detroit. She and Frank are buried together in Mason.⁶⁴ Clara's father had served in Michigan's 24th Infantry; on 29 July 1889, when he applied for a pension, his son-in-law Frank Darling was his attorney.⁶⁵

Fannie Fern Crandall claimed to be Frank's wife. If a marriage occurred, it was about 1886, based on the couple's only known child's birth date.⁶⁶ Fannie was born on 20 May 1864 in Walworth County, Wisconsin, to Charles Welcome and Frances Letitia (Denison) Crandall.⁶⁷ She died on 13 April 1955 in Glendale, California.⁶⁸

Fannie might have married [—?—] Brown after 1900.⁶⁹ No official record of him or the marriage is known. She was a clerk in Washington, D.C., from 1891 to 1920.⁷⁰ Later she lived with her daughter and son-in-law in southern California, where she excelled at painting into her seventies.⁷¹

Anna M. Tubbs claimed to have married Frank about 1893, perhaps in Buffalo, New York.⁷² She was born on 5 June 1870 in Fennville, Michigan, and died on 1 October 1950 in Lansing, Michigan.⁷³ She is buried in Grand Rapids, Michigan.⁷⁴

64. *Find A Grave*, memorial 38,040,648, digital image and transcription, 15 March 2009, by Sandra Moore of Darling marker (Maple Grove Cemetery, Mason, Mich.); and digital image, 22 March 2011, by Mike Beard of clipping, "Died Suddenly," *Ingham County News*, 5 August 1909.

65. Henry J. Haight, Declaration for an Original Invalid Pension, 29 July 1889, in Henry J. Haight, pension no. S.C. 479,960; RG 15, NA—Washington.

66. "Search Birth Records," *West Virginia Culture and History*, Ohio Co., Register of Births 3:229, no. 150, "Darling, —," 10 September 1887. Also, Los Angeles Co., death cert. 9214 (1948), Flora Darling Frey.

67. Charles W. Crandall, dependents circular, 4 June 1898, in Ella A. Crandall, widow's pension file XC 922,737. Also, 1880 U.S. census, Walworth Co., Wis., pop. sch., Walworth, ED 237, p. 4, dwell. 23, fam. 24, Chas. Crandall household; NARA microfilm T9, roll 1450.

68. *Los Angeles Times*, 14 April 1955, sec. 1, page 36, col. 3, Fannie Darling death notice and funeral announcement. Also, *Find A Grave*, memorial 85,375,622, "Fanny Fern Crandall Darling," transcription, 22 February 2012, of grave marker by Chris Mills; no sourcing.

69. "Local Matters," *Brookfield Courier*, 1 February 1905, page 3, col. 3, names Charles's two daughters, the younger as "Mrs. Fannie P. Brown of Washington, D.C."

70. *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia* (1892), 348; and similarly: (1893), 343; (1894), absent; (1895), 340; (1896), 339; (1897), 338; (1898), 349; (1900), 368; and (1910), 460.

71. *Los Angeles Times*, 18 August 1935, part 2, page 2, col. 2, advertisement featuring "25 excellent oil paintings by Fannie F. Darling, 72-year-old Los Angeles artist." Also, "Awards Made by Otis Institute," *Los Angeles Times*, 21 June 1937, part 2, p. 22, col. 6. Also, S. Fred Hogue, "Otis Students Display Work," *Los Angeles Times*, 18 June 1939, page 14, col. 1.

72. "His Double Life," *Grand Rapids Herald*, page 5, col. 1.

73. Mich., Certificate of Death 3301 25586, Anna M. Darling, 1 October 1950; microfilm 1,972,749, Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City. Informant was her daughter Dorothy, "Mrs. Chester Boelio." For the marriage and her parents, "F. E. Darling," and "Anna Tubbs," see *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/004210108>), digital film 004210108, image 396, Return of Marriages for the County of Ingham for the Quarter Ending December 1924, no. 2371, Boelio-Darling, 17 October 1924.

74. *Find A Grave*, memorial 100,014,435, digital image, 1 November 2012, by "Jim" of Anna M. Darling marker (Oakhill Cemetery, Grand Rapids), in block G, lot 4, space 14. For her parents nearby, see *ibid.*, memorial 84,285,128, digital image, 24 April 2012, by Angela Owens Jando of Frank L. Tubbs marker, space 15; and memorial 96,870,952, digital image, 1 November 2012, by "Jim" of Rachel Hagahorn [Hagadorn] Tubbs marker, space 16.

Anna was the daughter of Frank L. and Rachel (Hagadorn) Tubbs.⁷⁵ Her father applied for a pension on 8 June 1891. His attorney was “F. I. Darling.”⁷⁶

Anna grew up in Grand Rapids.⁷⁷ She said she married Frank after he displayed an apparently authentic divorce decree.⁷⁸ Perhaps not coincidentally, Frank’s son Harry Jerome Darling recalled him as “an artist of remarkable ability.”⁷⁹

After the 1898 exposé, Anna remained in Grand Rapids with her parents through 1920. A bookkeeper in 1930, she lived with her son Harvey and family.⁸⁰ She later moved to Lansing to live with her daughter Dorothy. She joined St. Paul’s Episcopal Church and the American Legion auxiliary.⁸¹

Clara, Fannie, and Anna used Frank’s surname for most of their lives.

Frank and Clara (Haight) Darling had three children:

- 2 i. RALPH EMERSON² DARLING, born on 12 December 1876 in Mason, Michigan, died in 1955 in Winter Park, Florida.⁸² He married on 18 September 1902 in Mason, Bessie Lansing Webb, daughter of Frank and Mollic/Mattie (Graves) Webb.⁸³ Bessie, born on 10 November 1878 in Mason, died on

75. 1900 U.S. census, Kent Co., Mich., pop. sch., Grand Rapids, ward 6, ED 70, sheet 18B, dwell. 331, fam. 369, Frank L. Tubbs household. Also, “Michigan, Marriage Records, 1867–1952,” *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=9093>), Registers, 1868–1886 > 1868–1875 > 1869 Calhoun–Wayne > image 233, Kent Co., “Return of Marriages in the County of Kent for the Year Ending Dec. 31, 1869,” p. 109, Tubbs–Hogodone, 15 February 1869.

76. “U.S., Civil War Pension Index: General Index to Pension Files, 1861–1934,” *Ancestry* > Truman, Geo. W.–Tullar, John F. > image 1426, card for Franklin Tubbs, application 1,028,282, 8 June 1891.

77. 1900 U.S. census, Kent Co., Mich., pop. sch., Grand Rapids, ward 6, ED 70, sheet 18B, dwell. 331, fam. 369, Frank L. Tubbs household.

78. “His Double Life,” *Grand Rapids Herald*, 7 January 1898, page 5, col. 1.

79. “Harry Jerome Darling” in Moore, ed., *History of Michigan*, 3:1276–78.

80. 1900 U.S. census, Kent Co., Mich., pop. sch., Grand Rapids, ward 6, ED 70, sheet 18B, dwell. 331, fam. 369, Frank L. Tubbs household. Also, 1910 U.S. census, Kent Co., Mich., pop. sch., Grand Rapids, ward 6, ED 87, sheet 16B, dwell. 226, fam. 273, Frank Tubbs household; NARA microfilm T624, roll 657. Also, 1920 U.S. census, Kent Co., Mich., pop. sch., Grand Rapids, ward 2, ED 60, sheet 18A, dwell. 377, fam. 446, Frank Tubbs household; NARA microfilm T625, roll 778. Also, 1930 U.S. census, Kent Co., Mich., pop. sch., Grand Rapids, ward 2, ED 41–61, sheets 12A–12B, dwell. 11, fam. 15, Harvey Darling household; NARA microfilm T626, roll 990.

81. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/collection/007593950>), digital film 007593950, image 517, “Anna Darling, Former Resident, Dies in Lansing,” clipping.

82. For his birth, see “Harry Jerome Darling” in Moore, ed., *History of Michigan*, 3:1276–78. For his death, see *Find A Grave*, memorial 31,274,821, digital image, 1 November 2008, by Sandra Moore of Ralph E. Darl[jing] marker (Maple Grove Cemetery); and digital image, 19 March 2015, by Mike Bear of clipping, “Death Claims Former Official,” *Ingham County News*, 8 December 1955.

83. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/004674162>), digital film 004674162, image 40, Ingham Co., Record of Marriages 7:355, no. 514, Darling–Webb, 18 September 1902. For the middle names, see “Harry Jerome Darling” in Moore, ed., *History of Michigan*, 3:1276–78.

- 6 December 1929 in Highland Park, Michigan.⁸⁴ She was active in the Daughters of the American Revolution and Order of the Eastern Star.⁸⁵ Ralph was an electrical engineer. Once manager of Mason's "light and water plant," he later moved to Detroit, where he worked for Ford.⁸⁶
- 3 ii. HARRY JEROME DARLING, born on 25 July 1878, in Mason, died on 27 August 1942 in Detroit.⁸⁷ He married there on 6 November 1906, Orra Jeanette Howe, daughter of Almeron R. and Orra Jeanette (Hamlin) Howe.⁸⁸ She was born on 20 June 1879 in Honesdale, Pennsylvania, and died on 18 April 1921 in Detroit.⁸⁹ She was an "accomplished musician and vocalist." With six years of schooling, Harry became a well-known Detroit architect of apartment buildings, stores, residences, and factories.⁹⁰ In 1940 he was an architect for a publishing company.⁹¹
- 4 iii. GRACE EVA DARLING, born on 10 July 1886 in Mason, died after 24 April 1942.⁹² She married on 22 November 1922 in Detroit, Robert Emmett

84. *Seeking Michigan* (<http://seekingmichigan.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p16317coll1/id/427661/rec/23>), Mich., Certificate of Death 682 4795 (1929).

85. *Find A Grave*, memorial, 31,274,802, digital image, 10 November 2008, by Sandra Moore of Bessie Webb Darling marker (Maple Grove Cemetery); and digital image, 3 October 2009, by Randy Gladstone, of clipping, "Last Rites Held Here for Former Resident," *Ingham County News*, 12 December 1929.

86. For "light and water plant," see *Find A Grave*, memorial 31,274,821, digital image by Mike Bear of "Death Claims Former Official." For "Ford," see 1910 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., pop. sch., Detroit, ward 1, ED 22, sheet 18A, no dwell. or fam. number, Ralph E. Darling household; NARA microfilm T624, roll 679. Also, 1920 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., pop. sch., Greenfield Twp., ED 689, sheet 6A, dwell. 98, fam. 138, Ralph E. Darling household; NARA microfilm T625, roll 801. Also, 1930 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., pop. sch., Highland Park, ED 82-983, sheet 8A, dwell. 124, fam. 185, Ralph E. Darling household; NARA microfilm T626, roll 1074.

87. Mich., Certificate of Death 296216 (1942); Department of Health, Lansing; FHL microfilm 1,972,901. Informant was Harry's daughter Virginia, "Mrs. Henry Bishop." For the marriage and her parents, "Jerome [Darling]" and "Jeanette Howe," see "Michigan, Marriage Records, 1867-1952," *Ancestry* > Certificates, 1926-1939 > Wayne (1936-1939) > Wayne, Part 18 (Miscellaneous Years) > image 103,509, Wayne Co., marriage records, no. 382,631, Bishop-Darling, 14 June 1930.

88. "Harry Jerome Darling" in Moore, ed., *History of Michigan*, 3:1278.

89. "Michigan Death Records 1921-1947," *Seeking Michigan* (<http://seekingmichigan.contentdm.oclc.org/cdm/singleitem/collection/p16317coll1/id/28722/rec/1>), Mich., death cert. 5739 (1921), Orra J. Darling.

90. "Harry Jerome Darling" in Moore, ed., *History of Michigan*, 3:1276-78. Also, 1940 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., pop. sch., Detroit, ward 1, ED 84-9, sheet 2A, household 20, Harry J. Darling; NARA microfilm T627, roll 1839.

91. 1940 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., pop. sch., Detroit, ward 1, ED 84-9, sheet 2A, household 20, Harry J. Darling.

92. Ingham Co., Mich., Record of Births 3, fol. 168, no. 2302, Grace Eva Darling, 10 July 1886; Courthouse, Mason, Mich.; FHL microfilm 975,639. Grace's father was "Special Examiner U.S. Pension Office." For "April 1942," see "U.S., World War II Draft Registration Cards, 1942," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=1002>) > Michigan > Calabro, Vito-Cantwell, Edward > Aab, Casper-Dzwolski > images 1088-90, card U2000, Robert Emmett Callahan, 24 April 1942; from RG 147: Records of the Selective Service System, NA-St. Louis.

Callahan, son of Thomas and Mary (Smith) Callahan.⁹³ Robert, born on 3 July 1889 in Cazenovia, New York, died on 2 May 1974.⁹⁴ Robert was drafted into World War I from Buffalo, New York. Engaged in the massive Meuse-Argonne Offensive, he was slightly wounded on 1 November 1918. He returned to the United States the next May.⁹⁵ In 1930 he and Grace lived in a Detroit apartment, and he was a “city inspector.” In 1940 they lived in a more economical Detroit apartment, and he was a watchman in a “disposal plant.” Both attended two years of high school.⁹⁶

Frank and Fannie Fern (Crandall) Darling had one child:

- 5 iv. FLORA IRIS² DARLING, born in West Virginia⁹⁷ on 10 September 1887, died in Los Angeles, California, on 24 June 1948.⁹⁸ She married on 4 September 1916 in Washington, D.C., John Paul Frey.⁹⁹ The son of stockbroker Robert Elbert and Emma (Wilson) Frey, John was born on 7 November 1885 in the District of Columbia and died on 4 February 1970.¹⁰⁰ A 1910 graduate of George Washington University, John was a member of the Sigma Chi

93. “Michigan, Marriage Records, 1867–1952,” *Ancestry* > image 1058, Wayne Co., Return of Marriages, no. 239485, Darling-Callahan, 22 November 1922.

94. For his birth, see “U.S., World War II Draft Registration Cards, 1942,” *Ancestry* > image 1088, card U2000, undated, Robert Emmett Callahan. For his death, see “Nationwide Gravesite Locator,” *U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs* (<https://gravelocator.cem.va.gov/>), Barrancas National Cemetery (Pensacola, Fla.), Robert Callahan.

95. “New York, Abstracts of World War I Military Service, 1917–1919,” *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=3030>) > WWI Army Cards > Callahan, C.–Cameron, H. (Box 84) > image 322, card for Robert E. Callahan card; from series B0808: Adjutant General Office, New York State Archives, Albany. For the offensive itself, see “American Operations in the Meuse-Argonne Region,” in *American Battle Monuments Commission, American Armies, and Battlefields in Europe: A History, Guide, and Reference Book* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938), 167–328.

96. 1930 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., pop. sch., Detroit, ward 12, ED 82-360, sheet 29B, fam. 9 (no dwell. no.), Robert E. Callahan household; NARA microfilm T626, roll 1045. Also, 1940 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., pop. sch., Detroit, ward 14, ED 84-830, sheet 1A, household 3, Robert Callahan household; NARA microfilm T627, roll 1864.

97. 1920 U.S. census, Washington, D.C., pop. sch., ED 271, sheet 11A, dwell. 99, fam. 215, John P. Frey household. Also, 1930 U.S. census, Los Angeles Co., Calif., pop. sch., Glendale, ED 19-964, sheet 3B, dwell. 123, fam. 124, John P. Frey household. Flora’s mother lived in Wheeling, West Virginia, two months before Flora’s birth. See Charles W. Crandall, Application for Increase of Pension, 5 July 1887, in Ella A. Crandall, widow’s pension file XC 922,737.

98. Los Angeles Co., death cert. 9214 (1948), Flora Darling Frey.

99. *FamilySearch*, digital film 004259077, image 289, Dist. of Columbia, marriage records 195:222, no. 75,222, Frey-Darling, 4 September 1916.

100. For John’s birthplace and parents, see 1900 U.S. census, Washington, D.C., pop. sch., ED 25, sheet 13B, dwell. 234, fam. 261, Robert E. Frey household; NARA microfilm T623, roll 159. Also, *Find A Grave*, memorials 81,743,434 and 81,743,467, digital images, 9 December 2011, by Loretta Castaldi of Frey gravestone (Oak Hill Cemetery, Washington, D.C.). For John’s birth and death dates, see *Find A Grave*, memorial 85,403,548, transcription, 22 February 2012, of John Paul Frey gravestone (Forest Lawn Memorial Park, Glendale, Calif.).

fraternity.¹⁰¹ After working for the National Vaccine and “Antitoxine” Institute, in 1919 he became the District of Columbia’s assistant health officer.¹⁰² In 1910 Flora and her mother lodged with the Mullen family in the district. Flora was a clerk in a correspondence school.¹⁰³ In 1920 Flora and John, a physician, included Fannie in their household.¹⁰⁴ They soon crossed the country, settling in Glendale, California. In 1930 Flora was a clerk for Los Angeles County, John a physician in a “pathological lab,” and Fannie a housekeeper.¹⁰⁵ In 1940 Flora was a clerk supervisor, John a physician in private practice, and Fannie retired.¹⁰⁶

Frank Ira and Anna M. (Tubbs) Darling had two children:

- 6 v. HARVEY WILLARD² DARLING, born on 28 December 1895 in Troy, Pennsylvania, died on 6 December 1978 in Zephyrhills, Florida.¹⁰⁷ He married Bertha Alma Frederick, a nurse, in Detroit in December 1917.¹⁰⁸ Daughter of Carl and Augusta (Fritz) Frederick, she was born on 31 January 1892 in Wisconsin and died on 16 December 1986 in Zephyrhills.¹⁰⁹ Harvey had ten years of schooling, Bertha eight.¹¹⁰ He was an electrician in the Navy before 1917, when he lived in Detroit and worked for the Anderson Electric Car Company.¹¹¹ He served in the army in 1918.¹¹² In 1930 Harvey worked in

101. Roy Milton Harmon, ed., *The Sigma Chi Fraternity Manual and Directory 1916* (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1917), 29.

102. “Medical News: District of Columbia,” *Journal of the American Medical Association* 72 (22 February 1919): 583.

103. 1910 U.S. census, Washington, D.C., pop. sch., ED 12, sheet 14A, dwell. 200, fam. 283, Henry Mullen household.

104. 1920 U.S. census, Washington, D.C., pop. sch., ED 271, sheet 11A, dwell. 99, fam. 215, John P. Frey household.

105. 1930 U.S. census, Los Angeles Co., Calif., pop. sch., Glendale, ED 19-964, sheet 3B, dwell. 123, fam. 124, John P. Frey household.

106. 1940 U.S. census, Los Angeles Co., Calif., pop. sch., Glendale, ED 19-192, sheet 9A, household 178, John P. Frey household.

107. For Harvey’s birth, see “U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917–1918,” *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=6482>) > Michigan > Detroit City > 04 > Draft Card D > image 69, card 137, Harvey Willard Darling, 5 June 1917; from NARA microfilm M1509. For his death, see “Funeral Notices . . . Darling,” *Tampa Tribune*, Tampa, Fla., 8 December 1978, page 11-D, col. 3.

108. “Michigan Marriages, 1868–1925,” *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/004210017>), digital film 004210017, image 97, Return of Marriages in the County of [Wayne], p. 464, no. 156654, Darling-Frederick, [blank] December 1917. Unlike most records on the page, theirs gives no marriage date, officiant, location, or bride’s parents’ names.

109. Fla., death certificate 88-121828 (1986), Bertha Darling; Bureau of Vital Statistics, Jacksonville, Fla. Also, “Bertha A. Darling,” *Tampa Tribune*, 17 December 1986, page 4, col. 4.

110. 1940 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., Detroit, ward 12, ED 84-632, sheet 12B, household 360, Harvey Darling household; NARA microfilm T627, roll 1859.

111. “U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917–1918,” *Ancestry*, image 69, card 137, Harvey Willard Darling, 5 June 1917.

112. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/004832720>), digital film 004832720, image 154, Soldiers Home Register: Northwestern (Milwaukee) Branch, no. 40297, Harvey W. Darling, April–May 1932; from RG 15, NA–Washington.

auto repair and battery service, and the family owned a home in Grand Rapids.¹¹³ After 1935 they moved to Detroit, where they rented. Harvey and a son worked in automobile manufacturing.¹¹⁴ The family moved to Florida about 1945.¹¹⁵

- 7 vi. DOROTHY MAY DARLING, born on 7 May 1897 in Michigan, died on 12 August 1987.¹¹⁶ She married Chester E. Boelio as his second wife on 17 October 1924 in Lansing, Michigan.¹¹⁷ Born on 7 October 1889 in Mason, Michigan, he died on 10 August 1962.¹¹⁸ He was the son of Thaddeus and Clara (Underhill) Boelio.¹¹⁹ Chester had four years of high school, Dorothy four years of college.¹²⁰ During World War I, Chester was an Army captain in Company B, 119th Field Artillery, 41st Infantry Division. On 3 April 1928, at the end of his service, he was a Lieutenant Colonel, Officer Reserve Corps.¹²¹ In 1920 Dorothy was a secretary in a dry goods store in Grand Rapids.¹²² In 1924, when they married, she was a stenographer and Chester superintended a lumber yard.¹²³ In 1940 he was assistant manager of a retail lumber company.¹²⁴ At an age when others might be retiring, Chester embarked on a new career. In 1953 he was an engineer with Michigan's Department of Conservation, and in 1960 was an architect there.¹²⁵

113. 1930 U.S. census, Kent Co., Mich., pop. sch., Grand Rapids, ward 2, ED 61, sheets 12A–12B, dwell. 11, fam. 15, Harvey Darling household.

114. 1940 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Mich., Detroit, ward 12, ED 84-632, sheet 12B, household 360, Harvey Darling household.

115. "Bertha A. Darling," *Tampa Tribune*, 17 December 1986, page 4, col. 4.

116. 1900 U.S. census, Kent Co., Mich., pop. sch., Grand Rapids, ward 6, ED 70, sheet 18B, dwell. 331, fam. 369, Frank L. Tubbs household. Also, *Find A Grave*, memorial 141,446,404, digital image and transcription, 17 January 2017, by "JLL" of Dorothy M. Boelio marker (Evergreen Cemetery, Lansing, Mich.).

117. *FamilySearch*, digital film 004210108, image 396, Return of Marriages for the County of Ingham for the Quarter Ending December 1924, no. 2371, Boelio-Darling, 17 October 1924.

118. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/004207111>), digital film 004207111, images 1004–1005, Return of Births in the County of Ingham, fol. 18, no. 4467, Chester Boelio, 7 October 1889. Also, *Find A Grave*, memorial 141,446,328, digital image, 17 January 2015, by "JLL" of Chester E. Boelio marker (Evergreen Cemetery).

119. *FamilySearch*, digital film 004210108, image 396, Return of Marriages for the County of Ingham for the Quarter Ending December 1924, no. 2371, Boelio-Darling, 17 October 1924.

120. 1940 U.S. census, Ingham Co., Mich., pop. sch., Lansing, ward 1, ED 33-17, sheet 19B, household 414, Chester Bollis (Boelio) household; NARA microfilm T627, roll 1760.

121. "U.S., Headstone Applications for Military Veterans, 1925–1963," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=2375>) > 1962–1963 > Birkhead, Edward R–Bradley, William D > images 1699–1700, Card for Chester E. Boelio, 10 August 1962; from NARA microfilm M1916, roll 10.

122. 1920 U.S. census, Kent Co., Mich., pop. sch., Grand Rapids, ward 2, ED 60, sheet 18A, dwell. 377, fam. 446, Frank Tubbs household.

123. *FamilySearch*, digital film 004210108, image 396, Return of Marriages for the County of Ingham for the Quarter Ending December 1924, no. 2371, Boelio-Darling, 17 October 1924.

124. 1940 U.S. census, Ingham Co., Mich., Lansing, ward 1, ED 33-17, sheet 19B, household 414, Chester E. Boelio.

125. *Polk's Lansing City Directory 1953* (Detroit: R. L. Polk, 1954), 72. Also, *ibid.* (1960), 82.

Finding Family in Tennessee's Wild Frontier—Catharine Grissom's Kin

By Cheryl Storton, CG

Lawrence County, Tennessee, was a wild and chaotic territory in the early 1800s. Claimed as their hunting grounds by the Chickasaw and Cherokee, it was also where white squatters moved before the 1816 treaties.¹ Its records, particularly of women, are sparse. Why did widowed Catharine Grissom's family move to Arkansas? Could the answer illuminate Catharine's natal family?

In 1848 Tennessee law required counties to issue marriage licenses only where “the feme resides.”² Thus, Catharine Grissom lived in Lawrence County, Tennessee, on 7 December 1848, when her future husband, Branson Davis, procured their marriage license there.³ Other Grissoms lived there, but no record defines Catharine's relationship to them. Did she belong to a nearby Grissom family? Evidence points to a sister and other relatives.

© Cheryl Storton, CG; 581 Newman Drive; Arroyo Grande, CA 93420; cherylstorton@gmail.com. Ms. Storton has been researching her family for over thirty years. She completed the ProGen study course and NIGR (now GenFed). She has taken multiple advanced courses at GRIP, IGHR, and SLIG. Although she no longer accepts clients, she was co-owner of the genealogical research company *Bridge to Yesterday* for seven years. She thanks Cafi Cohen, Karen Leverich, Writing Group I, and Professional Standards Special Interest Group (sponsored by San Luis Obispo County, Calif., Genealogical Society). Websites cited here were viewed on 1 March 2018.

1. Kathy Niedergeses, “In the Beginning: Early History of Lawrence County, Tennessee,” *Lawrence County Archives* (<http://home.lorettotel.net/~lcarchives/earlyhistlawco.htm>).

2. R. L. Caruthers and A. O. P. Nicholson, *A Compilation of the Statutes of Tennessee, of a General and Permanent Nature, from the Commencement of the Government to the Present Time* (Nashville: James Smith, 1836), 450, “Marriage,” 1778, Chapter 2, Section 3. This law was not changed in the 1848 Assembly revision. See, A. O. P. Nicholson, *Statute Laws of the State of Tennessee. . . passed since . . . 1836* (Nashville: J. G. Shepard, 1848), 222, “Matrimony.”

3. “Tennessee, Marriage Records, 1780–2002,” *Ancestry* (<http://www.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=1169>) > Lawrence > Feb 1838–Mar 1889: Marriages B,2 > image 47, Lawrence Co., Marriages B:91, no 449, Davis-Grissom, 21 December 1848.

CATHARINE'S TIMELINE

Catharine (Grissom) Davis created records in Tennessee through 1870:

- Catharine was born about 1829 in Tennessee.⁴
- On 12 December 1848 in Lawrence County, she married Branson A. Davis, a carriage and wagon maker and later a Baptist minister.⁵
- In 1850 Catharine lived in Lawrence County with her husband and an infant, Mary E. Davis.⁶
- On 18 February 1852 Catharine gave birth to David James Davis.⁷
- About 1854 Catharine gave birth to John H. Davis.⁸
- On 20 April 1856 Catharine gave birth to William Sampson Davis in Hardin County, Tennessee.⁹
- Likely sometime in 1858 Catharine gave birth to George F. Davis.¹⁰
- In 1860 Catharine lived in District 7 near Loweryville, Hardin County, with her husband and children.¹¹
- On 5 March 1861 Catharine gave birth to Matilda Roxie Davis.¹²
- In the 1860s son George F. Davis died before age twelve.¹³

4. 1850 U.S. census, Lawrence Co., Tenn., population schedule, dist. 7, p. 725, dwelling/family 70, Catharine Davis, age twenty-one, in Branson A. Davis household; microfilm M432, roll 886, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA). Also, 1860 U. S. census, Hardin Co., Tenn., pop. sch., dist. 7, p. 109, dwell. 745, fam. 777, Catharine Davis, age thirty-one, in B.A. Davis household; NARA microfilm M653, roll 1254. Also, 1870 U.S. census, Hardin Co., Tenn., pop. sch., dist. 11, p. 5, dwell./fam. 35, household of Catherine Davis, age forty; NARA microfilm M593, roll 1534.

5. *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Pulaski, Jefferson, Lenoire, Faulkner, Grant, Saline, Perry, Garland and Hot Springs Counties, Arkansas* (Chicago: Goodspeed, 1889), 256–57, for “Dr. W. S. Davis.” The preface states that, “in all cases the personal sketches were submitted by mail, and in most instances were corrected and submitted by the subjects themselves.”

6. 1850 U.S. census, Lawrence Co., Tenn., pop. sch., dist. 7, p. 725, dwell./fam. 70, Branson A. Davis household. Also, *Find A Grave* (<https://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi>), memorial 101,341,043, digital image, 25 November 2012, by Ken Jones, of Mary Elizabeth Robison gravestone (Carbon-Restland Cemetery, Carbon, Tex.)

7. “Advance,” David Davis obituary, *Baxter Bulletin*, Mountain Home, Ark., 20 March 1931, page 3, col. 4.

8. Birth estimated from listing of W. S. Davis’s siblings in *Biographical and Historical Memoirs*, 256.

9. Ibid., 256–57. Also, Ark., death certificate no. 1314 (1939), W. S. Davis; Bureau of Vital Statistics, Little Rock. Informant, son John, mistakenly named his own mother, Mary Comer, as William’s.

10. Birth estimated from listing of W. S. Davis’s siblings in *Biographical and Historical Memoirs*, 256.

11. “Advance,” David Davis obituary, *Baxter Bulletin*, 20 March 1931, page 3, col. 4.

12. Tex., death certificate no. 27664 (1940), Roxie Matilda Johnson; Bureau of Vital Statistics, Austin.

13. 1860 U. S. census, Hardin Co., Tenn., pop. sch., dist. 7, p. 109, dwell. 745, fam. 777, George F. Davis, in B. A. Davis household. For “G. F. (deceased)” in 1889, see *Biographical and Historical Memoirs*, 256. For his absence from the family, see 1870 U.S. census, Hardin Co., Tenn., pop. sch., dist. 11, p. 5, dwell./fam. 35, Catherine Davis household

- In the 1860s son Jackson D. was born and died.¹⁴
- On 17 October 1864 Branson was mustered out of Company B, 2nd Regiment, Tennessee Mounted Infantry. Last paid on June 30th, he had been on detached service in Hardin County since 1 September 1864.¹⁵
- On 28 February 1865 bushwhackers killed Branson. "He joined the United States army and served until 1865, when he was discharged, after which, while recruiting a company, of which he was elected captain, and when on his way to reenlist and be mustered in at Waterloo, he was killed. He had been in several battles and had served his country faithfully. He was a member of the A. F. & A. M., and a minister by profession, teaching the doctrine of the Missionary Baptist Church for a number of years. His wife was also a church member."¹⁶
- On 5 July 1870 Catharine and her five surviving children were enumerated in District 11 in the far western part of Hardin County.¹⁷ That is her last known record.

Catharine and her son William Sampson Davis were absent from Hardin County in 1880.¹⁸ Records in Baxter County, Arkansas, where some of her children settled, do not include Catharine.¹⁹ She registered no federal land.²⁰ She left no death or burial record in Saline County, Arkansas, where William Sampson lived for much

14. *Biographical and Historical Memoirs*, 256–57.

15. *Fold3* (<https://www.fold3.com/image/267008229>), Civil War Service Records > Union Records > Tennessee > Second Mounted Infantry > Branson A. Davis.

16. *Biographical and Historical Memoirs*, 256–57. Service records state he mustered out in 1864, but the 1865 date was from family recollection.

17. Tex., death certificate no. 27664 (1940), Roxie Matilda Johnson.

18. "1880 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=6742>), search for Catharine or William Davis, using all spelling variations, initials only, and modifiers of birth year and place with no given name or surname. Catharine is also not found in 1900. See "1900 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=7602>).

19. General searches for Catharine produced negative results. See F. Gene Garr, ed., *Of Grave Importance: The Cemeteries of Baxter County, Arkansas* (Mountain Home, Ark.: Baxter Co. Historical and Genealogical Soc., 1994). Also, *FamilySearch* (<http://www.familysearch.org>), "Arkansas Probate Records, 1817–1979" > Baxter County > accounts 1874–1889 > administration records, 1873–1944; wills 1873–1931; and Probate Record Book A, 1874 to 1889. Index and many of the pages were damaged by fire and water and were very hard to read. There is only one page of Ds and no Davis names at all. Administration Record Book A 1873–1944, lists D. J. Davis and Frank and Sallie Davis. Will Book A, 1873–1931, had only D. J. Davis. Also, Baxter Co., Ark., Grantee and Grantor Index to Deeds and Mortgages Book A, 1890–1904; Clerk of the Circuit Court, Mountain Home; microfilm 1,031,151, item 3, Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City; and Baxter Co., Grantor and Grantee Index to Deeds and Mortgages Book C.D., 1898–1903; FHL microfilm 1,031,151, item 4.

20. U.S. Bureau of Land Management, "Patent Search," database, *General Land Office Records* (<https://glorerecords.blm.gov/search/default.aspx>).

of the rest of his life, or in Eastland County, Texas, where Matilda Roxie and Mary Elizabeth lived and died.²¹

Catharine may have died soon after the 1870 enumeration, or she could have remarried. Perhaps she lived until 1884, when the clerk of Lawrence County, Tennessee, penned a letter certifying her marriage to Branson.²² Catharine may have been exploring a widow's pension based on Branson's Union service, but no pension application or letter survives.²³ If she was living in 1889, her son's biography probably would have mentioned her in the present tense.

ARKANSAS

Between 1870 and 1875 Catharine's five surviving children moved to northeastern Arkansas:

- Eldest son David James Davis went to Arkansas reportedly at age eighteen.²⁴ He turned eighteen in February 1870, pointing to departure within six months of the 5 July Hardin County census visitation. At age twenty-two, he was in Baxter County, Arkansas, when he married Martha Mann on 9 October 1874 before Baptist minister Jacob King.²⁵ David died on 13 February 1931 in Advance, Arkansas, and rests in the Burnt School House Cemetery, Lone Rock, Baxter County.²⁶

21. Mrs. Bernard Barber, *Saline County Cemeteries*, 5 vols. (Little Rock, Ark.: Arkansas Sesquicentennial Commission, 1978–1986). Also, Shirley Brittain Cawyer and Weldon I. Hudson, comps., *Eastland County, Texas, Cemetery Inscriptions*, 3 vols. (Stephenville, Tex.: privately published, 1974). The foreword states that every effort was made to record all cemeteries. Later surveys of Eastland County cemeteries are online, but the books appear more accurate for older burials. Carbon-Restland Cemetery begins on 2:139, Mary Elizabeth (Davis) Robison is on p. 145, and Long Branch Cemetery, Carbon, starts on 3:200. Roxie Matilda (Davis) Johnson and J. F. T. Johnson are not listed. For their gravestone, likely purchased after 1974, see *Find A Grave*, memorial 33,569,235, digital image, 17 July 2012, by Larry Owings, of Roxie M. Johnson gravestone; and memorial 33,556,007, digital image, 24 April 2012, by M. S. Hoover, of John Franklin Johnson gravestone; both at Long Branch Cemetery.

22. J. M. Gilmore (clerk, Lawrence Co., Tenn.) to unknown recipient, letter, 19 March 1884; one page found in W. S. Davis possessions by his great-granddaughter Sharon James; copy held by author and the Lawrence County Archives, Grisham file folder no. 3; Leoma, Tenn. The rest of the letter has not been found. The clerk, certifying it as a "true and perfect copy of the marriage record," mistakenly transcribed Grissom as "Gressham."

23. Adjutant General Office Document File no. A6430 (1889); Office of the Adjutant General Enlisted Branch Records; Record Group 94: Records of the Office of the Adjutant General; National Archives, Washington, D.C. For a search for the Branson Davis file, see Angela P. McGhie, CG, to author, letter, 6 May 2011; author's files.

24. *Biographical and Historical Memoirs*, 256–57.

25. "Arkansas, County Marriages, 1837–1957," *FamilySearch* (<https://familysearch.org/search/film/004326251>), digital film 004326251, image 73, Stone Co., Ark., Marriage Record A:32, Davis-Man, 11 October 1874. Rev. Jacob King arrived in Mountain View, Stone Co., Ark., in 1870. See "Pulls Beside Ox on Trek to Arkansas," *Arkansas Gazette*, Little Rock, 21 February 1915, page 4, col. 1.

26. "Advance," David Davis obituary, *Baxter Bulletin*, 20 March 1931, page 3, col. 4.

- Second son John H. Davis, age nineteen and “of” Baxter County, married Julia A. Baker on 20 September 1873, before Reverend King.²⁷ John died there before 1880, when his widow was enumerated with two Davis sons, the youngest born about 1876.²⁸
- Elder daughter Mary Elizabeth Davis, twenty-four, living in Baxter County, married William L. Robison on 30 July 1874 in Stone County, Arkansas, again before Reverend King.²⁹ She died on 16 June 1896 in Eastland County, Texas.³⁰
- Youngest surviving son William Sampson “Doc” Davis, twenty-two, living in Independence County, Arkansas, married Mary “Polly” Comer on 28 July 1875.³¹ He died on 13 June 1939 in Owensville, Arkansas.³²
- Younger daughter Matilda Roxie Davis married John Franklin Thomas Johnson between 1877 and 1878, likely in Arkansas. Their first two children, born in 1879 and 1883, were reported born in Arkansas.³³ She died on 2 June 1940 in Rising Star, Texas.³⁴

Why did four of Catharine's children move to the small settlement of Big Flat, Arkansas, between 1870 and 1874? Between 1872 and 1874 Arkansas was in political chaos.³⁵ What drew Catharine's children across the Mississippi River to seemingly limited opportunity there?

27. *FamilySearch*, digital film 004326251, image 64, Stone Co., Marriage Record A:15, Davis-Baker, 20 September 1873.

28. 1880 U.S. census, Baxter Co., Ark., pop. sch., Big Flat Twp., enumeration district (ED) 1, p. 9, dwell./fam. 46, July A. Davis household; NARA microfilm T9, roll 38. She was widowed, and her two sons' father was born in Tennessee. Also, *Biographical and Historical Memoirs*, 256, lists John as deceased before 1889.

29. *FamilySearch*, digital film 004326251, image 72, Stone Co., Marriage Book A:31, Robison-Davis, 30 June 1874.

30. *Find A Grave*, memorial 101,341,043, Mary E. Robison gravestone.

31. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/004309411>), digital film 004309411, images 347–48, Independence Co., Ark., Marriages Record D:243–44, Davis-Comer, 28 July 1875.

32. Ark., death certificate no. 1314 (1939), Dr. W. S. Davis.

33. 1900 U.S. census, Eastland Co., Tex., pop. sch., Justice Precinct 5, ED 59, sheet 2B, dwell./fam. 33, John F. Johnson household; NARA microfilm T623, roll 1629. Their first child was born in Arkansas in July 1879. Also, 1880 U.S. census, Baxter Co., Ark., pop. sch., Big Flat twp., ED 1, p. 10, dwell./fam. 58, J. F. Johnson household.

34. Tex., death certificate no. 27664 (1940), Roxie Matilda Johnson. The informant, son Tom Johnson, named her father as Branson Davis and mother as Miss Grisham. For Matilda's husband as Frank Johnson, see *Biographical and Historical Memoirs*, 256. For his full name, see Tex., death certificate no. 51124 (1944), John Franklin Thomas Johnson.

35. Earl F. Woodward, “The Brooks and Baxter War in Arkansas, 1872–1874,” *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 30 (1971): 315–36.

A NEARBY GRISSOM—TWICE

In 1850 Catharine was enumerated immediately before a household where Roxaby B. “Grisham,” twenty-five and born in Tennessee, apparently was boarding.³⁶ Although Roxaby’s surname varies from the “Grissom” surname on Catharine’s marriage record, the surnames are similar. The women’s proximity in a small community and their close ages suggest they were sisters.

William Robison, likely a widower, married Roxaby “Greshom” about 1855.³⁷ William sold land in Lawrence County that year.³⁸ Roxaby’s first child, Clementine Robison, was born on 5 February 1856 in Tennessee, followed by Finis on 6 February 1858.³⁹ The family left Tennessee and arrived in Big Flat shortly before the 1860 census.⁴⁰ “Roscodia” and William Robison still lived in Big Flat in 1870.⁴¹

PARALLELS

Big Flat connects Catharine (Grissom) Davis and Roxaby (Grisham) Robison. Roxcodia [sic] and William Robison lived with Catharine’s daughter Roxie Matilda and her husband J. F. Johnson in Big Flat.⁴² That small community included Catharine’s son-in-law and daughter, William L. and Mary (Davis) Robison.⁴³ Roxaby’s children and their families lived about ten miles away in Stone County.⁴⁴

36. 1850 U. S. census, Lawrence Co., Tenn., pop. sch., dist. 7, pp. 725–26, dwell./fam. 70, Branson A. Davis household; and dwell./fam. 71, George Parks household.

37. Ibid., dist. 6, p. 673, dwell./fam. 660, W^m Robeson [sic] household. Also, negative results from Edythe Johns Rucker Whitley or Edythe Rucker Whitley, *Marriages of Lawrence County, Tennessee 1818–1854* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1982). Also, “Records, 1780–2002” and “Tennessee, Compiled Marriages, 1851–1900,” databases, *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=1169> and <https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=4125>).

38. Lawrence Co., Tenn., Deed Records M:63–64, Robeson to Cummings; Register of Deeds, Lawrenceburg; FHL microfilm 976,283.

39. For Finis, see Okla., certificate of death no. 383, (1926), Finis A. Robison, Bureau of Vital Statistics, Oklahoma City. For Clementine’s birth date, see *Find A Grave*, memorial 21,772,972, digital image, 11 July 2012, by Kris Abelli, of Clementine Catherine “Clemmon” Davis gravestone (Rosedale Cemetery, Ada, Okla.).

40. 1860 U. S. census, Searcy Co., Ark., pop. sch., Big Flat Twp., p. 20, dwell. 122, fam. 117, William Robinson [sic] household; NARA microfilm M653, roll 50.

41. 1870 U.S. census, Searcy Co., Ark., pop. sch., Big Flat Twp., p. 3, dwell./fam. 20, W^m Robison household; NARA microfilm M593, roll 64.

42. 1880 U.S. census, Baxter Co., Ark., pop. sch., Big Flat Twp., ED 1, p. 10, dwell./fam. 58, J. F. Johnson household. William and Roxcodia did not move. In 1873, when Baxter Co. was formed from Searcy and other counties, Big Flat Twp. became part of Baxter Co. See *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Arkansas* (Little Rock: the state, 1873), 34–41, “An Act entitled an act to create the county of Baxter, and for other purposes,” 24 March 1873.

43. 1880 U.S. census, Baxter Co., Ark., pop. sch., Big Flat Twp., ED 1, p. 6, dwell./fam. 26, W. L. Robertson and wife Mary.

44. 1880 U.S. census, Stone Co., Ark., pop. sch., Locus Grove Twp., ED 194, p. 3, dwell./fam. 18, Etthey K. and John W. Franks; p. 13, dwell./fam. 102, Finus [sic] Robinson [sic]; and p. 18, dwell. 128, fam. 150, Clementine Davis; NARA microfilm T9, roll 57.

Catharine named daughters Mary Elizabeth and Matilda Roxie. Roxaby named daughters Eliza and Catherine Clementine.⁴⁵ The repetition of the common names is not compelling, but the uncommon name Roxaby is.⁴⁶ Catharine's children David and Matilda continued the tradition. Each named a daughter Roxie.⁴⁷

Another female Tennessee-based Grissom with a daughter Roxaby had connections to Big Flat. In 1847, fifteen months before Catharine's marriage in Lawrence County, Mary S. Grissom became James Welch's second wife there.⁴⁸ The couple's apparent daughter "Roxida E." was born in Tennessee between 1857 and 1858.⁴⁹ Among James's older children was a daughter "Ethelinda," born between 1842 and 1843.⁵⁰ Family tradition says "Etha Malinda" eloped and had twin boys at age seventeen, and ended up in Big Flat.⁵¹ Another source says "Etha Malinda Welch" was John Franks's wife and "He continued to live in Baxter County until 1879 or 1880, when he moved to the splendid farm near Timbo [Stone County]."⁵²

The documented deaths of Mary Welch and Roxaby Robison supply no clues to their parents' identities⁵³

45. *Find A Grave*, memorial 21,772,972, digital image, 11 July 2012, by Kris Abelli, of Clementine Catherine 'Clemmon' Davis gravestone. Also, 1870 U.S. census, Searcy Co., Ark., pop. sch., Big Flat Twp., p. 3, dwell./fam. 20, Eliza E. Robinson in Wm Robinson household.

46. 1880 U.S. census, Hardin Co., Tenn., pop. sch., dist. 4, ED 44, p. 25, dwell. 209, fam. 222, Roxie Welch; NARA microfilm T9, roll 1260.

47. 1900 U.S. census, Baxter Co., Ark., pop. sch., Matney Twp., ED 6, sheets 5A–5B, dwell./fam. 91, David Davis household; NARA microfilm T623, roll 50. Also, 1900 U.S. census, Eastland Co., Tex., Justice Precinct 5, ED 5, sheet 2B, dwell./fam. 33, John F. Johnson household.

48. Lawrence Co., marriage licenses and bonds, 1840–49, alphabetically by groom's surname, Welch-Grissom, 27 September 1847; County Court, Lawrenceburg; FHL microfilm 976,305.

49. 1860 U.S. census, Hardin Co., Tenn., pop. sch., dist. 7, p. 105, dwell. 725, fam. 757, J. W. Welch household.

50. 1850 U.S. census, Lawrence Co., Tenn., pop. sch., dist. 6, p. 666, dwell./fam. 625, Ja^s W. Welch household.

51. Tony Copeland, "Etha Malinda Welch," gallery, *Ancestry* (<https://www.ancestry.com/family-tree/person/tree/3732126/person/-1693409963/gallery>), originally posted by Franks_Tammy, "Etha Elopel," anecdote submitted on 20 January 2009. Also, 1870 U.S. census, Searcy Co., Ark., pop. sch., Big Flat Twp., p. 9, dwell./fam. 56, John and Euden Franks household. "Etha Malinda's" age, birthplace, and John's biography confirm that she is Ethelinda of 1850 and Malinda of 1860.

52. *A Reminiscent History of the Ozark Region* (1894; reprint, Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1978), 390. Also, 1870 U.S. census, Searcy Co., Ark., pop. sch., Big Flat Twp., p. 9, dwell./fam. 56, John Franks household.

53. Irene McBane Alexander and Carrie Hardwick Gresham, *At Rest: Cemetery Records of Lawrence County, Tennessee*, 4 vols. (Lawrenceburg, Tenn.: Buffalo River Chapter DAR, 1977). Also, Albert Brown, ed., *Cemeteries: Hardin County, Tennessee* (Bethel Springs, Tenn.; privately published, 1991). Also searched were Hardin Co., Tenn., record indexes: Index to minutes, 1820–1866, County Court, Savannah; FHL microfilm 980,997 item 2; Case File, 1840–1899, surnames C–G, Circuit Court; FHL microfilm 983,536; inventories of estates, 1865–1898, County Court; FHL microfilm 980,988; index to deeds, 1835–1903, Register of Deeds; FHL microfilm 886,366; Survey Books, 1820–1934, County Surveyor; FHL microfilm 983,532; and Probate Court Records, 1836–1927, County Court; FHL microfilm 879049. Also, P. M. Harbert, *Early History of Hardin County* (1947; reprint, Memphis, Tenn.: Tri-State, 1968).

Mary's six children left no records that conflicted with her identity as a Grissom:⁵⁴

1. Josiah C. born about 1849, but not found after 1870.⁵⁵
2. Amanda M. Welch married William Dickey on 30 November 1870 in Wayne County, Tennessee.⁵⁶ She was born 22 August 1850 and died 3 June 1910 in Hardin County, Tennessee.⁵⁷
3. Cornelius J. Welch born about 1853, but not found after 1860.⁵⁸
4. Catherine Sarah "Sallie" Welch married J. M. Porterfield on 11 October 1878 in Hardin County.⁵⁹ She was born about 1855 and died 1896 in Piggott, Clay County, Arkansas.⁶⁰
5. Roxcoda "Roxie" Estella Welch married D.E. Broyles (David Edward) 22 April 1884 in Hardin County.⁶¹ She was born April 1859 and died 1 February 1939 in Hugo, Choctaw County, Oklahoma.⁶²

54. Family is recorded on four censuses: 1850 U.S. census, Lawrence Co., Tenn., pop. sch., dist. 6, p. 666, dwell./fam. 625, Ja^s W. Welch household. Also, 1860 U. S. census, Hardin Co., Tenn., pop. sch., dist. 7, p. 105, dwell. 725/fam. 757, J. W. Welch household. Also, 1870 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Tenn., pop. sch., dist. 7, p. 11, dwell./fam. 72, J. W. Welch [sic] household; NARA microfilm M593, roll 1569. Also, 1880 U.S. census, Hardin Co., Tenn., 7th civil district, ED 44, p. 25, dwelling 209, family 222, James Welch household with daughters Roxie and Fronie.

55. Josiah is not found in Tennessee marriage records, and searches in the 1880 and 1900 censuses did not locate him. See "1900 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry*. Also, "1880 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?htx=List&dbid=6742>).

56. "Tennessee, Marriage Records, 1780–2002," *Ancestry*, Wayne Co., marriage records, 1857–1929, pp. 102–3, Dickey-Welch, 30 November 1870.

57. For dates of birth and death, see *Find A Grave*, memorial, 19,257,973, digital image, 6 May 2007, by Dennis Yerbey, of Amanda M. Dickey's monument (Olive Hill Cemetery, Hardin County, Tenn.) Also "Tennessee Death Records, 1908–1958," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=2376>) Death Certificates > Hardin > 1910 > Tennessee > image 118, Tenn., Deaths 39558 (1910), A. M. Dickey.

58. He is not in the household in 1870.

59. "Tennessee, Marriage Records, 1780–2002," *Ancestry*, Hardin Co. marriage records, October 1863–1884, p. 411; Porterfield-Welch marriage 11 October 1878. *Ancestry* titles the database as marriages from Oct. 1864–Sep. 1869, but it includes records up to 1884.

60. *Find A Grave*, memorial 139,718,974, (no image), 7 December 2014, by Kimberly (Gates) Mansker, for Sallie C. Porterfield (Memorial Gardens Cemetery, Piggott, Arkansas).

61. "Tennessee, Marriage Records, 1780–2002," *Ancestry* > Hardin > Oct 1863 - Sep 1869: Marriages > image 833, Hardin Co., marriage records, October 1863–1884, p. 492; Broyles-Welch, 22 April 1884.

62. For the date, see *Find A Grave*, memorial 39,334,399, digital image, 31 October 2009, by Mary Hall Ferguson, of Roxie E. Broyles gravestone (Mount Olivet Cemetery, Hugo, Okla.). Also, Okla., certificate of death no. 02270 (1939); Mrs. R. E. Broyles, 1 February 1939. Informant, Roxie's daughter Lillian, reported her mother was born in Tennessee but did not name her parents.

6. Lucy Sophronia "Fronie" Elizabeth Welch claimed to have married [—?—] Etchison. She was born 16 January 1863 and died 2 November 1945 in Dallas, Dallas County, Texas.⁶³

Roxaby Robison, who died on 26 May 1907, left no death certificate or obituary.⁶⁴ Roxaby Robison's maiden name does not appear in her adult children's records. Roxaby's children also add little new information. Eliza likely died before 1900.⁶⁵ Finas's death certificate gives his mother's first name as Roxama but leaves the maiden name blank.⁶⁶ Clementine has a tombstone but no death certificate.⁶⁷ Finas's obituary states he came to Pontotoc County, Oklahoma, from Big Flat in 1907, but does not mention his parents.⁶⁸ Clementine apparently had no obituary.⁶⁹

Catharine and Roxaby were sisters. Mary, the eldest and hardest-to-identify sister, provides the best leads to the earlier generation.

63. "Texas, Death Certificates, 1903–1982," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=2272>) > Dallas > 1945 > Oct–Dec Dallas Co. > image 409, Tex., Standard Certificate of Death 474756 (1945), Mrs. Lucy Etchison. Informant C. S. Peeler of Dallas seemed to know that Lucy's parents were James White Welch and Mary South Gresham, but not their birthplaces. He said Lucy was born in "Herburn," Tennessee. Lucy claimed to have married [—?—] Etchison about 1900. See 1930 U.S. census, Dallas Co., Texas, pop. sch., Dallas, ED 57-1, sheet 6B, dwell./fam. 12, Lucy Etchison, lodger, married first at age thirty; NARA T626, roll 2313. She and her husband were not found in the 1900, 1910, and 1920 censuses using spelling variations, initials only, or modifiers of birth year and place with no given or surname. See "1900 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry*. Also, "1910 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?htx=List&dbid=7884>). Also, "1920 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry* (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?htx=List&dbid=6061>).

64. For the date, see *Find A Grave*, memorial 48,007,187, digital image, 14 March 2011, by Kim Rea Mays, of Roxie Robison gravestone (Big Flat Cemetery, Big Flat, Ark.) Arkansas death records begin in 1914. See Arkansas History Commission (Little Rock) to author, letter, 10 October 2013; author's files. They report no results in newspapers: *Baxter Bulletin*, Mountain Home, and *Cotter Courier*, Cotter, Baxter Co.; *Ozark Times*, Mountain View, Stone Co.; *Marshall Mountain Wave*, Marshall, Searcy Co.; and *Mountain Echo*, Yellville, Marion Co. IZARD County has no extant newspapers for 1907.

65. In 1900 Roxie said she was the mother of three children, two then living. Both Finas and Clementine were living, so Eliza died likely before 1900. See 1900 U.S. census, Baxter Co., Ark., pop. sch., Big Flat Twp., ED 3, sheet 2B, dwell./fam. 36, Roxie Robinson.

66. Okla., certificate of death no. 383 (1926), Finis A. Robison, 4 March 1926. Death date is illegible, but the doctor stated that he had attended Finis from 3/1/1925 to 3/4/1926. The informant was T. W. Robison of Shawnee, Okla., who was Finis's oldest child.

67. *Find A Grave*, memorial 21,772,972, digital image, 11 July 2012, by Kris Abelli of Clementine Catherine "Clemmon" Davis gravestone. The Rosedale Cemetery office has no further information. No Okla. death certificate exists. See Division of Vital Statistics, to author, letter, 1 September 2011; author's files.

68. "F. A. Robinson," *Ada Weekly News*, Ada, Okla., 11 March 1926, page 8.

69. Extant newspapers for Ada, Oklahoma—*Ada Evening News* (1904–1978), *Ada Weekly Democrat* (1906–1921), and *Ada Weekly News* (1902–1978)—yielded no results through a search in *Newspaper Archive* (<http://newspaperarchiv.com>).

ELIZABETH AND SOLOMON GRISHAM

In 1850 Mary (Grissom) Welch, twenty-eight, lived with Elizabeth “Grisham,” a Virginia native. At forty-eight, Elizabeth was old enough to be Mary’s mother.⁷⁰ Elizabeth Grisham, fifty-five, still lived with Mary and her family in 1860.⁷¹ Elizabeth died likely by 1870.⁷²

In 1840 “Eliz” Gresham, in her thirties, headed a Lawrence County household that included a boy age ten to fourteen, a girl in the same age range (apparently Catharine), and two young women, ages fifteen to nineteen (probably Mary and Roxaby).⁷³ George Gresham headed a larger household with children in the same age categories, but a family Bible eliminates him as Catharine, Roxaby, and Mary’s father.⁷⁴

In 1830, the first census when all three girls should be present, Solomon Gresham headed the household. With a woman in her twenties, it mirrors Elizabeth’s 1840 household, with a girl under five (Catharine), a boy under five, a girl between five and nine (Roxaby), and a girl between ten and fourteen (Mary). Apparently Mary was reported as older than her approximately nine years.⁷⁵

On 2 March 1820 Solomon Gresham took out a bond in Lawrence County to marry “Lizza Badchell.” This is the only marriage bond or license for any Grissom male marrying in Lawrence County before 1821, when Mary was born.⁷⁶ Lizza is a

70. 1850 U.S. census, Lawrence Co., Tenn., pop. sch., p. 666, dist. 6, dwell./fam. 625, Jas Welch household.

71. 1860 U.S. census, Hardin Co., Tenn., pop. sch., p. 105, dist. 7, Louryville, dwell. 725, fam. 757, J. W. Welch household.

72. 1870 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Tenn., pop. sch., dist. 7, p. 11, dwell./fam. 72, J. W. Welch [*sic*] household. No mortality schedule exists for 1870 Tennessee. See Anne Bruner Eales and Robert M. Kvasnicka, *Guide to Genealogical Research in the National Archives of the United States*, 3rd ed. (Washington, D.C.: NARA, 2000), 46.

73. 1840 U.S. census, Lawrence Co., Tenn., p. 146, Eliz Gresham; NARA microfilm M704, roll 531.

74. Nancy Chaffin Gwin Gresham family Bible pages, 1768–1945, *The Holy Bible* (Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1819), “Marriages, Births and Deaths,” pp. 677–80, photocopy; Gresham file no. 3; Lawrence County Archives. A Tennessee-wide search turned up two other Grissom families with children these ages, each of whom has been eliminated. See 1840 U.S. census, Haywood Co., Tenn., p. 16, Wheeler Grisson; NARA microfilm M704, roll 522. Also, 1840 U.S. census, Warren Co., Tenn., p. 335, William Grissam; NARA microfilm M704, roll 537.

75. 1830 U.S. census, Lawrence Co., Tenn., p. 292, Solomon Gresham; NARA microfilm M19, roll 177.

76. “Tennessee, Marriage Records, 1780–2002,” *Ancestry* > Lawrence > 1838–1923: Marriages, Index to 1-2 > image 642, Lawrence Co., “Abstracts of Marriage Bonds and Licenses,” typescript, undated, p. 6, Gresham-Badchell bond, 2 March 1820. Lacunae and imperfect digitizing make the image difficult to read, and the indexer apparently could have misread the original bond, which seems no longer to exist. Some of the indexed bonds do survive. See author’s readings of *ibid.* > Lawrence > 1818–1839: Marriage Bonds. Also, *ibid.* > Lawrence > 1820–1889: Marriage Bonds. Both collections contain images of original loose Lawrence Co. marriage records alphabetically arranged. Also, Lawrence Co., marriage bonds and licenses, 1818–29; County Court; FHL microfilm 976,303. For missing bonds, see archivist Kathy Niedergeses (Lawrence Co. Archives) to author, 15 August 2017, personal notes; in author’s files.

common nickname for Elizabeth. Her marrying in early 1820 is consistent with ages of Solomon's apparent wife in 1830, in her twenties; "Eliz" in 1840, in her thirties; and Elizabeth in 1850, age forty-eight, and 1860, age fifty-five. Born in 1801–5, she could have married legally in Tennessee in 1820 if born as late as 1808.⁷⁷

Elizabeth's maiden name "Badchell" likely is an indexer's error. The original 1820 bond—now missing—may have said "Badgett." In 1847 William F. Haile cosigned the bond for Solomon and Elizabeth's daughter Mary Grissom and her intended, James W. Welch.⁷⁸ William's father was John A. Hail, Tabitha Badgett's husband.⁷⁹ In 1816, four years before the "Badchell"-Grissom marriage, Tabitha's father, John Badgett, had an unmarried daughter, Elizabeth.⁸⁰ Sisters Tabitha and Elizabeth's respective children, bondsman William and bride Mary, were first cousins.

Elizabeth Grisham, fifty-five, continued to live with Mary and her family when the Welches moved less than fifty miles west to Hardin County, Tennessee, by 1860.⁸¹ By 1870 when the Welch family lived in nearby Waynesboro, Elizabeth no longer resided with them.⁸²

The 1818 census and voter list includes Solomon, as does the 1826 tax list.⁸³ Court records mention him for fighting, jury duty, road work, testifying, giving bond, and assault.⁸⁴ Solomon was last in court on 2 August 1833 as co-defendant

77. In Tennessee the legal marriage age for females was twelve during the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. See Charles A. Sherrill, *Tennessee*, 2nd ed., NGS Research in the States Series, NGS special publication no. 124 (Arlington, Va.: NGS, 2017), 38.

78. "Tennessee, Marriage Records, 1780–2002," *Ancestry* > Lawrence > 1840–1849: Marriage Bonds > image 1237, Lawrence Co., marriage records, alphabetical by groom's surname, Welch-Grissom bond, 21 September 1847.

79. 1850 U.S. census, Lawrence Co., Tenn., pop. sch., dist. 6, p. 664, dwell./fam, 596, household of John A. Hale, age sixty, including Wm. Hale, age twenty-two. Also, "Tennessee, Marriage Records, 1780–2002," *Ancestry* > Sumner > 1787–1819: Marriages (Loose Rec) > image 1060, Sumner Co., Tenn., marriage bonds, alphabetically arranged, Hale-Badgett, 6 December 1810.

80. "Tennessee, Wills and Probate Records, 1779–2008," *Ancestry*, Sumner Co., Tenn., Will Book 1, July 1789–August 1822, pp. 233–34, John Badgett will, 5 April 1816; Co. Clerk, Gallatin; FHL microfilm 467,505.

81. 1860 U. S. census, Hardin Co., Tenn., pop. sch., dist. 7, p. 105, dwell. 725/fam. 757, J. W. Welch household.

82. 1870 U.S. census, Wayne Co., Tenn., pop. sch., dist. 7, p. 11, dwell./fam. 72, J. W. Welch [*sic*] household.

83. Lawrence Co., Minutes, 1818–1822, p. 110, 1818 list of voters, County Clerk, Lawrenceburg; microfilm A-13, 757, Tennessee State Library and Archives (TSLA), Nashville. Also, "Tennessee Early Tax Lists, 1783–1895," *Ancestry*.com (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=2883>) > Lawrence > 1826 > image 3, Lawrence Co., Enumeration List for the Year 1826, no. 90, Sollomon [*sic*] Gresham.

84. Lawrence Co., Minutes, 1818–1822; jury duty summons, 3 August 1819, pp. 170–71; 1 May 1820, p. 250; 3 April 1821, pp. 315–17; 4 April 1821, p. 325; 5 April 1821, p. 326; 5 October 1821, p. 389; 6 October 1821, p. 411; 4 January 1821, p. 304; 8 January 1822, p. 429; and 12 January 1822, p. 429. Also, *ibid.*, indictments for assault, 9 February 1820, p. 233. Also, *ibid.*, assigned to two road crews, 3 August 1818, p. 37; and 4 January 1821, p. 305. Also, *ibid.*, affray charges: 4 August 1818, p. 40; 3 October 1821, p. 396; and 4 April 1822, p. 491. Also, *ibid.*, 396, fined and put in sheriff's custody, 3 October 1821; County Clerk; microfilm A-13, 757, TSLA.

in a suit concerning William Welch's estate.⁸⁵ In 1836 he was absent from Lawrence County's tax list.⁸⁶ He appears on no United States census after 1830.⁸⁷ His disappearance or death after 1833 explains Elizabeth's appearance as household head in 1840. Neither Solomon nor Elizabeth appears in any Grissom deed, will, burial record, or probate in Lawrence County.⁸⁸

Solomon owned land with George Gresham in 1821, when an execution was ordered "against the goods, chattel lands and tenements of George Gresham and Solomon Gresham," which included a one-hundred-acre parcel.⁸⁹ He was enumerated next to George in 1820, and William Porter and his son sued George and Solomon in 1821. They owed the Porters \$38.18^{3/4} plus seventy-five cents court cost. The court levied the debt on the only property found for George and Solomon—one hundred acres where George lived.⁹⁰

CONCLUSION

Bits and pieces of indirect evidence link Catharine to her family. Her children's abrupt move to Big Flat, Arkansas, can only be explained as reuniting with her sisters' families. Assembled fragments of information about her sisters reveal that Catharine's mother and father were Solomon and Elizabeth (Badgett) Grissom. Wide-ranging research uncovered no conflicting information. Despite absent end-of-life records for Catharine, Elizabeth, and Solomon, evidence supports their relationship.

85. Lawrence Co., Circuit Court Minute Book 2:79, 2 August 1833; Lawrence County Archives; TLSA microfilm A-787.

86. "Tennessee, Early Tax List Records, 1783–1895," *Ancestry*.

87. "1840 United States Federal Census" and "1850 United States Federal Census," *Ancestry*, no results for Solomon Grissom under various spellings and any Solomon born between 1800 and 1815.

88. Negative results for Solomon and Elizabeth in Lawrence Co. records: court minutes 1827–1846, FHL microfilm 976,264; court minutes, 1848–1857, FHL microfilm 976,265; deed index, 1819–1871, FHL microfilm 24,741; miscellaneous records, FHL microfilm 976, 316, item 7; wills, 1829–1855, FHL microfilm 976,274; probate deeds, 1854–1901, FHL microfilm 976,271; and will books, 1829–1847, FHL microfilm 24,740, items 4–5. Also, Maggie Finch, "Book of poetry, obituaries, newspaper clippings, etc., 1800's," manuscript, ca. 1974; TSA; FHL microfilm 976,318, item 10. Also, Second Creek Association of Primitive Baptists (Lawrence Co., Tenn.), Church minutes, 1830–1938; FHL microfilm 976,316, item 4. Also, Alexander and Gresham, comps., *At Rest*, vols. 1–4. Also, Lawrence County Heritage Book Committee, *The Heritage of Lawrence County, Tennessee* (Waynesville, N.C.: County Heritage, 2008).

89. "North Carolina and Tennessee, Early Land Records, 1753–1931," index and images, *Ancestry*.

90. Lawrence Co., Minutes, 1818–1822, pp. 426–27, 7 January 1822. The court record states that the execution was issued on 19 October 1821 and levied on 22 December 1821. The case was recorded in the minutes on 7 January 1822.

Notes and Documents

The Westchester Petitioners of 1656

By Rebecca I. M. Walch

Old handwriting, derivative sources, and printer errors contribute to inaccurate and incomplete appreciation of historic events. Copy comparisons and historical context aid reconstruction of an important 1656 list.

In the fall of 1654 English colonists settled the town of Westchester on Dutch-claimed land. Today the location is known as Westchester Square in The Bronx, New York. The 1650 boundary agreement between New Netherland and the United Colonies of New England designated the area as Dutch territory.¹ According to the terms, the dividing line on the mainland would start “at the West side of Greenwich bay” and go north twenty miles.² English territory would fall east of the line, although the Dutch would retain their fort at Hartford.³

The boundary agreement was still provisional when England declared war on Holland in July 1652.⁴ Within a year Connecticut and New Haven colonists believed the Dutch were plotting with “the Indians, for the destruction of the English.”⁵ Leaders of the two colonies, with like-minded men of other colonies, prepared for war against New Netherland.⁶ On 27 June 1653 John Underhill acted on a commission from Rhode Island and seized the unmanned Dutch fort at Hartford.⁷

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1. Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven allied as a confederation in 1643. See David Pulsifer, ed., *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England*, vol. 9 (Boston: William White, 1859), ix–x. Volume 9 contains volume 1 of *Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England*.

2. Ibid., 189. The agreement is known as the 1650 Hartford Treaty.

3. Ibid., 190.

4. Frances Gardiner Davenport, ed., *European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies, 1650–1697*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1929), 1–3.

5. Benjamin Trumbull, *A Complete History of Connecticut*, 2 vols. (Hartford: Hudson and Goodwin, 1797), 1:209 and 216.

6. Ibid., 219–20.

7. Henry C. Shelley, *John Underhill, Captain of New England and New Netherland* (New York and London: D. Appleton, 1932), 372.

In April 1654 Connecticut acted on orders from Parliament to treat the Dutch as enemies.⁸ The colony sequestered the fort and licensed Thomas Pell to purchase Indian land southwest of Greenwich Bay.⁹ The land's location suggests it would have provided a rendezvous place for English troops.¹⁰ In Europe the mother countries signed a peace treaty but did not agree on the 1650 boundary.¹¹

By June 1654 three English warships lay in Boston Harbor.¹² By 10 June the colonies' governors received letters asking them to assist against the Dutch.¹³ The war council planned for three hundred Massachusetts volunteers and two hundred men from the ships to "march from the bay" on 27 June.¹⁴ When the army arrived at Connecticut and New Haven, their two hundred men and one hundred and thirty-three men, respectively, were "to be completely ready to march with them."¹⁵ Plymouth's fifty soldiers were to sail "to the Monhatoes."¹⁶

On 20 June, planning ended at Charlestown, Massachusetts, when a London ship brought "diverse printed proclamations of peace." After more debate the war council abandoned the military design.¹⁷

One week later, on 27 June at the place soon to be called Westchester, Thomas Pell purchased the Indian land.¹⁸ Pell was likely ignorant of the peace proclamation

8. J. Hammond Trumbull, ed., *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, vol. 1 (Hartford: Brown and Parsons, 1850), 254.

9. Pell testified in 1665 that he purchased the land "under license from Connecticut." See Peter R. Christoph and Florence A. Christoph, eds., *Records of the Court of Assizes for the Colony of New York, 1665–1682* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company [GPC], 1983), 5–6. Authorities controlled the purchase of Indian land. See Trumbull, ed., *Public Records of . . . Connecticut*, 1:214. Also, Charles J. Hoadly, *Records of the Colony or Jurisdiction of New Haven, from May, 1653, to the Union* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood, 1858), 593–94.

10. The Indian-path road connecting New England to New Netherland went through Pell's land. For a road description, see Eric Jaffe, *The King's Best Highway* (New York: Scribner, 2010), viii and x. The purchase's southern border was the East River. Its eastern border was Long Island Sound. See map at The Bronx County Historical Society, "Consolidation of New York City into the 20th Century," *The Bronx: A Historical Sketch* (<http://bronxhistoricalsociety.org/about/bronx-history/>).

11. Davenport, *European Treaties*, 2:12.

12. Thomas Birch, *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, vol. 2 (London, 1742), 418, quoting Robert Sedgwick writing from Boston, 1 July 1654.

13. Hoadly, *Records . . . of New Haven, from May, 1653, to the Union*, 100. Also, Trumbull, *Public Records of . . . Connecticut*, 1:259–60.

14. Birch, *Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, 2:420, quoting notes by Robert Sedgwick and John Leverett from a meeting at Charlestown on 17 June 1654.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England*, vol. 3 (Boston: William White, 1885), 54–55.

17. Birch, *Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe*, 2:418 and 420.

18. The date is on the manuscript autograph copy of the Thomas Pell purchase-treaty. The copy is in the Pell papers at the Fort Ticonderoga Thompson-Pell Research Center, Ticonderoga, New York. See "Past Exhibits," *Bartow-Pell Mansion Museum* (<http://www.bartowpellmansionmuseum.org/events/pastExhibits.php>), for "Handwritten Copy of Deed" (Fort Ticonderoga museum collection). For the ceremony location, see Blake A. Bell, "Article About the Pell Treaty Oak Published in 1909," blog post, Tuesday, 24 July 2007, *Historic Pelham* (<http://historicpelham.blogspot.com/2007/07/article-about-pell-treaty-oak-published.html>).

because of the distance involved.¹⁹ The news reached Plymouth, about forty miles from Charlestown, on Friday, 23 June.²⁰ The news might have reached Hartford, about a hundred miles from Charlestown, on Saturday. Sunday was a day of rest and Westchester was a hundred miles further.²¹ A messenger sent on Monday could not have reached Pell in time to stop the purchase and the treaty it created.

"A great multitude off Indyans & many English" attended the purchase-treaty ceremony.²² Eight Native American names are on the copy of the Pell document: three witnesses—Cochko, Kamaque, and Cockinsecawa; and five sagamores—Shawanorockquot, Poquorum, Anhooke, Wawhamhur, and Mehumow.²³

The purchase did not go unnoticed. In October 1654 New Netherland's director wrote a gracious but emphatic letter about boundary violations.²⁴ Although the extant copy is simply addressed "Honorable, Discreet, and Very Esteemed Gentlemen," the letter was probably for Connecticut officials.²⁵ The director described Westchester as being "less than two miles from Manhattan Island" and warned that the Dutch would use force to stop illegal encroachments.²⁶

On 5 November New Netherland resolved to order the English settlers "to desist from further activities and to depart."²⁷ Probably severe winter weather delayed that order until spring.²⁸ On 14 November Thomas Pell entered into a purchase agreement with Westchester settlers.²⁹

19. On Thursday, 29 June 1654, East Hampton still did not know about the cancellation. See *Records of the Town of East-Hampton, Long Island, Suffolk Co., N.Y.*, vol. 1 (Sag-Harbor, [N.Y.]: John H. Hunt, 1887), 58. Proclamations were delivered to the governors; New Haven had one on 5 July. See Hoadly, *Records . . . of New Haven, from May, 1653, to the Union*, 110–11.

20. Shurtleff, *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth*, 3:57.

21. Alice Morse Earle, *The Sabbath in Puritan New England* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891), 248–49.

22. The wording is from the extant copy of the Pell document, "Past Exhibits," *Bartow-Pell Mansion Museum*, for "Handwritten Copy of Deed."

23. Ibid. Anthropologist Robert S. Grumet, email to author, 21 January 2011; author's files. "I think Coco/Qwoque/Cocho are probably variants of . . . Cokow, Cokoe, Couko, Caagamovor, Corachpa, and others documented in records dating from 1660 to 1704 abstracted by Robert Bolton and briefly mentioned in the Bedford Town Records (1):1–2; (2):141–42), Mead (1911:31), and Paltsits (1910(2):652). I'd further venture that the Shawanorockquot signing the Pell deed is a variant spelling of the many orthographies identifying Sauwenaro between 1636 and 1666; Cockinsecawa, in the same document, may well be Cockenoe-de-Long Island, a Pequot captive who served as a Montaukett agent and in other capacities between 1651 and 1701. Anhooke almost certainly was the man also identified as Wampage in documents between 1652 and 1705. More speculatively, Mehumow/Mehernow may be Mamaranack (fl. 1640–1683)." See, "Review of Grumet's *The Munsee Indians: A History*," in *American Historical Review* vol. 115, no. 4 (2010): 1141–42.

24. Charles T. Gehring, trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1652–1654* (Baltimore, Md.: GPC, 1983), 193–94. See <https://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org/research/online-publications/council-minutes-1652-1654/>.

25. Ibid., 231, endnote 218.

26. Ibid., 194.

27. Ibid., 201–2.

28. Charles T. Gehring, trans. and ed., *Council Minutes, 1655–1656* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1995), xiii. See <https://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org/research/online-publications/council-minutes-1655-1656/>

29. Blake A. Bell, "The Source of Confusion. . .," blog post, 6 November 2006, *Historic Pelham* (<http://historicpelham.blogspot.com/2006/11/source-of-confusion-over-date-thomas.html>).

In April 1655 the Dutch issued an interdict to Thomas Pell.³⁰ Armed men stopped the court messenger from entering Westchester and told him that until a settlement of the boundary, “we abide under the State of England.”³¹

Eleven months later, Dutch soldiers entered Westchester to evict the settlers in the “most secret and civil manner possible.”³² The townsmen were disarmed and twenty-three were taken by ship to New Amsterdam. “One or two of the oldest men” were sent back with the court messenger to make the remaining settlers leave. Five men were jailed on additional charges. The others, in civil detention, were required to “promise under oath, signed by their own hands, to depart from the lands of *Vreedlant* [Westchester]” and not return without consent.³³

Some signed a petition asking permission to remain.³⁴ Their request was granted, and Westchester became Oostdorp or East Towne while under Dutch control.³⁵

PUBLISHED NAMES

In an 1848 publication and its much later reprint, historian Rev. Robert Bolton Jr. culled fourteen petitioners’ names from the first translations of the original Dutch records.³⁶ The translations, known as the Albany Records, were completed by Francis Adrian van der Kemp in 1822.³⁷

Figure 1

Fourteen Names from an 1848 Publication

Thomas N. Newman,	Thomas Wheeler,
Robert Basset,	Isaac Holbert,
John Cloes,	Robert Roes,
Sherrood Damis,	James Bill,
William H. Fenfall,	John S. Genner,
Richard C. Meares,	Richard Osborn,
Samuel Harelt,	William Ward.—

Robert Bolton Jr., *History of the County of Westchester, From Its First Settlement to the Present Time*, vol. 2 (New York: Alexander S. Gould, 1848), 160.

30. E. B. O’Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York; Procured in Holland, England and France by John Romeyn Brodhead*, vol. 2 (Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1858), 161–62.

31. *Ibid.*, 161–62.

32. Gehring, *Council Minutes, 1655–1656*, 258.

33. *Ibid.*, 270–71 and 277.

34. *Ibid.*, 274–75.

35. Dixon Ryan Fox, ed., *The Minutes of the Court of Sessions (1657–1696), Westchester County, New York* (White Plains, N.Y.: Westchester County Historical Society, 1924), 1.

36. Robert Bolton Jr., *History of the County of Westchester, From Its First Settlement to the Present Time*, vol. 2 (New York: Alexander S. Gould, 1848), 160. Also, Robert Bolton Jr. and C. W. Bolton, *The History of the Several Towns, Manors, and Patents of the County of Westchester, From Its First Settlement to the Present Time*, vol. 2 (New York: Chas. F. Roper, 1881), 278. Bolton’s 1848 footnotes document his use of the Albany Records.

37. A. J. F. Van Laer, “The Translation and Publication of the Manuscript Dutch Records of New Netherland with an Account of Previous Attempts at Translation,” *Education Department Bulletin* 462 (1 January 1910): 11.

Eighteen petitioners appear in translator Dr. Edmund Bailey O’Callaghan’s 1848 publication. He transcribed the names in the Dutch colonial council minutes and in the Albany Records.³⁸ In 1855 O’Callaghan republished the same eighteen names in a second edition.³⁹ Although they appeared in the same year, Bolton’s and O’Callaghan’s names differed.

Figure 2

Eighteen Names from an 1848 Publication





¹ Signed, Thomas Newman, Thomas Wheeler, Robert Bassett, Isaiah Gilbert, John Rose, Robert Rose, Therwod Caniff, [in another entry, Davis,] Uncles Bill, William Benfall, John Jenner, Robert Meaker, [Bartholomew Meares,] Obadiah Gilbert, Roderick Osbert, John Broundith, [Landish,] Edward Waters, Samuel Morris, Samuel Hart, William Ward.

E. B. O’Callaghan, *History of New Netherland; Or, New York Under the Dutch*, vol. 2 (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1848), 313.

In 1881 translator Berthold Fernow published sixteen petitioners’ names from the Dutch colonial council minutes.⁴⁰

Figure 3

Sixteen Names from an 1881 Publication

THOMAS  NEUMAN:		JOHN BROUNDISH:
THOMAS WHEELER:	ERMOD CANIFF:	EDWART WATERS:
ROBERT BASSET:	NICKLIS HILL:	SAMUELL BARET:
ISAYH GILLBERT:	WILLIAM  BENFULL:	WILLIAM WARD.
JOHN ROES:	JOHN  YENNET:	
ROBERT ROES:	ROBERT  MEAKER:	
	OBODIAH GILBERT:	

Berthold Fernow, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. 13 (Albany, N.Y.: Weed, Parsons, 1881), 66.

Dr. Charles T. Gehring’s 1995 publication, also taken from the Dutch colonial council minutes, closely resembles the 1881 list.⁴¹

38. E. B. O’Callaghan, *History of New Netherland; Or, New York Under the Dutch*, vol. 2 (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1848), 313. For a biography, see “Edmund Bailey O’Callaghan,” *Assemblée Nationale Québec* (<http://www.assnat.qc.ca/en/deputes/o-callaghan-edmund-bailey-4641/biographie.html>).





39. E. B. O’Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (New York: D. Appleton, 1855), 313.

40. Berthold Fernow, *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, vol. 13 (Albany, N.Y.: Weed, Parsons, 1881), 66. Also, see “Berthold Fernow,” *Appletons’ Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Appletons%27_Cyclop%C3%A6dia_of_American_Biography/Fernow,_Berthold).

41. Gehring, *Council Minutes, 1655–1656*, 275. Also, see, Danny Hakim, “His Specialty? Making Old New York Talk in Dutch,” 26 December 2009, *New York Times*, online edition (<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/27/nyregion/27dutch.html>).

Figure 4

Sixteen Names from a 1995 Publication

Thomas  Neuman	Eermod Caniff
Thomas Wheeler	Nicklis Hill
Robbert Basset	William  Benfull
Isayh Gilbert	John  Yennet
John Roes	Robert  Meaker
Robert Roes	Obodiah Gilbert
John Broundish	
Edwart Waters	
Samuell Baret	
William Ward	

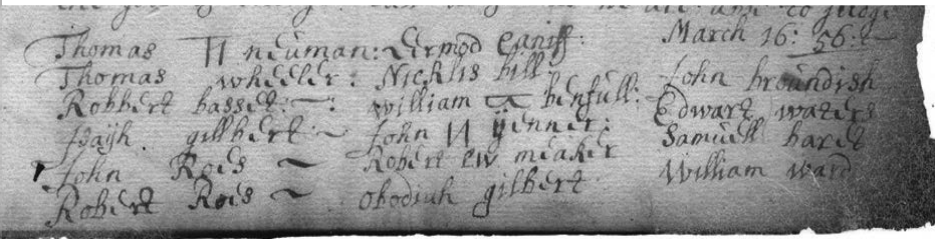
New Netherland. Council, *Council Minutes, 1655–1656*, Charles T. Gehring, trans. and ed. (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 275. Image used with permission of the New Netherland Institute, Albany, N.Y.

THE DUTCH COLONIAL COUNCIL MINUTES COPY

The New York State Archives holds a copy of the Westchester petition transcribed into the Dutch colonial council minutes. The “Commission of Thomas Wheeler to be chief magistrate of Westchester” is at the top of the page.⁴² The extant copy fills the bottom half of the page and includes the petitioners’ names as copied by the clerk.⁴³ Both commission and petition are dated 16 March 1656, the date on the Gregorian calendar used by the Dutch. For the English, who used the Julian calendar, the date was 6 March 1655/6.

Figure 5

Dutch Colonial Council Minutes Copy of the Westchester Petition



“Digital Collections,” *New York State Archives* (http://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/52622), for “Petition of Thomas Wheeler and other settlers of Westchester submitting themselves to the government of New Netherland and asking certain privileges.”

42. “Digital Collections,” *New York State Archives* (http://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/52621), “Commission of Thomas Wheeler to be chief magistrate of Westchester (Vreeland).”

43. “Digital Collections,” *New York State Archives* (http://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/52622), “Petition of Thomas Wheeler and other settlers of Westchester submitting themselves to the government of New Netherland”





DIFFERING NUMBERS

The 1881 and 1995 lists reflect the sixteen names on the Dutch colonial council minutes copy. They differ only by one letter. The eighteen names O’Callaghan published in 1848 and 1855 included two additional names. The list Bolton published in 1848 omitted either two or four names. Why the discrepancies?

A bracketed name follows each of three names in O’Callaghan’s lists. The words “in another entry” precede the first bracketed name. This indicates his two sources: the Dutch colonial council minutes and the Albany Records.⁴⁴ Two bracketed names correspond to names on Bolton’s 1848 list based on the Albany Records; the third is not on Bolton’s list.⁴⁵ O’Callaghan’s two extra names, Roderick Osbert and Samuel Hart, also correspond to names on Bolton’s list. When the two are bracketed and moved beside the name before them, O’Callaghan’s 1848 and 1855 number of petitioners is reconciled with the copy in Dutch Council Minutes. See figure 6.

Figure 6

Comparison of Four Published Versions of the Petitioners’ List

1881 (Fernow) and 1995 (Gehring)	1848 and 1855 (O’Callaghan)	1848 (Bolton)
1. Thomas  Neuman	Thomas Newman	Thomas N. Newman
2. Thomas Wheeler	Thomas Wheeler	Thomas Wheeler
3. Robbert Basset	Robert Basset	Robert Bassett
4. Isayh Gillbert	Isaiah Gilbert	Isaac Holbert
5. John Roes	John Rose	John Cloes
6. Robert Roes	Robert Rose	Robert Roes
7. Ermod/Eermოდ Caniff	Therwod Caniff [in another entry, Davis]	Sherood Damis
8. Nicklis Hill	Uncles Bill	James Bill
9. William  Benfull	William Benfall	William H. Fenfall
10. John  Yennet	John Jenner	John S. Genner
11. Robert  Meaker	Robert Meaker [Bartholomew Meares]	Richard C. Meares
12. Obodiah Gilbert	Obadiah Gilbert [Roderick Osbert]	Richard Osborn
13. John Broundish	John Broundith [Landish]	
14. Edward Waters	Edward Waters	
15. Samuel Baret	Samuel Morris [Samuel Hart]	Samuel Harelt
16. William Ward	William Ward	William Ward

Sources: See text.

44. O’Callaghan’s footnotes document his use of the Albany Records. For example, see E. B. O’Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, 2:312 and 314.

45. Bolton did not footnote a source for the petitioners’ names. The footnotes for the paragraphs before and after the names reference the Albany Records. See R. Bolton, *History of the County of Westchester*, 2:160-61.

With O'Callaghan's 1848 and 1855 number of petitioners reconciled, two names are missing from Bolton's 1848 version. They would have been on the same line in his format, suggesting accidental omission perhaps during typesetting. Although fire destroyed the Albany Records in 1911, both names apparently were in those translations because (1) O'Callaghan included a bracketed name for petitioner thirteen and (2) Bolton grouped the names in pairs.⁴⁶

DIFFERING NAMES

The names published in 1881 and 1995 reflect spellings on the Dutch council minutes copy. Several names published by O'Callaghan in 1848 and 1855 and Bolton in 1848 do not. An authority concluded that O'Callaghan's translations needed "revision with the originals."⁴⁷ O'Callaghan did not "strictly adhere to the spelling of proper names" substituting instead "English equivalents for Dutch given names."⁴⁸ O'Callaghan's imprecise methods explain why three of his names differ from the council minutes copy. Further, the Albany Records were "absolutely worthless for critical historical work."⁴⁹ Bolton's unreliable source, the Albany Records, is why eight of his names differ from the council minutes copy.

THE ORIGINAL PETITION

The New York State Archives is digitizing New Netherland's surviving records "through a partnership with the Society of Daughters of Holland Dames, the Netherlands government, and the New Netherland Institute."⁵⁰ Among the thousands of online pages is the original Westchester petition.⁵¹ Its existence in a volume believed to be copies was unrecognized until 13 February 2017 when an image was uploaded. The document's top and upper right show damage from the 1911 fire. The petitioners' names, however, are clear. Fifteen men apparently used the same pen to sign in brown ink. The sixteenth signature's black ink suggests it came later, but before a Dutch clerk copied the petition into the Council Minutes.⁵²

46. Peter A. Douglas, *Dutch Renaissance: The Story of the New Netherland Project* (Albany: New Netherland Institute, 2009), 6 and 10.

47. Van Laer, "Translation and Publication," 19.

48. Ibid. O'Callaghan published the petitioners' names about twenty years before he became the archivist/translator of the Dutch records.

49. Ibid., 12.

50. "Research," *New York State Archive* (<http://www.archives.nysed.gov/research/research-guide-dutch>), for "Researching New York's Dutch Heritage." Also, (<http://iarchives.nysed.gov/xtf/search?documenttype=translation;seriesnum=A1881%20;startDoc=1>).

51. "Research," *New York State Archives* (http://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/56917), "Petition of Thomas Wheeler and other settlers of Westchester submitting themselves to the government of New Netherland and asking certain privileges."

52. New York State Archives to author, email, 14 June 2017; author's files.

THE SIXTEEN PETITIONERS

Thomas Newman

Thomas Newman, the oldest petitioner, was seventy-two in December 1656.⁵³ He died in Westchester in February 1660. His will presented to the New Haven court calls him “Thomas Newman, late of East-towne, in the New-Netherlands.”⁵⁴

Thomas first appeared in Stamford town records in 1649; his son is first mentioned in 1642.⁵⁵ In 1653 Thomas was involved in the unauthorized anti-Dutch activity in Stamford led by Robert Basset. In March 1653/4 the New Haven court questioned and reprimanded William but not Thomas, “in respect of his age.”⁵⁶ A detail from December 1656 suggests Newman was prominent in Westchester, besides being one of its three magistrates.⁵⁷ Dutch representatives traveled to the town on official business and wanted to see Newman first: “Upon arriving there, we went to Mr. Nieuman’s house. We were met on the way by John Lard [Lord] one of those elected as magistrate, who went with us.”⁵⁸ A 1657 Connecticut court record lists Thomas Newman as magistrate and Josiah Gilbert as secretary.⁵⁹

Thomas Wheeler

Thomas Wheeler, baptized 9 April 1620 in Cranfield, Bedfordshire, England, was thirty-five when he signed the petition.⁶⁰ Westchester’s earliest surviving records, the minutes of the court of sessions, identify him as “Thomas Wheeler of Storatfurd.”⁶¹ In the 1924 transcription of the Westchester minutes, the town is “Stanfurd.”⁶² Similarities to the letters *a* and *t* in the words *atction* [*sic*] and *estate* in the original entry clarify Wheeler was of Stratford.

53. Charles T. Gehring, trans. and ed., *Correspondence 1654–1658*, vol. 12 of New Netherland Document Series (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2003), 114.

54. Hoadly, *Records . . . of New Haven, from May, 1653, to the Union*, 486–87.

55. Paul R. Finch, *Stamford Town Records*, vol. 1 (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2011), 6–7 and 25.

56. Hoadly, *Records . . . of New Haven, from May, 1653, to the Union*, 64.

57. Gehring, *Council Minutes, 1655–1656*, 281 and 283.

58. Gehring, *Correspondence 1654–1658*, 114.

59. *Records of the Particular Court of Connecticut, 1639–1663* (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1928), 182.

60. Frederick George Emmison, ed., *Cranfield 1600–1812*, vol. 27 of *Bedfordshire Parish Registers* (Bedford, U.K.: County Record Office, 1943), 3. Also, Homer W. Brainard, “Captain Thomas Wheeler and Some of His Descendants,” *The American Genealogist* 12 (July 1935): 4–17. Brainard carefully sorts this man from his older half-brother and nephew of the same names in a seminal article that makes little mention of his activities in the 1650s.

61. Westchester Co., N.Y., Minutes of the Court of Sessions 1657–1696, manuscripts and microfilm copy at New York Historical Society, New York.

62. Fox, *Minutes of the Court of Sessions*, 8.

63. Donald Lines Jacobus, comp. and ed., *History and Genealogy of the Families of Old Fairfield* (Fairfield, Conn.: Eunice Dennie Burr Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, 1930), 1B:662–65 and 2C:1077–79.

Thomas's distinctive *W* in his signature on the original petition and the same letter in the words *Wee* and *War* (were) in the text indicates he wrote the petition. This explains why both the minutes copy and the original begin, "Petition of Thomas Wheeler." After writing the document, Wheeler apparently wrote the first petitioner's name, leaving space for a mark, before signing his own.

Thomas lived in Concord, Massachusetts, until 1644, then he settled in Fairfield and Stratford.⁶³ He was a lieutenant by October 1651.⁶⁴ In May 1653, he was chosen ensign for the Connecticut troops preparing for war against New Netherland, another sign of his anti-Dutch sentiment.⁶⁵

Thomas became a captain after returning to Concord and in 1675 led Captain Edward Hutchinson into what became an Indian ambush.⁶⁶ The petitioner, "husband to Reuth," died in December 1676 and two of their sons died in January. The wife of his nephew Thomas died in February and two of their children died in March.⁶⁷ The deaths' closeness suggests an epidemic.⁶⁸

Robert Bassett

Robert Bassett, christened on 24 April 1624 in Stamford, Lincolnshire, England, signed the petition at age thirty-one.⁶⁹ His son, Robert of Stratford, stated in 1691 that he was the "sole heir of my father, Robert Bassett, dec'd., late inhabitant of Westchester."⁷⁰ The father took the oath of allegiance at New Haven in July 1644.⁷¹

Robert's unauthorized, and therefore mutinous, anti-Dutch activity caused the November 1653 warrant issued against him by New Haven. In March 1653/4 the court questioned him about "how actiue he hath bine . . . to raise volunteers to goe against the Dutch." Robert stated "old Newman and William Newman" were two of those involved at Stamford. In May 1654 he referred to his "present affection

64. Trumbull, *Public Records of . . . Connecticut*, 1:226.

65. *Ibid.*, 243.

66. Raymond David Wheeler, *The Wheeler Genealogy: The Wheeler Family of Cranfield, Bedfordshire, Settlers of Colonial New England* (Dolgeville, N.Y.: Kinsystems, 1993), 166. Also, George Madison Bodge, *Soldiers in King Philip's War* (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1906), 102–15.

67. George Tolman, *Concord, Massachusetts Births, Marriages and Deaths, 1635–1850* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1895), 19.

68. Ernest Caulfield, "The Pursuit of a Pestilence," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, new series 60 (April 1950):28–30.

69. Charles Wilmer Foster, Baptisms, marriages and burials of Stamford, All Saints, 1560–1652; manuscript transcripts of parish register, Robert Bassett baptism, 24 April 1624; microfilm 436,051, item 2, Family History Library, Salt Lake City. Also, Bassett Family Association, "Splinters from the Tree," newsletter posting, January 2009, *BassettBranches.org: Home of the Bassett Family Association* (<http://www.bassettbranches.org/newsletters/2008/20080120/20080120.shtml>).

70. *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/007139318>), digital film 007139318, image 304, Westchester Co., Record of Deeds B:255, Bassett to Hunt, 25 May 1650.

71. Charles J. Hoadly, *Records of the Colony and Plantation of New Haven, from 1638 to 1649* (Hartford: Case, Tiffany, 1857), 139.

against the Dutch.” On 23 June 1654 Robert Bassett was chosen chief drummer for the New Haven troops preparing for war against New Netherland.⁷²

Robert disliked the wording of the oath of allegiance required on 1 January 1656/7. He amended and signed it with other Westchester men.⁷³

Josiah Gilbert

Baptized on 27 November 1625 in Yardley, Worcestershire, England, Josiah Gilbert signed the petition at age thirty.⁷⁴ His brothers Jonathan and John were Indian interpreters.⁷⁵ In July 1655 “Thomas Wheeler, William Newman and Josias Gilbert,” inventoried the estate of Joseph Boosey of Westchester.⁷⁶

John Rose

John and his twin brother, Robert, signed together. Both were thirty-six, because they were fifteen when listed with their family in April 1634.⁷⁷

John settled in Wethersfield and then followed his father to Branford, Connecticut.⁷⁸ The Rose land in Wethersfield was near the Hollister farm leased by the Gilbert brothers.⁷⁹

Robert Rose

Robert’s wife, Rebecca, deposed in a 1651 New Haven court.⁸⁰ A 1660 Westchester court record involving Robert also mentions her. “Rabecka Roes declares that her husband bad[e] her keepe it privat.”⁸¹

In 1637, when Robert served in the Pequot War, Thomas Pell was the surgeon.⁸² “Robert Rose settled first in Wethersfield, Conn. with his father, and removed

72. Hoadly, *Records . . . of New Haven, from May, 1653, to the Union*, 49, 55–56, 94, and 108.

73. Gehring, *Correspondence 1654–1658*, 115–16. For an online image of the oath document Bassett wrote, see “Digital Collections,” *New York State Archives* (http://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/45234), for “Oath written and signed by the inhabitants of Oostdrop.”

74. Douglas Richardson, “The English Origin of Thomas Gilbert of Braintree, Massachusetts, and Wethersfield, Connecticut,” *The American Genealogist* 67 (July 1992): 161–66.

75. Pulsifer, *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England*, vol. 10, Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, vol. 2 (Boston: William White, 1859), 115–17.

76. Charles William Manwaring, *A Digest of the Early Connecticut Probate Records*, vol. 1 (Hartford: R. S. Peck, 1904), 99.

77. John Camden Hotten, ed., *The Original Lists of Persons of Quality . . .* (1874; reprint, Baltimore: GPC, 1974), 278.

78. Sherman Adams and Henry Reed Stiles, *The History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut*, vol. 1 (New York: Grafton Press, 1904), 283 and 294.

79. *Ibid.*, 1:192.

80. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, ed., *New Haven Town Records 1649–1662*, vol. 1 of *Ancient Town Records* (New Haven, Conn.: New Haven Colony Historical Society, 1917), 89.

81. Fox, *Minutes of the Court of Sessions*, 25.

82. J. Hammond Trumbull, *The Memorial History of Hartford County, Connecticut, 1663–1884*, vol. 2 (Boston: Edward L. Osgood, 1886), 434–35 and 504.

with him to Branford . . . about 1644. Soon after 1655 he removed to Stratford.”⁸³ Robert was one of twenty-three men arrested in Westchester in March 1655/6. This suggests he went from Branford to Westchester. Robert is last mentioned in Westchester records in September 1661.⁸⁴

Dermod (Jeremiah) Canniff

He remained in Westchester. On the petition the name is Dermod Canniff. Jeremiah is an English equivalent of the Irish Dermot/Diarmid, Diarmud.⁸⁵

Dermot sometimes appears as “Dermin” and “Dearman.”⁸⁶ This explains the versions of his name in the Westchester minutes. Dermod Canniff was at least sixteen in 1656, the minimum age for militia service.⁸⁷ A 1671 court transcript calls him “Jeremiah Cannon [Canniff] alias Dorman.”⁸⁸ He was “Jeremiah Canniff” in 1672, when he and his wife, Anne, were tenants of Mr. John Richbell.⁸⁹

Nickles/Nicholas Baly/Bayley

Nicholas Baly remained in Westchester. His name is mistranscribed in each published version. A week after Nicholas signed the petition his name was submitted for magistrate.⁹⁰ He was twenty-seven or older in 1656, because he was at least sixteen when he took the oath of fidelity in July 1644.⁹¹ In fall 1655 the New Haven court informed Nicholas and his wife that they had given offense, she was suspected of witchcraft, and they must “remove themselves to some other place.”⁹²

William Benfield

The first three entries in the Westchester transcription clarify William Benefield’s surname.⁹³ Three documents involving his wife, Elizabeth, establish his identity.⁹⁴ His age is unknown but he was surely an adult, age twenty-five, before 1656.

83. Christine Rose, *Descendants of Robert Rose of Wethersfield and Branford, Connecticut* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Brown-Brumfield, 1983), 16.

84. Fox, *Minutes of the Court of Sessions*, 2–22 and 24–28.

85. Robert E. Matheson, *Varieties and Synonymes of Surnames and Christian Names in Ireland* (Dublin: Alex.Thom, 1901), 28.

86. Michael J. O’Brien, “Dermot, or Diarmuid O’Mahony, Pioneer Irishman of New England,” *The Journal of the American-Irish Historical Society* 14 (1915): 175.

87. Trumbull, *Public Records of . . . Connecticut*, 1:542.

88. Christoph and Christoph, *Records of the Court of Assizes . . . New York, 1665–1682*, 120.

89. Victor Hugo Paltsits, *Minutes of the Executive-Council of the Province of New York*, vol. 2 (Albany: State of New York, 1910), 749.

90. Gehring, *Council Minutes, 1655–1656*, 281.

91. Hoadly, *Records . . . of New Haven, from 1638 to 1649*, 139. Also, see Charles Evans, *Oaths of Allegiance in Colonial New England* (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1922), 40.

92. Dexter, *New Haven Town Records 1649–1662*, 245–46, 249, and 256–58.

93. Fox, *Minutes of the Court of Sessions*, 1.

94. Ibid., 14. Also, Theodore M. Banta, comp., “Powers of Attorney, Acknowledgments, Indentures of Apprentices, Inventories, Etc,” E. B. O’Callaghan, trans., *Year Book of the Holland Society of New York* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1900), 135. Also, Jacobus, *Families of Old Fairfield*, 1A:64–65.

In May 1655 the New Haven court questioned William Benfield about his involvement in the case of Hannah Spencer and William Ellit.⁹⁵ Spencer “tooke a passage in William Benfields boate to goe from Milford to Stamford” and Ellit worked for Benfield.⁹⁶

John Genner/Jenner

“Jenners, John. Settled in Stratford; rem. To Brookhaven, L.I.”⁹⁷ In September 1659 John was among those of the Cromwell’s Bay (Setauket/Brookhaven) who petitioned to become part of Connecticut.⁹⁸ His original mark on the March 1655/6 Westchester petition resembles his original mark on a September 1659 petition.⁹⁹

John Jenner’s first child’s birth, in October 1648, was recorded in Stratford.¹⁰⁰ If he was sixteen or older in 1640 when acquitted of being drunk in New Haven, then we was thirty-two or older in 1656.¹⁰¹ The 1672 will of Reverend Thomas Jenner does not clarify a relationship to the petitioner.¹⁰²

Robert Meaker

Robert’s mark is on the original petition and the Westchester oath document. He took the oath of fidelity at New Haven in July 1644, so he was twenty-seven or older in March 1655/6. Robert married in 1651 and at some point moved with his wife Susan to Fairfield.¹⁰³

Obadiah Gilbert

Baptized on 7 June 1629 in Yardley parish, Worcestershire, Obadiah was twenty-six in 1656.¹⁰⁴ In his 1674 will, Obadiah Gilbert of Fairfield appointed “my Loving brethren Jonathan Gilbert and Josiah Gilbert to be my overseers.”¹⁰⁵

95. Hoadly, *Records . . . of New Haven, from May, 1653, to the Union*, 134–37.

96. Ibid.

97. Jacobus, *Families of Old Fairfield*, 1A:331.

98. Trumbull, *Public Records of . . . Connecticut*, 1:341.

99. Petition, September 1659, document 9a; vol. 1, pt. 1; Towns and Lands, first series; record group 001:010, Connecticut State Library, Hartford.

100. Jacobus, *Families of Old Fairfield*, 1A:331.

101. Hoadly, *Records . . . of New Haven, from 1638 to 1649*, 29.

102. J. R. Hutchinson, “Genealogical Notes from the High Court of Admiralty Examinations,” *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* 47 (April 1916): 114–15; abstract of Rev. Thomas Jenner will, 4 June 1672. Also, Walter Kendall Watkins, “New York Settlers from New England,” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 55 (July 1901):302; abstract of John Jenner will, 7 March 1674.

103. Hoadly, *Records . . . of New Haven, from 1638 to 1649*, 139. Also, Jacobus, *Families of Fairfield*, 1B:404.

104. Richardson, “English Origin of Thomas Gilbert,” 2.

105. Homer Worthington Brainard, Harold Simeon Gilbert, and Clarence Almon Torrey, *The Gilbert Family: Descendants of Thomas Gilbert, 1582(?)–1659, of Mt. Wollaston (Braintree), Windsor, and Wethersfield* (New Haven, Conn.: A. C. Gilbert, 1953), 71.

John Brundish/Brundage

John Brundage was the son of John and Rachel Brundish of Wethersfield.¹⁰⁶ His widowed mother married Anthony Wilson of Fairfield in 1642.¹⁰⁷ John was about twenty in 1656.¹⁰⁸

Edwards/Edward Waters

Edward remained in Westchester. If he took the oath of fidelity at New Haven on 7 March 1646/7, then he was at least twenty-six when he signed the petition.¹⁰⁹ Edward married Bridget, widow of John Wilmot, whose daughter married Miles Oakley in 1669.¹¹⁰ Edward signed his own name on the petition and then wrote the name of the next petitioner, leaving space for a mark.

Samuel Barrett

Samuel remained in Westchester. His age is unknown but his wife Hannah Betts was baptized on 26 January 1639/40.¹¹¹ Samuel was likely under twenty-five when he was ordered by the Connecticut court in December 1645 “to searue Arther Smith one yeare after the date hereof” for eight pounds.¹¹² The 1666 will of his brother John Barrett of London mentions Samuel’s son John.¹¹³ The 1673 will of Samuel’s father-in-law, William Betts, also mentions Samuel’s son John.¹¹⁴ His name on the original petition does not contain a mark although space was left for one. He signed both the June 1664 Pell land document and a 1667 Westchester land document with a mark B.¹¹⁵ On 31 May 1654 the New Haven court removed the restraint forbidding Samuel “to goe out of this jurisdiction, and also repealed that part of the order concerning . . . wearing a halter.”¹¹⁶ The name in a 1667 Middlesex County, Massachusetts, court record, transcribed as Samuel Barrett, age thirty, is Samuel *Ballatt*, a Charlestown shipwright.¹¹⁷

106. Trumbull, *Public Records of . . . Connecticut*, 1:40 and 45–46.

107. Jacobus, *Families of Old Fairfield*, 1A:108.

108. Ibid.

109. Hoadly, *Records . . . of New Haven, from 1638 to 1649*, 139.

110. Philip Field Horne, *The Oakely Genealogy: Descendants of Miles and Mary (Wilmot) Oakley, the Westchester Branch* (New York: privately published, 1962), 6.

111. Emily Warren Roebling, *The Journal of Reverend Silas Constant* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1903), 144.

112. Trumbull, *Public Records of . . . Connecticut*, 1:136.

113. Leslie Mahler, “English Relatives of Samuel Barrett of Yonkers, New York, and His Sister Hannah (Barrett) (Jenner), Wife of John Coe,” *The American Genealogist* 78 (January 2003): 37.

114. Roebling, *The Journal of the Reverend Silas Constant*, 144.

115. Borough town of Westchester—Record of Town Meetings 1665–1691, in Records of the County and Town of Westchester, 1657–1775, manuscripts and microfilm copy at New York Historical Society, New York. Also, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/search/film/007150880>), digital film 007150880, image 66, Westchester County, N.Y., Record of Deeds A:104, Barrett to Pallmor, 12 March 1677.

116. Hoadly, *Records . . . of New Haven, from May, 1653, to the Union*, 99.

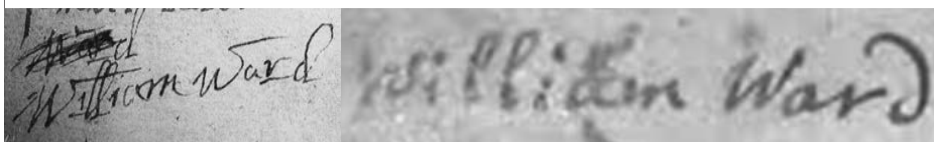
117. Melinde Lutz Sanborn, *Ages from Court Records 1636–1700*, vol. 1 (Baltimore: GPC, 2003) 20.

William Ward

William Ward was about twenty in 1656.¹¹⁸ Thomas Wheeler Sr. of Fairfield, in his 1654 will, named as overseers: his brother Lt. Thomas Wheeler; Andrew Ward; and Robert Lockwood, William Ward's future father-in-law.¹¹⁹ Esther, wife of Joseph Boosey of Westchester, might have been William's sister.¹²⁰ See figure 8 for William's name on the petition, presumably his signature. William Ward of Middletown, Connecticut, was the same age as William of Fairfield. Middletown William's Bible contains a dissimilar signature.¹²¹ See figure 8.

Figure 8

William Ward's Name



Sources: Left: "Petition of Thomas Wheeler and 15 other settlers of Westchester submitting themselves to the government of New Netherland and asking certain privileges." Research, *New York State Archives* (http://digitalcollections.archives.nysed.gov/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/56917). Right: "English," *Middlesex County Historical Society* (<https://mchsct.org/exhibits-displays/their-own-stories-online-exhibit/english/>) for "Bible Published in London, 1626." The author thanks Ms. Shapiro for emailing an image of the signature from the Bible in the society's collections.

William's activities before the Westchester petition are unknown, but his father is well documented.¹²² In May 1653 Andrew Ward was one of the Fairfield men responsible to press men to serve in an expedition against the Dutch.¹²³

118. George K. Ward, *Andrew Ward and His Descendants 1597–1910* (New York: A. T. De Le Mare, 1910), 29.

119. Spencer P. Mead, *Abstracts of Probate Records at Fairfield, County of Fairfield, and State of Connecticut* (1934; reprint, Salem, Mass: Higginson, 1998), 11.

120. Jacobus, *Families of Old Fairfield*, 1A:117–20.

121. "English," *Middlesex County Historical Society* (<https://mchsct.org/exhibits-displays/their-own-stories-online-exhibit/english/>), for "Bible Published in London, 1626." Debby Shapiro (Director, Middlesex County Historical Society), email including image, to author, 20 June 2017; author's files.

122. Jacobus, *Families of Old Fairfield*, 1B:643–45.

123. Trumbull, *Public Records of . . . Connecticut*, 1:243.

Careful consideration of each signature or mark on the original petition and available documentation leads to a reliable and accurate list of the Westchester petitioners.

Table 1

A Revised List

NAME	BEFORE WESTCHESTER	AGE IN MARCH 1655/6
Thomas Newman	New Haven Colony	71
Thomas Wheeler	Connecticut Colony	35
Robert Bassett	New Haven Colony	31
Josiah Gilbert	Connecticut Colony	30
John Rose	Connecticut Colony	36
Robert Rose	New Haven Colony	36
Dermod (Jeremiah) Canniff		16 or older
Nicholas Bale/Bayley	New Haven Colony	27 or older
William Benfield	New Haven Colony?	26 or older
John Genner/Jenner	Connecticut Colony	32 or older
Robert Meaker	Connecticut Colony?	27 or older
Obadiah Gilbert	Connecticut Colony?	26
John Brundish/Brundage	Connecticut Colony	20 or older
Edward Waters	New Haven Colony?	16 or older
Samuel Barrett	New Haven Colony	16 or older
William Ward	Connecticut Colony	20 about
<i>Sources:</i> See text.		

CONCLUSION

A reconstruction of the names on the Westchester petition shows that sixteen men were involved. Details indicate they might have signed the document in a specific order. At the time of the arrest the first four signers could have been the town leaders. This might be the reason Thomas Wheeler wrote Thomas Newman's name before he signed his own. Also, this might be why the Rose brothers, twins, signed one after the other but not the Gilbert brothers. With the identities of the petitioners now clarified, a deeper study of this historic event is possible.

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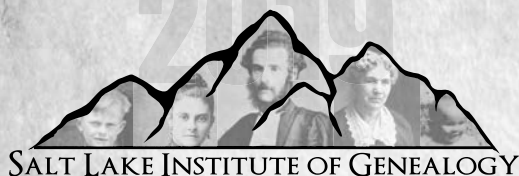
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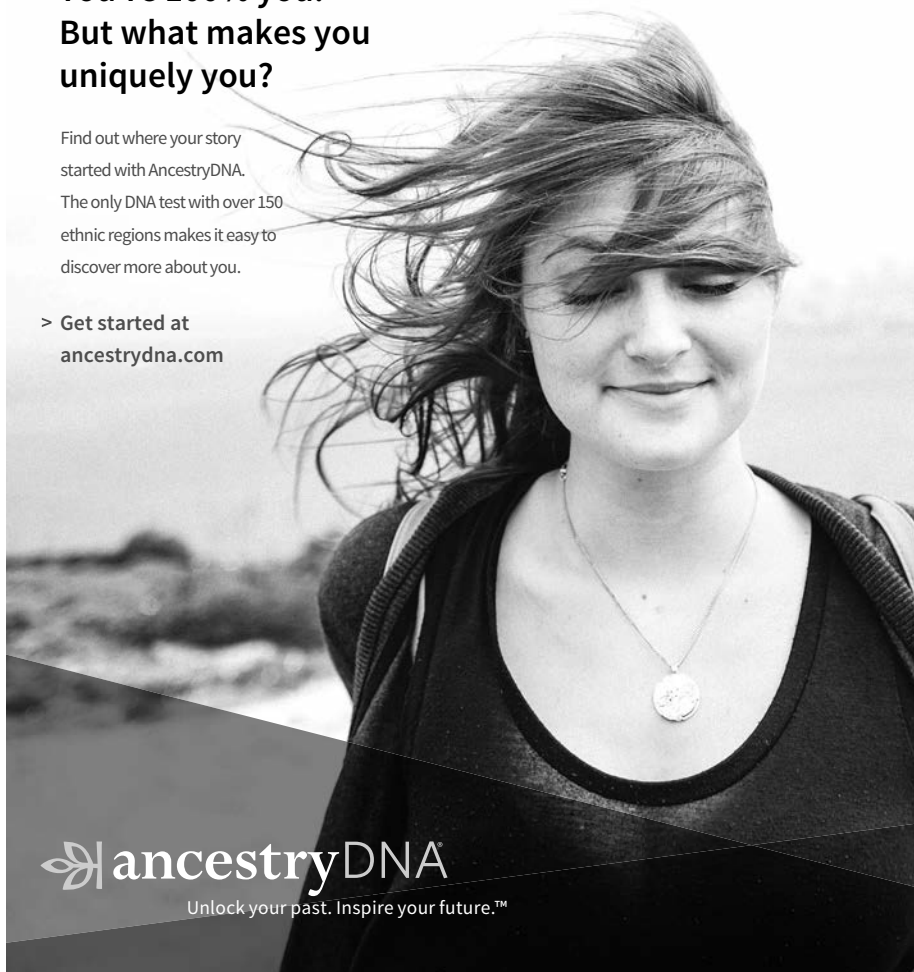
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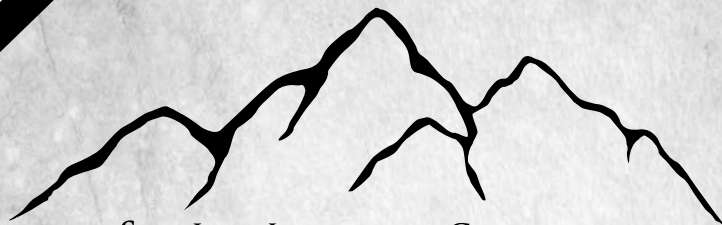
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