



FOR GENERATIONS PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

NGS Magazine

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JULY-SEPTEMBER 2018

Inside this issue:

Family Secrets

Desertion, Scurvy, and President Lincoln

Divorce Records in Genealogical Research

Finding the Records of the Mentally Ill

Loose Women: Researching Prostitutes

Thieves, Scoundrels, and Impostors

Defective, Dependent, & Delinquent Classes

and The Technology for Keeping Secrets

Burlington Jan 12th 1864.
To His Excellency Abraham Lincoln, President of
The United States,

Respected Sir,

How shall
a woman with a heart breaking
with sorrow find words wherewith
to address you, But I expect this
is to you an everyday tale.

My Husband Joseph W. Clifton has
been tried by Court-Martial for the
crime of desertion—found guilty—
and been sentenced, Oh how can
I write it! Sentenced—to be shot.
Oh I must make one last effort
for his precious life, For though
he may be erring I am his wife
and love him still, and how can
I endure the thought of the
father of my five little children
being taken out—not to fall by
a fœman's hand, but to be cut

from his duty, and dread of
punishment has had much to
do with his subsequent deser-
tions, but I will not attempt

will rest upon you to the
of life.

Yours with deep resp

Hannah C

Burlington

N. Jersey

A. Lincoln.
President U. S
Washington.

P. S. Forgive me for adding
one more pleading word, I of
must suffer—let it be any
penalty than death, But Oh
his life!

H. Clifton.



NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY
2019 FAMILY HISTORY CONFERENCE
8-11 MAY 2019 | ST. CHARLES, MO

Journey of Discovery

Advance your skills at the NGS 2019 Family History Conference

Genealogists pursue their ancestors' histories to gain an understanding of who they were.

Our tools are the methods and skills needed to locate sources and analyze records.

The National Genealogical Society's annual conference offers the best and most expansive series of lectures and workshops—more than 170—to advance your research. Join genealogists from all over the U.S. and beyond for four exciting days in St. Charles.

Hotel reservations open 15 August 2018. Conference registration opens 1 December 2018.

www.conference.ngsgenealogy.org



George Caleb Bingham, "The Jolly Flatboatmen" (1846), National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
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NGS MISSION

The mission of the National Genealogical Society is to serve and grow the genealogical community by providing education and training, fostering increased quality standards, and promoting access to and preservation of genealogical records.

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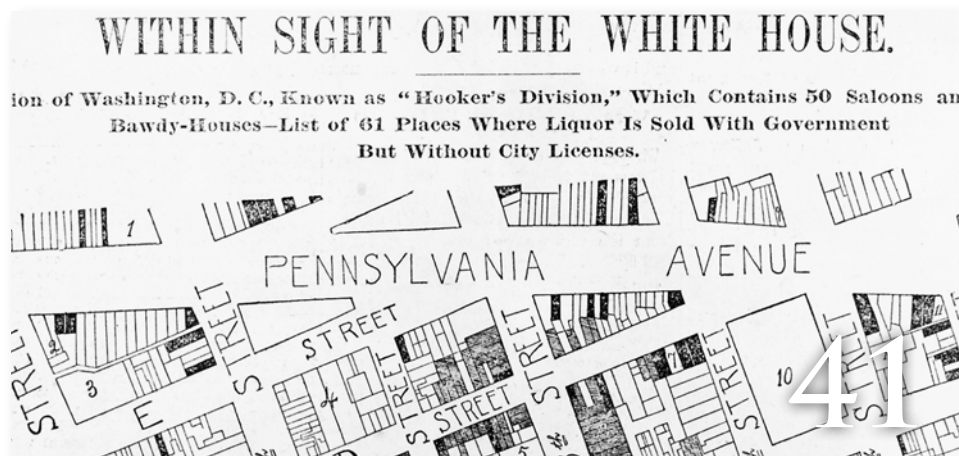
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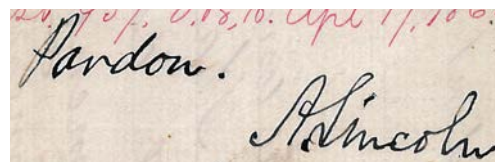
Features

- 7 **NGS 2019 Family History Conference: Journey of Discovery Events and Tours**
Ann Carter Fleming, CG, CGL, FNGS
- 11 **A Family Secret: Desertion, Scurvy, and Abraham Lincoln**
Sydney F. Cruice Dixon
- 21 **Divorce Records in Genealogical Research**
Pam Stone Eagleson, CG
- 27 **Finding the Records of the Mentally Ill**
Jill Morelli, CG
- 35 **Loose Women: Researching Prostitutes**
Jane G. Haldeman
- 59 **Researching Eighteenth-Century German Immigrants**
James M. Beidler

Departments

- 2 **PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE**
Ben Spratling
- 4 **EDITOR'S NOTE**
Deb Cyprych
- 5 **NGS NEWS**
- 43 **NATIONAL ARCHIVES Thieves, Scoundrels, Impostors, and More**
Claire Prechtel Kluskens
- 49 **REFERENCE DESK 1880 Supplemental Schedules: Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes**
Kathy Petlewski, MLIS
- 55 **TECHNOLOGY The Technology for Keeping Secrets**
Jordan Jones
- 63 **NGS MEMBERS' BOOK NOTICES**

On the cover: Letter from Hannah Clifton of Burlington, New Jersey, to Abraham Lincoln, 12 January 1864, imploring him to spare her husband Joseph's life. Clifton's death sentence for desertion was commuted to imprisonment in Fort Jefferson, Florida, where he contracted scurvy. Lincoln signed Clifton's pardon on 13 April 1865—the day before the President was assassinated.



Clifton's court-martial file contains Hannah's letter and a petition from ninety-three citizens of Lewes, Delaware, asking for President Lincoln's clemency. In her article starting on page 11, Sydney Cruice Dixon tells the story and provides tips for researching courts-martial.

NGS's Hard-Working Board of Directors



In my last column I thanked many people who made our Family History Conference in Grand Rapids, Michigan, such a tremendous success, including members of the NGS Board of Directors.

As I write this message and end my first term as president, my mind turns to how I, and all members of NGS, have benefited from the dedication of our volunteer Board of Directors. These Board members are not paid for attending Board meetings nor for their work, yet they donate many hours of their valuable time to NGS.

NGS is extremely fortunate to have such generous and productive Board members. Year in and year out, they work tirelessly with our staff, contractors, and other volunteers to ensure that NGS achieves its goals of providing education and training, fostering increased quality and standards, and promoting access to and preservation of genealogical records.

Each member of our Board is very professional, flexible, and dynamic. They are always available when and where help is needed, laser-focused on helping our members.

The members of our Board use their extraordinary talent and extensive experience to serve and grow NGS and the genealogical community. It is stunning how much work this group of genealogists is capable of accomplishing year-round to make NGS a successful organization.

So, in this President's Message, I salute NGS's hard-working Board of Directors.

I would like to especially thank our outgoing board members whose terms of office expire 30 September 2018. They are the following officers and executive committee members: Vice President Teresa Koch-Bostic of New York, Secretary B. Darrell Jackson, PhD, CG, of Michigan, and Treasurer Daryl Jackson Johanson, CPA, of Texas; and the chair of our technology committee, Director at Large Robert Raymond of Utah. They will be greatly missed. Time and again, I have witnessed

them using their extensive knowledge and skills for the benefit of NGS.

All four outgoing board members have played important roles in the two-year-long website project for NGS. As chair of the NGS technology committee, Robert Raymond had a critical role. Yet no one has sacrificed more time and given more effort than Terry Koch-Bostic in planning and creating a modern NGS website with entirely new content and design—all aimed at helping to foster education in our community and to give members and non-members a better experience when they visit the NGS website. Visitors to the site will enjoy streamlined and simpler menu selections and an easier-to-navigate store. We will be communicating more on this exciting new project in the coming weeks.

Eight outstanding members remain on the dedicated, hard-working NGS Board, and they will be joined on 1 October by the five highly qualified and capable new Board members named in my last column. They have already demonstrated an enthusiasm and willingness to carry on the work of their predecessors.

NGS is busy preparing the 2019 NGS Family History Conference for St. Charles, Missouri, which will be held 8–11 May 2019 at the St. Charles Convention Center, conveniently located along I-70 in St. Charles, only seven miles west of the St. Louis Airport. Conference registration will open on 1 December, and conference hotels are already accepting reservations. Check the NGS conference site, <https://conference.ngsgenealogy.org>, for information on NGS hotels and discounts.

We're also looking forward to 2020 when the NGS Family History Conference will be held at the Salt Palace Convention Center in Salt Lake City, Utah, 20–23 May 2020. We hope to see you in St. Charles next May, and in Salt Lake City in 2020! 🌲



The National Genealogical Society is *the* Indispensable Resource for Family Historians and Genealogists

Join NGS to Take Your Research Skills to the Next Level

Membership in NGS offers many choices to perfect your skills as a genealogist, and we add more each year. From our premier annual conference offering more than 150 expert lectures, to our carefully curated publications, books, and e-learning courses created by certified genealogists and professional educators, NGS works every day to bring you the best collection of learning opportunities to build your research and skills.

Your membership includes the *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* (NGSQ), edited by acclaimed scholars Thomas W. Jones, PhD, CG, CGL, FASG, FNGS, FUGA, and Melinde Lutz Byrne, CG, FASG. The NGSQ is one of the most important journals in the field and is utilized by every top-level genealogical teaching program for its case histories—an invaluable tool in teaching research methodology.

The NGSQ online archive allows NGS members access to more than 500 issues of “the Q”.

Members also have digital archival access to twelve years of *NGS Magazine* (published quarterly), and more than three years of *NGS Monthly*'s articles on methodology and resources, all edited and authored by the most recognized subject-matter, expert genealogists in the field.

Visit the NGS website for more details about the exclusive benefits of NGS Membership and the special Member discounts on our courses, books, conference registration, guided research trips, the NGS store, and more. Learn more at www.ngsgenealogy.org or call 1-800-473-0060.

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NGS MAGAZINE

NGS Magazine is published quarterly to update members on NGS activities and provide genealogists with specific information and guidance on conducting effective genealogical research.

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■ EDITOR'S NOTE | Deb Cyprych



Every family has its secrets—scandalous, tragic, embarrassing, or just different. This issue deals head-on with some of these skeletons in the closet and the unusual techniques and records that may reveal them.

Sydney Cruice Dixon discovered a long-hidden family secret in the National Archives. Her case study examines the reaction of two communities to a Civil War court-martial and its long-lasting effect on a family, and introduces the use of genograms to chart patterns of behavior in family history.

Divorce in earlier generations is seldom disclosed, although it has been part of American culture since the seventeenth century. Pam Stone Eagleson, CG, provides a comprehensive range of clues that a divorce occurred, examples of using indexes, and ways to locate records.

Genealogists may want to know more about mentally ill ancestors but have low expectations about obtaining access to their records. Jill Morelli, CG, explains what is available publicly, where records may be held, and how to obtain state-held records when restricted by law.

Some female ancestors who “disappeared” may have become prostitutes. Jane Haldeman demonstrates how an understanding of local and federal laws and the challenges prostitutes encountered can help with researching ladies of ill repute.

Unscrupulous people took advantage of Civil War pension laws to obtain money under false pretenses. Claire Prechtel Kluskens gives examples of scams and highlights a National Archives collection that is being digitized.

The 1880 Supplemental Schedules for Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes name thousands of people affected by blindness, child homelessness, deafness, imprisonment, insanity, mental disability, and poverty. Kathy Petlewski outlines the contents, purpose, and locations of these schedules.

Jordan Jones discusses methods of physically and logically securing private information and ways to share data cautiously, with warnings about the sensitive nature of DNA data and evolving privacy laws. 🌳

New NGS Website Coming Soon!!

NGS will introduce a **completely new website** in just a few weeks. Look for updates in your email at the end of October.

Hotel Reservations Now Open for the 2019 NGS Family History Conference

Accommodations may now be reserved for the National Genealogical Society's forty-first annual Family History Conference, Journey of Discovery, which will be held 8-11 May 2019 at the St Charles Convention Center (SCCC), One Convention Center Plaza, St. Charles, Missouri.

NGS offers attendees several discounted hotels convenient to the convention center. Since past experience has shown that conference hotels tend to fill quickly, early reservations are recommended for those intending to register and attend the conference. The hotels are offering the NGS rate three days before and three days after the conference, based on availability, so participants can do research or go sight-seeing in the area.

Information is available at <https://conference.ngsgenealogy.org/accommodations>. When making a reservation, be sure to ask for the 2019 NGS rate.

Embassy Suites St. Charles, the conference hotel connected to the convention center, is already sold out. Other conference hotels offer a variety of room rates, free parking, and internet service. Most offer free breakfast each morning. Seven hotels within a

two-mile radius of the conference site will have a complimentary shuttle service to the SCCC. Two other hotels are a little farther away and do not offer shuttle service. Uber and taxi service are also available. Reservations for hotels close 6 April 2019.

Check the hotels' websites for cancellation rules and for additional amenities. Full details and links for NGS-discounted online reservations can be found on the NGS conference website.

St. Charles has a small-town feel and friendly people. Come early or stay after the conference and take a day trip to wine country, tour the Foundry Art Centre, and dine at a variety of restaurants and breweries. Websites for area research facilities—several offering national collections—are listed in "NGS 2019 Family History Conference Events and Tours," by Ann Fleming, CG, CGL, FNGS, in this issue.

The four-day NGS 2019 Family History Conference promises to be a great opportunity for family historians to advance their research, hone their skills, and network with fellow genealogists. Be sure to reserve your hotel accommodations as soon as possible!



Photograph courtesy of the Greater Saint Charles Convention and Visitors Bureau

St. Charles Convention Center

NGS Research Trip to Salt Lake City, Utah

Join the National Genealogical Society for a week at the world-renowned Family History Library in Salt Lake City, Utah, 27 January - 3 February 2019.

Researchers have access to numerous commercial computer databases, more than two million rolls of microfilm, an immense collection of genealogical books, and outstanding worldwide maps.

The research consultants are Patricia Walls Stamm, CG, CGL, and Shirley Wilcox, CG, FNGS, FVGS. Space is limited to forty-

five participants, who will enjoy on-site orientations, consultations, and research at the world-renowned library.

Early bird registration closes 15 October 2018, and

the registration deadline is 27 November 2018. For more information, see https://www.ngsgenealogy.org/cs/research_trips and click on Salt Lake City, UT. Sign up soon to take advantage of the discounted price.



Awards and Competitions Deadline: 15 December 2018

Each year the National Genealogical Society recognizes excellence in the genealogy field by presenting awards in numerous categories and several competitions. Unfortunately, we receive far too few nominations and entries. Why not nominate someone you know or enter your own work in one of the NGS competitions? Entry forms and full information can be found on the NGS website under Awards.

The deadlines for all awards and competitions is 15 December 2018.

Competitions:

- Family History Writing Contest
- Award for Excellence: Genealogy and Family History Book
- Award for Excellence: Genealogical Methods and Sources
- John T. Humphrey, CG Memorial Scholarship
- NGS Newsletter Competition
- Rubincam Youth Award

Awards:

- National Genealogy Hall of Fame
- Fellow of the National Genealogical Society (FNGS)
- Distinguished Service
- The Shirley Langdon Wilcox Award for Exemplary Volunteerism
- The Filby Award for Genealogical Librarianship
- Award of Merit



Save the Dates!

2019 NGS Family History Conference
Journey of Discovery
St. Charles, Missouri, 8-11 May 2019

<https://conference.ngsgenealogy.org>

2019 Conference Schedule Released 18 November 2018

2019 Conference Registration Open 1 December 2018

Deadline for All Conference Event Sign-Ups:

19 April 2019

- Luncheons
- Social Events
- NGS Banquet
- Host Society Reception
- Workshops
- Pre-Conference Tours

Pre-Conference Tours, Workshops, and Librarians' Day

Tuesday, 7 May 2019



NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY 2019 FAMILY HISTORY CONFERENCE **8-11 MAY 2019 | ST. CHARLES, MO**

Journey of Discovery

Conference Events and Tours

Ann Carter Fleming, CG, CGL, FNGS

The National Genealogical Society's annual Family History Conference strives to offer the best and most expansive series of lectures about techniques and resources to build your family history. The NGS 2019 Family History Conference in St. Charles, Missouri, from 8 to 11 May 2019, will include more than 150 unique lectures on topics such as vital records and religious records, migration and immigration, U.S. census and military records, land records and maps, court records, ethnic resources, government documents, using DNA testing, technology for genealogy, Midwest regional topics, and much more.

Conference registration begins 1 December 2018 at <https://conference.ngsgenealogy.org>. At that time, you can also register for workshops, tours, meals, and other special events.

Tuesday, 7 May 2019, promises to be an eventful day for genealogists attending the NGS 2019 Family History Conference. The day will include four workshops held at the convention center and three tours, each with its own flavor:

- Civil War in Missouri tour
- St. Louis City tour
- Research at St. Louis County Library, home of the NGS Book Loan Collection

Ann Carter Fleming, CG, CGL, FNGS, is the NGS 2019 Family History Conference Chair and a past president of NGS and the St. Louis Genealogical Society.

Gateway Arch National Park

The Gateway Arch located on the bank of the Mississippi River signifies the Gateway to the West. The stainless-steel legs reaching skyward arch over the museum nestled underground. Completely redesigned with new exhibits and interactive displays, the museum along with the Old Courthouse where Dred and Harriet Scott began their quest for freedom depicts the nation's westward expansions and the history of St. Louis as a bustling riverfront city.

Time during the St. Louis city tour does not allow for a trip to the top of the Gateway Arch and the new museum, but the park is a one-of-a-kind facility well worth a visit. The Gateway Arch, museum, and Old Courthouse are all part of the Gateway Arch National Park, formerly the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial.

If you plan to visit this site, make a reservation in advance as the schedule for the tram to the top of the Arch fills quickly, often with a two or three hour wait. The museum is free and open all day. A movie shows the dangers of construction in building the world's tallest arch. See <https://www.nps.gov/jeff/index.htm>.



Gateway Arch, courtesy of the National Park Service.



Exhibit at the Missouri Civil War Museum (<https://mcwm.org/visit/exhibits-galleries>).

Civil War in Missouri tour

In the morning, the Civil War tour will visit White Haven, the home of Ulysses S. and Julia Dent Grant, which was originally owned by Julia's father. The Grant family lived at White Haven and St. Louis at various times before, during, and after the war. This national historic site visit includes a video as well as a tour of the Grants' home and other buildings. A bookstore allows interested readers an opportunity for further study.

After a stop at the St. Louis Genealogical Society office for lunch, the tour will proceed to the Missouri Civil War Museum, located fittingly at Jefferson Barracks, another historic site. The museum houses memorabilia from both the Union and Confederate forces. This state literally saw brothers fighting brothers, as Missouri was one of five border states during the Civil War. The tour will provide further insight into this crucial period in our nation's history.

St. Louis city tour

The St. Louis city tour includes some well-known sites as well as smaller venues. Lunch will be at a St. Louis landmark, the Anheuser Busch Biergarten, where before or after lunch, individuals may visit the world-famous Clydesdales housed at this location.

The tour will visit Forest Park, which is larger than Central Park in New York City. Forest Park was the location of the 1904 World's Fair and the 1904 Olympics, and is today the home of the St. Louis Art Museum, Science Center, St. Louis Zoo, three golf courses, Arthur Ashe Tennis Center, and Missouri History Museum.

Research at St. Louis County Library

NGS invites researchers to visit the NGS Book Loan Collection housed at St. Louis County Library before, during, or after the conference. On Tuesday only, attendees may travel roundtrip by bus between the convention center and the library. The library will provide a complimentary lunch for researchers participating in this visit and the St. Louis Genealogical Society will provide the transportation. Attendees must register for this tour, and space is limited.

History & Genealogy in the St. Louis County Library offers extensive German resources, including one of the largest collections of Ortssippenbücher (town lineage books) found in U.S. public libraries; 850 reels of Canton Bern, Switzerland, church records; sources for British Isles research; Yizkor books; Draper Manuscripts Collection; Southern Claims Commission records on microfilm; published Civil War histories; French Canadian church records; the Mary F. Berthold Collection of family histories; and the Julius K. Hunter and Friends African American Research Collection, to name just a few. This facility is an affiliate of FamilySearch Library.

Tuesday workshops

Tuesday events include two special day-long workshops held at the convention center. Deborah A. Abbott, PhD, and other specialists on African American research topics will teach strategies on navigating records for African American families. An Irish workshop led by author John Grenham from Ireland will broaden knowledge of special techniques and unique records utilized by Irish research experts.



1904 World's Fair Flight Cage, now an aviary in the St. Louis Zoo in Forest Park. Postcard from the St. Louis Zoo Archives (<https://www.stlzoo.org/about/history#&gid=1&pid=2>).



Statue of Lewis and Clark, courtesy of the Greater Saint Charles Convention and Visitors Bureau.

Each workshop will offer five topic-specific lectures as well as lunch. See <http://www.stlgs.org> for further information.

Society Showcase

Representatives from many local and regional societies will be available to answer questions, discuss their organizations, and display their publications on Tuesday afternoon. The Showcase is an opportunity for attendees with ancestors who lived in the region to discuss their research questions one-on-one with local experts.

BCG Education Fund Workshop—Putting Your Skills to Work

The Board for Certification of Genealogists workshop features two half-day hands-on workshops. Nancy Peters will discuss “Evidence Analysis: Theory, Practice, and the Real World.” Melissa Johnson will present “Meeting Standards with Twenty-First Century Research Reports.” This workshop is limited to sixty researchers. Further information is available on the BCG website, <http://www.bcgedfund.org/putting-skills-to-work>.

Librarians’ Day—Your Network of Research Facilities

ProQuest sponsors this day-long program offering guidance for genealogical librarians. Each speaker specializes in records available at public or private libraries and state or national archives. Each type of facility offers unique holdings. The speakers will be John Dougan, Missouri State Archivist; David Rencher, FamilySearch, Chief Genealogical Officer; Michael Hall, FamilySearch, specializing in

National Archives records; and Ari Wilkins, Dallas Public Library.

See you in St. Charles

With the Missouri River in the background, St. Charles was the jumping off spot for Lewis and Clark when they began their Journey of Discovery, which opened the West for new settlement. Similarly, the 2019 Journey of Discovery conference promises a full agenda for attendees, with visits to St. Louis sites, lectures, workshops, and exhibitors that will expand their knowledge of genealogy and research techniques.

Conference Center

The St. Charles Convention Center (SCCC) at One Convention Center Plaza is conveniently located

along I-70 in St. Charles, only seven miles west of the St. Louis Airport. SCCC offers free parking for conference attendees and those registered at the adjoining conference hotel. The building allows easy access to and from lecture halls and the exhibit area, all with internet service. Shuttles will provide transportation between designated hotels and SCCC during the conference.

Conference hotels

Registration is open at all NGS hotels. For detailed information on each hotel including all applicable room fees and taxes for single, double, triple, or quad occupancy rates, as well as hotel amenities and cancellation policies, see Hotel Reservations at <https://conference.ngsgenealogy.org>. 🌳

Research in and near St. Charles

Research opportunities surround the 2019 conference site. Missouri, St. Louis, St. Charles, and other local areas are featured here, with several facilities offering national collections. Expanded information about hours of operation and their research collection details will be available in early 2019 at <https://conference.ngsgenealogy.org>.

St. Louis County Library (SLCL): Home of the NGS Book Loan Collection and many other holdings noted on the previous page. Review the collection of the History & Genealogy Department at www.slcl.org.

National Archives (NARA) at St. Louis: NARA St. Louis houses military and civilian personnel records including those for Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) and Works Progress Administration (WPA) workers. Genealogists should make requests and appointments in advance. Refer to the NARA website, www.archives.gov/st-louis, for up-to-date information.

Local repositories

Mercantile Library: www.umsi.edu/mercantile

Missouri History Museum Library & Research Center: www.mohistory.org/lrc-home

St. Charles County Historical Society, available via the conference shuttle: www.scchs.org

St. Charles Library, Kathryn Linnemann Branch: www.youranswerplace.org/kathryn-linnemann-branch

St. Louis Public Library, a historic Carnegie library in downtown St. Louis: www.slpl.org

State repositories

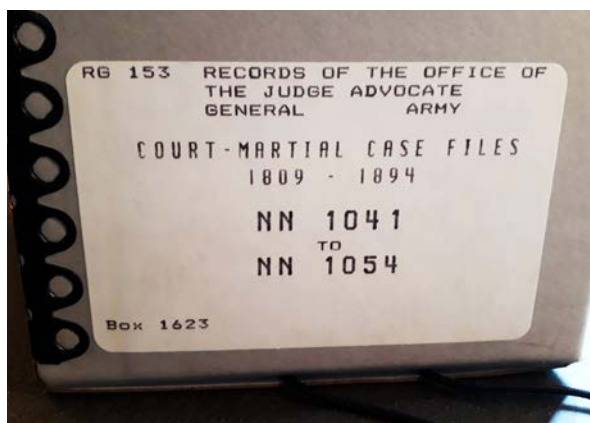
Missouri State Archives: Located in Jefferson City, this facility offers original records and microfilm for all 114 counties in Missouri. Information about its holdings is available at www.sos.mo.gov/records. Many Missouri records, such as free Missouri death certificates, 1910–1967, are available at Missouri Digital Heritage, www.sos.mo.gov/mdh.

State Historical Society of Missouri (SHSM):

Based in Columbia with branches across the state, SHSM offers published statewide records, manuscript collections, and an excellent Missouri newspaper collection at www.shsmo.org.

A Family Secret: Desertion, Scurvy, and Abraham Lincoln

Sydney F. Cruice Dixon



Court-Martial Case Files manuscript box in the National Archives, Washington, DC. Photo by Renée Carl.

Genealogists may miss amazing family adventures—or secrets—by not acknowledging that a family member did something unseemly or even downright disgraceful. These actions occur to some degree in most extended families, and the best stories are often about ancestors who made mistakes or poor decisions.

This family secret involves my third-great-grandfather, desertion, and scurvy; the citizens of Burlington, New Jersey, and Lewes, Delaware; and Abraham Lincoln. I had never heard the story, and neither my mother nor my grandmother knew anything about it, but it has opened a door into my family's true history.

I unearthed the story by researching the pension files and compiled military service records at the National Archives in Washington, DC. In those files, I learned that my ancestor had been court-martialed. That discovery led me to investigate his court-martial file, which contains a wealth of information.

Clifton's enlistment and service

In 1861, Joseph W. Clifton, a mason living in Burlington, New Jersey, volunteered at age 36 to join the Union forces in the Civil War. He signed up for a three-year term.¹ He may have joined the military due to financial difficulties or a family history of military service.²

Clifton served in Company F of the 6th New Jersey Volunteers for over a year and saw hard fighting at the Battles of Williamsburg, Fair Oaks, and Malvern Hill.³ He described the Battle of Williamsburg in a letter to his brother, reporting how they

Websites cited in this article were viewed on 30 August 2018.

1. Compiled service record, Joseph Clifton, Pvt., Co. F, 6th New Jersey Infantry; Carded Records, Volunteer Organizations, Civil War; Record Group (RG) 94: Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780-1917; National Archives (NA), Washington, DC.

2. Three years later Clifton's wife Hannah described herself as poor. See Hannah Clifton (Burlington, New Jersey) letter to President Abraham Lincoln, 12 January 1864; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042; Court-Martial Case Files, 1809-1894; Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps; RG 153: Records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General (Army), 1792-2010; NA-Washington, DC. For the military service of Clifton's father, Asa Clifton, see C. S. Layton (Georgetown, Delaware), letter to Edwin M. Stanton, 16 January 1864; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042.

3. Henry F. Rodney letter to Abraham Lincoln, 24 March 1865; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042, Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps, NA-Washington, DC.

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held off the enemy for seven and a half hours before they were relieved.⁴ During the entire time, his company was outnumbered three to one. He also described the aftermath of the Battle of Fair Oaks, better known as the Battle of Seven Pines: “[I]t was horrible the next day to walk over the battlefield to see the dead and dying and to hear the wounded[.] I never want to see any more of fighting for I am sick of it now.”⁵

Clifton’s desertion and court-martial

About a month later, in August 1862, Clifton was sent to the hospital in Chester, Pennsylvania, with a severely swollen belly and stomach pains. The doctors could not find the cause for his stomach distress. On or about 5 December, he left the hospital without leave and went home to Burlington.⁶ He later claimed he believed he was going to be discharged shortly thereafter so he went home to wait for his discharge papers. At home, he might at least be able to help his destitute wife and children.⁷

In April 1863, Clifton ran into his company captain on the streets of Burlington, and the captain told him to report to his regiment immediately. Clifton did not do so, which led to his subsequent arrest and escort back to his regiment under guard in July 1863. Four days later, while following the regiment as a prisoner, he deserted again. He was re-arrested in West Philadelphia in October 1863.⁸

Given the conditions of war and the political environment, desertion was not uncommon during this period. Indeed, desertion rates were reportedly as high as one in ten Union soldiers.⁹ In the North, many conservative Democrats—called Copperheads—sympathized with the South, opposed the war effort, and even encouraged Union troops to desert.¹⁰

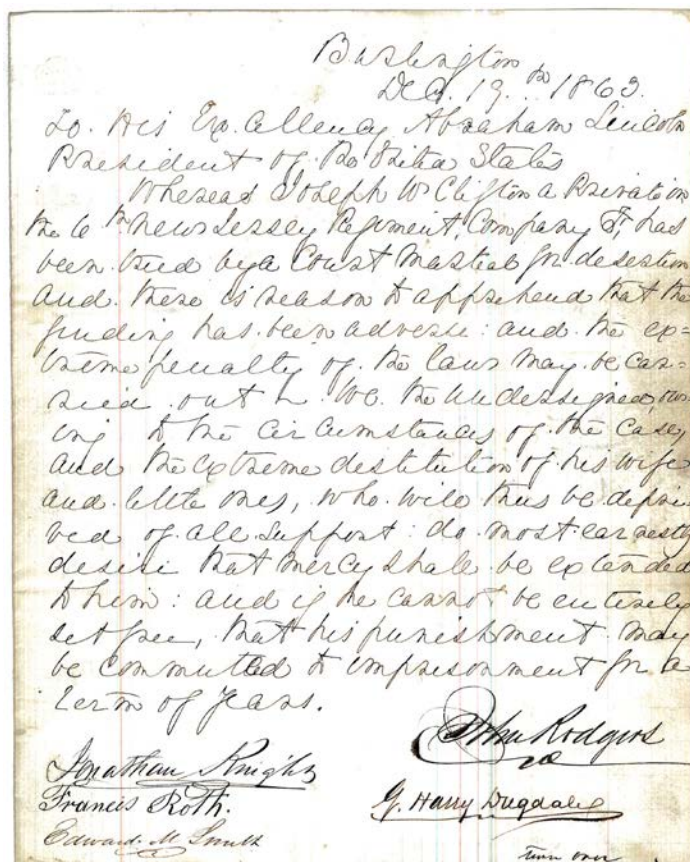
On 10 December 1863, Clifton faced a general court-martial, was found guilty of desertion, and was

sentenced “to be shot to death with musketry.”¹¹ He was to be executed on 29 January 1864.¹²

Pleas for leniency

Clifton’s family and friends were horrified. Twenty-six citizens of Burlington sent a petition to President Lincoln pleading for his life.¹³ Other people, including some who were quite prominent, sent letters of support to officials in Washington, DC.¹⁴

It’s not definitively known why so many individuals intervened to aid Clifton. However, the Clifton family was well-connected through previous military service.



First page of petition from twenty-six citizens of Burlington, New Jersey, requesting mercy for Clifton

4. Joseph Clifton (Camp Near Harrison Landing) letter to Wrexham Clifton, 17 July 1862; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042, Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps, RG153, NA-Washington, DC.

5. Ibid.

6. 10 December 1863, page 2, Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042, Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps, RG153, NA-Washington, DC.

7. Hannah Clifton (Burlington, New Jersey) letter to Abraham Lincoln, 12 January 1864; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042, Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps, RG153, NA-Washington, DC.

8. 10 December 1863, page 4; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042, Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps, RG153, NA-Washington, DC.

9. Mark A. Weitz, “Desertion, Cowardice and Punishment,” essay, Virginia Center for Civil War Studies at Virginia Tech, *Essential Civil War Curriculum* (<http://www.essentialcivilwarcurriculum.com/>) > Browse Topics > D > Desertion....

10. Ibid.

11. 10 December 1863, page 4; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042, Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps, RG153, NA-Washington, DC.

12. Special Order No. 14, 16 January 1864; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042, Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps, RG153, NA-Washington, DC.

13. Twenty-six citizens of Burlington, New Jersey, petition to Abraham Lincoln, 19 December 1863; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042, Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps, RG153, NA-Washington, DC.

14. Various letters; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042, Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps, RG153, NA-Washington, DC.

Burlington Jan 12th 1864.
 To His Excellency Abraham Lincoln, President of
 The United States,
 Respected Sir,
 How shall
 a woman with a heart breaking
 with sorrow find words wherewith
 to address you, But I expect this
 is to you an everyday tale.
 My Husband Joseph W. Clifton has
 been tried by Court-Martial for the
 crime of desertion—found guilty
 and been sentenced, Oh how can
 I write it! Sentenced—to be shot.
 Oh I must make one last effort
 for his precious life; for though
 he may be erring I am his wife
 and love him still, and how can
 I endure the thought of the
 father of my five little children
 being taken out—not to fall by
 a foeman's hand, but to be cut

Letter from Hannah Clifton to President Abraham Lincoln,
 12 January 1864.

Joseph Clifton's grandfather, Whittington Clifton, had close ties with Colonel David Hall (who served as the Governor of Delaware from 1802 to 1805) from their service together in the Revolutionary War.¹⁵ Also in his letter Caleb S. Layton mentioned the War of 1812 service of Joseph's father, Asa Clifton, whom he had known well.¹⁶ Layton, a renowned lawyer and judge, served at various times as a state

representative, state senator, and the secretary of state of Delaware.¹⁷ United States senators James W. Wall and John Ten Eyck also wrote letters on Clifton's behalf.¹⁸

The reasons presented for leniency varied. Some letters documented the patriotic service of Clifton's family. Other letters portrayed the hardships his wife and five children would endure if there was no one to

Fort Jefferson Fla Feb 22nd 1865
 Dear Sister In Law
 I Received
 your kind letter to day
 and I was very glad to
 hear from you all and
 that you all was well but
 I cannot say that I am
 well for I have got the
 Scurvy in one of my legs
 and Oh how that I do
 dread the hot season to
 come for I know that I
 shall be so bad that I
 will not be able to walk
 for the limbs gets drawed up
 so that you cannot move
 them and they all break
 out with sores about as big
 as an cent and they are

Letter from Joseph Clifton in Fort Jefferson to his sister-in-law,
 Lydia Clifton, 22 February 1865.

15. "David Hall," Wikipedia ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_Hall_\(Delaware_governor\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_Hall_(Delaware_governor))). "Revolutionary War Rolls, 1775-1783," database and images, Ancestry (<https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=4282>) > Delaware > Delaware Regiment, 1777-1780 > image 371 of 532, entry for Whittington Clifford in Return of Captain John Pattens Company, 3 February 1790; citing microfilm publication M246, RG 93: Revolutionary War Rolls, 1775-1783, War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records; NA-Washington, DC.

16. C. S. Layton (Georgetown, Delaware), letter to Edwin M. Stanton, 16 January 1864; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042, Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps, RG153, NA-Washington, DC.

17. "Caleb S. Layton," Wikipedia (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caleb_S._Layton).

18. John Ten Eyck, letter to Abraham Lincoln, 20 January 1864; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042, Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps, RG153, NA-Washington, DC. Also, James W. Wall (Burlington, New Jersey) letter to Abraham Lincoln [Washington, DC], requests pardon for Joseph W. Clinton, 26 January 1864; Abraham Lincoln Papers: Series 1, General Correspondence, 1833-1916; Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC; image, Library of Congress (<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/ms000001.mss30189a.2987400>).

provide for them.¹⁹ One letter that particularly caught my attention was from the family physician, Henry Hollemback, MD, who stated that Clifton could not be accountable for his actions since he was “weak in mind, eccentric in character, and far below the average intellect.”²⁰ On reading these words, I hoped

that Clifton’s DNA had been sufficiently diluted by the time it reached my generation!

These efforts were successful. On 16 January 1864, Special Order No. 14 was issued at the direction of President Lincoln, suspending Clifton’s sentence until further orders.²¹ Then on 2 May 1864, Special

19. C. S. Layton, letter to Edwin M. Stanton, 16 January 1864; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042, Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps, RG153, NA-Washington, DC.

20. Henry Hollemback, MD, letter to Abraham Lincoln, 16 January 1864; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042, Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps, RG153, NA-Washington, DC.

21. Special Order No. 14, 16 January 1864; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042, Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps, RG153, NA-Washington, DC.

Embellishment or Fact?

In Joseph Clifton’s compiled military service record, I found an article, “A Child’s Letter to Lincoln,” written by D. Turner, recounting the story of Clifton’s desertion, conviction, and pardon.¹ The article was published in *The Washington Post* on 4 November 1894— thirty years after these events occurred.

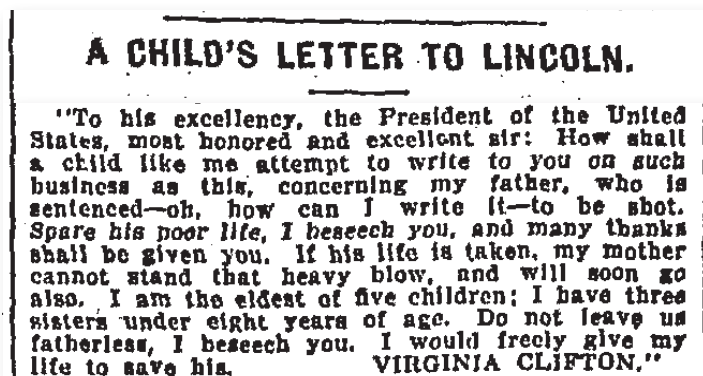
The article had been added to Clifton’s file on the orders of Colonel (subsequently Major General) Frederick Crayton Ainsworth, who revolutionized the record-keeping methods at the War Department and supervised the creation of compiled military service records.² It was this newspaper article that sparked my research. On investigating the article’s claims, however, I discovered that some can’t be documented.

One especially intriguing statement in the article is that Clifton’s young daughter, Virginia—my

second-great-grandmother—wrote a letter pleading for her father’s life. Hannah, Clifton’s wife, allegedly hand-delivered the letter to President Lincoln at the White House. The president was supposedly moved to tears by the letter and granted Hannah a private audience, at which he said he would commute Clifton’s sentence.

Unfortunately, despite reviewing numerous documents, including Lincoln’s appointment book and the index of Lincoln’s papers, and questioning a Lincoln expert at the Library of Congress, I have not been able to locate such a letter. Virginia’s letter in this article sounds similar to a letter that Hannah Clifton wrote to President Lincoln on 12 January 1864.³ Does Virginia’s letter exist or was it just a journalist’s flight of fancy, written

at a time when hyperbolic, romantic stories were often published to tug at the readers’ heartstrings?

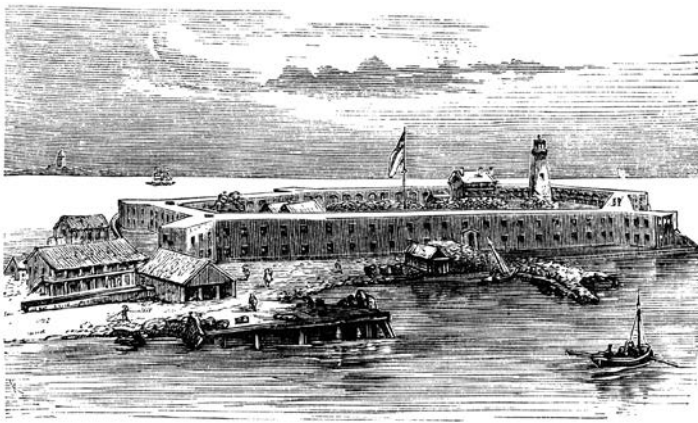


D. Turner, "A Child's Letter to Lincoln," *Washington Post*, 4 November 1894, p. 16.

1. Compiled service record, Joseph Clifton, Pvt., Co. F, 6th New Jersey Infantry; Carded Records, Volunteer Organizations, Civil War; Record Group (RG) 94: Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780-1917; National Archives (NA), Washington, DC.

2. Memorandum, 8 November 1894, Compiled service record, Joseph Clifton, Pvt., Co. F, 6 New Jersey Infantry. For Ainsworth's role in creating compiled service records, see Claire Prechtel-Klusens, "Thank You, General Fred C. Ainsworth!" *NGS Magazine* 37:4 (October-December 2011), 54-57.

3. Hannah Clifton (Burlington, New Jersey) letter to President Abraham Lincoln, 12 January 1864; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042; Court-Martial Case Files, 1809-1894; Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps; RG 153: Records of the Office of the Judge Advocate General (Army), 1792-2010; NA-Washington, DC



Fort Jefferson on the island of Dry Tortugas. Image provided by ClipArtETC, Florida Center for Instructional Technology (http://etc.usf.edu/clipart/55800/55883/55883_ft-jefferson.htm); citing Harper's New Monthly Magazine (New York, NY: Harper & Brothers, 1871).

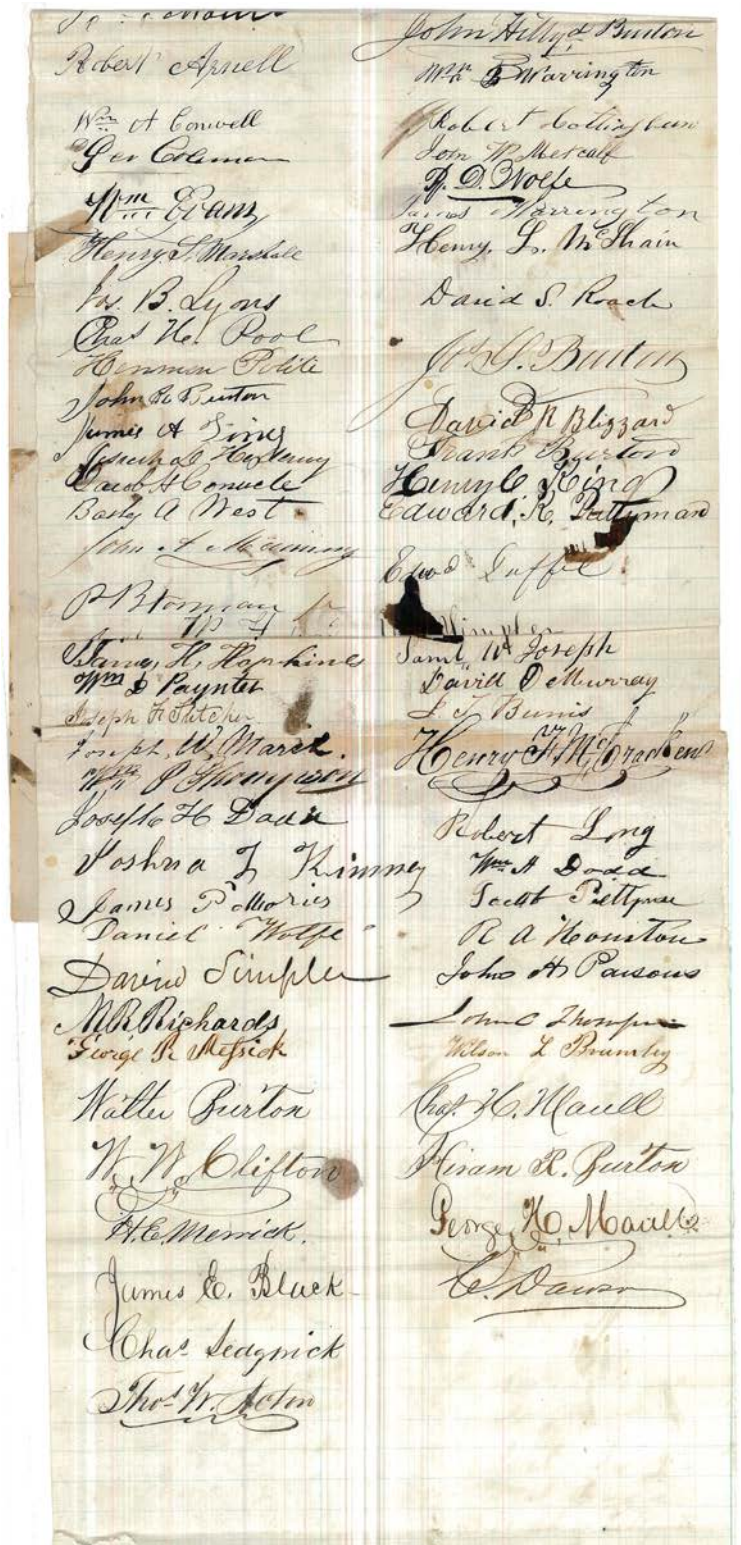
Order No. 166 mitigated his sentence to confinement for the duration of the war at Fort Jefferson in Dry Tortugas (off what is now the Florida Keys).²²

Lincoln was sympathetic towards Union deserters. He expressed frustration that the only way he could curb desertion was to inflict devastating punishment on the struggling soldiers, and he could not prevent the Copperheads from openly encouraging soldiers to desert.²³

Clifton's ordeal

Clifton's wife and children in Burlington, New Jersey, and his siblings in Lewes, Delaware, rejoiced that his life had been spared.²⁴ However, his ordeal was not yet over. Clifton frequently wrote to his brother and sister-in-law regarding the hardships of life in Fort Jefferson. In one letter, he described the food he was given: "We do not get much here[.] [W]e do get a little slice of bread and about two ounces of salt beef for breakfast and that stinks so that we cannot eat it and the Bread is full of little bugs and worms and we do get a pint of something what they call coffee and we do get about the same quantity for dinner but we do not get any meat for supper..."²⁵

On 22 February 1865, he wrote to Lydia Clifton, his sister-in-law, reporting that he had scurvy in one of his legs. "Oh how that I do dread the hot season to come for I know that I shall be so bad that I will not



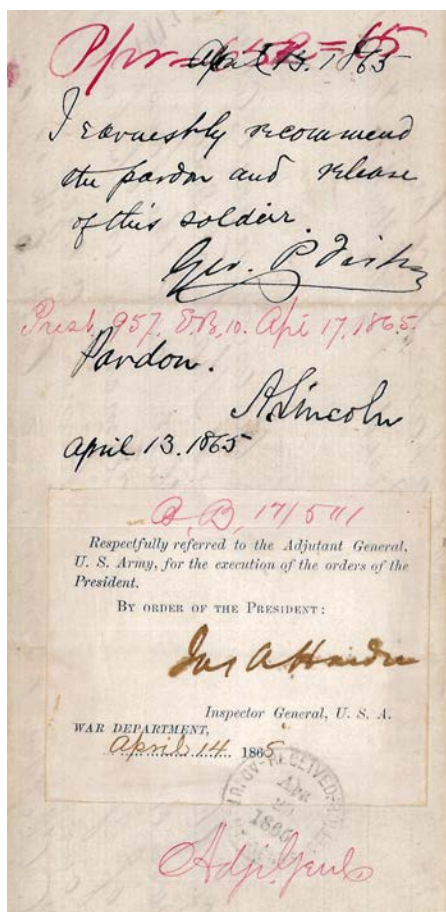
Second page of petition from ninety-three citizens of Lewes, Delaware, in support of Clifton.

22. Special Order No. 166, 2 May 1864; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042, Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps, RG153, NA-Washington, DC.

23. Weitz, "Desertion, Cowardice and Punishment."

24. James W. Wall, letter to Abraham Lincoln, requests pardon for Joseph W. Clinton, 26 January 1864; Abraham Lincoln Papers, Library of Congress.

25. Joseph W. Clifton, letter to Lydia Clifton, 22 February 1865; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042, Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps, RG153, NA-Washington, DC.



Clifton's pardon on the cover of the Lewes petition, signed by Abraham Lincoln.

be able to walk for the limbs get drawn up so that you cannot move them and they all break out in sores as big as an cent..."²⁶ With this letter his family in Lewes started a petition for Clifton's release. They feared that if he stayed in prison through the summer, he would come out in a coffin.

On 22 March 1865, ninety-three citizens of Lewes signed a petition asking for executive clemency on Clifton's behalf.²⁷

George P. Fisher, a former member of the US House of Representatives for Delaware, who had recently been appointed to the federal judiciary by President Lincoln, presented the petition to the president. On the outside cover, Judge Fisher wrote this note: "I earnestly recommend the pardon and release of this soldier. Geo. P. Fisher." The petition, preserved in Clifton's court-martial file at the National Archives,

was presented to Lincoln on the Thursday before Easter. Right below Fisher's signature reads:

"Pardon.

A. Lincoln

April 13, 1865"

That pardon came just in time, as it was signed only one day before Abraham Lincoln was assassinated in Ford's Theater on Good Friday, 14 April 1865.²⁸

Aftermath

Following President Lincoln's pardon, Joseph Clifton was discharged from the service pursuant to Special Order No. 189 issued on 26 April 1865.²⁹ He lived until 1901 when he died (from heart failure brought on by Bright's disease) at age seventy-six.³⁰

Joseph and Hannah appear to have lived together through 1880, but in 1885 they lived apart.³¹ In the 1900 federal population census, Joseph is listed as the husband of another woman, Margaret Clifton, in Cape May County, New Jersey.³² However, neither a divorce record for Hannah and Joseph, nor a marriage record for Joseph and Margaret, has been located.

After Joseph's death, Hannah applied for a widow's pension, but her application was rejected since he had been dishonorably discharged.³³ Oral family history reports that one of the daughters, Elizabeth, may have resorted to prostitution after she separated from her husband.³⁴ Another daughter, Ida, had a baby out of wedlock in 1879.³⁵

Not much was ever said about the members of that side of my family. They were considered modest and seemed to keep a very low profile. My grandmother didn't even know the name of her grandmother (Virginia Clifton). Was a mantle of shame unknowingly passed down through the generations?

26. Ibid.

27. Ninety-three citizens of Lewes, Delaware, petition to Abraham Lincoln, 22 March 1865; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042, Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps, RG153, NA-Washington, DC.

28. Ibid.

29. Special Order No. 189, 26 April 1865; in Joseph Clifton Court-Martial File, NM1042, Proceedings of General Court-Martial at Head Quarters 2nd Div. 3rd Corps, RG153, NA-Washington, DC.

30. New Jersey Vital Records, Report of Death 22767 (1901), Joseph Clifton; New Jersey State Archives, Trenton.

31. 1880 US census, Burlington County, New Jersey, population schedule, Burlington City, p. 132 A, dwelling 211, family 213, Joseph and Hannah Clifton; image, *Ancestry*; citing NARA microfilm publication T9, roll 772. 1885 New Jersey state census, "New Jersey State Census A. D. 1885," Burlington County, p. 96, dwelling 606, family 616, Hannah Clifton; image, "New Jersey, State Census, 1885," *Ancestry*; citing New Jersey State Archives, Trenton; *State Census of New Jersey, 1885*; Film Number: 3.

32. 1900 US census, Cape May County, New Jersey, population schedule, Ocean City, p.124-B (stamped), dwelling 231, family 243, Joseph and Margaret Clifton; image, *Ancestry*; citing NARA microfilm publication T623, roll 961.

33. Hannah M. Clifton, Widow's Pension Application no. WO 753929 (Rejected), for service of Joseph W. Clifton (Pvt., Co. F, 6th N. J. Vol. Inf., Civil War); Case Files of Rejected Pension Applications, Civil War; RG 15: Records of Veterans Affairs; NA-Washington, DC.

34. Name of person interviewed privately held by Sydney F. Cruice Dixon, second-great-granddaughter of Elizabeth Clifton, 27 September 2018; transcript privately held by Dixon [address for private use], Berwyn, Pennsylvania, 2018.

35. Burlington County, New Jersey, "Births, 1880-1881," City of Burlington, Leander Clifton, 18 May 1880; image, "New Jersey, Births, 1670-1980," *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:FCG3-CJD>); citing Burlington City, Burlington, New Jersey, United States, Division of Archives and Record Management, New Jersey Department of State, Trenton; FHL microfilm 494,188.

Genograms and Family Patterns

As every good genealogist knows, carefully examining the documentary evidence and applying the five elements of the Genealogy Proof Standard is essential in order to arrive at a soundly reasoned conclusion. During this process, aspects of a family's history and psychology may be revealed.

Identifying patterns of behavior and traditions through documents and other resources can reveal the family's values or struggles, including divorce, elopement, volunteer military service, alcoholism or substance abuse, domestic abuse, adultery, criminal activity, a focus on education, mental illness, and so on. Analyzing these behavioral patterns can reveal clues that may lead to other documents.

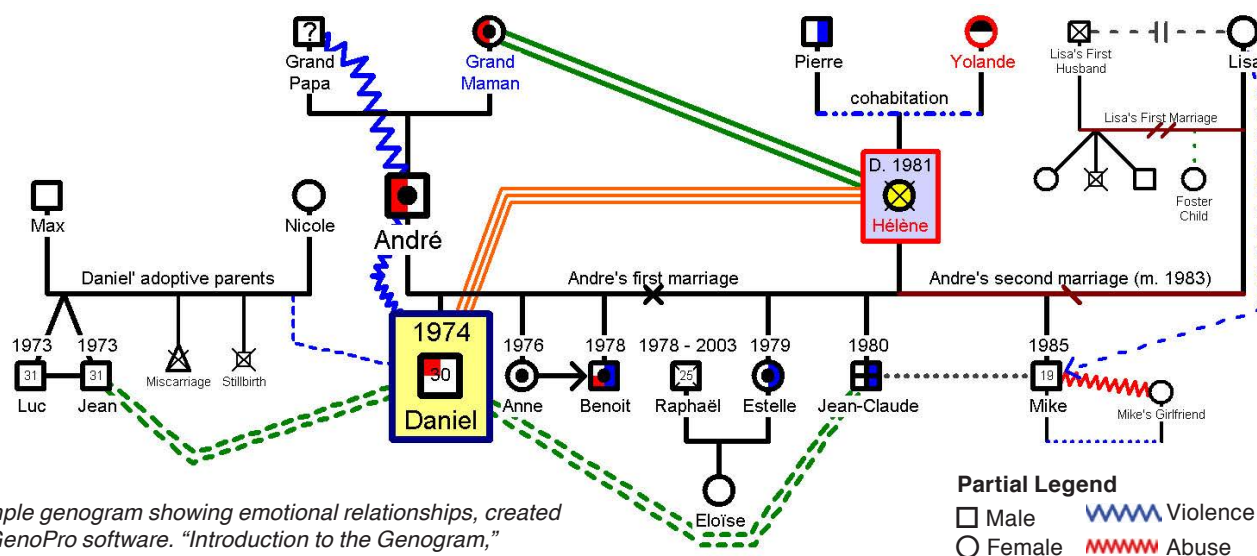
One effective way to trace patterns of behavior through generations of a family is to use a genogram, a tool often employed by psychologists in analyzing a family's behavioral history. A genogram looks similar to a family tree or a pedigree chart, but it also incorporates visual symbols to indicate behavior, relationships, medical issues, and other aspects.¹ Use of this tool may help researchers become better genealogists.

For example, in my family there is a pattern of elopement. My parents were about to elope until my mother's uncle discovered their plans. All four of my grandparents eloped or married without the consent and not in the presence of their families.²

Charting this marital pattern helped me find the marriage record of my great-grandparents, Joseph Fielding and Matilda Armbruster, before this record was indexed online. From census records, I knew they were married around 1895, but I could not find any record of their marriage in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where they lived.³ Based on the family pattern of elopement, I looked for their marriage in the records of the nearest "Gretna Green" for Philadelphia. Indeed, I found the record for their marriage in Camden, New Jersey, on 2 August 1895.⁴

Although I believe I would have found the marriage record eventually, taking the possibility of elopement into consideration—given the family's marriage pattern—saved me extra time and effort.

Be careful using this strategy. It can help if used judiciously, but if not used with other evidence, it can lead in the wrong direction.



Sample genogram showing emotional relationships, created by GenoPro software. "Introduction to the Genogram," GenoPro (<https://www.genopro.com/genogram>).

1. "Genogram," Wikipedia (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Genogram>).
2. Mathilde F. Cruice, mother of Sydney F. Cruice Dixon, interview by Sydney F. Cruice Dixon [address for private use], Berwyn, Pennsylvania, 15 May 2001; transcript privately held by Dixon, 2018. Also, Florida Department of Health, marriage certificate 9810 (1931), Edward Fielding and Kathryn Logan, Florida Department of Health, Jacksonville.
3. 1910 US census, Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania, population schedule, Philadelphia, Ward 25, Enumeration District 553, p. 3 A, dwelling 38, Family 41, Joseph and Matilda Fielding; image, Ancestry, citing NARA microfilm publication T624, roll T624_1398.
4. New Jersey Marriage Records, New Jersey State Archives, marriage return (1895), Joseph Fielding and Matilda Armbruster; New Jersey State Archives, Trenton.

Courts-Martial Records

The types of military trials and courts most often used during the Civil War period were general courts-martial, courts of inquiry, military commissions, and provost courts.

A court-martial operates under military law rather than civilian law and tries military personnel. The general court-martial is the highest level of court-martial and the tribunal where the most serious offenses are tried. Courts of inquiry conducted investigations but did not have the authority to issue punishments. Military commissions were special courts created to investigate and try civilians during times of conflict or periods of martial law.¹ Provost courts were under the jurisdiction of the provost marshal.² The Union forces primarily relied on military commissions—over two thousand cases were tried in Union military commissions—while the Confederates usually held provost courts.³

Always check for a court-martial file if there is any indication that the research subject may have had a court-martial. A soldier's compiled military

service record or pension application file may have a reference to a court-martial.

NARA court-martial index

The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) has made it much easier to find Army court-martial case files from 1800 to 1894. All of the 177,687 files in that period are now indexed in the online catalog under "Court Martial Case Files, 12/1800-10/1894," <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/301659>. Use the Search Within This Series button in the Details portion of the page. After clicking on this blue button, replace the *: symbols in the search bar at the top with the surname of interest.

It is best to enter only the surname, since use of the soldier's full name might not retrieve an entry. For example, since Joseph Clifton is listed in this series as J W Clifton, there are no results from using Joseph Clifton or Joseph W Clifton as search terms. Only the subject of the court-martial is listed in the index. Other people involved in the court-martial, such as witnesses, are not listed.

Researchers may search for all the court-martial files of a particular military unit by using the unit as the search term, such as 6th New Jersey Infantry. Alternatively, use a state name as the search term to find all the court-martial case files for that state.

NARA will copy and send case files to researchers for a fee. Contact information to order copies of the file can be found at the bottom of the catalog entry page for each court-martial case file. NARA will communicate the fee prior to photocopying the file.

The index for later Army court-martial case files, from November 1894 to 1917, is onsite at Archives 1 in Washington, DC.⁴



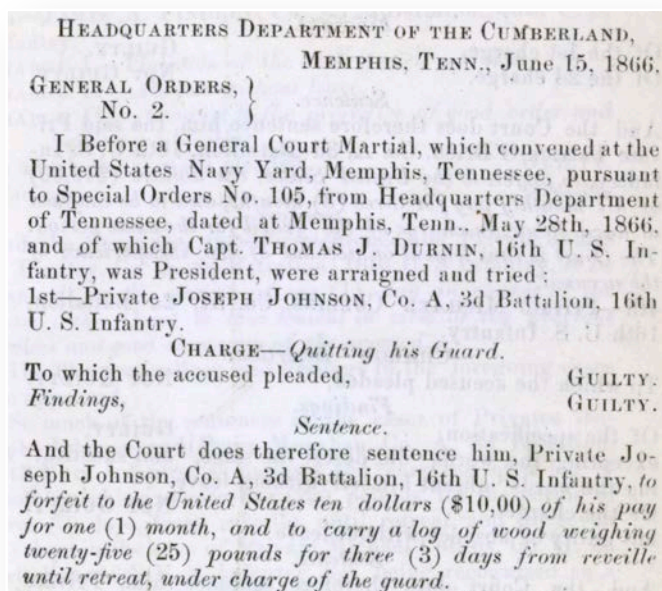
"Court martial group, Army of the Cumberland." Mathew Brady Photographs of Civil War-Era Personalities and Scenes, National Archives; image (<https://catalog.archives.gov/id/526923>).

1. Trevor K. Plante, "The Shady Side of Family History: Civil War Union Court-Martial Case Files," article text, "Prologue Magazine," *National Archives* (<https://www.archives.gov>) > Publications > Prologue > Previous Issues > 1998 Winter > The Shady Side...; citing *Prologue Magazine* 30:4 (December 1998).

2. "Union Provost Marshal," *Tennessee State Library and Archives Research and Collections* (<https://www.tnsos.net/TSLA/provost/index.php>).

3. For military commissions, see William Winthrop, *Military Law and Precedents*, 2nd ed. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1920), 834; image, "Military Legal Resources," *Library of Congress* (http://www.loc.gov/rr/frd/Military_Law) > Military Law Historical Monographs, Studies, Texts and Treatises > Military Law and Precedents. For provost courts, see William M. Robinson, Jr., *Justice in Grey: A History of the Judicial System of the Confederate States in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941), 359-360.

4. Information in this section provided by Claire Prechtel Kluskens, projects & reference archivist, National Archives and Records Administration.



So much of the sentences in the cases of Privates Joseph Johnson and Peter Monahan, Co. A, 3d Battalion, 16th U. S. Infantry, as imposes the carrying of a log of wood weighing twenty-five (25) pounds, for the period of three (3) days, from reveille until retreat, and for seven (7) days in the case of Private Michael Collins, Co. H, 2d Battalion, 16th U. S. Infantry, not being recognized as a legal punishment by the 895th paragraph U. S. A. Regulations (1863), are disapproved. The remainder of the sentences in the respective cases are confirmed, and will be carried into effect by the proper officers in the detachments to which they belong.

The sentences in the cases of Privates Patrick O'Brien, Co. A, 3d Battalion, and John Lennon, Co. H, 2d Battalion, 16th U. S. Infantry, are approved and confirmed, and will be carried into execution by the proper officers. The Penitentiary at Nashville, Tenn., is designated as the place of confinement in the case of Private Lennon, whither the prisoner will be sent under suitable guard by the Commanding Officer of the Post of Memphis, Tenn.

United States Army, Department of the Cumberland, General Court Martial Orders (Louisville, KY: 1866?-), 1, 3; image, Library of Congress (<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.law/law0001.201200203998855.1>).

NARA finding aids

- Registers of Court Martial Cases, 1800–1890, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/591699>
- Transcr of Proceedings of General Courts Martial, 1799–1867 [Navy], <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/2460083>

Library of Congress: General Court Martial Orders

The Library of Congress has digitized several volumes of military courts-martial, 1862–1872, spanning the Civil War and Reconstruction Era. The names of the accused and the crime(s), findings, and sentences are provided. A list of links for the volumes of six Army departments is available on *In Custodia Legis*, the blog of the Law Library of Congress.⁵

Many of the courts-martial relate to desertion, drunken and disorderly conduct, and disobedience of orders. Other charges and findings concern spying, treason, and embezzling the US government. There are also trials of citizens for spying or aiding and abetting rebels.

The military trial volumes are viewable in PDF and page-turner versions. Name indexes are

included and tabbed in the PDF view, and in some of the volumes a subject index is available. OCR searches may be incomplete. One volume, for the Middle Department, is entitled *Military Trials*. The rest are called *General Court Martial Orders*, for the Departments of the Cumberland, the Gulf, the Missouri, the South, and Texas.

Other digitized courts-martial records

- Navy Courts-Martial Records, 1799–1860, on Fold3: <https://www.fold3.com/title/990/navy-courts-martial-records-1799-1867>
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Divorce Records in Genealogical Research

Pam Stone Eagleson, CG

THE DIVORCE MILL.

It Is Kept Busy Grinding Out Judicial Separations.

In the divorce suit of Lottie R. Zumbagen vs. Louis A. Zumbagen, the demurrer to the complaint has been sustained by Judge Lawler and plaintiff allowed ten days to amend.

Judge Rearden has entered a default of defendant in the suit of Agnes Franklin vs. Charles Franklin, and referred the case to the Court Commissioner.

In the divorce suit of George E. Miller vs. Elizabeth C. Miller, Judge Wilson has vacated the order of submission and permitted plaintiff to take further testimony.

Bertha Wagner has been granted a divorce from John G. Wagner by Judge Maguire, on the ground of the husband's willful desertion.

Judge Levy has granted F. W. Warner a divorce from Emma L. Warner, on the ground of the defendant's willful desertion.

Charles F. Saxe has been granted a divorce from Jessie Saxe by Judge Levy, on the ground of the wife's adultery.

In the divorce suit of James M. Shafter vs. May C. Shafter, Judge Rearden has ordered plaintiff to pay defendant \$100 a month alimony and \$100 counsel fees.

Judge Levy has granted Mary A. Cole a divorce from Paul R. Cole, on the ground of defendant's failure to provide.

The suit of Sophie Katt vs. Wilhelm Katt is on trial before Judge Levy.

In Judge Hunt's Court yesterday the divorce suit of Maggie M. Haibl vs. John Haibl was submitted, and that of Charles Crongrever vs. Augusta N. Crongrever was referred to the Court Commissioner.

A default of defendant was entered in the divorce suit of Geesha Van Glahn vs. John Van Glahn, before Judge Maguire, and the case referred to the Court Commissioner.

Judge Maguire has granted a divorce to L. L. Stone from Bridget Stone on the grounds of the defendant's desertion and extreme cruelty.

In the matter of the divorce of Fred Tobelman from Margaret Tobelman, the father's petition that the order of the Court be so modified as to give him the custody of the second as well as the first child has been denied by Judge Maguire.

Daily Alta California, Vol. 42,
#13763, 7 May 1887, [https://
cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc](https://cdnc.ucr.edu/cgi-bin/cdnc).

Pam Stone Eagleson, CG, is a researcher, writer, and educator. She became interested in the topic of divorce while documenting the descendants of her fifth-great-grandfather in preparation for writing a five-generation genealogy. By the third generation, she began encountering many divorces. Pam can be contacted at peagleson@yahoo.com.

The first divorce in America was granted in 1639 to Mrs. James Luxford in Massachusetts on the grounds of bigamy. Her husband was fined, placed in the stocks, and banished to England.¹ Although most cases were not as dramatic, divorce records may add unusual details to a family's story.

Historical background

In the colonial period and through the 1800s, the legal status of free women depended upon marital status in a system of family law sometimes called coverture.² It was the husband's obligation to support his wife. Husbands held an exclusive right over their wives as sexual beings and wives were legally subordinate to their husbands. When the law spoke about the rights of parents, it meant fathers. Economically, marriage was the way a man laid claim to the labor of his wife and children. By the early 1800s, marriage was under the jurisdiction of the states, with different laws in each governing marriage and divorce.

In most states, courts heard divorce cases, but in southern states like Virginia and Maryland, divorce required a private bill passed by the state legislature. Grounds for divorce usually included incest, bigamy, abandonment for three years, and extreme cruelty. In many states, only the innocent party was allowed to remarry. The guilty party could not remarry during the lifetime of the innocent spouse, who retained the right to inherit land or other property from the guilty one.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, many towns gained reputations as divorce mills: places where a non-resident could get a divorce quickly, with lenient grounds, and where little or no compensation was awarded to the other spouse. Western states and territories became known for their liberal divorce laws.

Many husbands obtained divorces because their spouses refused to move with them. A wife who remained in a couple's former home was considered a deserter in jurisdictions where laws stated that a husband's residence was the family's

Websites cited in this article were viewed on 9 April 2018.

1. Glenda Riley, *Divorce: An American Tradition* (New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 12.
2. "Women and the Law," *Women, Enterprise and Society*, Harvard Business School (https://www.library.hbs.edu/hc/wes/collections/women_law).

[First Pub. in Wky State Capital June 29, '96.]
Notice for Publication.
 In the District Court of Logan County, Oklahoma Territory.
 Berne B. Ball, Plaintiff,
 vs.
 Adaline Ball, Defendant.
 To Adaline Ball, defendant above-named: You are hereby notified that you have been sued in the district court of Logan county, Oklahoma Territory, and that the parties to said action are Berne B. Ball, plaintiff, and yourself, Adaline Ball, defendant. That the petition in said action was filed in the district court of Logan county, Oklahoma Territory, on the 22d day of June, 1895, and that you must answer said petition on or before Monday, the 12th day of August, 1895, or said petition will be taken as true and judgment will be rendered in said cause as prayed for in said petition, divorcing the said plaintiff, Berne B. Ball, from you, the defendant, Adaline Ball, and decreeing the said Berne B. Ball to be the absolute owner of, in his own right, the southeast ¼ of section five (5), township sixteen (16), range one (1) west, in Logan county, Oklahoma Territory, subject to the mortgages thereon, and barring you from all right, title and interest in and to said southeast ¼ of section five (5), township sixteen (16), range one (1) west, in Logan county, Oklahoma Territory.
 LOUIS E. PITTS,
 Clerk District Court Logan County, O. T.
 BERNE B. BALL, Plaintiff.
 GEORGE GARDNER, Att'y for Pl'tiff.

Ball vs. Ball, Territorial Records, Guthrie, Logan County, Oklahoma.

DESERTED HER FAMILY.
 A Leading Church Member at Alliance Leaves Home Without Warning.
 Mrs. Clara [Barr] a leading member of the M. E. church of Alliance, deserted a husband and family without assigning any reason for so doing. Mr. [Barr] is a hard workingman and states that because he did not provide his wife with expensive clothing she became aggrieved and believes that it is on that account that she leaves him and their five children, the oldest eleven years of age and the youngest three. The desertion has given rise to a great deal of gossip, as Mrs. [Barr] is a religious enthusiast, taking a prominent part in church work.

The Repository, Canton, Ohio, 25 June 1891, p. 4, GenealogyBank.

residence. Such was the case of Berne B. Ball, who in 1895 divorced Adaline, his wife of twenty-eight years, on the ground of desertion after she refused to move from New York to Oklahoma.³

Divorce clues

Census records

Census records are often the first indication of a divorce in the family. Consider the case of Abraham Hamlin Stone, who married Mrs. Dolly Beach in 1895.⁴

In 1910 Abraham was a widower in Joseph County, Oregon.⁵ A few months later he married Maude Gaddis in Union County, Oregon.⁶ Dolly, in 1910, was living in San Francisco with Frederick Mills. They had married three years before.⁷ In 1920, Abraham was enumerated in Portland, Oregon, as a divorced lodger.⁸ Maude has not been located. Nor have records for Abraham's two divorces been found.

There are many examples of people called widowed in census records when in fact they were divorced. This incorrect reporting may have skewed some of the statistics on nineteenth-century divorce based on census records.

Newspapers

Newspapers may prompt a search for divorce records. In an 1891 issue of Canton, Ohio's *The Repository* appears an article entitled "Deserted Her Family."

This clue led to the record of William H. Barr's divorce from Clara N. Barr, granted in 1900 by the Columbiana County, Ohio, Court of Common Pleas.⁹

Family stories

Carrie Osterhaug's granddaughter remembered being told that her grandmother divorced before marrying John Osterhaug, and that her biological grandfather's name was Stacy Scott. He was never talked about, so she wondered about the real story. She had never met Grandfather Stacy or "that awful woman" for whom he had left her grandmother.¹⁰ In 1910 Stacy and Carrie were living in Kalispell, Flathead County, Montana, with two children.¹¹ Seven years later Carrie filed for divorce in the 11th Judicial District Court of Flathead County. The divorce file can be downloaded in its entirety from FamilySearch.¹²

Carrie accused Stacy of extreme cruelty and inflicting "grievous mental suffering of such a nature and character as to destroy [her] peace of mind and happiness." When Carrie returned from a visit out of state with friends and relatives, Stacy was "cross, sour, surly and disrespectful" towards her, showing by words and conduct that "her company and affection were not desired and were not reciprocated by him."

Stacy had been openly bestowing his affections upon another woman while Carrie was away. He told

3. Case #1945, Ball vs. Ball, Territorial Records, Guthrie, Logan County. "Oklahoma Territorial Papers, 1890-1907," *FamilySearch*, digital images 1248-1253, microfilm 1,310,513.

4. Mrs. Dolly Beach and Abraham H. Stone, 15 January 1895 marriage, Moscow, Latah County, Idaho, Marriage vol. P-2:97, Latah County Courthouse, Moscow, Idaho.

5. 1910 U.S. census, Joseph, Wallowa, Oregon, p. 5A, ED 295, Abraham H. Stone household; NARA microfilm T624_1284.

6. Abraham Stone and Maude Gaddis entry, "Oregon, Marriages, 1853-1935," database, *FamilySearch*, <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/F8W2-P46>.

7. 1910 U.S. census, San Francisco Assembly District 33, San Francisco, California; p. 14B, Frederick B. Mills household; NARA microfilm T624_97.

8. 1920 U.S. census, Portland, Multnomah County, Oregon, p. 7B, ED 25, Abraham H. Stone household; NARA microfilm roll T625_1499.

9. Wm. H. Barr vs. Clara N. Barr, Court of Common Pleas, File 3236, February Term 1900, Columbiana County Archives & Research Center, Lisbon, Ohio.

10. Sue Speers (Kennebunk, Maine), interview by Pam Stone Eagleson, October 2008; typescript in author's files.

11. 1910 U.S. census, Kalispell, Flathead County, Montana, p. 16A, dwelling 332, family 360, Stacy W. Scott household; NARA microfilm T624_832.

12. "Montana, Flathead County Records, 1871-2007," *FamilySearch* image collection, Divorce, Divorce Records, File no. 4188-4274, 1916-1917, images 501-522; (1917) file no. 4254, 11th Judicial District Court, Flathead County, Carrie Scott vs. Stacey W. Scott.

Carrie he had no affection or love for her but he did love the other woman, and eventually he left with her. Carrie was granted a divorce on 29 March 1917. Stacy married Armata Miller less than two weeks later.¹³ In 1933 Carrie Scott married John Osterhaug.¹⁴ The bottom line is that the family story had a great deal of truth, at least from Carrie's point of view.

Published genealogies

Occasionally a reference to divorce is made in a genealogy. An example appears in *The Billingsley Family in America*.¹⁵ Walter Billingslea, who married Jeanne Watson in 1788, was granted a divorce in 1797 by the Georgia state legislature and remarried a few months later.

Burial permits and death certificates

Sometimes a burial permit or death certificate provides a clue. The 1913 Arizona death certificate for Otto Rebsamen reports him as divorced.¹⁶ His divorce records at the Arizona State Archives in Phoenix were located through an index to civil cases. Microfilmed records of the judgment books are available on FamilySearch.¹⁷ Once the file number is

known, the entire file can be obtained from the Arizona State Archives.¹⁸

The 1900 census lists Caroline Stone of Butte County, California, as widowed.¹⁹ Her 1902 burial permit, though, describes her as divorced.²⁰ When the divorce record was located, her story was revealed.²¹

Military pension records

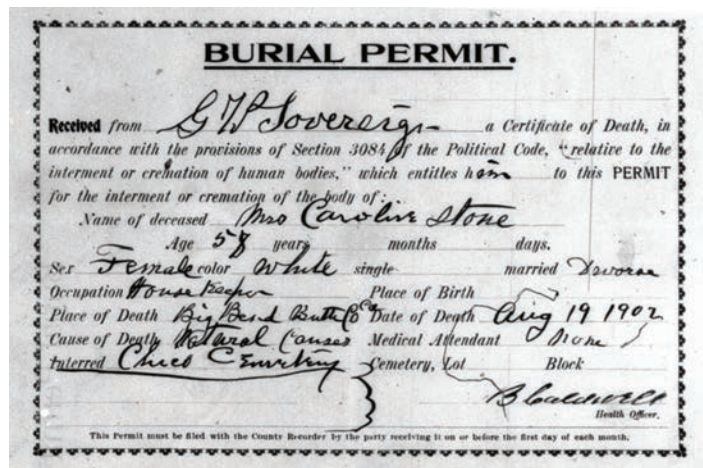
Military pension records may include divorce information. The pension file of Philander Stone of Colusa County, California, tells part of the story of Caroline Stone, mentioned above.²² When his second wife Eliza applied for a widow's pension in 1926, she had to prove their marriage as well as his divorce. In Philander's pension file is a copy of the three-page final decree of divorce and division of property granted in 1889 in Colusa County, California. It spells out custody and child support and the land awarded to Caroline as well as personal property and one thousand dollars in gold coin. Philander was awarded the rest of their land and personal property including animals, tools, and crops.

A request to the Superior Court of Colusa County retrieved the entire file and more of the story. "Since said marriage the defendant has treated the said plaintiff in a cruel and inhuman manner, and in particular as follows: the defendant at several times did treat plaintiff with great cruelty, by cursing and striking her, and thereby caused plaintiff great bodily pain and mental anguish."²³

Divorce indexes and abstracts

Genealogical society periodicals

Many genealogical and historical societies have published indexes of divorce files found in their region. An entry in the Livingston County, Missouri, Genealogical Society's *Lifelines* led to the divorce records of Henry and Matilda Moore Stover.²⁴ Henry sued Matilda for divorce twice. The first case file



Caroline Stone, 1902 Butte County, California, burial permit.

13. "Washington, County Marriages, 1855-2008," *FamilySearch* image collection, Scott-Miller 1917 entry, King County, Marriage License Register 1916-1917 Vol. 38, marriage license 53851, image 443 of 780.

14. "Washington, Marriage Records, 1854-2013," digital images, *Ancestry*. Marriage Affidavit and Application, image 310 of 1630, Osterhaug-Scott entry; Certificate of Marriage, image 1428 of 1630, Osterhaug-Scott, 24 April 1933.

15. Harry Alexander Davis, *The Billingsley Family in America* (Washington, DC: Tuttle Publishing, ca. 1936), 91-92.

16. Arizona State Board of Health, Otto G. Rebsamen death certificate no. 27256, Pima County, 1913, <http://genealogy.az.gov/azdeath/010/10103012.pdf>.

17. Pima County, Arizona, Judgement records, Vol. 8:229, Rebsamen Divorce Decree, *Family History Library*, microfilm 2184461, Item 3.

18. Pima County, Arizona, First Judicial District, File #4914, O. G. Rebsamen vs. Lillian Rebsamen, 13 January 1912; Arizona State Archives.

19. 1900 U.S. census, Cowcow, Butte County, California, p. 2B, dwelling/family 51, Carrie Stone household; NARA microfilm T623_84.

20. Caroline Stone 1901 burial permit, Butte County, California, Burial Records, 1867-1917; *Family History Library* microfilm 1,682,835, digital images arranged chronologically, then alphabetically.

21. Colusa County, California, Superior Court Case #1292, Decree of Divorce & Division of Property, 30 March 1889, Colusa County Courthouse, Colusa, California.

22. Philander O. Stone, Civil War Pension File XC2,734,893, National Archives, Washington, DC.

23. Colusa County, California, Superior Court Case #1292, Decree of Divorce & Division of Property, 30 March 1889.

24. Livingston County Genealogical Society, *Lifelines*, "Divorce Cases Filed in Livingston County, Missouri, 1837-1860," Volume 8, No. 3, p. 68.

explains that “Matilda of her own free will did commit the crime of adultery in the town of Utica, during the months of December 1872, and January , February, March and April of 1873 by having sexual intercourse with one Washington J. Bramel.”²⁵

The following year Henry sued Matilda again, this time on the grounds of desertion. “Since they married in 1857 until the 10th of May 1873 he had faithfully demeaned himself as her husband and at all times treated her with kindness and affection but Matilda disregarding her duties as a wife did of her own free will and accord and without a reasonable cause absent herself from her husband on 10 May 1873 and has remained absent for more than one year.”²⁶

Printed indexes

Margaret Stone Allen is never described as divorced. She married Hugh B. Allen in 1827 in Fairfield County, Ohio.²⁷ In 1850 Margaret Allen lived in the household of Harrison Dills in Quincy, Illinois, with no husband.²⁸ In the 1866 Quincy directory she is listed as the widow of Hugh B. Allen.²⁹ In 1880 she is recorded as widowed.³⁰ Her obituary calls her the widow of Hugh B. Allen.³¹

Not until examination of *Divorce Index, 1825-1922, Adams County, Illinois*, did it become apparent that Margaret and Hugh were divorced in 1850.³² The bill of complaint reads: “She... continued to live with him as his wife until about the fourth day of March AD 1847 at which last named time he without any reasonable cause willfully deserted her and has continued to desert and absent himself from her ever since.”³³

Filmed indexes

Many filmed or digital images of divorce records and indexes can be found by searching the Family History Library catalog. An example from the card index for Berkshire County, Massachusetts, gives the location of the 1861 divorce record of the Trowbridges.³⁴

S. J. COURT	
Libellant	Vol. Page Case No.
Trowbridge, Amanda M.	15 309 59
Libellee	Trowbridge, Shalor
Entry	April 16, 1860
Decree nisi	
Decree Absolute	May, 1861 <i>from Bd & Board</i>
Real estate and costs	\$53.12 to libt
Remarks	

Index card for Trowbridge divorce, Berkshire County, Massachusetts.

Online indexes

Websites such as Ancestry and FamilySearch may refer to divorce records, and sometimes they work in combination. According to an Ancestry database of Maine divorces, Caleb and Huldah Marston divorced in York County in 1838.³⁵ Their divorce record can be accessed as a digital file at FamilySearch.³⁶

The nineteenth-century language of divorce runs through this document. Caleb Marston and Huldah Rollins of Wolfboro, Strafford County, New Hampshire, married in 1825. “He has ever since fulfilled his marriage obligations, but the said Huldah, regardless of the marriage contract... did commit the crime of adultery” on 15 July 1834 with James Cluff, and “Huldah in violation of her marriage covenants” also committed adultery with a person unknown to Caleb on 1 August 1837 and other times. Caleb asked that “the bonds of matrimony between him and Hulda be dissolved.”

Published abstracts

Numerous books have been published with abstracts of divorce records. Genealogists should always check the areas where their ancestors lived to see what books are available and whether their ancestors are mentioned as plaintiff, defendant, or witness in a suit.

25. Henry Stover vs. Matilda Stover, Circuit Court File #4865, January Term 1874, Livingston County Courthouse, Chillicothe, Missouri.

26. Henry Stover vs. Matilda Stover, Circuit Court, File #5042, September Term 1875, Livingston County Courthouse, Chillicothe, Missouri.

27. Licking County, Ohio, Transcribed Marriage Records, Volume 1 1808–1879, p. 273; *Family History Library*, microfilm 384,300.

28. 1850 U.S. census, Quincy Ward 2, Adams County, Illinois, p. 273B, dwelling 176, family 215, Harrison Dills household; NARA microfilm M432_97.

29. O. E. Root, 1866 *Quincy City Directory* (Quincy, IL: Whig & Republican Office, 1866), 11.

30. 1880 U.S. census, Quincy, Adams County, Illinois, p. 409B, dwelling 81, family 99, Margaret Allen household; NARA microfilm T9_174.

31. Mrs. Margaret Allen obituary, *Quincy Daily Journal*, 3 December 1895, p. 4, col. 2.

32. Genealogical Society of Utah, Stephen D. Robison, compiler, *Divorce Index 1825-1922, Adams County, Illinois* (S.I.: sn, 1993?), 8.

33. Divorce Case Files, Adams County, Illinois, 1851–1922, Elizabeth Allen vs. Ethan E Allen, Box C-72, Case -2060 Divorce; *Family History Library*, microfilm 1,845,496.

34. Divorce Record Indexes, 1847-1940, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, Amanda M. Trowbridge vs. Shalor Trowbridge entry, *Family History Library*, microfilm 1,450,564, item 1.

35. “Maine, Divorce Records, 1798-1891,” database, *Ancestry*, Caleb Marston vs. Huldah Marston entry, citing *Maine, Divorce Records, 1798–1891* (Augusta, Maine: Maine State Archives).

36. “Maine, State Archive Collections, 1718-1957,” *FamilySearch* image collection, York County, Maine, Court Records, Supreme Judicial Court, Vol. 7:385-386, images 393-394.

MARRIED SEVEN TIMES
Meteoric Matrimonial Career of One John T. Hiler.



John T. Hiler, who was married to Miss Grace Washburn at Bloomington, Ill., a short time ago, after a half hour's acquaintance, was arrested in Chicago the other day on charges of bigamy and perjury. It is alleged that he has been seven times married and that he perjured himself in obtaining the license at Bloomington. The complainant is Mrs. Adriana Washburn, the young woman's mother. Hiler, it is claimed, was first married six years ago in Decatur, Mich. In passing through the town he met Miss Jessie Graham, a prepossessing young woman who lived in that city. They were married later, and lived together for more than a year. Hiler finally left her, with one child, and never returned to Decatur, it is said, where the woman still lives. It is alleged that he was again married in New York, but soon deserted the woman he had deceived. Although, it is claimed, he has been a party in six marriage ceremonies before meeting Miss Washburn, he has never been arrested for bigamy or desertion.

Arkansas City Daily Traveler,
 Arkansas City, Kansas, 28 April
 1894, p. 2, column 3.

Other issues to consider

Bigamy

Many second, third, or fourth marriages were not preceded by divorce. A husband or a wife would leave and go elsewhere, sometimes to remarry in a place where no one knew of the earlier marriage. Bigamous unions did not usually result in criminal prosecutions, but evidence of them can be found in appellate court records.

John Tyler Hiler was a composer and traveling salesman of sheet music for the Victor Herbert Company. Hiler married many times and was incarcerated for bigamy in the Joliet, Illinois, Penitentiary. His great-granddaughter has documented his marriage escapades beginning in 1890. For years she believed little of what she had heard about him as the stories came from her grandmother, John's only child, who was known to exaggerate. However, research has proven many of these stories to be true.³⁷

Separation agreements

Divorce was not a possibility for many people due to expense, lack of acceptability in some religions and families, and difficulty in some regions like the South where few divorces were granted by state legislatures. As a result, some couples made agreements in legal separation documents. "After having made an honest effort to live in peace and harmony," K. S. Lee and his wife Lillian agreed in 1915 in a Guilford County, North Carolina, document "to live separate and apart." Such a legal agreement might spell out child custody and division of property as seen in the Lees' four-page separation document.³⁸

Common-law marriages

The development of American laws for common-law marriage was caused in part by the reluctance of the courts to punish bigamy.³⁹ Laws were different from state to state, but all states required a common-law spouse to obtain a divorce before remarrying.⁴⁰

Locating records

Once a divorce is suspected or confirmed, the next step is to locate the records. Check the local and state archives or websites for information and access in the research locale. There is no uniformity and each state has its own quirks.

For example, the Washington State Archives-Digital Archives has two collections including divorces. The Divorce Collection is the Department of Health's Divorce Index, 1969-2014, searchable statewide. The Frontier Justice Collection is a name index and abstract of more than 38,000 district court cases heard in Washington Territory (1853-1889). A search for the Stone surname led to a fifty-page divorce file in Whitman County. After all that, the couple remained married.

See Resources below for useful guides. In the beginning of each state's chapter in *Red Book* is a section on vital records including divorce. *The Hidden Half of the Family* includes a section on marriage and divorce and where to find marriage and divorce

37. Research in files of great-granddaughter Diane McGowan Tichenor (dtich6703@logonix.net).

38. "Guilford County, North Carolina, Divorce and Separation Agreement Papers, ca. 1815, 1824-1932," *FamilySearch*, digital images, Kirkpatrick, Elijah - Yores, James; K. S. and Lillian Lee entry, images 125-128, arranged alphabetically; *Family History Library* microfilm 2,365,139, arranged alphabetically.

39. Michael Grossberg, *Governing the Hearth: Law and the Family in Nineteenth Century America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 64-101.

40. "Common-Law Marriage," *Encyclopedia.com*, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences-and-law/law/law/common-law-marriage>; citing West's *Encyclopedia of American Law*.

records for each state. *New England Court Records* is helpful for New England states.

Ancestry has several divorce indexes, found by searching its Card Catalog, but few cover the nineteenth century. Searching for divorce on the FamilySearch Wiki generates over five hundred hits while searching individual FamilySearch state pages brings results more specific to that state. For example, a search for Kentucky divorce records on FamilySearch leads to a short blurb on Kentucky's vital records page mentioning a published list of divorces from 1792 to 1849 in the periodical *Bluegrass Roots*.

Access to divorce records may be problematic. Know the laws for the time period and locale, and make sure the clerk knows them, too.

Conclusion

Divorce has been part of American life for centuries—legally, socially, and culturally. Divorce records, if they exist and can be found, reveal interesting stories about ancestors, often told in their own words. These records should be part of every family historian's genealogical research.

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Finding the Records of the Mentally III

Jill Morelli, CG



A nameless tombstone, identified only by a number, in one of Bartonville (Illinois) State Hospital's four cemeteries. (Photo by the author.)

Jill Morelli, CG, lectures about her midwestern, northern German, and Scandinavian ancestors nationwide, with a focus on intermediate and advanced methodologies and unique record sets. Her articles have been published in local, regional, and national publications. She is president of the Seattle Genealogical Society. After obtaining her credential as a Certified Genealogist, she began an online course sharing her experiences to demystify the process of certification for those interested in “going on the clock.”

Discovered an ancestor who was a patient in a mental health institution? Or a relative who “disappeared”? Genealogists may wish to find out more about these family members, but have low expectations as to the availability of the records. This article explains what is available publicly, where the records may be held, and how to obtain state-held records when restricted by law, with reference to my experience in obtaining records through the courts for my great-great-uncle, Dirk Bode.

Dirk exhibited violent behavior, probably due to a blunt force trauma to the head when he was twelve years old. He stayed with his family until 1872, when his violence towards others forced the family to seek commitment to the Illinois asylum system.¹ He remained in an asylum until his death in 1905.²

Locating institutional records

To obtain the records of an ancestor confined in an institution, researchers need to identify whether it was a state or a federal institution. If the individual was assigned by the court to a federally owned and managed facility, federal law allows a person to access mental health records when the individual has been deceased for more than fifty years.³ States can impose stricter standards on their own facilities and records.

This article focuses on state institutions, where most mentally ill individuals were confined. The first step is to discover the state, county, and name of the institution, which is especially important if there was more than one institution

1. Kane County, Illinois, Dirk Bode case file, requested court records, Circuit Court of the 16th Judicial Circuit; Circuit Court Clerk's Office, Elgin, IL; records released to Jill Morelli [address for private use], Seattle, Washington, 21 November 2014. Records requested included Northern Illinois Asylum for the Insane, Elgin, Kane County, Illinois, and all records held by the state of Illinois for Jacksonville and Bartonville Asylums.

2. Stephenson County, Illinois, Dirk Bode, probate file, filed alphabetically, Application for Final Settlement, 12 January 1907, Recorder's Office, Freeport, IL; released to Jill Morelli, 30 July 2005. For year of death, see also *Find A Grave*, database and images (0 : accessed 12 September 2018), memorial 24041298, Dirk J. Bode (1848–1905), citing Peoria State Hospital Cemetery, Bartonville, IL; maintained by Jill Morelli (contributor 47077918). Dates are in conflict. The probate packet indicates that death occurred on 3 July 1905; the tombstone indicates 4 July 1905.

3. 45 CFR §160.103, “Protected Health Information” (2, iv), specifically excludes information “regarding a person who has been deceased for more than 50 years.”

in the county. Usually, the individual was certified as insane (a court action) in the county of residence and then moved within days to a state institution, which may be in another county.

The website, AsylumProjects.org, catalogs all known institutional facilities that housed the mentally ill and gives the names of the institutions over time. The site records even those facilities that have been decommissioned or demolished.

Name changes, closures, and mergers of institutions can cause difficulty in tracking the location of the records. The location of the records can vary from being still held at the institution, held at another facility due to mergers, or held centrally by the state. Some records may have been moved to the county archives or the state archives.

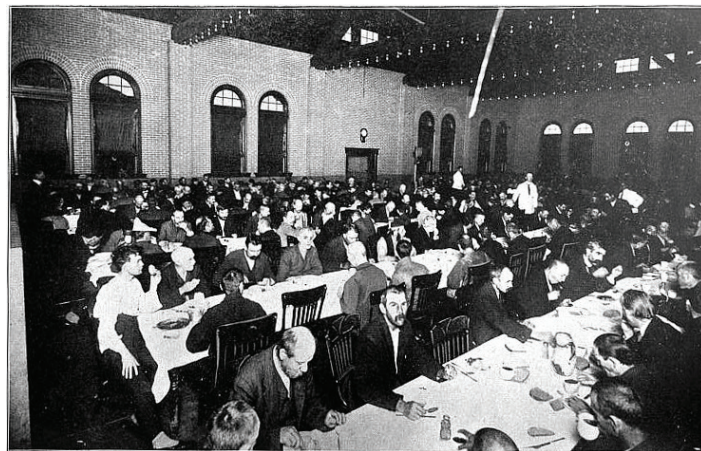
Be prepared for record loss. One Illinois institution stored its historical records outside during a 1950s remodel. After a storm, the staff threw them away, disassociating a person's name with the file number and leaving hundreds of numbered graves unknown forever.⁴

Record access

The ability to gain access to the records depends on the state in which the records are held, the closeness of the requester's relationship to the individual, and the reasons for wanting access. In my research for Illinois records in the 1800s, I found no stated year for release of records.⁵ To acquire the records, I hired a lawyer to petition the court for the records of Dirk Bode, who died in 1905—over one hundred years ago.

Some states are quite open; others, like Illinois, require a court order; and yet others won't allow access to the records under any circumstances. Find the law for the state of interest (try Google first), or call the nearest academic law library and ask the librarian.

Even if the state has a court petition process, it is not always onerous. The state of Washington, for example, allows a researcher to get the film number from the records unit, walk down the hall, fill out the petition form, wait for the judge to have a free moment to sign and release the case number, take the case number back to the other end of the hall, and get



Dining Hall for Males, Bartonville (Illinois) State Hospital. Courtesy of Asylum Projects (<http://www.asylumprojects.org>).

the records.⁶ The Asylum Project website has a limited list of states and their record accessibility.

If required to go through the courts to obtain an ancestor's records stored at the institution, request the records from the county judge with jurisdiction over that institution. If the records are kept at a central state repository, any county judge of that state can request them. But if the commitment was in one county and the institutional records are stored in another, request the records in each county separately—two lawyers, two petitions, and two hearings.

Lax rules about compliance in the nineteenth century may make access to asylum records of this period easier, but the records may not be extant. The fifty-year time frame from 1900 to 1950 was the age of experimentation on those confined without their consent. These records can still be hard to obtain, perhaps due to sensitivity concerning the contents of the records. If the relative was confined after the 1950s, acquiring records becomes more problematic as the governmental office may be concerned about the individual still being alive. In this case, it helps to be a direct descendant.

Personal and public records

Always look for personal papers first and interview people who might know details about the mentally ill individual. Letters or stories passed down might be available. David Hyrum Smith's extensive correspondence with his family from Illinois to Utah formed the basis for the book, *From Mission to Madness*.⁷

4. Bartonville State Hospital Museum, Bartonville, Illinois, interview by Jill Morelli with desk volunteer, September 2016; notes privately held by Morelli, 2018.

5. 740 ILCS 110/5(e).

6. Instructions from the head of the records unit, King County Courthouse, Seattle, Washington, August 2017, to Jill Morelli.

7. Valeen Tippetts Avery, *From Mission to Madness: Last Son of the Mormon Prophet* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1998).

Received July 26, 1880.

Page No. 53.
Supervisor's Dist. No. 2
Enumeration Dist. No. 85

Note A.—The Census Year begins June 1, 1879, and ends May 31, 1880.

Note B.—All persons will be included in the Enumeration who were living on the 1st day of June, 1880. No others will. Children BORN SINCE June 1, 1880, will be OMITTED. Members of Families who have DIED SINCE June 1, 1880, will be INCLUDED.

Note C.—Questions Nos. 13, 14, 22 and 23 are not to be asked in respect to persons under 10 years of age.

SCHEDULE 1.—Inhabitants in Elgin, in the County of Kane, State of Illinois
enumerated by me on the 26th day of June, 1880.

C. W. Volterff

Enumerators

In Cities.		Name of Street.		House Number.		Personal Description.		Civil Condition.		Occupation.		Health.		Education.		Nativity.									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
Residing house numbered in order of visitation.		Residing house numbered in order of visitation.		The Name of each Person whose place of abode, on last day of June, 1900, was in this family.		Color. White, W; Black, B; Mexican, M; Chinese, C; Indian, I.	Sex. Male, M; Female, F.	Age at last birthday prior to June 1, 1900. If under 1 year, give date of birth in full.	Relationship of each person to the head of this family—whether wife, daughter, son, daughter, servant, boarder, or other.	Single, /; Married, /; Widowed, /; Divorced, D.	Profession, Occupation or Trade of each person, made or done.	Number of months this person has been unemployed during the Census year.	Is the person (on the day of the Enumerator's visit) such as temporarily disabled, so as to be unable to perform his profession or business?	Ill, /; Suffering from chronic or disabling disease, /; If so, what is the name of disability?	Ill, /; Dead and Death, /; Invalid, /; Deaf, /; Blind, /; Insane, /; Mentally disabled, /; Attended Hospital, /; Attended school within the Census year, /; Cannot read, /; Cannot write, /.	Place of Birth of this person, naming the State or Territory of United States, or the Country, if of foreign birth.	Place of Birth of the parents of this person, naming the State or Territory of United States, or the Country, if of foreign birth.	Place of Birth of the parents of this person, naming the State or Territory of United States, or the Country, if of foreign birth.	Place of Birth of the parents of this person, naming the State or Territory of United States, or the Country, if of foreign birth.	Place of Birth of the parents of this person, naming the State or Territory of United States, or the Country, if of foreign birth.	Place of Birth of the parents of this person, naming the State or Territory of United States, or the Country, if of foreign birth.	Place of Birth of the parents of this person, naming the State or Territory of United States, or the Country, if of foreign birth.	Place of Birth of the parents of this person, naming the State or Territory of United States, or the Country, if of foreign birth.	Place of Birth of the parents of this person, naming the State or Territory of United States, or the Country, if of foreign birth.	
382		Atkins, Pamelia	W F 35	Patient	/						Housewife		Insanity	/									Den.		
		Roder, Lark	W M 31		/						Farmer			/									Germany		

1880 U.S. census, Kane County, Illinois, population schedule, Northern Hospital for the Insane, Elgin, ED 15, p. 53, Dirk J. Bode.

[X-321.]

3974

Received July 24 1880

The object of this Supplemental Schedule is to furnish material not only for a complete enumeration of the insane, but for an account of their condition. It is important that every inquiry respecting each case be answered as fully as possible. Enumerators will, therefore, after making the proper entries upon the Population Schedule (No. 1), transfer the name (with Schedule page and number) of every insane person found, from Schedule No. 1 to this Special Schedule, and proceed to ask the additional questions indicated in the headings of the several columns.

Enumerators may obtain valuable hints as to the number of the insane, and their residence, from physicians who practice medicine in their respective districts.

SUPPLEMENTAL SCHEDULE NO. 1

State of Illinois, enumerated by me June, 1880.

in the County of Kane

Northern Hospital for the Insane Elgin

Leford Volitoff Enumerator.

NAME.	Residence when at home.—(See note A.)	County (if in same State), or State (if in some other State).	Form of Disease. (See note B.)	Duration of present attack, (not including previous attacks.)	Total number of attacks, (including the present one.)	Age at which first attack occurred.	Does this person require to be usually or often kept in a cell, or under lock and key by day or at night?	Does this person require to be usually or often restrained by any mechanical appliance, such as a strap, straight-jacket, &c., and if yes, state the character of the appliance used.	Has this person ever been an inmate of any hospital or asylum for the insane? If yes, name the said hospital or asylum.	Hospital or Asylum.—(See note C.)	Date of discharge year only.	Is this person insane at present?	Is this person insane at present?	Is this person insane at present?
1. Mine, Prussianian	Aurageville	Stephan Co	no	Ch. mania	17 yrs	1	18	yes		Central Hosp. Ill.	11 yrs			
2. Bede, Irish J.	Ridgely	Stephan Co	partly	Ch. mania	11 "	21		yes		Central Hosp. Ill.	7 yrs			

1880 U.S. census, Kane County, Illinois, Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent classes schedule, Northern Hospital for the Insane, Elgin, ED 85, p. 5. Dirk J. Bode.

Census records

Census records from 1840 to 1880 indicate whether the individual was “insane or idiotic.” If a patient, the individual was enumerated at the location of confinement. In the 1880 United States population census, see if there is a tick mark in the “insane” column. If there is, the individual also appears in the insanity supplemental schedule of the Defective, Dependent and Delinquent Classes (DDD). Sometimes the enumerator cross-referenced the population schedule with the DDD by placing the page number of each on the page of the other.

The Defective, Dependent and Delinquent schedules were only enumerated in 1880 and aren't available for all states, but many are on Ancestry. Rather than using a surname search, conduct a catalog search, using "defective dependent," the first two words of the title of the record set, in the keyword search field. Browse by location to find the records for the county.

Just because the schedules exist for the state doesn't mean they exist for the county of interest, and the schedules for the county may not have the record of the asylum. If Ancestry does not have the records of

the particular location of interest, check with the state historical library or archive.⁸

Annual reports

Beginning in the late 1800s, state legislatures established boards to oversee operations of the institutions. These boards generated annual reports to their governing agencies. Check for annual reports of the asylum during the time of the relative's confinement. These annual reports cover the patients' daily lives, including when they woke up in the morning, when they went to bed, when they ate, sample menus, and improvements to the facility. The reports also include the work accomplished, their entertainment, and whether they attended church. Names of the patients are not included, but the window into their lives is clear. Google Books is a good place to start looking for the annual reports. Also check the local and state archives and libraries in the area where the institution is located.

Articles about scientific studies

In the early 1900s, the hospital may have conducted "scientific studies" on those under their care. Often these experiments were described in articles for scientific conferences or for the state. Sometimes given names and last initials are recorded. These reports are not for the faint of heart, but give another lens into the workings of the hospital. The studies are also often found on Google Books.

Newspapers

Newspaper articles can be a source of information during the 1800s and into the 1900s, especially if the individual publicly misbehaved, wandered, or appeared in court. The press often covered the court docket and behavior outside the norm. In Illinois in the 1800s, each county was allocated a certain number of beds in the asylum based on population. The superintendent of the institution was required to report to each of the counties the status of the individuals from that county. Some of these reports made it into the local newspaper, recording the individual's name, location, diagnosis, and condition.⁹

Cemetery records

Many asylums had their own cemeteries. Search Find a Grave in the locale to see if any volunteers have posted information about the interred person. Clarinda (Iowa) Mental Health Hospital recorded the names of individuals on their tombstones. The Peoria (Illinois) State Hospital, where Dirk Bode is buried, recorded only a number on a concrete marker, unless the family paid for a stone with the name.

Other types of records

Many other records may provide evidence or context for the ancestor's mental health. Death records are an obvious place to start. Church records may reflect a late or no confirmation due to an inability to meet the minimum knowledge standards of the church—negative evidence lending credence to the hypothesis. School records sometimes reveal lack of attendance or behavior problems. Police records may indicate a history of violence or wanderings. If available, look in the records of workhouses and orphanages.

Records obtained through the courts

If the state allows requests for records or the court grants access, several types of records might be received.

Commitment records

Starting in the mid-1800s, states required a formal court commitment process for a person to be certified as "insane." These records usually state the reason why an individual was committed and are held in the local court archives, usually in the county of residence of the committed person.

The reasons for certifying an individual as insane varied widely and not all resulted in confinement. For example, in the 1880s, a family might desire the certification of an individual with dementia as "insane" to obtain control of decision-making on the family farm, as happened to my great-great-grandfather Ryke Berends Rykena.¹⁰ Women with severe post-partum depression and epileptics were often confined.¹¹ Psychology was in its infancy in this period and the diagnoses available were few—schizophrenia, depression, and mania, the latter a "catch-all" term for everyone not suffering from the first two.¹²

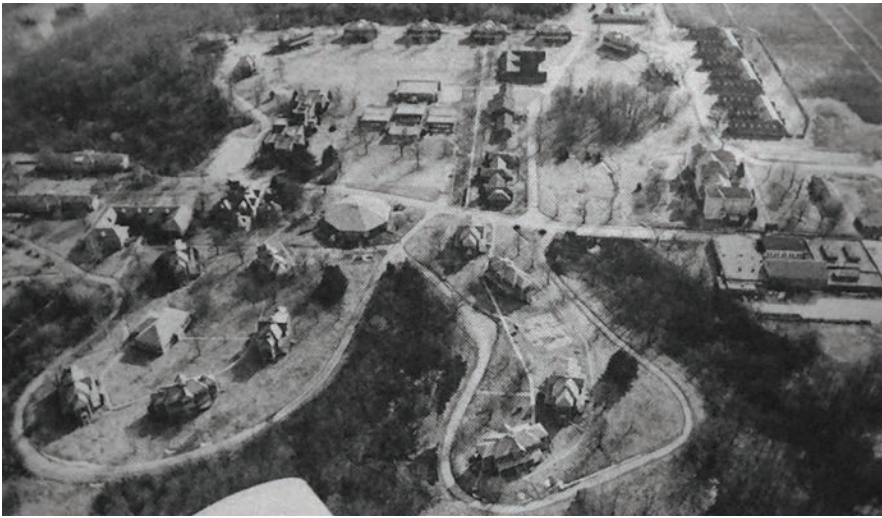
8. See Kathy Petlewski, "1880 Supplemental Schedules: Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes," in this issue.

9. For example, "Asylum," *Freeport (IL) Daily Bulletin*, 28 January 1892, p. 3, col. 2.

10. Grundy County, Iowa, probate record, vol. 8:249, "In the matter of the appointment of Temporary Guardian of R. B. Rykena said to be insane," 11 September 1875; State Historical Society Research Center, Des Moines, Iowa.

11. William Briska, Elgin, Illinois [e-address for private use], to Jill Morelli, email 13 May 2014, "Elgin Asylum for the Insane." Bode File, Morelli Research Files; privately held by Morelli, jkmorelli@gmail.com. Mr. Briska is the historian for the asylum located at Elgin, Illinois. He served as the registrar and archivist for thirty years.

12. 1880 U.S. census, Kane County, Illinois, Defective, Delinquent and Dependent Classes, Elgin, pp. 49-58, residents of Northern Illinois Asylum for the Insane. The author surveyed 250 of 515 patients. Of the segment analyzed, 77.6 percent of the patients received a diagnosis of mania, chronic or acute mania, periodic mania or epileptic mania; 13.2 percent of melancholia; and 9.2 percent of dementia or acute dementia.



ABOVE: Psychopathic ward, Jacksonville State Hospital. Courtesy of Asylum Projects (<http://www.asylumprojects.org>).

LEFT: Peoria (Illinois) State Hospital, also called Bartonville Asylum. The map indicates the huge size of this and many other asylums. Courtesy of Asylum Projects (<http://www.asylumprojects.org>).

Guardianship records

When individuals were determined by the court to be insane, the court named guardians for them. Guardianship papers identify an individual to manage the affairs of the individual certified as insane.¹³ The individual named as guardian of Dirk Bode was his brother.¹⁴

Property records

Land transfer, conservator, and probate records were created if the committed ancestor owned property. When the individual went into an institution, the court named a conservator for the property. The conservator records are rich with information about how the family spent the money of the confined person. Did they travel to visit? Did they send Christmas presents? How much seed did they buy to plant on the farm? Did they keep up with any payments? Was there any income? After the patient died, probate records were created to dispose of the property.

All of these records are held at the local level, usually in the county of residence of the committed individual or the location of the property. In Illinois, if a record indicates the individual was mentally ill, the record is closed and is only accessible with a court order. This restriction includes records that are usually available, such as probate records and deeds.

Medical records

Don't expect many extant medical case records from the 1800s or early 1900s. Extensive records on an individual were not kept. Dirk Bode has a single line of cryptic notes entered approximately every year.¹⁵ There might be an admittance document and transfer documents if the individual moved from one institution to another. Later records are more robust, but can be more difficult to obtain.

Court process for acquisition of records

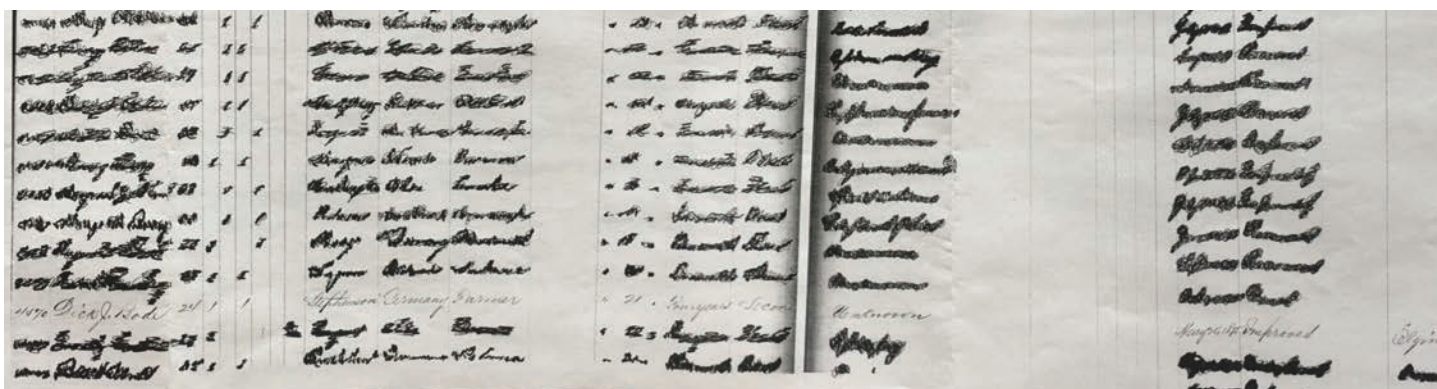
For many states, researchers need to hire a lawyer and petition the court to obtain the records. If the petition is granted, the judge will receive the documents from that county and any state-held records and review them *in camera* (in the judge's office). The judge can release all the records to the lawyer, withhold all records, or release only a portion of the records—his or her choice. It is also possible the judge could put conditions on the use of the records. For example, I received fourteen pages of information from three asylums about Dirk Bode made available by the Circuit Court judge of Kane County, but I did not obtain unfettered use. The judge stipulated that I am to show the documents I received only in lectures and in academic papers.¹⁶

13. Noel Stevenson, *Genealogical Evidence: A Guide to the Standard of Proof Relating to Pedigrees, Ancestry, Heirship and Family History*, revised edition (Laguna Hills, CA: Aegean Park Press, 1989), 118.

14. Stephenson County, Illinois, Dirk Bode guardianship file, Hendrik Bode guardianship appointment, 1872, Recorder's Office, Stephenson County, Illinois, released to Jill Morelli, July 2014.

15. Dirk Bode case file, court requested records, Circuit Court of the 16th Judicial Circuit, Kane County, Illinois.

16. Illinois, Jacksonville, Jacksonville Central Hospital for the Insane, admission record, Dirk J. Bode, #4570 (21 January 1873, obscured); court-released documents, Kane County Circuit Court, Elgin, Illinois; "Jacksonville Mental Health and Development Center: Case Records, 1854-1870, 1872-1873, 1875-1907," Illinois State Archives, Springfield.



Redacted admission record, Dirk Bode, Jacksonville (Illinois) Central Hospital for the Insane, 1873.¹⁷

The court may ask why the requester wants the records, and “for genealogical purposes” is not good enough. In my case, my family has a history of depression and I wanted to write a scholarly article for a genealogical journal. I included the draft of my article as evidence of my serious intent. The article included references to the many records available publicly and, perhaps, illustrated that holding a small number of records back served little purpose.¹⁸ It is not known what convinced the judge, but this strategy worked.

Sometimes, it just takes asking. Over a fifteen-year span of time, I appeared at the transaction counter of my midwestern recorder’s office about every four to five years. Every time I asked for the same thing—all the records they had on Dirk Bode. One year they gave me a probate record clearly noting he was in the Illinois Asylum for the Incurable Insane. Another year they gave me the conservator’s packet and the guardianship papers. It’s always worth a visit and asking. I was delighted to walk out with these records without going through the court process.

It’s satisfying work to research mentally ill relatives. Obtaining their records and letting their story “see the light” honors them in a way that probably didn’t happen while they were living.

Resources

Online

- American Philosophical Society. Eugenics Record Office Records. <http://www.amphilsoc.org/mole/view?docId=ead/Mss.Ms.Coll.77-ead.xml#abstract>
- American Psychological Association. History of Psychology. This periodical may be difficult to find. Contact the nearest medical school library. <http://www.apa.org/pubs/journals/hop/index.aspx>
- Ancestry. U.S. Federal Census—1880 Schedules of Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes. <https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=1634>
- Airaysa. “Psychology Exposed. History of Practices in Psychology” Video File. 2008. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kjR6xcrD5SM&feature=player_embedded
- Asylum Projects. <http://asylumprojects.org>
- _____. “Asylum Projects Genealogical Requests.” https://asylumprojects.org/index.php/Asylum_Projects_Genealogical_Requests
- Facebook. “Asylum Projects.” <https://www.facebook.com/AsylumProjects>

17. Ibid.

18. Michael Kalland, Esq., “Petition for Release of Mental Health Records ... [of Dirk Jans Bode, deceased]” to the Circuit Court for the 16th Judicial Court, Kane County, Illinois, Case No. 14 MH 01, no date. Bode File, Morelli Research Files; privately held by Jill Morelli.

FamilySearch Wiki. "Insane Asylum Records in the United States." <http://familysearch.org/wiki> Look under location of institution for additional information.

FamilySearch. "Eugenics Records Office Records." <https://familysearch.org/search/catalog/results?count=20&query=%2Bkeywords%3Aeugenics>. Filed by location, surname, trait, or combination, for the years 1900-1940, various states.

FindMyPast. "Bethlem Hospital (London) Records (1683-1932)." <http://www.findmypast.com/bethlem>. Click on the picture of Bethlam for a blog post about some patients and their records.

_____. "Scotland Mental Health Institutions Admissions 1857-1859." <http://search.findmypast.com/search-world-Records/scotland-mental-health-institutions-admissions-1857-1859>

Google Books. Use these search terms to find the annual reports on Northern Illinois Asylum for the Insane in Elgin, Illinois: Elgin asylum annual. <https://books.google.com>

JSTOR, various articles. Conduct topical and locational searches.

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~Unknown genealogist

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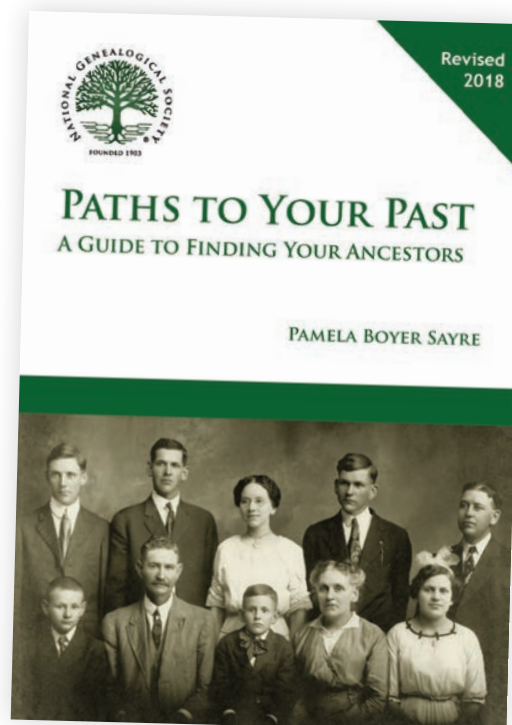
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Pamela Boyer Sayre, CG, CGL, FUGA, is a professional researcher, educator, author, and national lecturer. She has developed, coordinated, and taught courses at the Institute of Genealogy and Historical Research since 2007. She co-coordinates and teaches courses at the Salt Lake Institute of Genealogy and the Genealogical Research Institute of Pittsburgh. She has taught in Boston University's Professional Certificate Program in Genealogy. Pam is former NGS director of education and publications, former board member of NGS and FGS, co-author of *Online Roots: How to Discover Your Family's History and Heritage with the Power of the Internet* (2003) and *Research in Missouri* (1999, 2007), and a former editor of *APGQ*.

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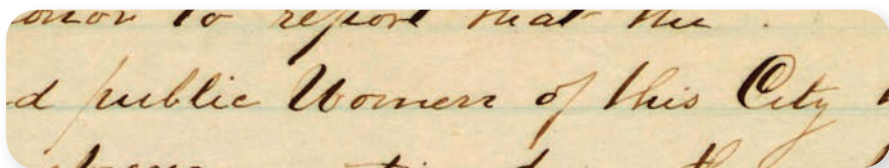
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Loose Women: Researching Prostitutes

Jane G. Haldeman



Excerpt: List of Nashville prostitutes examined during the week ending 29 August 1863. NAID 99905732, RG 94, National Archives.

Families might not like to talk about these notorious ancestors, but hints may be dropped: a speakeasy, a

grandmother who had a crib, or a madam in the family. Did a female ancestor disappear or run away to a big city? Was there a divorce? Did the husband die leaving a widow and several children with no income? Perhaps, like other women in the 1800s and 1900s, the female ancestor turned to prostitution.

Prostitution was legal during most of the history of the United States. The need for money to care for themselves and their families, the desire for independence, and the power to control their lives were some of the reasons women became prostitutes.¹

Understanding local and federal laws and the challenges prostitutes encountered can help genealogists research ladies of ill repute, who often left records and clues for descendants to follow. This article describes the resources and strategies that may identify these women.

The economics of prostitution

Traditional occupations like sewing, housekeeping, and taking in laundry didn't cover living expenses for many women on their own. In 1860 female shirtmakers in New York earned from 75 cents to \$1.08 per week, less than the average cost of room and board for the city's working women.² In contrast, the average weekly income of prostitutes in New York City was ten dollars, and it was not unusual for prostitutes in first-class brothels to receive thirty to fifty dollars in a week.³ Prostitution could fill the economic gap for a widowed, single, or divorced

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Websites cited in this article were viewed on 12 September 2018.

1. Brothels and prostitution businesses were originally run by women. Men were hired as "fancy men" to protect the women in brothels and do other chores. See Elizabeth A. Topping, *What's a Poor Girl to Do? Prostitution in Mid-Nineteenth Century America* (Gettysburg, PA: Thomas Publications, 2001), 35. There were some cases of husband/wife brothel ownership and male-owned taverns, but pimps weren't a major part of the business until the late nineteenth century. See Marilyn Wood Hill, *Their Sisters' Keepers: Prostitution in New York City, 1830-1870* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 94; e-book, University of California Press E-Books Collection, 1982-2004 (<http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft8199p209>).

2. Virginia Penny, *The Employments of Women: A Cyclopaedia of Woman's Work* (Boston: Walker, Wise & Company, 1863), 308, 488; image, Google Books (<https://books.google.com/books?id=xR0EAAAAYAAJ>).

3. William W. Sanger, *The History of Prostitution: Its Extent, Causes, and Effects throughout the World* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1858), 601; image, Project Gutenberg (<http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/41873>).

Office Provost Marshall
 Medical Department
 No 124 College St
 Nashville Tenn August 29th 1863.

Sir

We have the honor to report that the following named public Women of this City have reported for first examination during the week ending Saturday August 29th 1863

No	Names	Residence	Result of Examination
1	Vallee Smith	133 College St	Certificate of health given
2	Mary Perry	Spruce St below Lane	Considered improper Subject.
3	Annie Page	" " " "	Certificate of health given
4	Maggie Wood	151 Front St	" " " "
5	Mary A Gibson	115 College St	" " " "
6	Ellen Winters	Spruce St	" " " "
7	Martha Mullen	" "	" " " "
8	Drey White	Lane "	Unexamined
9	Secunda Ross	Lane St	Discard
10	Wetly Carter	Spruce St	Certificate of health given
11	Molly Shanklin	" "	" " " "
12	Annetta Park	" "	" " " "
13	Fanny Baker	Crawford below Lane & high	Unexamined

woman, who became a business woman earning more than enough to care for herself and her family.

There was a hierarchy among prostitutes. A prostitute could be a “kept” woman, supported by a gentleman. He paid for her housing and other needs and was often married. She could also be a keeper or owner of a brothel, resort, or house of ill fame, and get a percentage of the earnings from the prostitutes (inmates) living with her. Many prostitutes operated in boarding houses, where they paid rent but did not pay percentages. In both types of houses, liquor was provided or sold. An assignation house rented rooms by the hour. Lower-class prostitutes lived in tenement houses, rented a crib (a small space rented for the purpose of prostitution), or walked the street.

Soldiers, prostitution, and venereal disease

During the Civil War, many prostitutes were camp followers in areas populated by soldiers, and venereal disease flourished. Due to its rise, Lt. Col. George Spalding became the first authority to license prostitutes in the United States. He required Nashville’s prostitutes to register with the military government and pay a weekly fee of fifty cents for a medical checkup. Healthy prostitutes received certificates. If infected with a venereal disease, they were hospitalized at no additional charge. Nashville had two hospitals for treating venereal disease: Hospital #11 for the soldiers and #15 for the prostitutes.⁴ Two lists held by the National Archives, dated 22 and 29 August 1863, name 173 Nashville prostitutes, their residences, and the results of their examinations.⁵

The progressive movement and regulation

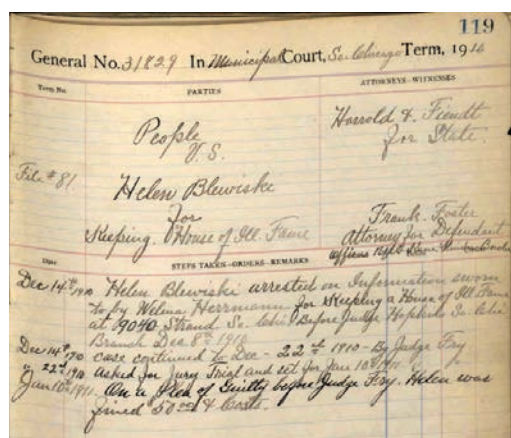
Prostitution was accepted as a necessary evil until the Progressive Era in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when social reform movements prompted laws to regulate gambling, liquor, and disorderly houses. It was thought that the elimination of prostitution would control the spread of syphilis and gonorrhea. In the early 1900s many cities formed their own anti-vice societies, including

the Committee of Fifteen (1900-1902) and the Committee of Fourteen (1905-1932) in New York, and the Committee of Fifteen (1909-1927) in Chicago.⁶

The Committee of Fifteen (1900-1902) in New York City was established to study and lobby for the elimination of prostitution and gambling. The Committee hired investigators to pose as clients. Their reports include letters to the Department of Health with the locations of disorderly houses, notebooks, and chronological logs of visits and actions taken against the houses and businesses.⁷

This group was followed by the Committee of Fourteen (1905-1932), in New York, which was dedicated to the abolition of the “Raines Law Hotels.” Saloons couldn’t sell liquor on Sundays, but the Raines Law of 1896 had given hotels the right to sell liquor every day. Saloon keepers annexed rooms and applied for hotel permits. Many of these rooms were used for prostitution. The Committee of Fourteen’s records include cases of tenement house law infringements such as solicitation and prostitution on the premises; suspected places of prostitution and the owners’ names and addresses; the reports of investigators posing as clients; and a card file of cases brought before the Women’s Court, 1914-1932.⁸

Some records for the Committee of Fifteen and the Committee of Fourteen are housed in the Archives and Manuscripts Department of the New York Public Library and are currently being digitized.⁹



Chicago Municipal Court entry, Helen Blewiski, keeping a house of ill fame, 1910. Chicago Committee of Fifteen records, vol. 25, part 1, page 119.

4. William Moss Wilson, “The Nashville Experiment,” *The New York Times Opinionator: A Gathering of Opinion from Around the Web*, 5 December 2013 (<https://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/12/05/the-nashville-experiment>).

5. A388, Reports on Prostitutes in Nashville, Surg. W. M. Chambers, USV (NAID 99905732), <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/99905732>; Record Group 94, Records of the Adjutant General’s Office; National Archives, Washington, DC. Soon to be digitized, the records include correspondence and reports.

6. Timothy J. Gilfoyle, “Prostitutes in the Archives: Problems and Possibilities in Documenting the History of Sexuality,” *American Archivist* 57 (Summer 1994), 521; pdf download from *The American Archivist* (<http://americanarchivist.org>) > Issues > Past Issues > Volume 57 (1994) > Issue 3 (Summer 1994) > Prostitutes in the Archives...; DOI: 10.17723/aarc.57.3.p74tr646p6r530lv.

7. “Committee of Fifteen records: 1900-1901,” manuscript collection description, *The New York Public Library: Archives and Manuscripts* (<http://archives.nypl.org/mss/608>).

8. “Committee of Fourteen records: 1905-1932,” manuscript collection description, *The New York Public Library: Archives and Manuscripts* (<http://archives.nypl.org/mss/609>).

9. “Committee of Fifteen records: 1900-1901” and “Committee of Fourteen records: 1905-1932.”

RESUMES WEST SIDE RAIDS; ARRESTS OVER FORTY WOMEN

Inspector Healy, Accosted on Peoria Street, Calls Patrol Wagon—Many Men Caught.

The raiding of resorts in the west side levee was resumed by Inspector Healy and Lieut. Madden of the Desplaines street station last night. More than forty women and many men were taken to the station.

The raids started when Inspector Healy was accosted by an inmate of the resort conducted by Sadie Mendelson, 169 North Peoria street. He at once sent for a patrol wagon. Other streets in the levee were visited.

"I have given them every chance," said he. "These people must obey orders or move."

More than a dozen men who live off the earnings of women were arrested.

Chicago
Tribune, 30
November
1909.

These laws were modelled upon the liquor laws that originated in Iowa.¹² In 1894 Ohio enacted the Winn Law, making it unlawful to give away or sell liquor in houses of ill fame.¹³ Brothels made money selling drinks to their customers, so the Winn law resulted in the closing of some houses.¹⁴ In 1908, Illinois passed the first pandering law (Illinois Senate Bill 516) to punish "any person who shall procure a female inmate for a house of prostitution."¹⁵ Other states enacted similar laws.

Beginning in the 1880s, social reform brought about the creation of settlement houses to help poor people and immigrants.¹⁶ The purpose of a Chicago settlement house called Coulter House Home for Girls was to "provide a home for wayward girls and make such constructive efforts as will tend to restore them to a normal, healthy life, morally and physically."¹⁷ Kate J. Adams was the superintendent of Coulter House, which gave "shelter to many of the witnesses in the white slave cases."¹⁸

In 1915 Kate Adams and the Chicago Committee of Fifteen promoted the passage of a bill known as the Kate Adams Law, an abatement and injunction law declaring houses of prostitution to be public nuisances. Many other states created nuisance laws similar to the Kate Adams Law to close brothels, assignation houses, and other houses of ill repute, and to arrest their owners and inmates.¹⁹

The reform movement had positive and negative results for genealogists. Nuisance laws led to the creation of court records and newspaper articles, but with the closing of houses of ill repute in the red-light districts the prostitutes scattered throughout towns, making it harder to locate them.

The Committee of Fifteen (1909-1927) in Chicago was formed as a private organization to combat pandering.¹⁰ Its investigators recorded observations in known areas of ill repute. In 1913 Chicago established a Morals Court as a branch of the Municipal Court. The Committee of Fifteen's record books have entries for court cases and trial proceedings, containing names and addresses. The Special Collections Research Center at the University of Chicago Library houses these records and they are online.¹¹

State laws and enforcement

State laws against prostitution, called "red-light" injunction and abatement acts or nuisance laws, are found in state statutes and public acts. Most states have current compiled statutes and public acts on their government websites. Older compiled statutes are available at HeinOnline, LexisNexis, and Westlaw; check a local library or college for a subscription. Some older state laws are digitized on Internet Archive.

10. "Guide to the Chicago Committee of Fifteen Records 1909-1927," manuscript collection description, *University of Chicago Library: Special Collections Research Center* (<https://www.lib.uchicago.edu/e/scr/f/findingaids/view.php?eadid=ICU.SPCL.COMMITTEEOF15>).

11. "Guide to the Chicago Committee of Fifteen Records 1909-1927." Includes digital images of handwritten observations and ledgers.

12. Charles S. Ascher and James M. Wolf, editors, "Red Light" Injunction and Abatement Acts," *Columbia Law Review* 20, no. 5 (1920): 605-608; image, JSTOR (<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1112662>).

13. "Winn Law (90 Ohio L. 300)," *Weekly Law Bulletin and the Ohio Law Journal* 30 (10 June 1895): 298; Google Books (<https://books.google.com/books?id=mC0tAQAAAMAJ>).

14. "The State of Ohio v. Vonnies Weston and Kate McManon," H. J. Ewing, *Ohio Nisi Prius Reports: Decisions of the Courts of Common Pleas and Probate Courts of Ohio*, New Series, 32 vols. (Columbus, OH: n.p., 1894), 1:350-355, specifically page 351 describing the Winn Law; image, Google Books (<https://books.google.com/books?id=GucKAQAAMAJ>).

15. R. Waite Joslyn, *Criminal Law and Statutory Penalties of Illinois*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: T.H. Flood & Co., 1920), 768; image, Google Books (<https://books.google.com/books?id=vQAMAAAYAAJ>).

16. John. E. Hansan, "Settlement Houses: An Introduction," *Virginia Commonwealth University Social Welfare History Project* (<http://socialwelfare.library.vcu.edu/settlement-houses/settlement-houses>).

17. "Endorsed Charities Supplement," *Chicago Commerce*, 9, no. 3 (23 May 1913): 14 (Chicago: The Chicago Association of Commerce); image, Google Books (<https://books.google.com/books?id=i-UNAQAAMAJ>).

18. "Kate Adams on Hoyne Trial: Goes into Details of Case," *Chicago Tribune*, 20 September 1913, p. 3, col. 3.

19. 740 ILCS 105/.

Federal laws

The Page Act of 1875, commonly known as the Asian Exclusion Act, was sponsored by Representative Horace F. Page of California. It was a federal law “determining whether the immigration of any subject of China, Japan, or any Oriental country to the United States, is free and voluntary.” Section 3 of the Act states, “The importation of women for the purposes of prostitution is hereby forbidden.”²⁰

The Mann Act (18 USC § 2421 et seq. 25 June 1910), also known as the White Slave Traffic Act, was sponsored by Representative James Robert Mann of Illinois. This federal criminal statute created “the offense of knowingly transporting any individual, male or female, in interstate or foreign commerce or in any territory or possession of the United States for the purpose of prostitution or sexual activity which is a criminal offense under the federal or state statute or local ordinance.”²¹

Records are available in the National Archives for prosecutions conducted under both acts.²²

Regulated prostitution

Prostitution was legalized and regulated in some areas of the United States. Storyville was the red-light district in New Orleans, Louisiana, from 1897 to 1917. Councilman Sidney Story’s ordinance (No. 13,032 council series) limited the areas of prostitution in New Orleans to specific neighborhoods.²³ Storyville’s *Blue Book* was an annual guide to the district including advertisements for the ladies.²⁴

In 1870 St. Louis, Missouri, enacted a “social evil” law legalizing prostitution.²⁵ A hospital commonly known as the Social Evil Hospital was built for the treatment of prostitutes, to lower the number of cases of venereal disease. Patient records are available in the Becker Medical Library Archives.²⁶ In 1879 prostitution was again banned in St. Louis.²⁷

Today, prostitution in Nevada is legal in licensed and regulated brothels in Humboldt, Elko, Lander, White Pine, Nye, Mineral, Lyon, and Storey Counties. Prostitution is legal in Esmerelda, Eureka, Pershing, and Churchill Counties, but none currently have licensed brothels.²⁸

231 28 39	Everleigh Minna	Head	7	21	36	24	Virginia	Virginia	North Carolina	English	Resort Keeper	ill repute	A.A.
	Ada	Head	7	21	37	24	Virginia	Virginia	North Carolina	English	Resort Keeper	ill repute	A.A.
	Joseph Mannin	Roomer	7	21	23	3	Illinois	Maryland	Maryland	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Barrell Eva Ruth	Roomer	7	21	24	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Lagan Lulla	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Mello Grace	Roomer	7	21	34	3	Illinois	Illinois	Illinois	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Elliot Myron	Roomer	7	21	24	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Baro Mable	Roomer	7	21	24	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Stanley Virginia	Roomer	7	21	23	3	California	California	California	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Leah Lorie	Roomer	7	21	20	3	Alabama	Alabama	Alabama	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Harriet Mona	Roomer	7	21	23	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Barnett Maude	Roomer	7	21	24	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Harriet Helen	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Barker Willie	Roomer	7	21	26	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Carroll Madge	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Morat Malora	Roomer	7	21	21	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Koss Hazel	Roomer	7	21	20	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Haynes Merna	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Morr Marcella	Roomer	7	21	20	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	London Marcella	Roomer	7	21	21	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Edna Ethel	Roomer	7	21	21	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Joseph Blanche	Roomer	7	21	23	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Leah Lorie	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
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	Harriet Helen	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Carroll Madge	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Barrell Maude	Roomer	7	21	24	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Harriet Helen	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Carroll Madge	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Barrell Maude	Roomer	7	21	24	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Harriet Helen	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Carroll Madge	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Barrell Maude	Roomer	7	21	24	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Harriet Helen	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Carroll Madge	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Barrell Maude	Roomer	7	21	24	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Harriet Helen	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Carroll Madge	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Barrell Maude	Roomer	7	21	24	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Harriet Helen	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Carroll Madge	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Barrell Maude	Roomer	7	21	24	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Harriet Helen	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Carroll Madge	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Barrell Maude	Roomer	7	21	24	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Harriet Helen	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Carroll Madge	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Barrell Maude	Roomer	7	21	24	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
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	Carroll Madge	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Barrell Maude	Roomer	7	21	24	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Harriet Helen	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Carroll Madge	Roomer	7	21	22	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan	English	Resort	ill repute	A.A.
	Barrell Maude	Roomer	7	21	24	3	Michigan	Michigan	Michigan				

Research strategies

Researching loose women in the 1800s and 1900s involves many nontraditional records and traditional resources with a twist. Some women used other names so they weren't associated with their families, or used first names that sounded more interesting to customers. A woman might have used the surname of the gentleman she was associated with even if they weren't married.

Listen to whispered family stories. Did a missing female ancestor seem to disappear? Search the neighborhoods to find areas of prostitution or other criminal activity. Look for local taverns, liquor stores, or gambling spots. Investigate her associates.

Census records

In the 1850-1940 censuses, the occupation could be listed as resort keeper for the brothel or assignation house owner; inmate for the person living in the house or institution; or one of the many terms for a prostitute. The industry could be listed as ill repute, ill fame, disorderly house, or prostitution. Use these keywords when searching for a loose woman in the census. Notice patterns when several ladies are called "boarders." Check the neighbors of prostitutes or locations of ill repute, because not every prostitute was enumerated as such. Look for the census records of prisons, jails, and workhouses.

City directories

In city directories, the addresses are just as important as the names. Search for houses or neighborhoods in the red-light districts or with resort keepers identified in census records, newspaper articles, or court cases. Take note of the people living there.

Newspapers

Many papers have columns for arrests, court affairs, and trial lists. When searching newspaper databases, use keywords such as those listed in the sidebar.

Criminal court records

Morals or criminal court cases include other names besides the defendants. Check the witnesses.

Divorce records

Locate divorce records to see if adultery or fornication is named as the cause of the divorce. The husband

may have been visiting prostitutes, and the prostitute may be named in the divorce suit or have to testify to prove his infidelity. The wife may have engaged in prostitution during a long absence of the husband.

Morals court records

In the early 1900s some large cities like Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, and Boston created vice commissions and morals courts.²⁹

Federal records

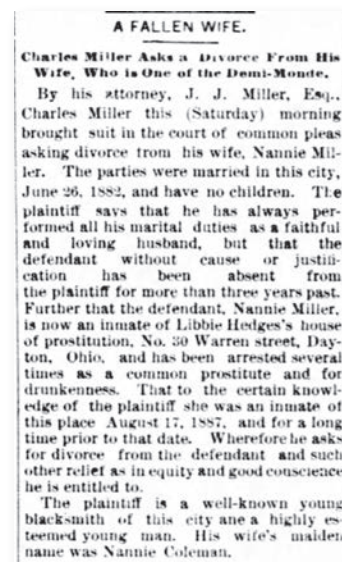
Prosecutions conducted under the Mann Act and the Page Act are federal cases. View the National Archives collections in Record Group 21: District Courts of the United States' Criminal Court Cases, and Record Group 85: Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Check the archival holdings and finding aids for the National Archives branch in the area where the event happened to see what records are available. The Mann Act cases have been indexed at the Chicago Branch. Search records for names and testimony of witnesses, addresses, and other clues.

Guide books and maps of red-light districts

Check *Blue Books* in Storyville (New Orleans, Louisiana) and *The Gentleman's Directory* (New York City, 1870).³⁰ The red-light district in Chicago wasn't licensed or regulated, but the vice districts were mapped.³¹

Penitentiary and jail records

Search the Ancestry and FamilySearch catalogs with keywords such as almshouse, penitentiary, prison, workhouse. Check state archives for prison or penitentiary records. The Missouri State Archives has records from the Missouri State Penitentiary. The

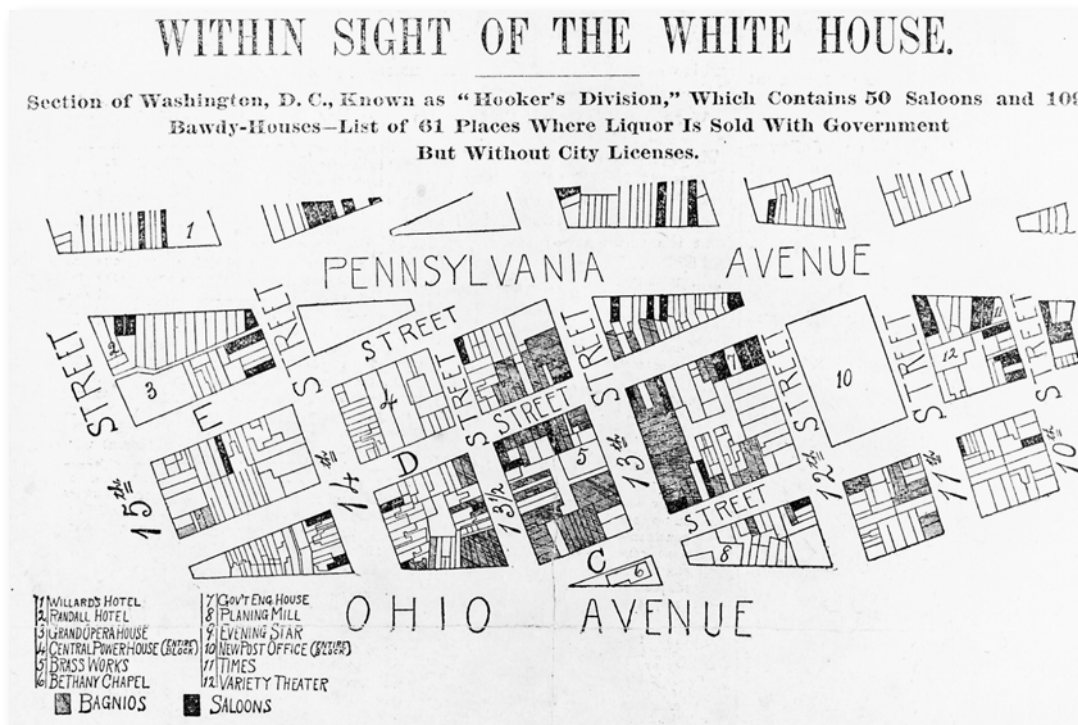


Springfield (Ohio) Daily Republic, 20 August 1887.

29. George E. Worthington, Ruth Topping, *The Morals Court of Chicago*, reprint; citing *Social Hygiene* 7, no. 4 (October 1921): 351-411; image, Google Books (<https://books.google.com/books?id=egfZAAAAMAAJ>).

30. For New Orleans, see "Storyville Blue Books." For New York, see *The Gentleman's Directory*, pocket guide ([New York City]: n.p., [1870]); image, (<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/projects/documents/a-vest-pocket-guide-to-brothels-in-19th-century-new-york-for-gentlemen-on-the-go>). Reproduced by the *New York Times* with the permission of the New York-Historical Society.

31. "Vice Districts," *Encyclopedia of Chicago* (<http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org>) > Entries > V > Vice Districts. This source includes maps.



Map of 109 bawdy-houses in Hooker's Division, Washington, DC. The map lists the names and addresses of sixty-one women selling liquor without city licenses. Unidentified clipping from newspaper published during Grover Cleveland's presidency (1885-1889 or 1893-1897); Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/87694066.

New York City Municipal Archives has records from the Workhouse on Blackwell's Island, now Roosevelt Island.³²

Genealogists need to be aware of the laws that affected prostitutes and the issues of the period in order to find the nontraditional records that may exist. Bring together all of the elements to hunt down that elusive loose woman.

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Prostitution Keywords

Alley walker
Alms-house
Assignment hotels
Bawdy house
Brothel
Buffet flats
Call flats
Concubine
Courtesan
Cribs
Demi monde
Disorderly house
Dive keeper
Fallen woman
Harlot
Hooker
Hustle
Immoral
Ill repute
Ill fame
Jail
Lady of the evening
Lady of the night
Little lost sisters
Live wires
Madam
Morals court
Prostitution or prostitute
Promiscuity
Red-light district
Resorts
Seduction
Soiled dove
Sporting
Sporting clubs
Streetwalker
Strumpet
Vagrancy
Vice

Statutes at Large, select Browse the Statutes at Large, see Volume 18, Part 3, page 477.

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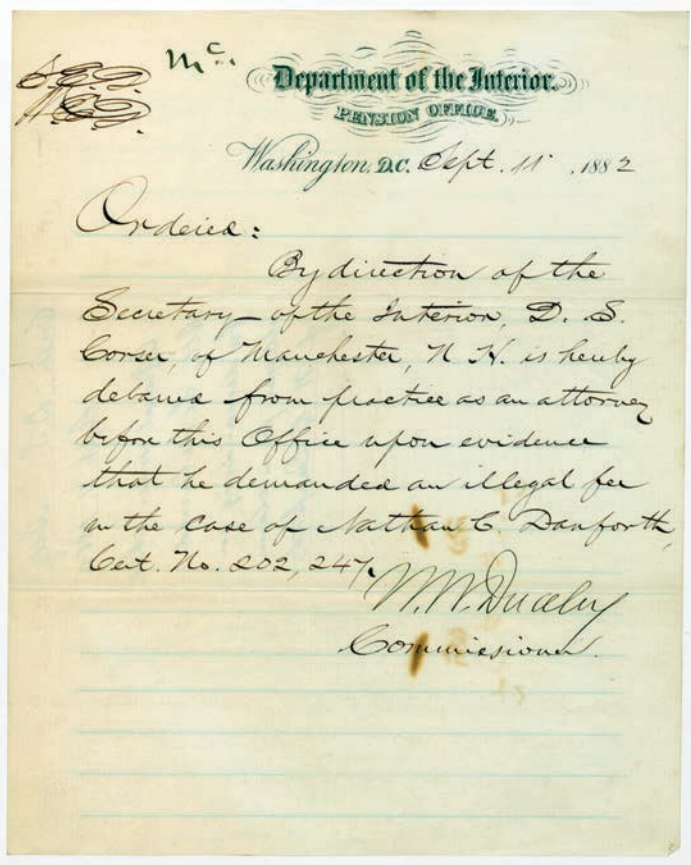
Salt Lake Plaza Hotel
Salt Lake City, Utah

- **English Ancestors 17th-20th Centuries:
Finding Sources and Resolving Problems**
Else Churchill
- **Tracing Your Welsh Ancestors**
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- **Scottish Research: The Fundamentals
and Beyond**
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Thieves, Scoundrels, Impostors, and More



Order of Commissioner of Pensions W. W. Dudley disbaring D. S. Corser of Manchester, New Hampshire, from practice before the Pension Office (later Bureau of Pensions) due to collecting an illegal fee from Nathan C. Danforth. Case File of D. S. Corser, NAID 66327566, image 15.

Claire Prechtel Kluskens, a senior reference and projects archivist at NARA, served as NGS registrar (1996-1998) and director (1998-2000). She can be reached at birdlady2011@icloud.com and blogs at twelvekey.com.

Congress enacted pension legislation during and after the Civil War to enable injured, diseased, disabled, and—ultimately—elderly veterans to avoid poverty and live with dignity. Pensions for widows, children, mothers, and other dependents of veterans allowed those persons to receive a small income in acknowledgment of the loss of support from their deceased loved one.

Unfortunately, the pension laws also provided opportunities for thieves, scoundrels, and impostors to obtain money from pensioners or the government under false pretenses.

The Law Division of the Bureau of Pensions was established in 1886 to prosecute persons who committed fraud relating to pension matters and to promote and improve compliance with legal requirements in cases in which criminal intent was lacking. The division's files extend from 1862 to 1933, and are described in the National Archives' online Catalog as the "Case Files of Attorneys, Agents, Pensioners, and Others Relating to the Prosecution of Pension Claims and the Investigation of Fraudulent Practices" (National Archives Identifier [NAID] 2538355) at <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/2538355>.

The files are often rich in names, since they may include pensioners, family members of pensioners, neighbors, notaries, justices of the peace, clerks of court, postmasters, and others.

Collecting illegal fees

The pension laws strictly limited the fees that pension attorneys could charge for their services, but unscrupulous attorneys sometimes obtained money by taking advantage of their clients' legal ignorance. Many claimants subsequently wised

up to the scam, and the resulting investigation by the Bureau of Pensions often resulted in reimbursement to the claimant and, sometimes, prosecution of the wrongdoer.

Examples include George W. Day of Barham's Gap, Alabama, who collected \$1,400 from Elizabeth A. Osborn, widow of Harry A. Osborn, 1st Alabama Cavalry (NAID 74618195); Edward Beha of Wood County, West Virginia, who took \$300 from pensioner Phoebe Duff (NAID 12044717); and Augustus E. Day of Webster, Massachusetts, who took \$219.86 from Wellington Balcom, 51st Massachusetts Infantry (NAID 74618186).

The amount in dispute was often small, such as five dollars collected by George F. Cowing of Fergus Falls, Minnesota, from Dorothea Kassel, widow of Nicholas Kassel, 11th Illinois Infantry (NAID 66539390). Sometimes the allegedly illegal fee was actually reimbursement for unrelated services or products previously provided by the attorney, agent, or family member. Some pension attorneys were simply ignorant of fee limitations and payment procedures.

Impersonating government officials

During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, traveling con artists pretended to be special examiners sent by the Bureau of Pensions to investigate pension claims. The ruse was an easy way to obtain overnight lodging, food, and money under false pretenses. A fake shiny badge, papers that appeared to be from the Bureau, and a silver tongue were enough to fool people for a day or two before arousing suspicion. Then the con man would quickly move on to the next county, town, or state.

Charlevoix Campau, whose residence was unknown, falsely posed as a special examiner in Barry County, Michigan, in 1885 (NAID 29007720). Eli Carpenter of Sandy Hill, New York, pretended to be a United States government officer in Oswego, Warren, and Washington counties, New York, in April and May 1890, and demanded three to seven dollars to assist claimants (NAID 32200157). James Blue took money from pension claimants and former slaves while posing as a special examiner in Oklahoma and Texas in 1895 (NAID 17394251). Professional impostor George Franklin Anderson, alias George F. Calkins, who had served in the 28th Michigan Infantry during the Civil War, served several stints in prison for fraudulent activities (NAID 7545901).



Detail from mugshots of Alfred Dougherty, a conman who obtained pension money by falsely claiming to be two different Civil War veterans, circa January 1908. Case File of Alfred Dougherty, NAID 75667197: portion of image 182. The full mugshot also has a profile view.

Impersonating pensioners

Some pension claimants were impostors who pretended to be eligible for a pension. Alfred Dougherty, who was born in 1856, successfully (for a time) posed as John L. Market, Company F, 149th Indiana Infantry. He also posed as William F. Crouch, Company A, 148th Indiana Infantry; tried to get pension moneys owed to William C. Ready, Maria Whitney, and Thomas Anderson under false pretenses; and finally was sentenced to time in federal prison for helping his wife, Maria J. Dougherty, file a false pension claim in which she alleged she was the mother of Alfred's deceased uncle, William Dougherty, Companies I and K, 30th Illinois Infantry (NAID 75667197).

More commonly, impostors were women who were not "real" widows; they had divorced or separated from veterans years earlier. Agnes Demarest, also known as Margaret Agnes Bresnahan, of Paterson, New Jersey, was prosecuted in 1915 for falsely claiming she was the widow of U.S. Navy veteran James J. Demarest (NAID 74860086). Sarah F. Tirrell Duty of Fargo, North Dakota, filed a pension declaration in which she claimed to be the lawful widow of James Duty, 8th U.S. Colored Troops

UNITED STATES PENITENTIARY,
Leavenworth, Kansas.

Name Alfred Dougherty Color White
 No. 5985 Alias John L. Market &c.
 Nativity Illinois Trade Policeman
 Criminal Traits _____
 Age 56 Height 5 ft. 6 1/4 in. Weight 154
 Build med. stout Complexion fair
 Hair chest grey Nose Rect.
 Eyes Light Blue
 Color of Beard Sandy grey
 Sentenced January 14 1908
 From Springfield Ill. for 5 years
 Crime Pension Frauds
 Marks, Scars, etc. I Lip middle finger injured,
mail turned down over end.
II Right wrist has been broken, wrist
stiff.
III Vert. sc. R. side nose 1 3/4" from inner
corner right nostril 1/2" above right
corner of mouth.
Nose turned to left.
Slightly bald.
Right collar bone very prominent,
Right shoulder evidently been broken.
 Remarks: _____

Reverse side of mugshot of Alfred Dougherty. Case File of Alfred Dougherty, NAID 75667197: image 183.

Infantry, from whom she was divorced, but in 1911 the grand jury refused to indict her. (NAID 76193975).

Remarriage ended widows' pensions but some women tried to conceal their remarriage from the government. Bigamist Hannah Percel Beckert (alias Hannah Taylor) of Zanesville, Ohio, falsely claimed to be the widow of Daniel Taylor, 10th Ohio Cavalry. She married John Beckert in 1866, but never divorced him. Instead, she married her second husband, Daniel Taylor, in 1868, while Beckert was serving in the Army. In 1909, Beckert was still living in the same town as Hannah (NAID 12031464). Martha J. Cross Ansell of Lamont, Pennsylvania, widow of James B. Cross, Company D, 133rd Pennsylvania Infantry, was

prosecuted for continuing to draw her widow's pension for more than two years after her marriage to Wesley Ansell in 1906 (NAID 7552119).

Fraudulently endorsing pension checks

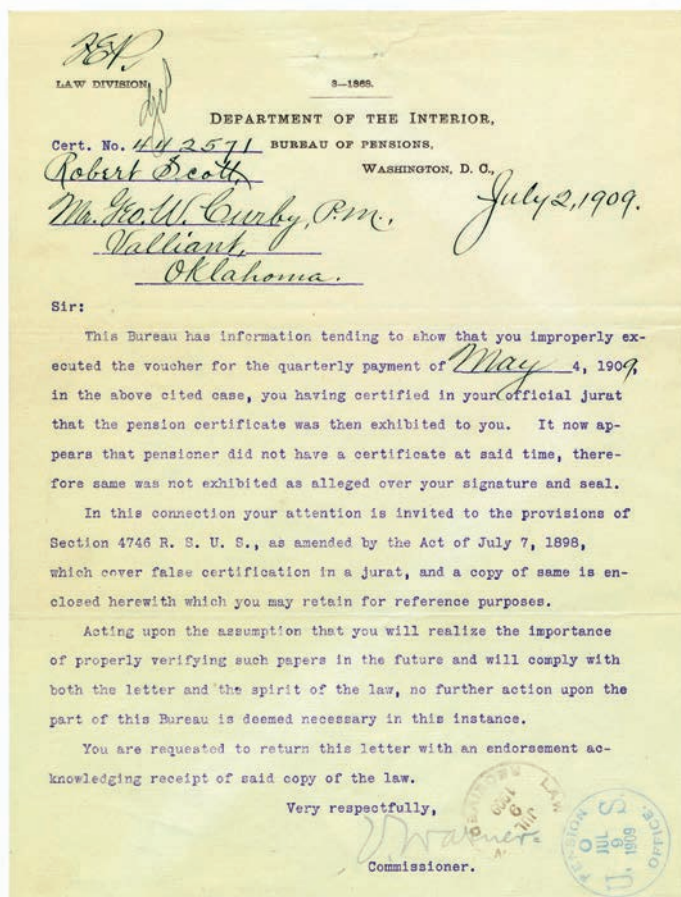
Stealing a check and falsely signing the rightful recipient's name is an old trick often perpetrated by a family member. Thomas Bidler, a Spanish-American War veteran of Pottsville or Chester, Pennsylvania, forged the signature of his father, Civil War veteran Samuel Bidler, on his father's pension check, and cashed it at a local store to buy a new suit and hat for himself (NAID 16730676). James W. Channell fraudulently endorsed the pension check of his grandmother, Susan Channell, widow of Wesley Channell, 4th West Virginia Cavalry. Martha A. Creen of Pensacola, Florida, and three of her family members committed conspiracy and forgery of pension checks of pensioners who were falsely claimed as residents of Creen's Hotel Vernon (NAID 66953504). John A. Cronk of Forestport, New York, was arrested for forging a pension voucher for John Near, a deceased War of 1812 pensioner (NAID 68121295).

False certification of pension vouchers

The pension payment process used during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was intended to minimize fraud upon the government, but it provided ample opportunities for intentional misconduct and inadvertent mistakes.

The pensioner received a voucher in the mail that had to be executed (signed) in person on or after the fourth day of the particular month before a notary public, justice of the peace, postmaster, county clerk, or other officer authorized by law to administer an oath. The pensioner also had to show the officer his or her pension certificate. If any witnesses besides the officer administering the oath were required, the witnesses had to have personal knowledge of the pensioner's identity and continued eligibility. For example, a witness for a widow pensioner had to know that she had not remarried. After executing the voucher, the pensioner mailed the voucher to the pension payment agent, who then mailed a check to the pensioner.

While these requirements are simple to understand, loose adherence was often the rule and not the exception. The oath-giving officer could



Letter from Bureau of Pensions to Postmaster George W. Curby of Valliant, Oklahoma, 2 July 1909, admonishing him for his failure to require pensioner Robert Scott to exhibit his pension certificate when executing his pension voucher. Case File of George W. Curby, NAID 72014444, image 2.

commit false certification of a pension voucher in many ways.

Postdating

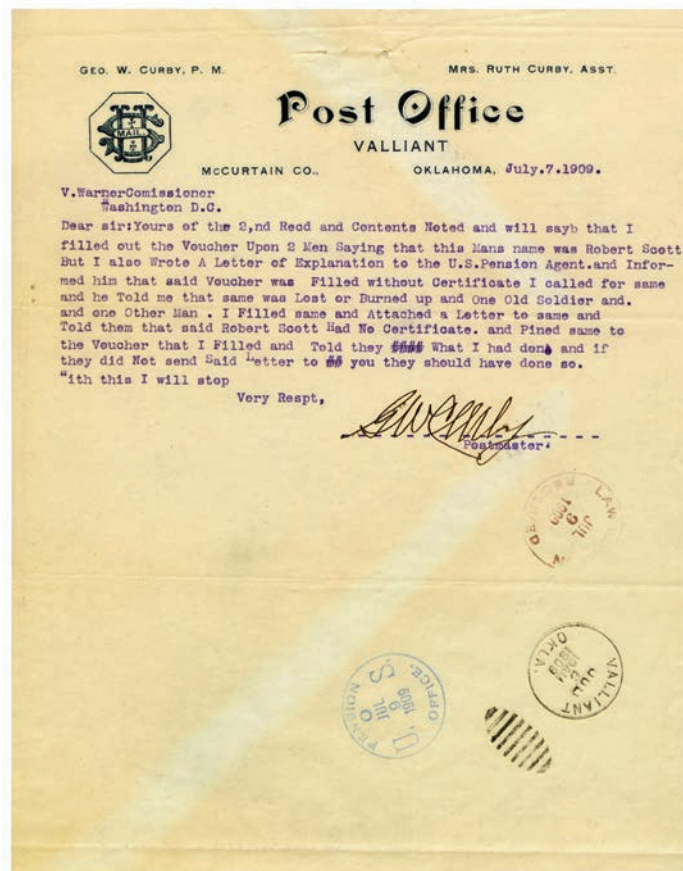
Eager to get the pension check as soon as possible, a pensioner would go to the notary or other officer on the third day of the month, but the voucher would be postdated to read the fourth day of the month. Then the pensioner mailed the voucher in the nearest mailbox, and the efficient post office postmarked the envelope the third! The postdating was easily detected by the pension payment agent. Payment was then delayed because a new voucher had to be sent to the pensioner.

No certificate

Often a pensioner went to the officer without bringing the pension certificate because it was lost or forgotten.

No appearance by pensioner

Elderly pensioners sometimes stayed home while younger relatives took the vouchers to the officer on their behalf. A few cases involved deceased



Postmaster Curby's letter of explanation, 7 July 1909, in response to the Bureau's letter. Case File of George W. Curby, NAID 72014444, image 3.

pensioners whose relatives forged the name of the deceased, such as Archie J. Eberhardt of Buffalo, New York, who in 1917 escaped prosecution for the fraudulent execution of a voucher after the death of his father, George Eberhardt, alias George Duchartin, 127th New York Infantry (NAID 77165975).

Stock witnesses

If a pensioner failed to bring witnesses who could affirm the pensioner's identity and eligibility, the officer sometimes provided an employee to serve as a "witness" despite that person's lack of knowledge about the pensioner.

Officers and pensioners committing these irregularities were usually admonished to not repeat the error, but some were prosecuted, such as G. Sid Beavis of Corry, Erie County, Pennsylvania, who was prosecuted in 1899-1900 for postdating vouchers for Mary C. Livingston, widow of Alpheus P. Livingston, 6th Ohio Cavalry and 14th Veterans Reserve Corps (NAID 12024239).

Conclusion

The Bureau of Pension's Law Division was primarily involved in matters that happened *after* a pension application was approved. Thus, its case files normally provide interesting information that are not found in pension files. Many persons who have no military service or pension claims are mentioned in these files as "bit part" actors in other people's dramas.

One way to effectively search for files of interest in the online National Archives Catalog is use the

Advanced Search at <https://catalog.archives.gov/advancedsearch>. Add "case file of" (in quotes) and a surname or place name as *Search Terms*, "15" as *Record Group Number*, and "File Unit" as *Level of Description*. Alternatively, go to <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/2538355> and use the "Search Within This Series" function to search for surnames or place names. Several thousand files in this series are already indexed and the number of digitized files continues to increase. 🌳



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Mastering Genealogical Documentation

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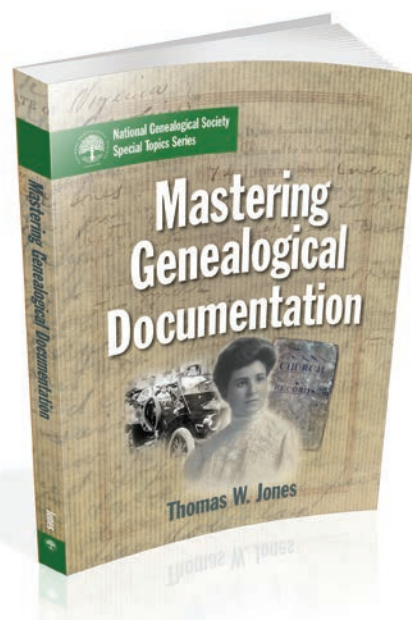
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Thomas W. Jones, PhD, CG, CGL, FASG, FNGS, FUGA, who has pursued his family's history since age fifteen, is an award-winning genealogical researcher, writer, editor, and educator. He also is a professor emeritus from Gallaudet University, where he designed and managed graduate programs, conducted research, and taught and mentored graduate students for twenty-seven years. Jones, a former trustee and past president of the Board for Certification of Genealogists, has co-edited the *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* since 2002. He has taught genealogical documentation at Boston University, the Genealogical Research Institute of Pittsburgh, Institute on Genealogy and Historical Research, Western Institute of Genealogy, and elsewhere.



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1880 Supplemental Schedules: Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes

Health categories in 1880 population census

Health.					
Is the person (on the day of the Enumerator's visit) sick or temporarily disabled, so as to be unable to attend to ordinary business or duties? If so, what is the sickness or disability?	Blind.	Deaf and Dumb.	Idiotic.	Insane.	Maimed, O crippled, Bedridden, or otherwise disabled.
	/	/	/	/	/
	/	/	/	/	/
	/	/	/	/	/
	/	/	/	/	/
15	16	17	18	19	20

Although earlier censuses asked health-related questions, the tenth census of the United States in 1880 was the first to request specific information about personal health, both physical and mental. Health categories included (in the terminology of the period) blind; deaf and dumb; idiotic; insane; and maimed, crippled, bedridden, or otherwise disabled. Marks were made in columns 15-20 of the population census if any of these conditions applied to an individual.

Some researchers might miss these marks or make a notation and move on, without realizing that additional details for people listed with these conditions may be found in the 1880 Supplemental Schedules of the Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes, sometimes abbreviated as DDD. The schedules also include people enumerated in prisons, orphanages, and poorhouses.

In taking the time to review the Supplemental Schedules, genealogists may find clues not only for the individuals listed, but also relatives. One example is that of two children in the Augusta (Georgia) Orphan Asylum. They are listed as H. Peekal and W. Peekal and their home is given as Germany. The father is marked as deceased and the mother as still living. The children were admitted to the facility in 1880.¹ Most likely the mother was alone in Augusta after her husband died and was forced to place her children in an orphanage, in the same year they were enumerated there. The 1880 population schedule reveals that both children were boys, ages seven and ten.²

Information in the 1880 Supplemental Schedules

Seven different forms were used to enumerate people in these categories: insane, idiots, deaf-mutes, blind, homeless children, prisoners, and pauper and indigent

Kathy Petlewski, MSLS, recently retired after more than thirty years as a reference librarian maintaining the family history/ local history collection at the Plymouth District Library, Plymouth, Michigan. She is a frequent lecturer on a variety of genealogical topics and has master's degrees in library science and American history. She can be reached at kpetlewski@hotmail.com.

Websites cited in this article were viewed on 31 August 2018.

1. Homeless Children Schedule, Augusta Orphan Asylum, Richmond County, Georgia, "U.S. Federal Census - 1880 Schedules of Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes," database and images, *Ancestry*.
2. 1880 U.S. census, Augusta, Richmond County, Georgia, Augusta Orphan Asylum, ED 101, stamped page 444, lines 27 and 28.

Insane Inhabitants, Supplemental Schedule 1

- If now an inmate of an institution, is this person a pay-patient?
- Form of disease¹
- Duration of present attack (not including previous attacks)
- Total number of attacks (including the present one)
- Age at which first attack occurred
- Does this person require to be usually or often kept in a cell or other apartment under lock and key, either by day or at night?
- Does this person require to be usually or often restrained by any mechanical appliance, such as a strap, strait-jacket, etc.? If yes, state the character of the appliance used
- Has this person ever been an inmate of any hospital or asylum for the insane? If yes, name the said hospital or asylum
- Total length of time spent by him (or her) during life in such asylum
- Date of discharge (year only)
- Is this person also an epileptic?
- Is this person suicidal?
- Is this person homicidal?

Idiots, Supplemental Schedule 2

- Is this person self-supporting, or partly so?
- Age at which idiocy occurred²
- Supposed cause of idiocy (if acquired)
- Size of head (large, small, or natural)
- Has this person ever been an inmate of a training school for idiots? If yes, name the said training school
- Total length of time spent by him (or her) during life in any such training school or training schools?
- Date of discharge (year only)
- Is this person also insane?
- Is he (or she) also blind or deaf?
- Is he (or she) also an epileptic?
- Is he (or she) paralyzed? If yes, on which side?

1. Six forms of insanity could be listed: mania, melancholia, paresis (general paralysis), dementia, epilepsy, or dipsomania (<https://www.archives.gov/files/research/genealogy/charts-forms/1880-census-insane.pdf>). For information on obtaining other records for mentally ill people, see Jill Morelli, "Finding the Records of the Mentally Ill," in this issue.

2. A special definition was used for this schedule. "An idiot is a person the development of whose mental faculties was arrested in infancy or childhood before coming to maturity" (<https://www.archives.gov/files/research/genealogy/charts-forms/1880-census-idiot.pdf>).

inhabitants.³ Each form asked for the individual's name, residence at home, and detailed information, although the census takers frequently left spaces blank where they lacked certainty. Some people were recorded on more than one Supplemental Schedule, depending on their characteristics.

Prior to taking the census, workers prepared lists of institutions to visit to make sure none were missed. Enumerators received extra pay to ensure they were diligent in locating "defective" persons no matter where they lived. They were instructed to consult with doctors, ask neighbors, and make a full report of each person, in order to complete an enumeration of people outside institutions as well as the inmates of institutions. (In previous censuses only people living in institutions were identified.) The work of reporting insane and idiotic people was supplemented by correspondence with nearly one hundred thousand physicians; four-fifths returned schedules. Duplicates were removed from the schedules after they were combined.⁴

Purpose of the 1880 Supplemental Schedules

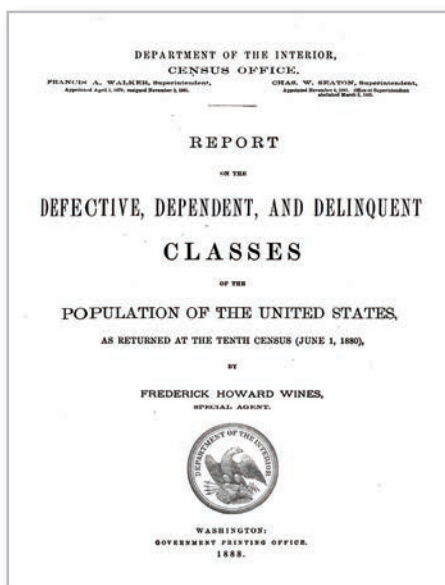
Previous censuses had included questions about health, poverty, and incarceration. The 1830 census enumerated blind and deaf people. The 1840 census tracked insane and idiotic people but didn't distinguish between the two classes. The 1850, 1860, and 1870 population censuses had one box to be checked if an individual was deaf and dumb, blind, insane, idiotic, or a pauper or convict. Additional paperwork was filled out by the enumerator but was not made available publicly.

Why did the 1880 census include such detailed Supplemental Schedules for these classes? The answer to this question lies in Special Agent Frederick Howard Wines' *Report on the Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes of the Population of the United States as Returned at the Tenth Census (June 1, 1880)*.⁵ The report explains the rationale behind the Supplemental Schedules and presents a frank, if somewhat disturbing, view of how these special classes of people were perceived in 1880. For

3. Transcripts of the Supplemental Schedule forms may be found at the National Archives and Records Administration website, <https://www.archives.gov/research/genealogy/charts-forms>. All information for this article regarding questions in the Supplemental Schedules derives from the NARA transcripts.

4. Frederick Howard Wines, *Report on the Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes of the Population of the United States as Returned at the Tenth Census, June 1, 1880* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), ix; image, Google Books (<https://books.google.com/books?id=urINAQAAMAAJ>).

5. Wines, *Report on the Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes...* 1880.



example, people who suffered from epilepsy were categorized as insane. The tables and notations in the report present troubling statistics, such as the number of incarcerated prisoners in balls and chains; how many insane people were kept in straight-jackets; and the kinds of injuries sustained by those who were infirm.

Wines argued that pauperism was one of the root causes for misfortune and called for preventative work to be done among children to check its growth.⁶ His personal observations were a prelude to revealing the official purpose of the Supplemental Schedules.

"This branch of the census may be likened to the wrong side of the balance-sheet in making up the national account. We have enumerated our wealth of men, of money, of property of every description; we have ascertained approximately the rate at which we are advancing as a nation in all the material elements of progress. We need also to cast a glance at the increasing burdens which civilization has to bear. A very considerable portion of the revenues raised by the several states by means of taxation is absorbed in the care of the criminal and the unfortunate; in some states more than half of the general revenue fund is devoted to this specific end. For the information of legislatures it is important that the whole extent of the evil to be contended against shall be known, and that it shall be accessible in a single report, in order that they may make adequate provision for its care or alleviation. The proper care of all these classes is the dictate alike of duty, of sentiment, and of self-interest."⁷

6. *Ibid.*, x.

7. *Ibid.*

Deaf-Mutes, Supplemental Schedule 3

- Is he (or she) self-supporting, or partly so?
- Age at which deafness occurred
- Supposed cause of deafness, if known
- Is this person semi-mute?
- Is he (or she) semi-deaf?
- Has this person ever been an inmate of an institution for deaf-mutes? If yes, give the name of such institution
- Total length of time spent by him (or her) in any such institution
- Date of discharge (year only)
- Is this person also insane?
- Is he (or she) also an idiot?
- Is he (or she) also blind?

Blind Inhabitants, Supplemental Schedule 4

- Is he (or she) self-supporting, or partly so?
- Age at which blindness occurred
- Form of blindness
- Supposed cause of blindness, if known
- Is this person totally blind?
- Is this person semi-blind?
- Has this person ever been an inmate of an institution for the blind? If yes, give the name of such institution?
- Total length of time spent by him (or her) in any such institution
- Date of discharge (year only)
- Is this person also insane?
- Is her (or she) also idiotic?
- Is he (or she) also a deaf-mute?

Homeless Children (in Institutions), Supplemental Schedule 5

- Is this child's father deceased?
- Is this child's mother deceased?
- Has this child been abandoned by his (or her) parents?
- Has this child's parents surrendered the control over him (or her) to the institution?
- Was this child born in the institution?
- If not so born, state year when admitted
- Is the child illegitimate?
- Is this child separated from his or her (living) mother?
- Is this child blind?
- Is he (or she) a deaf-mute?
- Is he (or she) an idiot?

Additional questions were asked about the child's antecedents (parents).³

- Has he (or she) ever been arrested? If yes, for what alleged crime?
- Has he (or she) ever been convicted or sentenced?
- Has the origin of this child been respectable?
- Has he (or she) been rescued from criminal surroundings?

Inhabitants in Prison, Supplemental Schedule 6

- Place of imprisonment (state penitentiary or prison, county penitentiary or jail, work-house, house of correction, city prison, station-house, lock-up, or calaboose)
- Is this person a United States, state, or city prisoner?
- Is he or she awaiting trial?
- Is he or she serving a term of imprisonment?
- Is he or she serving out a fine?
- Is he or she awaiting execution?
- Is he or she sentenced to some higher prison and awaiting removal?
- Is he or she held as a witness?
- Is he or she imprisoned for debt?
- Is he or she imprisoned for insanity?
- Date of incarceration (give date of month and year)
- Alleged offense
- Amount of fine imposed
- Number of days in jail or work-house
- Number of years in penitentiary
- Is this prisoner at hard labor? If yes, what? (Shoe shop, cigar shop, cooper shop, stone cutting, prison duties, mining, labor on farm or plantations, etc.)
- If at hard labor, is he or she working inside or outside the prison walls?
- Is his or her labor contracted out?⁴

3. "Special attention is called to the questions respecting the child's antecedents, which are designed to bring out the proportion of children in institutions who belong to the respectable and to the vicious classes severally" (<https://www.archives.gov/files/research/genealogy/charts-forms/1880-census-homeless-children.pdf>).

4. Additional questions were asked of the chief executive officer of the prison regarding total number of inmates, costs for maintenance of prisoners, and breakdowns by race and foreign-born vs. native-born (<https://www.archives.gov/files/research/genealogy/charts-forms/1880-census-prisoners.pdf>).

Locating the 1880 Supplemental Schedules

Ancestry hosts the Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Schedules for twenty-one of the thirty-eight states and eight territories existing in 1880: Alabama, California, Connecticut, Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and Washington Territory. Ancestry's collection has entries for nearly three hundred thousand people.⁸

FamilySearch has Supplemental Schedules on microfilm for Louisiana, Montana, and Utah, and has digitized its film of schedules for Delaware and Kentucky as well as other states available on Ancestry. Some of the Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Schedules held by FamilySearch are listed under titles like Social Statistics or even Mortality Schedules, so search the catalog broadly by keyword.

Microfilm of the Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Supplemental Schedules for some states is available at large libraries and archives including the Allen County Public Library in Fort Wayne, Indiana; Duke University's Rubenstein Library in Durham, North Carolina; the Midwest Genealogy Center in Independence, Missouri; the National Archives in Washington, DC; and the St. Louis County Public Library in St. Louis, Missouri. For other states, check the state archives, state library, or university archives.⁹

Ancestry's database of Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Schedules is searchable by name, but it can also be browsed by state and county. After finding someone in the 1880 population schedule marked with one of the five health conditions or shown living in an institution, note the numbers for the person's enumeration district, page, and line.

The Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Supplemental Schedules should be arranged in the

8. Search Ancestry's database with images, "U.S. Federal Census—1880 Schedules of Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes," at <https://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=1634>. This number was obtained by searching the collection with defective as the keyword, without name or place.

9. William Dollarhide, "Non-population Census Schedules," *The Census Book: A Genealogist's Guide to Federal Census Facts, Schedules, and Indexes* (Bountiful, Utah: Heritage Quest, 1999), available at <https://www.heritagequestonline.com/hqoweb/library/help/censusbook/Section%204.pdf>, lists the locations of non-population census records on pages 102-124. See also Duke University Libraries, "Guide to the Census Non-Population Schedules, 1850-1880," <https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/findingaids/censusschedules>, and National Archives, "Nonpopulation Census Records, Part 2: Where to Find These Records," <https://www.archives.gov/research/census/nonpopulation#where>.

same order as the population schedules, although they may have been filmed or digitized in a different order. Browse to the Supplemental Schedules with the population schedule's enumeration district number and search in the far left column of the page for the population schedule's corresponding page number. Each person is listed in the same order and on the same line as in the population schedule.

BLIND.

He is to furnish material not only for a complete enumeration of the blind, but for an account of their condition. It is important that he will, therefore, after making the proper entries upon the Population Schedule (No. 1), transfer the name (with Schedule Number, and proceed to ask the additional questions indicated in the headings of the several columns. He is to enter only the totally blind, but also the semi-blind. No person will be carried on this Schedule, however, who can see sufficient to enable him to do any of the usual work of a laborer, or to take care of himself. It is of the greatest importance to note this distinction with care, by making the proper entry in columns 10 or 11.

Residence when at home. (See Note A.)		Is he (or she) blind? (See Note B.)	Form of blindness. (See Note C.)	Supposed cause of blindness, if known.
City or Town.	County (if in same State), or State (if in some other State).			
Calumet	Houghton	Partly	1	Powder Blast in mine
Calumet	Houghton	Partly		Inflammation
Calumet	Houghton	Partly		Powder Blast in mine
Calumet	Houghton	Partly		Powder Blast in mine
Calumet	Houghton	Partly		Powder Blast in mine
Calumet	Houghton	Partly		Powder Blast in mine

1880 Blind Schedule, Calumet, Houghton County, Michigan, Supplemental Schedules of Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes. The cause of blindness was "powder blast in mine" for all but one with a cause shown.

Using the 1880 Supplemental Schedules

Even for researchers whose ancestors don't appear in the Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Supplemental Schedules, it's worth viewing the schedules for the areas where they lived to see what kinds of facilities were available for infirm, homeless, or incarcerated people, or to research causes of injuries. For example, Augusta, Georgia, was large enough to have both a poorhouse and an orphan asylum, but sent its insane residents to a facility in Milledgeville in another county.¹⁰ The schedules of Calumet, Michigan, reveal that the majority of those blinded were made so by explosions in the numerous copper mines.¹¹ These details help genealogists better understand the living and working conditions where ancestors lived and died. 🌲

10. Augusta, Richmond County, Georgia, "U.S. Federal Census - 1880 Schedules of Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes," database and images, *Ancestry*.

11. Calumet, Houghton County, Michigan, "U.S. Federal Census - 1880 Schedules of Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes," database and images, *Ancestry*.

Date of incarceration, (give day of month and the year, thus Jan. 15, 76)	Alleged offense.	Sentence.		Is this prisoner at hard labor? If yes, what? (Shoe shop, cigar shop, cooper shop, stone cutting, prison duties, mining, labor on farm or plantation, etc.)	If at hard labor, is he or she working inside or outside the prison walls?	Is his or her labor contracted out?
		Amount of fine imposed.	Number of days in jail or work-house.			
16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Jan 18 76	Assault & battery	\$22.00	20	Shoe making	Inside	No
Oct 9 76	Burglary & larceny	150	8 1/2	Shoe making	"	"
Nov 12 76	Burglary & larceny	270	10	Cigar making	"	"
Apr 18 76	Burglary	100	5	Shoe making	"	"
Nov 23 76	Burglary & larceny	300	5	Cigar making	"	"
Jan 16 77	Burglary	20	5 1/2	Cigar making	"	"
Aug 23 77	Robbery & larceny	1	3 1/2	"	"	"
Sep 12 77	Robbery & larceny	201	19	Cigar making	"	"
Nov 14 77	Burglary	6	2 1/2	Shoe making	"	"
Jan 23 78	Burglary & larceny	43	3 1/2	"	"	"
Nov 9 78	Libelation	20	3	Shoe making	"	"
Aug 22 78	Mayhem	500	2	Robbery	"	"
" " "	Forgery	1	2	Shoe making	"	"
" " "	Shoplifting	500	3	Shoe making	"	"
" 23 "	Burglary	100	5	"	"	"
" 24 "	False Imprisonment	1	2	Robbery	"	"
Jan 23 "	Felony	60	3 1/2	"	"	"
Nov 18 78	Assault & battery	50	2 1/2	"	"	"

1880 Inhabitants in Prison Schedule, showing date of incarceration, alleged offense, sentence (fine and years), type of hard labor, inside or outside prison. Lancaster County Jail, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Supplemental Schedules of Defective, Dependent, and Delinquent Classes, ED 148, p. 1.

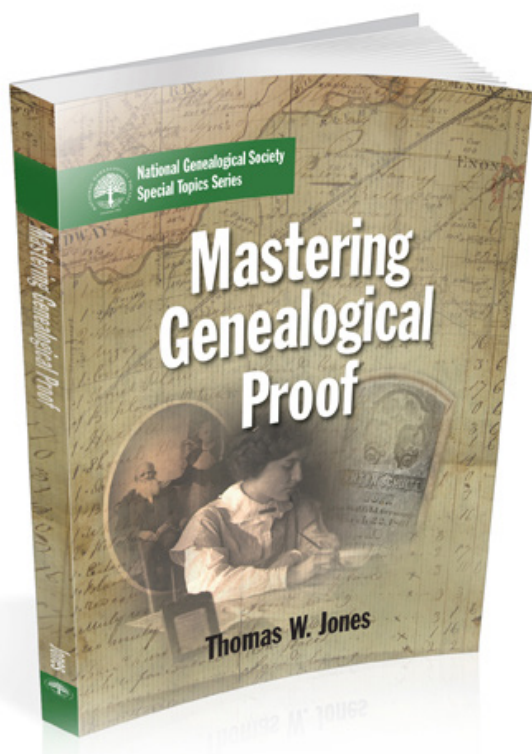
Pauper and Indigent Inhabitants, Supplemental Schedule 7

- How supported? At cost of city, county, state, or institution?
- Is this person able-bodied?
- Is he (or she) habitually intemperate?
- Is he (or she) epileptic?
- Has he (or she) ever been convicted of a crime?
- If disabled, state form of disability (crippled, consumption, dropsy, old age, lying-in, etc.)
- Was this person born in this institution?
- Date of admission (give date of month and year)
- List other members of family also in this establishment: husband, wife, mother, father, sons, daughters, brothers, sisters (how many?)
- Is this person also blind?
- Is he (or she) deaf and dumb?
- Is he (or she) insane?
- Is he (or she) idiotic?⁵

5. Additional questions were asked of the chief executive officer of the pauper establishment regarding funding and total number of inmates (<https://www.archives.gov/files/research/genealogy/charts-forms/1880-census-pauper.pdf>).

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR AND BOOK

Thomas W. Jones, PhD, CG, CGL, FASG, FNGS, FUGA, has pursued his family history since he was fifteen years old. He is an award-winning genealogical researcher, writer, editor, and educator, and is known for his courses that benefit researchers of all levels. He teaches at Boston University, major genealogical institutes and conferences, and local and state seminars. Thomas is the co-editor of the *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*. His latest work, *Mastering Genealogical Proof*, is the first book in the National Genealogical Society's new Special Topics Series.



The Technology for Keeping Secrets



"Padlock," © 2006, Flickr user "eek the cat." (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/eek/300406273/>; accessed 23 September 2018), licensed under Creative Commons Attribution, No Derivatives license 2.0.

Genealogists often come into possession of secrets and stories that could make family members uncomfortable if those secrets were divulged. Examples include mental health issues, undocumented paternity events, criminal convictions, or any number of family events about which family members might be sensitive.

While a genealogical avocation depends on an absolute dedication to documentation and proof, it also requires sensitivity to the privacy concerns of those who might be affected by the family stories and relationships discovered. It is the genealogist's responsibility to take care to physically and logically secure data, and to be careful about how data is shared.

Physical security

These days a great deal of genealogical data is either on electronic physical devices (computers, tablets, and smart phones) or on cloud-based storage for these devices. Some researchers also maintain voluminous paper files. Some are lucky enough to have family bibles and memorabilia that tell a story. Securing homes with locks and security services guards the integrity and privacy of these paper documents and memorabilia. The largest risk to the physical security of sensitive data on devices occurs outside the home. Computers, tablets, or phones can easily be stolen or lost. If someone discovering a device can get to the information on it, the data has not been sufficiently secured.

Methods to secure phones, tablets, and computers include:

- **Lockers and cable locks.** If leaving the device in a library or repository, see if there are lockers to secure it, or bring a cable lock for the computer.
- **Password protection.** Requiring either a textual password or biometric identification (fingerprint or facial recognition) for access will help secure the data on the device. Without this requirement, the data is easily accessible to

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anyone who comes across the device. I recommend creating a passcode of at least six digits, providing a million possible combinations. This type of password will not stop a serious hacker, but it may slow down hacking until a remote wipe removes the sensitive data from a distance.

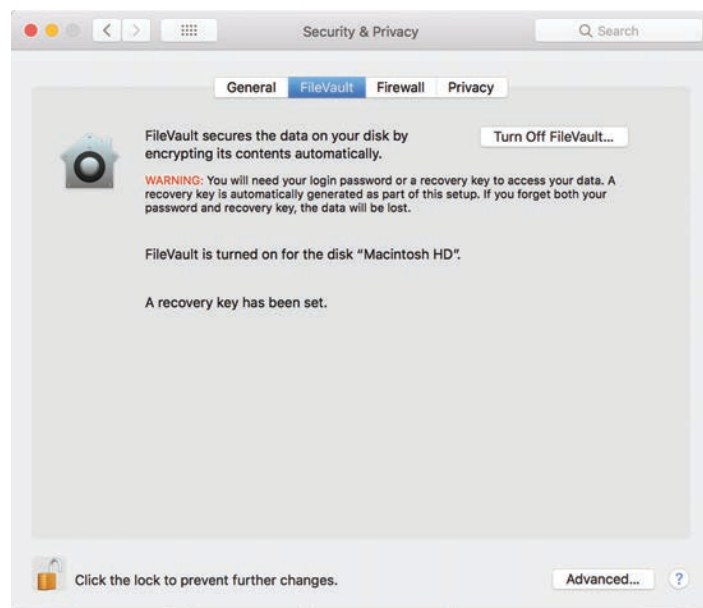
- **Two-factor authentication.** Two-factor authentication requires two keys to get into a device or website. Typically, the two factors include something known (such as a password) and something possessed (such as a smartphone). Logging in prompts the site or system to send a second key as a text or directly to a device. Two-factor authentication can also provide an alert that someone is trying to get into a device or website.
- **A device-location or remote-wipe service.** Apple has “Find my iPhone/ iPad/Mac” as part of its iCloud service (<https://www.icloud.com>). Phones, tablets, and computers running iOS or Mac OS that have been registered with the service can be geo-located when they connect to the internet. Once the device is located, a sound can be played even if it is on silent mode. The device can be locked or have its data remotely wiped clean. Android users have a similar service called Find My Device (<https://www.google.com/android/find>).
- **Platform-independent systems** such as Prey (<https://www.preyproject.com/>) work for iOS, Android, Mac OS, and Windows devices. There are also services that provide a tracking device to attach to the top of a computer or run a tracking app within a phone or tablet. The leaders of this kind of system tracking are TrackR (<https://secure.thetrackr.com/>) and Tile (<https://www.thetileapp.com/>). Both services advertise that they will help locate a wallet, keys, phone, tablet, or computer. They can ring a phone or tablet, even if it's on silent mode. They do not, however, disable the devices or provide a remote wipe utility.

Logical security

Modern operating systems allow encryption of data at the file system level, meaning anything stored on the hard drive is automatically encrypted when it is saved. Without the encryption key, the files are gibberish, completely unreadable. But if someone gets physical access to a device, and gets around the password without actually providing it, all of the

data would be open. I recommend that everyone encrypt their data.

The best way is with encryption tools built into the operating system. (Prompts to enable encryption should occur during system set-up.) Apple has FileVault for the MacOS and Microsoft has Encrypting File System (EFS) for Windows. These features store data with an encryption that can only be unlocked with the system's password.



FileVault encryption for MacOS

Sharing data cautiously

Post judiciously

When using a web-connected database tool, such as Family Tree Maker connected to [Ancestry.com](https://www.ancestry.com) or Family Tree Builder connected to [MyHeritage.com](https://www.myheritage.com), it is a genealogist's responsibility to control the privacy settings so information on living people, and any other sensitive data, is either not uploaded at all, or is not shared.

Be aware of the power and sensitive nature of DNA data

Resolutions of several murder cases in recent months have made use of ancestral DNA in ways that genealogists did not expect. The question of the identity of the Golden State Killer was resolved using DNA contributed to the open community at GEDmatch (<https://www.gedmatch.com>). The police uploaded a raw DNA data file containing the suspect's DNA to the site. DNA matches on GEDMatch provided the investigators with several distant relatives from whom they were able to trace back to common ancestral

couples. Next, they identified descendants of these couples by looking for a descendant of one couple who married another. They repeated this process until a suspect was identified. Then the investigators used a different type of DNA test on discarded DNA from the subject to confirm the correct person had been identified.

Some researchers may have no ethical qualms with the DNA files they upload to GEDmatch being used to track down rapists and killers. But, as Blaine Bettinger said, "The purpose [of GEDmatch] was to make these connections and to find these relatives... [GEDmatch] was not intended to be used by law enforcement to identify suspects of crimes."¹

Commercial DNA testing sites such as Ancestry, 23andMe, MyHeritage, and Family Tree DNA have very strict privacy policies in place to prevent unauthorized use of their genetic databases by law enforcement. GEDmatch, however, has updated its policies to reflect that police officers may use data on the site for law enforcement purposes, saying: "If you are concerned about non-genealogical uses of your DNA, you should not upload your DNA to the database." The use of GEDmatch to catch criminals has not been sufficiently tested in the courts, and regulations surrounding the use of genetic ancestry testing by law enforcement may change in the future.

Be aware of evolving privacy law

The European Union has approved a law called the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR), which is enforceable as of 25 May 2018. This law does not affect genealogical researchers outside the EU directly, but it will likely affect researchers

everywhere in the world indirectly. The law is intended to protect the privacy of individuals residing in the EU, but the complexity and comprehensiveness of the rules mean that many companies will apply them globally in order to not have to maintain multiple privacy rules in their services. The GDPR regulations introduce a number of digital rights, including right of access (users can access their own data), right of erasure (formerly called the right to be forgotten, allowing a user to have individual data completely removed), data portability, and rights of consent.

It will require some time for the impact of these rules on genealogical data sharing to become clear. That clarity will likely arise out of court decisions. For now, it's important to understand that these rules are coming and that they could lead to erasure of genealogically relevant data. It may be more important than ever to have backups of important genealogical documents and data.

Genealogists should recognize that some discoveries might be painful or shameful to the subjects or to their families. Take steps to secure the most private data physically and logically, post judiciously to genealogy databases and social media sites, be aware of the potentially problematic nature of DNA data, and be attentive to the evolving landscape of U.S. and global privacy law. In these ways, researchers can responsibly deal with sensitive data and demonstrate good faith to maintain this data's privacy even if a breach of it occurs. 🌳

1. Gina Kolata and Heather Murphy, "The Golden State Killer Is Tracked Through a Thicket of DNA, and Experts Shudder," *New York Times*, 27 April 2018 (<https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/27/health/dna-privacy-golden-state-killer-genealogy.html> : accessed 29 April 2018).

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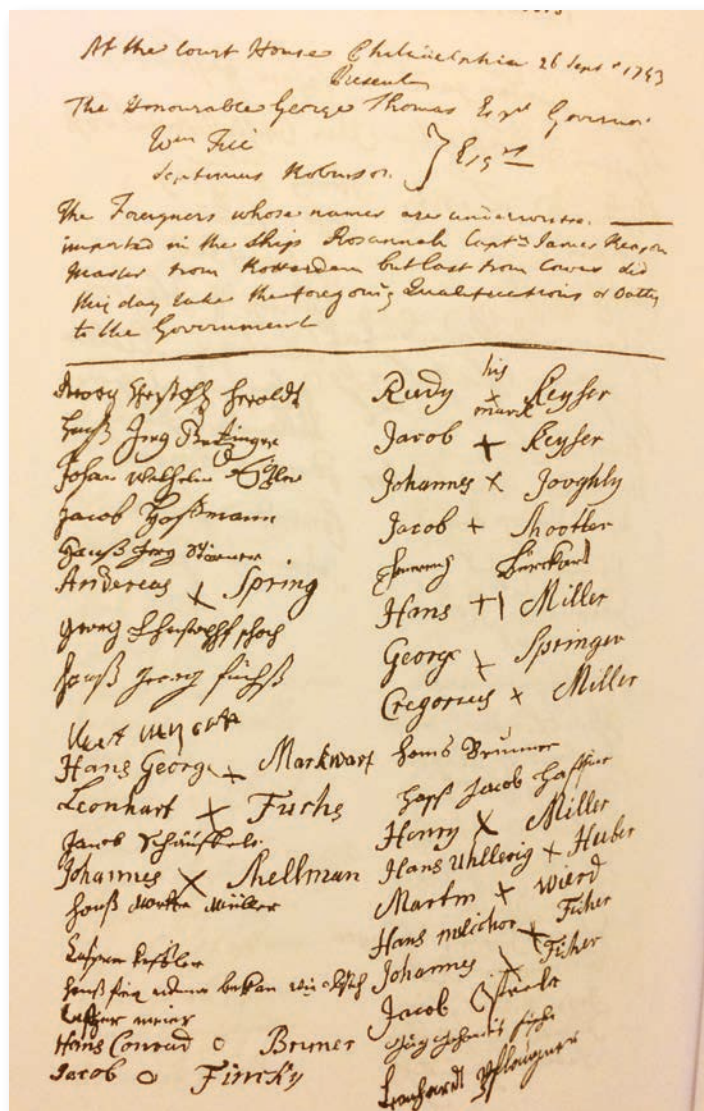
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A typical oaths of allegiance list, this one from the ship *Rosannah*, arriving in Philadelphia 26 September 1743. *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, Vol. II, 1934 edition, page 358.

Genealogists and historians researching German ancestry usually differentiate between the first and second waves of immigration to America, pointing out a multitude of contrasts between the two groups of immigrants and the best sources for seeking their ancestry.

The first wave lasted from the early 1600s through the American Revolution, while the second wave encompassed the rest of the eighteenth century, the entire nineteenth century, and the twentieth century until World War I. Although only about eighty thousand German-speaking people immigrated during the first wave, their descendants make up a considerable number of the fifty million or so Americans who claim German ancestry.

The first-wave German immigrants were the largest free ethnic group from outside the British Isles in colonial times. Due to this distinction, some records were created about them that are lacking for other pre-Revolution ethnic groups. These unique records have inspired a boom in genealogical publications about the immigrant families of the first wave. They help researchers by identifying the home village (*Heimat*), which is essential to facilitate research in Germany since so many records are tied to the village level.

Pennsylvania German Pioneers

Philadelphia was the number one port of entry for Germans in colonial times, and Pennsylvania's legislature became wary of the influx of German-speaking people. In 1727 it decreed that all male

foreigners age sixteen and older had to swear oaths of abjuration (renouncing loyalty to any previous sovereign or the Roman Catholic pope) and allegiance (to their new sovereign, the British king). Foreigners were defined as anyone not already a subject of the British Empire, essentially meaning those from the German states other than Hannover, which was ruled by the British king in personal union during this period. In addition, the decree obligated ship captains to turn in a full manifest of all passengers to authorities.

Not all of these lists have survived, but hundreds of the oaths lists stretching from 1727 to 1808 still exist. A definitive transcription of the existing lists was published under the title *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* in 1934, including facsimiles of the signatures from the oaths lists.¹ Far fewer of the captains' lists of all passengers are extant, but since they were written by the captain or another member of the crew, they are most useful for naming the women and children aboard as well as phonetic renderings of the immigrants' names.

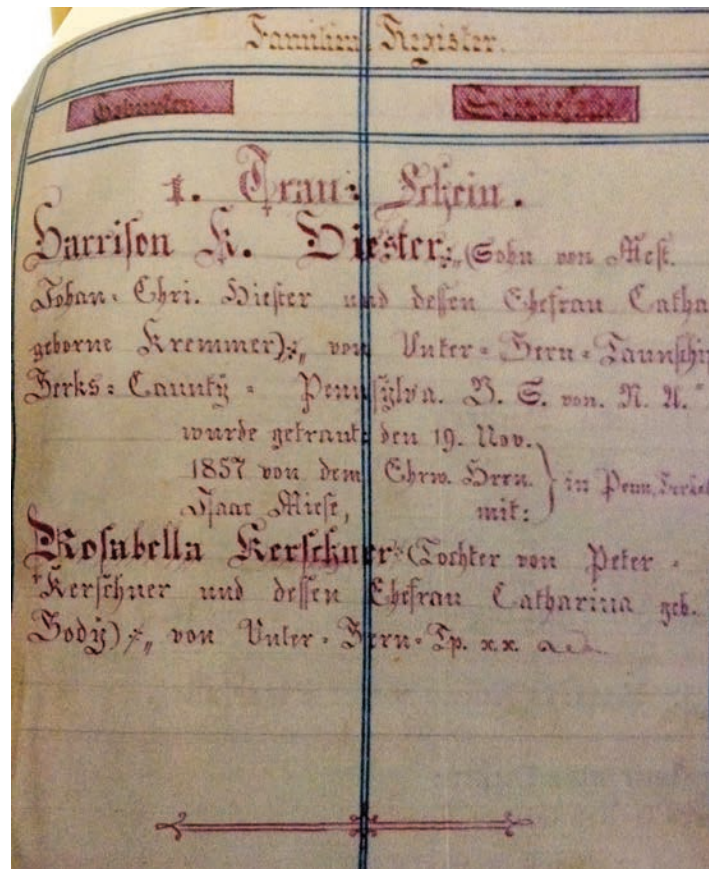
The importance of these lists cannot be overstated—just ask anyone with colonial English or Scots-Irish ancestry how difficult it is to find a ship record in this time period. The dates of the captains' and oaths lists show the point before which European records need to be searched and after which American records are needed, although there are a few documented "second voyages" (most often to bring back a bride or family or obtain an inheritance).

The signatures on the oaths are particularly helpful because they ordinarily show how the immigrant himself was spelling and writing his name, which can be useful in comparison with later records of the immigrant's signature for identification purposes. In the case of multiple identically or similarly named immigrants, sometimes handwriting makes the difference in determining which immigrant was which.

Naturalizations and other records

German-speaking immigrants were the only large group of people to become naturalized citizens in colonial times. Early in the first-wave period, immigrants generally were naturalized by separate laws (for either an individual or group) passed by colonial legislatures. In 1740 the British Parliament recognized the awkwardness of this procedure, so it passed a law allowing naturalizations before provincial courts that were then ratified by Parliament after annual lists were sent from the colonies. The law decreed a seven-year waiting period between immigration and naturalization but the average time was between twelve and fourteen years. The principal benefits of naturalization were the ability to vote and legally will land to heirs.

Every American record might contain a reference to a European origin and therefore should be checked. Church records in Germany and America—from baptisms to burials—might include such a notation, and it's important to research collateral lines since



Family bibles often give location data, sometimes including immigrant origins. Family bible of Harrison K. and Rosabella (Kerschner) Hiester, in the author's collection.

Websites cited in this article were viewed on 28 May 2018.

1. Ralph B. Strassburger and William J. Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, three vols. (Camden, ME: Picton Press, 1992). Vol. 2 contains the facsimiles of signatures.

notations might appear in the records of siblings rather than the direct line. Memoirs of the individuals, especially the Moravian Church autobiographies known as *Lebensläufe* (literally, “walks of life”), often contain data on immigrant origins.² The Palatine Card File at Kutztown University’s Pennsylvania German Cultural Heritage Center provides thousands of immigrant origins, including many beyond the Palatinate region of Germany.³ The original file at the Institut für pfälzische Geschichte und Volkskunde in Kaiserslautern, Germany, is still being updated.

Published works aplenty

Many books about the first-wave Germans—who became known as the Pennsylvania Germans or Pennsylvania Dutch—have been published since the Pennsylvania German Society began its activity late in the nineteenth century.⁴ Indeed, the group was the initial publisher of *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*.

But in the last half century, the work of three Americans and a German stand out as a quartet to be read exhaustively by anyone researching the origins of first-wave Germans: Don Yoder, Annette Burgert, Hank Jones, and Werner Hacker.

The late Don Yoder, who taught at Franklin & Marshall College before shifting to the University of Pennsylvania, studied the folklife of the Pennsylvania Dutch but was also a “pioneer of crossovers” between historians and genealogists on both sides of the Atlantic. Especially during his years of publishing the journals titled *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* and *Pennsylvania Folklife*, Yoder featured articles uncovering the origins of many first-wave



Excellent studies of the first-wave Germans come from the works of Don Yoder, Annette Burgert, Hank Jones, and Werner Hacker. (Photo by the author.)

immigrants that no American genealogist would have likely come across —often using German records from newspaper notices advertising for missing heirs to manumission lists to court records. The journal articles relating to immigrant origins have been collected into several books.⁵

A nurse by first profession, Annette Kunselman Burgert

parlayed interest in her own first-wave families into becoming the ultimate village finder of cluster immigration. She started by researching monographs about the emigrants of single towns in Germany and Switzerland but then expanded her reach into full-size books that explored entire regions such as the Western Palatinate, the Kraichgau (a region now in northern Baden-Württemberg), Alsace (a historically German region now in France), and the eastern portion of the Palatinate.

Burgert’s *modus operandi* was to present abstracts of records (church records, land documents, estates, tax lists, and the like) from Germany and America, often using the ship lists from the *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* volumes as a fulcrum in proving that the family on the German side was identical to the folks on the American side. Burgert has published a master list of the thousands of immigrants she documented.⁶

Leave it to a former Disney child star to become the leading researcher of the so-called 1709er “Palatines” to New York State. This was the first mass emigration out of the German states to America—some three thousand were transported. Henry Z “Hank” Jones Jr. has published seven volumes relating to this German migration. His first two-volume set detailed

2. A database of nearly forty thousand entries is available onsite at the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (<http://www.moravianchurcharchives.org>).

3. Pennsylvania German Cultural Heritage Center (<http://www.kutztown.edu/about-ku/administrative-offices/pennsylvania-german-cultural-heritage-center.htm>).

4. “Dutch” is thought to be a corruption of the German word for “German,” *Deutsch*, or to stem from the British usage of referring to all Germanic peoples of the continent as “Dutch.”

5. Don Yoder, ed., *Pennsylvania German Immigrants, 1709-1786: Lists Consolidated from Yearbooks of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1980); Don Yoder, ed., *Rhineland Emigrants: Lists of German Settlers in Colonial America* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1985).

6. Annette Burgert, *Master Index to the Emigrants Documented in the Published Works of Annette Kunselman Burgert*, revised 2nd edition (Myerstown, PA: AKB Publications, 2000).

what was known in the 1980s about each of the eight hundred or so families who went to New York.

Subsequent volumes have focused on updates and new discoveries about the original families (and include data for many more first-wave families found on the way) as well as a book on the Irish Palatines who never made it to America. Jones went as far as hiring a German genealogist at his own expense to ferret out European connections for the 1709ers.⁷

Finally, we come to the German of the quartet: the late Werner Hacker, who as a retired German civil servant lived well into his nineties and put that time to exquisite use. He collected data at archives—any scrap of information indicating emigration from the southwestern German states, from Baden to Saarland—that was put into ten books (an English language summary of some of them was also published). The listings in Hacker's books identify the name of the immigrant, village of origin, and

date and type of the record, and give references to *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* as warranted.⁸

Genealogists in a quest to find villages of origin for their first-wave German ancestors are truly blessed with a plethora of distinctive original records and high-quality published resources based on them.

Researching Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century German Ancestors

Curious about digging further into German ancestry? The NGS course, *Researching Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century German Ancestors*, can help researchers find the way back to a first-wave German immigrant, identify the immigrant family and its town of origin, and find relevant records in Europe. For more information, visit the NGS Continuing Genealogical Studies page at https://www.ngsgenealogy.org/cs/cgs_researching_17th_and_18th_century_german_ancestors.

7. Henry Z Jones Jr., *The Palatine Families of New York: A Study of the German Immigrants Who Arrived in Colonial New York in 1710*, 2 vols. (Universal City, CA: H. Z. Jones, 1985); *More Palatine Families* (Rockport, ME: Picton Press, 1991); and, with Lewis Bunker Rohrbach, *Even More Palatine Families: 18th Century Immigrants to the American Colonies and Their German, Swiss and Austrian Origins*, 3 vols. (Rockport, ME: Picton Press, 2002).

8. The English-language key to Hacker's most applicable books is Werner Hacker, ed., *Eighteenth Century Register of Emigrants from Southwest Germany* (Apollo, PA: Closson Press, 1994).



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📖 Bauer, Marilyn Wilcox and Laura Wilcox Thrasher. *Descendants of John Wilcox of Hartford, Connecticut*. [Peoria, IL]: Self-published, 2018. This family history traces the descendants through nine generations of John Wilcox, who came from England and died in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1651. Hardcover. Contact the author for price and ordering information at marilynrbauer@comcast.net.

📖 Bolt, Leland Emet. *Leland & Fern Bolt: Heritage, Family, Business and City Service*. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2017. Bolt traces the family of his parents, Leland Eddy Bolt and Fern Leoline (Brubaker) Bolt, beginning with their grandparents and parents. He then describes his parents' lives and accomplishments and includes an appendix showing their roots. Hardcover. \$13.99, plus shipping and handling; softcover, \$13.99, plus shipping and handling; e-book, \$3.99. Order from AuthorHouse.com.

📖 Daniel, Karen Stein. *A German Immigrant Family in 19th Century Texas: Johannes Gustav Gräter, Christian Friedrich Gräter, Gottlob Friedrich Gräter: Ancestors and Descendants*. Salt Lake City: Family Heritage Publishers, 2017. Three Gräter brothers and their families immigrated to Texas between the end of America's Civil War and 1889 from Oberlenningen and Brücken, Württemberg, where the Gräters had lived for generations. Settling first in Austin, Colorado, and surrounding counties, the families branched out into central and west Texas, including Haskell and Stonewall Counties, and into urban areas. Hardcover. \$45.00, postpaid. Order from author at 5213 Justin Drive NW, Albuquerque, NM 87114-4316.

📖 Flowers, Jeanne. *Jacob Flowers: "Uncle Jake" and His Family*. Ketchum, ID: Self-published, 2018. From riverboat captain on the Ohio River, to colony

organizer in Kansas, and finally to entrepreneur and town planner on the Colorado frontier, Jacob led a colorful and adventurous life reminiscent of that of Thomas Flowers, the author's progenitor in America. Thomas arrived in Maryland by 1664 as an indentured servant, and by the end of his life owned several plantations on the Eastern Shore and in Delaware. Softcover. \$25.00. Contact author for ordering information at PO Box 656, Ketchum, ID 83340 or via email at violetflowers1@cox.net.

📖 Jackson, B. Darrell. *Ruffin Family History: Lineal Descendants of William Ruffin (1618-1674) of Isle of Wight County, Virginia to John Henry Ruffin (1861-1951) of Pettis County, Missouri; Descendants of John Henry Ruffin and Rosa Belle (Calvert) Ruffin (1861-1943) with Allied Families Price, Gray, Calvert, Colyer, Nodding, Morley, Westbrook, McKinstry, Harris and Garland*. This volume traces the author's Ruffin line from his earliest known ancestor through the ninth generation. Includes photographs, maps and an index. Hardcover. \$40.00, plus shipping and handling. Order from the author at 1015 San Juan Dr. SE, Grand Rapids, MI 49506.

📖 Jarvis, Aaron O. *The Kent and Jarvis Families of Colonial Calvert County*. Salem, MA: Higginson Book Company, 2018. Seventeenth and eighteenth century documents reveal details about the Jarvises, Kents, and their neighbors within the context of geography, English law, and Maryland's tobacco-raising economy. The main focus is on the Jarvises since William Kent had no surviving sons, and tracing female lines is problematic. It becomes clear, nonetheless, that women played a prominent role in improving the standing of their husbands and sons in the late 1600s. Softcover. Contact author for ordering information at 5475 Ring Dove Lane, Columbia, MD 21044-1749.

📖 Peters, Norman R. *Labette County, Kansas Ancestors*. Baltimore: Otter Bay Books, 2017. This third book on the families of Labette County contains abstracts of Civil War pension files for many of the veterans of Labette County. The other major sections of this book include early Labette County death records, early funeral home records from the Chetopa area, the first cemetery records for Fairview Township Cemetery and Pleasant Valley Cemetery, hundreds of obituaries, and a section related to President Obama's ancestral families who settled in Labette County. Hardcover. \$65.00, postpaid. Order from author at PO Box 21117, Washington, DC 20009.

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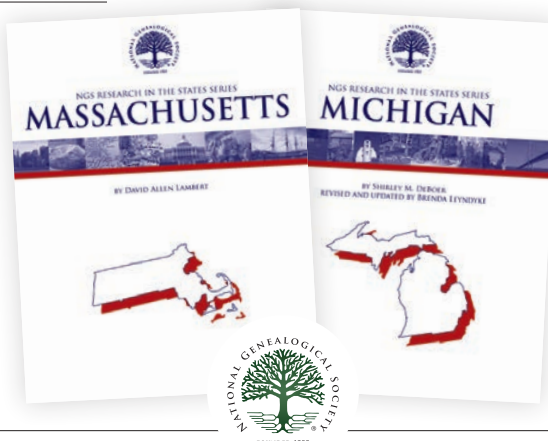
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David Allen Lambert is the chief genealogist of the New England Historic Genealogical Society. The author of *A Guide to Massachusetts Cemeteries*, he has published numerous articles. Lambert is the tribal historian for the Massachuset-Punkapoag Indians, an Fellow of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and member of the National Society of Sons of the American Revolution.



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Progress Administration (WPA) publications.

Brenda Leyndyke has many ancestors who settled in Michigan pre-statehood. She is the president of the Calhoun County (MI) Genealogical Society and a board member of the Michigan Genealogical Council. Brenda also is the author of an award-winning genealogy blog and lectures at societies in her area.

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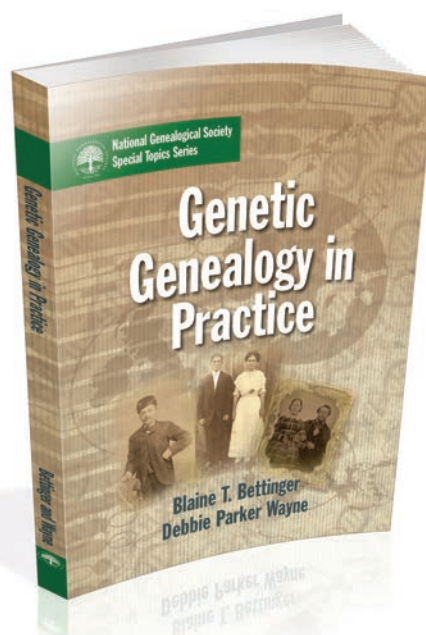
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Debbie Parker Wayne, CG, CGL, is a professional genealogist experienced in using DNA analysis as well as more traditional techniques for genealogical research. Her research focuses on client projects and her own family history and includes Y-DNA, mtDNA, X-DNA, and atDNA studies, plus geographically

specialized work on Texas, the Southwest, and Southern U.S. Debbie's research for several genealogical television series includes Canada's *Ancestors in the Attic*, the PBS series *Finding Your Roots* with Henry Louis Gates Jr., and The Learning Channel's *Who Do You Think You Are?* Debbie is a Trustee for the BCG® Education Fund and the DNA Project Chair for the Texas State Genealogical Society. She is an award-winning author who writes columns on using DNA analysis for genealogical research in *NGS Magazine* (since August 2013), and in the *Association of Professional Genealogists Quarterly* (March 2014 through March 2015 issues).



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