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EDITORS' CORNER

Browse the Shelves

Across the federal government, large numbers of baby boomers are reaching the age of retirement. In 2006, more than 60,000 people left the civil service. The federal Office of Personnel Management believes that 2009 will be the peak year for boomer retirements. What can federal agencies do now, to stop this massive loss of institutional knowledge?

—Ken Mullins, “BPM - A Cure for Institutional Memory Loss,”
BMPInstitute.org, 12 December 2007

In recent NGS tapings, America's leading genealogists' most frequent advice to new genealogists is “browse the shelves.” This advice may surprise some researchers.

Important information can be found only by browsing but today many barriers exist. Doing so in libraries requires open shelves, so researchers can walk unhindered among stacks. It assumes the ongoing publication of genealogical compilations and instruction books and library acquisition of this material. It requires researcher travel to brick-and-mortar destinations. Given the near-infinite variety of genealogically relevant publications, library browsing requires expert guidance. While researchers might not be able to browse in archives, historical societies, and closed-stack libraries, they benefit from archivists and curators doing it for them. In some measure, all of these are jeopardized.

Researchers today face a great shift change. As boomers retire, new systems answering new needs aim to replace their knowledge and experience. Without careful planning, researcher and institutional access may be irretrievably lost. Experience cannot be automated. Replacing the accumulated knowledge of already-retired experts may not be possible.

In 1825 James H. Causten embarked on a project that became his *raison d'être*. His simple volunteer act of curating French spoliation claim records benefited

thousands of heirs waiting for claims payments. A century later his meticulous work was virtually unknown. Today, material he used cannot be found.

Locating manuscript holdings is difficult enough with search engines, modern finding aids, and experienced staff. Today's staffing levels are insufficient for access to the great bulk of archival holdings without inventories or finding aids. Researchers can help caretakers better serve future generations. Precise citations and detailed annotations will increase others' chances of success.

Restriction for preservation must not bar access; without access preservation is pointless. Researchers cannot use restricted material unknown to its custodians who have no time for browsing.

Institutions change in subtle and not-so-subtle ways that inhibit researcher browsing. Archival and library staffs are shrinking, print publication is declining, and—defying logic—politicians are pushing to close, not just restrict, researcher access to civil records.

Even if every word in every source were indexed, focused searches would miss useful information. Browsing locates information not otherwise available. Researchers must support institutions and services that allow browsing and register displeasure with those that don't.

—Melinde Lutz Byrne and
Thomas W. Jones

NGSQ, DECEMBER 2011

NGS Quarterly

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Using Indirect Evidence and Linguistic Analysis to Trace Polin Ries of New Orleans

By Teri D. Tillman, CG

Evidence from six states and three countries combines to support the conclusion that four distinct names refer to one woman.

Twenty-two-year-old French immigrant Polin Ries arrived in New Orleans on 15 January 1835. Traveling with M. and Elinor Ries and their apparent children, ages fourteen to twenty-five, Polin seems to be their second child.¹ Within months of arrival Polin's apparent younger sisters, Minette and Jeannette, married in a double ceremony. Their father, cantor Moses Ries, officiated.² Marriage records for the other Ries children—save one—are missing, but civil and religious records document their deaths and burials.

Polin alone seems absent from Orleans Parish records. She is also absent from family memoirs, Jewish community histories mentioning the Ries family,

© Teri D. Tillman, CG; 314 North Rankin Street; Natchez, MS 39120; teri.tillman@gmail.com. Ms. Tillman, who earned a master's degree in German, specializes in researching Jewish families of French and German ancestry. She thanks Linda Templer Alexander, Dale Aubrey, Ruy Cardoso, CG, and Edward Groszewski, CG, for research related to this article. All translations, unless otherwise noted, are hers. All websites referenced here were accessed on 1 November 2011.

1. *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, Louisiana, 1820–1902*, microfilm publication M259 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service [NARS], 1969), roll 12, arranged by arrival date; brig *Dido*, 15 January 1835, unpaginated, for M. Ries party.

2. *New Orleans Bee*, 5 May 1835, page 2, col. 3. For Moses's profession as *chantre de la synagogue* [cantor of the synagogue], see Obernai, Bas-Rhin, France, Registres de l'état civil [civil registrations], cote [call number] 4E 348/27, 1816, décès [deaths], no. 40, Henri Rÿss; digital image, Archives départementales du Bas-Rhin [departmental archives of Bas-Rhin] (ADBR), *État civil numérisé du Bas-Rhin–Adeloch* [digitized civil registrations of Bas-Rhin–Adeloch] (<http://archives.bas-rhin.fr/>).

and databases tracing descendants of Moses and Eléonore (Salomon) Ries.³ Who was Polin Ries—and what became of her after she arrived in Louisiana?

RIES FAMILY RECORDS IN FRANCE

Was Polin a daughter of Moses and Eléonore Ries with whom she immigrated in 1835? When Jews in Bas-Rhin adopted family names in 1808, only this family adopted the name *Ries*, *Riess*, or *Ris*.⁴ Records in Obernai and Ingwiller—the family's only known places of residence in Bas-Rhin—identify seven children of Moses and Eléonore.⁵ None was named Polin. See table 1.

The comparison makes several points:

- Benjamin's given name on his birth record and the manifest is the same.
- The spellings of Nannette's and Jeanette's names vary only slightly.

3. Clara L. Moses, *Aunt Sister's Book* (New York: privately printed, 1929). Also, Clara Lowenburg Moses, [My Memories], typed transcript of manuscript; digital copy received 6 December 2001 from Carol Mills. The title, noted by Mills, does not appear on the author's copy. Also, Bertram Wallace Korn, *The Early Jews of New Orleans* (Waltham, Mass.: American Jewish Historical Society, 1969), 237, 248, and 336. Also, Leo E. Turitz and Evelyn Turitz, *Jews in Early Mississippi*, 2nd ed. (Jackson, Miss.: University Press, 1995), 13–16. For the only online genealogical database identifying more than one child of Moses and Eléonore Ries, see Carol [Mills], comp., "Siess, Wagner, Clement, Coberly, Dupuis, Treadway, Levin, Rich and Related Families," Ancestry World Tree Project, *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>), for Moses Ries. For the absence of documents related to the Ries family of New Orleans, see Commercial File, 1815–1987, Mss 405, Williams Research Center, Historic New Orleans Collection, New Orleans. Also, *Tulane University Special Collections*, online catalog (<http://specialcollections.tulane.edu/archon/index.php>), search for keywords, "Depas(s)," "Lemle," "Levy," "Mayer," "Mesritz/Messeritz," "Ries," "Alsatian," "Jewish," "Alsace," "Bas-Rhin," "Ingwiller," "Natchez," and "Obernai." Also, "Subject Guides to Manuscripts in the Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections (LLMVC): Manuscript Resources on the Topic of Jewish History," at "Special Collections, Hill Memorial Libraries," *Louisiana State University* (<http://www.lib.lsu.edu/special/cc/llmvc.html>).

4. "Index of 1808 Family Names in the Bas-Rhin," *Le cercle de généalogie juive* [The Jewish Genealogical Association] (<http://www.genealoj.org/docfic/1808barhin.html>). Also, Ingwiller, Bas-Rhin, France, 1808, Déclarations de prise de nom patronymique des juifs [declarations of the adoption of family names by Jews], fo. 12v, entries for Moïse Riess (formerly Moïse Salomon) and Eléonore Salomon (formerly Ella Salomon); digital image, ADBR, *État civil numérisé du Bas-Rhin–Adeloch*. The French region of Alsace comprises two administrative departments: Bas-Rhin, in the north, and Haut-Rhin, in the south. *Moïse Salomon* appears to have been a patronymic, but Eléonore's family appears to have used the surname *Salomon* long before 1808, when Napoleon ordered Jews to adopt surnames. See Cercle de Généalogie Juive, ed., *Dénombrement des juifs d'Alsace, 1784* [census of the Jews of Alsace] (Paris: Cercle de Généalogie Juive, 1999), 225, village of Oberenheim [now Obernai], family no. 4, Cerf and Tertia Salomon household.

5. For Obernai as the Ries family's former home, see Mayer Bible and Family Records, 1806–1994, "Births"; photocopies, Mayer family file, Historic Natchez Foundation, Natchez, Miss. Also, Moses, *Aunt Sister's Book*, 2. Also, Ingwiller, Registres de l'état civil, cote 4E 221/1, 1807, naissances [births], fo. 6v, Nannette Moïse; digital image, ADBR, *État civil numérisé du Bas-Rhin–Adeloch*. No known evidence suggests the family resided in other Bas-Rhin communities between 1805 and 1835.

Table 1
Comparison of Ries Children's Records in Bas-Rhin with Their Arrival Record

BAS-RHIN RECORDS		BRIG <i>DIDO</i> PASSENGER MANIFEST ^a	
<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth Date</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth Date</i>
Salomon Riess	20 January 1805 ^b		
Nannette Riess	3 May 1807 ^c	Nanet Ries	1809–10
Henri Riess/Rÿss	14 September 1808 ^d		
Sibille Ries	3 July 1812 ^e	Polin Ries	1812–13
Michelette Ries	19 October 1814 ^f	Minot [Minette] Ries	1815–16
Jeanette Ries	6 February 1818 ^g	Jannet Ries	1818–19
Benjamin Ries	26 February 1820 ^h	Benjamin Ries	1820–21

a. *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, Louisiana, 1820–1902*, microfilm publication M259 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service [NARS], 1969), roll 12, arranged by arrival date; brig *Dido*, 15 January 1835, unpaginated, for M. Ries party. The children's approximate birth dates are calculated from the ages given on the manifest.

b. Ingwiller, Bas-Rhin, France, 1808, Déclarations de prise de nom patronymique des Juifs [declarations of the adoption of family names by Jews], fo. 12v, Salomon Riess, born 20 January 1805, Ingwiller; digital image, Archives Départementales du Bas-Rhin [departmental archives of Bas-Rhin] (ADBR), *État civil numérisé du Bas-Rhin–Adeloch* [digitized civil registrations of Bas-Rhin–Adeloch] (<http://archives.bas-rhin.fr/>; accessed 1 November 2011). For Obernai as Salomon's birthplace, see S. Ries obituary, *New Orleans Times*, 18 March 1875, page 2, col. 3.

c. Ingwiller, Registres de l'état civil [civil registrations], cote [call number] 4E 221/1, 1807, naissances [births], fo. 6v, Nannette Moise; digital image, ADBR.

d. Ingwiller, 1808, Déclarations de prise de nom patronymique des Juifs, fo. 13r, Henry Riess ([formerly known as] Hertz), born 14 September 1808, Ingwiller. Henri's death record shows an alternate spelling of his surname, Rÿss, and identifies Obernai as his birthplace. See Obernai, Bas-Rhin, France, Registres de l'état civil, cote 4E 348/27, 1816, décès [deaths], no. 40, Henri Rÿss; digital image, ADBR.

e. Obernai, Registres de l'état civil, cote 4E 348/4, 1812, naissances, unpaginated, Sibille Ries.

f. *Ibid.*, 1814, naissances, no. 134, Michelette Ries.

g. *Ibid.*, cote 4E 348/5, 1818, naissances, no. 18, Jeanette Ries.

h. *Ibid.*, 1820, naissances, no. 26, Benjamin Ries.

- Michelette's name on her birth record does not resemble *Minot* on the manifest. *Minot* may be a clerk's interpretation of *Minette*, as Moses and Eléonore's daughter was known in New Orleans.⁶ Michelette Ries is the only plausible candidate in Bas-Rhin for Minette Ries.⁷

Bas-Rhin records name three Ries children absent from the *Dido* manifest:

- Salomon, who immigrated in 1832 to the United States⁸
- Henri, who died 15 March 1816 in Obernai⁹
- Sibille, born 3 July 1812 in Obernai¹⁰

Polin, born 1812–13, is the only child listed on the manifest for whom no birth record exists in Obernai or Ingwiller. Might she be Sibille? Sibille was the only Ries child born 1810–13 at Obernai or Ingwiller.¹¹ No Sibille Ries died in 1812–35 or married in 1827–35 at either place.¹² Polin's absence from Obernai or Ingwiller records, and Sibille's absence from their death or marriage records and from passenger manifests—suggests the women were one.¹³ What explains the names with no “visible or audible similarity?”¹⁴

6. Orleans Parish, La., Birth Records 5:207, Albert Levy, 1 September 1837, and 7:287, Henry Levy, 16 November 1842; Division of Archives, Records Management, and History, Baton Rouge. Although these records show the mother's name as *Minnet*, she spelled it *Minette*. See Joseph Benzaken Marks, Notarial Acts 30, no. 266, Binell Levy to Gustavus William Pattison, sale of slave, 14 December 1842; New Orleans Notarial Archives (NONA).

7. Only one child was born 1813–17, at Obernai, to Moses and Eléonore (Salomon) Ries. See Obernai, Registres de l'état civil, cote 4E 348/4, 1814, naissances, no. 134, Michelette Ries. Also, *ibid.*, cotes 4E 348/4–5, 1813–17, naissances. No Michelette Ries died in Obernai or Ingwiller, 1814–35. See Obernai, Registres de l'état civil, cotes 4E 348/27–31, 1814–35, décès. Also, Ingwiller, Registres de l'état civil, cotes 4E 221/11–12, 1814–35, décès. No one named Michelette Ries married in Obernai or Ingwiller, 1829–35. See Obernai, Registres de l'état civil, cotes 4E 348/18–19, 1829–35, mariages [marriages]. Also, Ingwiller, Registres de l'état civil, cote 4E 221/8, 1829–35, mariages. All the above were viewed as digital images, ADBR, *État civil numérisé du Bas-Rhin-Adeloch*.

8. Orleans Parish, Naturalization Records, Parish Court, Certificates of Majors and Minors, no. 151, Solomon Ries, 3 July 1840; New Orleans Public Library (NOPL); microfilm 1,306,171, item 4, Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City.

9. Obernai, Registres de l'état civil, cote 4E 348/27, 1816, décès, no. 40, Henri Rÿss.

10. *Ibid.*, cote 4E 348/4, 1812, naissances, unpaginated, Sibille Ries.

11. *Ibid.*, cotes 4E 348/3–4, 1810–13, naissances. Also, Ingwiller, Registres de l'état civil, cote 4E 221/2, 1810–13, naissances.

12. Obernai, Registres de l'état civil, cotes 4E 348/26–31, 1812–35, décès. Also, Ingwiller, Registres de l'état civil, cotes 4E 221/11–12, 1812–135, décès. Also, Obernai, Registres de l'état civil, cotes 4E 348/18–19, 1827–35, mariages. Also, Ingwiller, Registres de l'état civil, cote 4E 221/8, 1827–35, mariages.

13. No one with a name resembling *Sibille Ries*, born about 1812 in France, appears in “Immigration and Travel Records,” database, *Ancestry.com*.

14. The phrase appears in Thomas W. Jones, “Merging Identities Properly: Jonathan Tucker Demonstrates the Technique,” *NGS Quarterly* 88 (June 2000): 112, n. 5.

Jewish women in nineteenth-century Bas-Rhin sometimes used seemingly unrelated given names. For example, Rosine Gutschou of Brumath and Schirrhoffen was also called Madel;¹⁵ Victoire Dreyfus of Westhouse was called Félicité;¹⁶ and Brunelle Salomon of Obernai was called Pauline.¹⁷ Sibille Ries may have used *Polin*, following this pattern:

One must not be surprised if the given name . . . found on a birth record does not appear on later civil registrations. Because in daily life it was the Judeo-Alsatian given name that was used by everyone, and the given name that a town clerk recorded in a register sank rapidly into oblivion.¹⁸

An uncommon variant of *Pauline*, *Polin* is sometimes pronounced “Bolin” in Alsace.¹⁹ The name may have honored her maternal great-grandmother, Belle/Beillé Blien, daughter of a prominent eighteenth-century official.²⁰ In early

15. Brumath, Bas-Rhin, France, Registres de l'état civil, 1818, naissances, no. 98, Rosine Gutschou; Town Hall, Brumath; and Schirrhoffen, Bas-Rhin, France, Registres de l'état civil, 1858, décès, no. 6, Madel Goudschaux; Town Hall, Schirrhoffen; both digital images, ADBR, *État civil numérisé du Bas-Rhin–Adeloch*.

16. Westhouse, Bas-Rhin, France, Registres de l'état civil, cote 4E 526/2, 1823, naissances, no. 9, Victoire Dreyfuss; digital image, ADBR, *État civil numérisé du Bas-Rhin–Adeloch*. Also, Westhouse, Listes nominatives de population [census enumerations by name], cote 7M 786, 1836, unpaginated, family 184, Herrmann Dreyfuss le jeune [the younger] household, Félicité Dreyfuss (daughter), age thirteen; digital images, ADBR, *Listes nominatives numérisées du Bas-Rhin–Ellenbach* [digitized census enumerations of Bas-Rhin–Ellenbach] (<http://population.bas-rhin.fr/ellenbach/index.php>).

17. Obernai, Registres de l'état civil, cote 4E 348/5, 1820, naissances, fo. 30v, no. 117, Brunelle Salomon; and cote 4E 348/34, 1859, décès, fo. 11v, no. 41, Brunelle Salomon dite [known as] Pauline (wife of Heimann Meyer); both digital images, ADBR, *État civil numérisé du Bas-Rhin–Adeloch*.

18. Basile Ginger, *Guide pratique de généalogie juive en France et à l'étranger* [practical guide to Jewish genealogy in France and abroad] (Paris: Cercle de Généalogie Juive, 2002), 94. Ginger credits Pierre Katz with much of chapter 7, containing the discussion of Alsatian Jewish names.

19. Max Polonovski to author, e-mail, 17 October 2011; author's files.

20. Sibille/Polin's mother, Eléonore “Ella” (Salomon) Ries, was the daughter of Cerf/Naftaly/Hirtz/Hertz Salomon and Tertia/Tertze/Thérese Weyl/Weil. See Cercle de Généalogie Juive, ed., *Dénombrement des juifs d'Alsace, 1784, 225*, village of Oberenheim (now Obernai), family no. 4, Cerf and Tertia Salomon household. Tertia's mother, Belle Blien, was also known as Beillé, Bella, and Béla. Variants of her given name are different French transliterations of *Beyla*, a common Hebrew name. See Guy Worms, “Bella/Béla/Belle/Beilé BLIEN,” discussion, 29 October 2011, *Cercle de généalogie juive* (<http://www.genealoj.org/New/texte/Q.php>). For *Belle*, see her daughter's marriage contract in A. A. Fraenckel, *Mémoire juive en Alsace: contrats de mariage au XVIIIème siècle* [Jewish memory in Alsace: 18th-century marriage contracts] (Strasbourg: Éditions du Cédrat, 1997), 184. For *Beillé*, see Pierre-André Meyer, *Tables du registre d'état civil de la communauté juive de Metz, 1717–1792* [indexes of civil registrations for the Jewish community in Metz (Paris: Cercle de Généalogie Juive, 1998), 271. In this title *état civil* refers to congregational registers. French civil registrations, strictly speaking, began in 1792, following the French Revolution. For *Bella*, see Fraenckel, *Mémoire juive en Alsace: contrats de mariage au XVIIIème siècle*, 419. For *Béla*, see Jean Fleury, *Contrats de mariage en Moselle avant 1792: Recensement à usage généalogique de 2001 contrats de mariage notariés* [marriage contracts in Moselle before 1792: inventory for genealogical use of 2,001 notarial marriage contracts], 3rd ed. (Paris: Cercle de Généalogie Juive, 1999), 42.

nineteenth-century Alsace *Beile*—resembling *Beillé*—sometimes was associated with *Pauline*.²¹

RIES FAMILY RECORDS IN NEW ORLEANS

In 1841 Jeannette (Ries) Mayer moved with her family to Natchez, Mississippi.²² Other Ries family members who immigrated to Louisiana in the 1830s apparently spent most of their lives in the New Orleans area:

- Moses Ries died 6 September 1835 and was buried in New Orleans.²³
- Eléonore “Ellen” (Salomon) Ries died 19 November 1855 in Lafayette, Jefferson Parish, Louisiana.²⁴
- Salomon Ries married about 1834–35, probably in New Orleans, Judith Mesritz.²⁵ He died 17 March 1875 in New Orleans.²⁶
- Nanette Ries married (1) before 12 April 1845, probably in New Orleans,

21. Max Polonovski, an authority on French Jewish names, finds no connection between *Sibille* and *Pauline*, but notes that *Sibille* bears auditory similarity to the popular Alsatian Jewish name *Beile*. His study of ten thousand name-declarations shows that at least eleven of twenty-eight Alsatian Jewish women formerly known as *Beile* or *Beyla* adopted *Pauline* as their name in 1808. See Polonovski to author, e-mail, 17 October 2011. For further discussion of the complex subject of Alsatian Jewish names, see Max Polonovski, “Nouvelles remarques sur l’application du décret du 20 juillet 1808 en Alsace” [new observations on the enforcement of the decree of 20 July 1808 in Alsace], *Revue des études juives* [journal of Jewish studies] 158 (July–December 1999): 445–54. Also, Polonovski, “Adoption and Declaration of Names by Jews in France in 1808,” *Avotaynu* 10 (Winter 1994): 52–54.

22. Turitz and Turitz, *Jews in Early Mississippi*, 14.

23. Congregation Gates of Mercy (New Orleans, La.), Records of Interments, 1829–1846, 1:[4–5], Mozes Ries; Touro Synagogue Records, 1828–1869, collection no. 224, Louisiana Research Collection (LaRC), Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans, La. An alternate date of death, 8 September 1835, appears in “Hebrew Cemetery at Jackson and Saratoga Streets [New Orleans], Records, 1834–1919,” card file, Louisiana Historical Center, Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans, marker for Moses Ries (died 8 September 1835, aged 62 years); FHL microfilm 1,292,082, item 6. The first date appears correct. The second, copied in the 1930s from a nearly one-hundred-year-old gravestone during a Works Progress Administration (WPA) survey, is likely an error.

24. Congregation Gates of Mercy, Records of Interments, 1829–1846, 1:[4–5], Ellen Ries; Touro Synagogue Records, 1828–1869, LaRC, Tulane University. The city of Lafayette in Jefferson Parish, now part of New Orleans, Orleans Parish, is not present-day Lafayette, Lafayette Parish.

25. Salomon and Judith’s approximate marriage date is calculated from their oldest child’s birth date. See Orleans Parish, Birth Records 5:207, Nancy Ries, 12 December 1836.

26. Orleans Parish, Death Records 63:245, entry for Solomon Ries, 17 March 1875; Division of Archives, Records Management, and History, Baton Rouge. Salomon’s obituary, one of few for the Ries family, is brief and names no relatives. See *New Orleans Times*, 18 March 1875, page 2, col. 3.

27. Abel Dreyfous, Notarial Acts 1 (March 1845–November 1845), no. [illegible on microfilm], 12 April 1845, will of Phinias Depas; NONA; FHL microfilm 592,032. Phinias’s will identifies Nanette Ries as his second wife.

Phinias Depas;²⁷ and (2) 8 March 1848, in Natchez, Daniel Lemle.²⁸ Nanette died on 7 April 1864 in New Orleans.²⁹

- Minette Ries married 29 April 1835, in New Orleans, Binell Levy. She died there 20 August 1869.³⁰
- Jeannette Ries married 29 April 1835, in New Orleans, John Mayer. She died on 12 August 1883 in Natchez.³¹
- Benjamin Ries died 18 September 1837 and was buried at New Orleans.³²

Only Polin appears missing from New Orleans records.³³ Had she married soon after arriving and “disappeared into a husband’s surname?”³⁴ A local newspaper

28. Adams Co., Miss., Marriage Records (White) 6:872, Lemle-Depase [sic], 8 March 1848; Circuit Clerk’s Office, Natchez. Also, Congregation Gates of Mercy, Marriage Contracts, 1843–1854, 8:84, Daniel Lemle and N. Depass (widow), 12 March 1848; Touro Synagogue Records, 1828–1869, LaRC, Tulane University.

29. Orleans Parish, Death Records, 25:325, Nanette Lemle, 7 April 1864. No obituary has been found for Nanette.

30. *New Orleans Bee*, 5 May 1835. Also, Orleans Parish, Death Records 45:684, Mrs. B. Levy, 20 August 1869. Penel Levy was also known as Binell. See Orleans Parish, Birth Records 5:206, Morris Levy, 22 October 1839.

31. *New Orleans Bee*, 5 May 1835. Also, Jeannette Mayer obituary, *Natchez Daily Democrat*, 14 August 1883, page [2], col. 6. Jacob was also known as John. See Turitz and Turitz, *Jews in Early Mississippi*, 14.

32. Congregation Gates of Mercy, Records of Interments, 1829–1846, 1:[10–11], Ben^m Rees; Touro Synagogue Records, 1828–1869, LaRC, Tulane University.

33. Ries-family succession (probate) records, which might mention Pauline, seem not to exist in records of New Orleans notaries known to have served Jewish clients. For the notaries’ names (except Joseph Cuvillier), see Andrew Simon et al., *Jews of New Orleans: An Archival Guide* (New Orleans: Greater New Orleans Archivists, 1998), 85. Moses Ries’s name does not appear in “Historical Notaries’ Indexes, By Decade,” digital images, *New Orleans Notarial Archives* (<http://www.notarialarchives.org/notarychrono.htm>), indexes for Louis Thimelet Caire, vols. 47–53-A (August 1835–September 1836) and Hilary Breton Cenas, vols. 4–11 (July 1835–December 1836). Also, Joseph Cuvillier, Notarial Acts 4–6 (October 1834–December 1835); NONA. Eléonore (Salomon) Ries’s name does not appear in Alphonse Barnett, Notarial Acts 14 (January 1854–June 1862) and Joseph Cuvillier, Notarial Acts 61 (January 1854–December 1856); NONA. Also, Abel Dreyfous, Notarial Acts 5 (February 1855–December 1855); FHL microfilm 594,415. Also, Dreyfous, vol. 5 (December 1855); FHL microfilm 594,416. Also, Daniel Israel Ricardo, Notarial Acts 25 (March 1850–May 1859); FHL microfilm 827,015. Nannette (Ries) Depas Lemle’s name does not appear in Alphonse Barnett, vols. 16–16-A (January–December 1864) and Joseph Cuvillier, vol. 71 (April–June 1864); NONA. Also, Abel Dreyfous, Notarial Acts 12 (June 1863–July 1864); FHL microfilm 594,431. Minette (Ries) Levy’s name does not appear in Alphonse Barnett, Notarial Acts 19 (January–December 1869) and Joseph Cuvillier, Notarial Acts 84 (June–October 1869); NONA. Also, Abel Dreyfous, Notarial Acts 22 (July–December 1869); FHL microfilm 594,856. Salomon Ries’s name does not appear in Alphonse Barnett, Notarial Acts 22 (January 1874–December 1875) and Joseph Cuvillier, Notarial Acts 93 (November 1874–December 1875); NONA. Also, Abel Dreyfous, Notarial Acts 31 (October 1874–July 1875); FHL microfilm 595,878.

34. The phrase “disappeared into a husband’s surname” appears in Judy Kellar Fox, “Catherine (née Keller) (Kuhnley) Wolfe of Pennsylvania,” *NGS Quarterly* 96 (June 2008): 86.

announced the 1835 marriages of Polin's sisters, Minette and Jeannette, but it published no marriage announcement for Polin.³⁵ No marriage contract for her is among the acts of city notaries serving Jewish clients in 1835–40.³⁶ Few New Orleans civil marriage records pre-date 1846, when Orleans Parish justices of the peace began issuing marriage licenses.³⁷ No license was filed for Polin Ries or anyone with a similar name.³⁸ Religious marriage records for the city's early nineteenth-century Jewish community are equally scarce: the oldest surviving marriage book for the city's first Jewish congregation, Gates of Mercy, contains only twenty-seven records. None is dated earlier than 1839 or bears Polin Ries's name.³⁹

Birth records, usually with the mother's maiden name, outnumber civil marriage records for 1835–50. Only one woman with a name similar to Polin Ries registered a child's birth during those years:

- Eline Em Haymer was born 25 September 1837.
- Her father, "Mr. Elias [Haymer]," a native of the district of Landau, died 25 September 1837—the day she was born.
- Her mother, "Mrs. Pauline Ris," a native of "Auberney in Alsace," was about twenty-three years old.
- John Mayer, a native of "Landau, in the Kingdom of Baviera," reported the birth nearly ten months after the child was born.⁴⁰

35. *New Orleans Bee*, 5 May 1835. Polin Ries's name does not appear in "New Orleans Marriage Index, *Daily Picayune*, 1837–1857," database, Louisiana Division, *New Orleans Public Library* (<http://nutrias.org/~nopl/info/louinfo/newsmarr/newsmarr.htm>).

36. No marriage contract for Polin Ries or her siblings appears in notarial acts of Hilary Breton Cenas, Louis Thimelet Caire, Joseph Benzaken "J. B." Marks, Edward Barnett, and Lucien Hermann. See "Historical Notaries' Indexes, By Decade," digital images, *New Orleans Notarial Archives*, for Louis Thimelet Caire, vols. 43–78-A (January 1835–December 1840) and Hilary Breton Cenas, vols. 1–23 (January 1835–February 1841). Also, Joseph Benzaken Marks, Notarial Acts 1–13 (February 1836–December 1842); NONA; FHL microfilms 557,133–41 and 556,954–57. Also, *ibid.*, vols. 14–30 (June 1839–December 1842); NONA. Also, Edward Barnett, Notarial Acts 1 (March 1838–December 1840); NONA; FHL microfilms 849,432–45. Also, Lucien Hermann, Notarial Acts 1 (November 1839–December 1840); FHL microfilm 857,096.

37. Pre-1846 civil marriage holdings of the New Orleans City Archives are limited to 106 licenses issued 1807–8 by the City Court. See Wayne M. Everard and Irene Wainright, *Genealogical Materials in the New Orleans Public Library's Louisiana Division and City Archives*, 4th ed. (New Orleans: Friends of the New Orleans Public Library, 2005), 28.

38. No Polin(e) or Pauline Reas(e), Rees(e), Reis(s), Rias, Ries(s), Ris(s), or Rys(s) appears in Orleans Parish, Justice of the Peace Marriage Records, 1846–80, card index, alphabetically arranged; Louisiana Division, City Archives, and Special Collections, NOPL.

39. Congregation Gates of Mercy, Marriage Contracts, 1839–1845, 7; Touro Synagogue Records, 1828–1869, LaRC, Tulane University.

40. Orleans Parish, Birth Records, 5:79, Eline Em Haymer, 25 September 1837. Elias's surname appears in brackets because the clerk who created Eline's birth record neglected to write her father's surname in the space following his given name. While the omission of a father's surname in the designated space on a child's birth record might indicate an out-of-wedlock birth, Eline's record specifies she was the issue of a marriage.

The preceding entry suggests John Mayer knew Eline's mother. When he registered Eline's birth he also registered the birth of his daughter, Emma, born the previous May. He identified her mother as his wife, "Mrs. Jeannette Ris," about nineteen—and native to "Aubernay in Alsace."⁴¹

Pauline and Jeannette shared a surname—a variant of Ries—and birthplace, Auborney or Aubernay (Obernai). Jeannette's age at Emma's birth was that of Jeannette Ries, daughter of Moses and Eléonore, in 1837. Pauline Ris's stated age at Eline's birth, however, was two years younger than Moses and Eléonore's daughter Polin in 1837, but Mayer may not have known Pauline's exact age.⁴²

Three points suggest Pauline Ris of Obernai and New Orleans was Polin Ries, born Sibille, of Obernai and New Orleans:

- Only three Ries females were born in Obernai, 1812–22: Sibille, Michelette [later known as Minette], and Jeannette, born to Moses and Eléonore Ries.⁴³
- In 1819 only one Ries or Riss family lived in Obernai, that of Moïse Riss, whose household included one son and four daughters.⁴⁴
- Three children born in 1837 in New Orleans had mothers named Ries or Ris: Emma Mayer, born 9 May to Jeannette Ris of Aubernay; Albert Levy, born 1 September to Minnet Ries of Obernai; and Eline Em Haymer, born 25 September to Pauline Ris of Auborney.⁴⁵

Despite the birth-date discrepancy—3 July 1812 versus about 1814–15—records show that Polin Ries, born Sibille, of Obernai and New Orleans, is the only plausible candidate for Pauline Ris of Obernai and New Orleans.⁴⁶

41. Orleans Parish, Birth Records, 5:79, Emma Mayer, 9 May 1837. The author thanks Carol Mills for noting a birth index entry for Emma Mayer showing "Ris" as her mother's surname. See Helen Kendrick, comp., "1837 Orleans Parish Birth Index," *USGenWeb Archives Project: Louisiana, Orleans Parish* (<http://files.usgwarchives.org/la/orleans/vitals/births/index/1837bi.txt>), section "State Archives Birth Indexes," for Emma Mayer, born 9 May 1837, daughter of John Mayer and Jeannette Ris.

42. Orleans Parish, Birth Records, 5:79, Eline Em Haymer. The wording of the birth record suggests Pauline's stated age refers to the time of her daughter's birth.

43. Obernai, Registres de l'état civil, cotes 4E 348/4–6, 1812–22, naissances. Also, *ibid.*, cote 4E 348/4, 1812, naissances, unpaginated, Sibille Ries (3 July). Also, *ibid.*, cote 4E 348/4, 1814, naissances, no. 134, Michelette Ries. Also, *ibid.*, cote 4E 348/5, 1818, naissances, no. 18, Jeanette Ries.

44. Obernai, Listes nominatives de population, 1819, cote 7M 198, p. 7, Moïse Riss.

45. Kendrick, comp., "1837 Orleans Parish Birth Index," entries for Emma Mayer, Albert Levy, and Eline Em Flaymer. Also, Orleans Parish, Birth Records, 5:79, Emma Mayer, 5:207, Albert Levy, and 5:79, Eline Em Haymer.

46. For the birth date of Polin Ries, born Sibille, see Obernai, Registres de l'état civil, cote 4E 348/4, 1812, naissances, unpaginated, Sibille Ries (3 July). For Pauline Ris's implied birth date, see her daughter Eline's birth record: Orleans Parish, Birth Records, 5:79, Eline Em Haymer.

ELIAS HAYMER

Pauline Ries's husband, Elias Haymer, died in a New Orleans yellow fever epidemic.⁴⁷ City residents failing to report a free person's death within thirty days were fined, but Elias's name does not appear among nearly one thousand New Orleans deaths recorded in 1837.⁴⁸ His death was not the only one unreported:

The twelfth of September is upon us, and we are in the midst of sickness and death. Scarce a house in the city, but has two or three persons prostrate. . . . The interments daily can not be less than one hundred—grave-yard reports to the contrary notwithstanding.⁴⁹

We have no disposition to kill more than have really died for the last two weeks, but when general opinion sustains us, it is our duty to state that the deaths in this city, for the last two weeks, have averaged from 75 to 100 persons each day. . . . Until a Board of Health is organized, and regular reports kept . . . we may expect a wide difference of opinion as to the mortality of our city at this season.⁵⁰

When Elias died New Orleans had only one Jewish cemetery, Gates of Mercy.⁵¹ The cemetery was demolished in the 1950s and the remains moved to Hebrew Rest Cemetery no. 1.⁵² Elias Haymer was not among more than two

47. "Yellow Fever Deaths in New Orleans, 1817–1905," Louisiana Division, City Archives, and Special Collections, *Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library* (<http://nutriasis.org/facts/feverdeaths.htm>). For Elias's death date, see his daughter Eline's birth record: Orleans Parish, Birth Records, 5:79, Eline Em Haymer. Elias died of an unspecified cause during a yellow fever epidemic.

48. "Important Notice," *New Orleans Bee/L'Abeille de la Nouvelle Orléans*, 16 August 1831, page [1], col. 2. Also, Frankie Palisi et al., comps., "1837 Orleans Parish Death Index," *USGenWeb Archives Project: Louisiana, Orleans Parish* (<http://files.usgwarchives.net/la/orleans/vitals/deaths/index/1837di.txt>), section "State Archives Death Indexes."

49. *New Orleans Picayune*, 12 September 1837, page [2], col. 1.

50. "Interments," *New Orleans Picayune*, 13 September 1837, page [2], col. 2. Despite its several articles about the epidemic the week of 13–19 September, the *Picayune* printed few obituaries for those who succumbed. None mention Elias Haymer. See *New Orleans Picayune*, 13–16 and 18–19 September 1837. No edition was published on 17 September, a Sunday.

51. Carol Monahan, comp., "Overview of Some of the Jewish Congregations and Cemeteries in New Orleans," International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies, *International Jewish Cemetery Project* (<http://www.iajgsjewishcemeteryproject.org/louisiana-la/new-orleans-orleans-parish.html>), for New Orleans (Orleans Parish).

52. On 21 July 1957 a large memorial stone was laid at Hebrew Rest Cemetery no. 1 in New Orleans to honor those whose remains had been reinterred there after Gates of Mercy Cemetery was demolished. See "Hebrew Rest Cemetery Reinterment Services," *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, 20 July 1957, page 9, col. 2. Elias Haymer's name does not appear on the stone. See photograph by author, 22 August 2010.

hundred named persons buried at Gates of Mercy.⁵³ No succession record has been found for Elias in Orleans Parish.⁵⁴

PAULINE AND ELINE HAYMER

Pauline Haymer seemingly disappeared after 1838. Had she remarried or left New Orleans?⁵⁵ She seems absent from the 1850 census, where twenty-three women named Pauline or Polin, born 1807–17 in France appear.⁵⁶ None had an apparent daughter named Eline, but one—Pauline Worms of Natchez, Mississippi—had an apparent daughter with a similar name. At age six months, however, Ellen Worms was too young to have been Eline Em Haymer.⁵⁷

Pauline Worms, born 1815–16 in France, apparently J. Worms's wife, was younger than Pauline (Ries) Haymer. Ages in censuses, though, are unreliable, so Pauline Worms may be Elias Haymer's widow:⁵⁸

- Pauline Worms lived in Natchez, home to Jeannette (Ries) Mayer from 1841 until her death in 1883.⁵⁹
- Maurice, the oldest Worms child, was born in Louisiana about 1840–41,⁶⁰ where Pauline Haymer had lived at least as late as 18 July 1838.⁶¹

53. Congregation Gates of Mercy, Records of Interments, 1829–1846; Touro Synagogue Records, 1828–1869, LaRC, Tulane University.

54. No entries for *Elias Haymer* or similar name appear in “Estate Inventories of Orleans Parish Civil Courts, 1803–1877,” “Court of Probates (Orleans Parish): General Index of All Successions, 1805–1846,” and “Court of Probates (Orleans Parish): Index to Suit Records, Numbered Series, 1823–1845,” databases, City Archives, *New Orleans Public Library* (<http://nutrias.org/~nopl/inv/courts.htm>). No notice regarding Elias's succession appears in the *New Orleans Picayune*, September 1837–September 1838.

55. No record of *Pauline Ries* or *Haymer* or similar name in New Orleans appears in likely sources. See “New Orleans, Louisiana, Death Records Index, 1804–1949,” database, *Ancestry.com*. Also, JewishGen, comp., “JewishGen Online Worldwide Burial Registry,” database, *Ancestry.com*. Also, “Hebrew Cemetery at Jackson and Saratoga Streets, Records, 1834–1919.” Also, “Louisiana Biography and Obituary Index,” database, Louisiana Division, City Archives, and Special Collections, NOPL. Also, Orleans Parish, Justice of the Peace Marriage Records, 1846–1880. Also, “New Orleans Marriage Index, *Daily Picayune*, 1837–1857,” database, Louisiana Division, City Archives, and Special Collections, *Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library* (<http://nutrias.org/~nopl/info/louinfo/newsmarr/newsmarr.htm>). Also, *Gibson's Guide and Directory of the State of Louisiana, and the Cities of New Orleans and Lafayette* (New Orleans: John Gibson, 1838). Also, *New-Orleans City Directory for 1841* (New Orleans: Michel, 1840). Also, *New-Orleans Directory for 1842* (New Orleans: Pitts and Clarke, 1842). Directories for 1839 and 1840 do not survive.

56. “1850 United States Federal Census,” *Ancestry.com*.

57. 1850 U.S. census, Adams Co., Miss., pop. sch., Natchez City (North), pp. 35r–v, dwell. 283, fam. 271, J. Worms household; NARA microfilm M432, roll 368.

58. *Ibid.*

59. Turitz and Turitz, *Jews in Early Mississippi*, 14. Also, Jeannette Mayer obituary, *Natchez Daily Democrat*, 14 August 1883, page [2], col. 6.

60. Washtenaw Co., Mich., Marriage Records 5:19, no. 278, Worms-Rathbone [sic], 1 July 1868; County Clerk/Register's Office, Ann Arbor.

61. Orleans Parish, Birth Records 5:79, Eline Em Haymer.

- Three of Moses and Eléonore Ries's children had a son Maurice or Morris⁶²— named probably in memory of the child's late grandfather.⁶³

Natchez records for John Worms link him to Ries and Mayer-Ries families:

- S. Ries's 1852 advertisement announcing his arrival in Natchez and his offer to teach French, German, and flute, refer to John Worms and J. Mayer.⁶⁴
- An 1854 case of an assault on John Worms called John Mayer as a witness.⁶⁵
- In 1858 John Worms's clothing store and John Mayer's boot and shoe store were on the same downtown-Natchez block.⁶⁶

If Pauline Worms and Pauline Haymer were the same, Eline Haymer's absence from the Worms household in 1850 suggests she died 1838–50. If she died in New Orleans or Natchez, however, her death went unreported.⁶⁷

THE JOHN AND PAULINE WORMS FAMILY

If Pauline Worms was forty-six in 1860, she was born a year or two later than

62. Orleans Parish, Birth Records 5:208, Morris Ries, 11 September 1838; 5:206, Morris Levy, 22 October 1839; and 5:16, "Moris" Mayer, 15 February 1836.

63. For Moses Ries's death, see Congregation Gates of Mercy, Records of Interments, 1829–1846, 1:[4–5], Mozes Ries (6 September 1835); Touro Synagogue Records, 1828–1869, LaRC, Tulane University. Ashkenazi Jews usually named a child for a deceased family member. Nineteenth-century Ashkenazi immigrants in the United States typically followed this tradition, often choosing secular names with the initial of the deceased relative's name, for example, Maurice or Morris, for the Hebrew name Moses. See Warren Blatt, "Jewish Given Names," in *Avotaynu Guide to Jewish Genealogy*, eds., Sallyann Amdur Sack and Gary Mokotoff (Bergenfield, N.J.: Avotaynu, 2004), 35–42.

64. *Natchez Courier*, 25 May 1852, page 3, col. 5. [John] Mayer was Jeannette Ries's husband. Salomon Ries, Jeannette's brother, usually signed his name as "S. Ries." See Orleans Parish, Birth Records, 9:1689, Mina alias Ophelia Ries, 6 July 1848.

65. Adams Co., Circuit Court files, box 30 (1850s), file 62, State of Mississippi v. Morris Meyer [sic], 1854; Historic Natchez Foundation. The defendant, Morris aka Maurice Mayer, was John Mayer's son.

66. W. H. Rainey, comp., *New Orleans Business Directory: 1858* (New Orleans: Mygatt, 1857), 260–61.

67. A name similar to *Eline Haymer* does not appear in "New Orleans, Louisiana, Death Records Index, 1804–1949." Also, Robert Shumway, comp., "Natchez City Cemetery Transcriptions," and "Adams County Sexton Records," *Adams County, Mississippi, Genealogical and Historical Research* (<http://www.natchezbelle.org/adams-ind/>). Also, Robert H. Stewart Family Account Books, Series IV: Daybooks, 1841–1899, 7 (1841–1850) and 8 (1850–1861); microfilm S, reel 2; LLMVC, Louisiana State University (LSU) Libraries. Stewart was a Natchez undertaker and furniture dealer whose daybooks, largely unindexed, are a valuable source of burial information. Also, Adams County Historical Research Project, "First Jewish Cemetery"; Temple B'nai Israel, Natchez. The typewritten burial list bears no authorship attribution. It likely was created in the late 1930s as part of the WPA's Mississippi Historical Records Survey. Another Adams County cemetery survey, completed 27 March 1937, is identified as a WPA project. See Bob Shumway and Sarah Shumway, comps., "A Partial List of Private Cemeteries in Natchez and Adams County, Mississippi," *Adams County, Mississippi, Genealogical and Historical Research* (http://www.natchezbelle.org/adams-ind/cem_4.htm), "Kibbe Cemetery."

Pauline Ries.⁶⁸ Absent from the 1870 and 1880 Worms household, perhaps she died 1860–70.⁶⁹ No death record appears, however, in New York, Tennessee, or Michigan, where her family lived in 1860, 1870, and 1880.⁷⁰

A sketch of John Worms's life mentions his marriage, but not Pauline:

- John Worms was born 1802 in Landau, Bavaria (formerly France).
- He left home at age thirteen for Paris, France, where he became a shoemaker.
- He married at New Orleans in 1842 and had three sons and four daughters.
- John resided in Natchez in 1845–58, before moving to Waterloo, New York.
- Three daughters married and lived in New York.⁷¹

The sketch's reliability varies.⁷² Censuses and other records, however, confirm John's Natchez residence and the number of his children.⁷³ Landau family

68. 1860 U.S. census, Seneca Co., N.Y., pop. sch., South Waterloo, Town of Fayette, Waterloo post office, p. 166, dwell. 1254, fam. 1283, Pauline Worms; NARA microfilm M653, roll 861.

69. 1870 U.S. census, Shelby Co., Tenn., pop. sch., Memphis City, ward 2, p. 24, dwell. 164, fam. 186, John "Wormes" household; NARA microfilm M593, roll 1562. Also, 1880 U.S. census, Ottawa Co., Mich., pop. sch., Grand Haven City, ward 1, enumeration district (ED) 237, p. 35, dwell. 279, fam. 285, John Worms household; NARA microfilm T9, roll 600.

70. Statewide registration of deaths in New York State did not begin until 1880–81. See "Vital Records," *New York State Archives* (http://www.archives.nysed.gov/a/research/res_topics_gen_vitalstats.shtml). No burial record for anyone with the surname *Worms* or likely variant appears in Chrystal W. Fegley, comp., "S. J. Genung and Son, Inc. (Seneca County, New York), funeral records, Jan. 1858–Aug. 1887: and index of funeral records, Jan. 1858–Aug. 1887"; FHL microfilm 833,159, items 3–8. Also, "Shelby County Deaths," database, *Tom Leatherwood, Shelby County Register of Deeds* (<http://register.shelby.tn.us/deathSearchResults.php>). Also, "Michigan Deaths, 1867–1897," database, *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org>).

71. F. A. Barnard, "Fifth Congressional District," *American Biographical History of Eminent and Self-Made Men with Portrait Illustrations on Steel: Michigan Volume* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Western Biographical Publishing Company, 1878), 141–42. The marriage year appears incorrect. Their oldest son, Morris/Maurice Worms, was born about 1840–41, suggesting they married about 1838–40. For Morris's birth date, see 1850 U.S. census, Adams Co., Miss., pop. sch., Natchez City (North), pp. 35r–v, dwell. 283, fam. 271, J. Worms household. Also, Washtenaw Co., Mich., Marriage Records 5:19, no. 278, Worms-Rathbone [*sic*], 1 July 1868; County Clerk/Register's Office, Ann Arbor.

72. Barnard's preface notes: "We have tried to do our part thoroughly and well . . . [but] inaccuracy, and imperfect records are among the obstacles which have retarded the progress of the work. . . . Our hands have often been tied by requests that sketches should appear *just as written* [emphasis in original]." See Barnard, *American Biographical History: Michigan Volume*, "Preface."

73. The Worms family may have arrived in Natchez as early as 1841. John's 1846 declaration of intention says he had resided about five years in Mississippi. See John Worms, declaration of intention, 12 November 1846; in Adams Co., Miss., Naturalization Records, loose items arranged alphabetically; Circuit Court Records, Historic Natchez Foundation. Rainey, in *New Orleans Business Directory: 1858*, 261, confirms John Worms's Natchez residence in 1858. For seven apparent children, see 1850 U.S. census, Adams Co., pop. sch., Natchez City (North), pp. 35r–v, dwell. 283, fam. 271, J. Worms household. Also, 1860 U.S. census, Seneca Co., N.Y., pop. sch., South Waterloo, Town of Fayette, Waterloo post office, p. 166, dwell. 1254, fam. 1283, John Worms household.

registers confirm his birth there—8 March 1808, not 1802—and reveal he and John Mayer, Jeannette Ries's husband, were born there three years apart.⁷⁴ They likely knew each another before settling in southwest Mississippi. Landau and Natchez probably were not the only places where their paths had crossed. Both married in New Orleans.⁷⁵ Mayer, like Worms, left home at a young age to learn shoemaking in Paris.⁷⁶ Their parallel migrations—Landau to Paris, New Orleans to Natchez—suggest a Worms and Mayer-Ries association and support the theory that Ries was Pauline Worms's maiden name.

A MAIDEN NAME FOR PAULINE

A marriage record in an unexpected place reveals Pauline Worms's maiden name. In southern Ontario Julius, the youngest of John and Pauline's sons, married sisters from Kalamazoo, Michigan.⁷⁷ The first record, dated 1882, gives

74. Landau, Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany, Familienregister der Stadt Landau, vom Jahr 1793 anfangend [family register of the city of Landau, beginning in the year 1793], Buchstabe [letter]: [not stated], Familie [family] no. 48, Johann (formerly Saul) Worms, son of Heinrich Worms (formerly Herz Lehmann Worms) and Theresa Marx (formerly Röschen); Staatsarchiv [state archives], Speyer, Rhineland-Palatinate; FHL microfilm 475,794. John Mayer aka Jakob Levy was born 29 Germinal An XIII [19 April 1805]. See Landau, Familienregister der Stadt Landau ab [from]1793, Buchstabe L, Familie no. 11, Jakob (formerly Mayer) Levy, son of Simon Levy and Johanetta (formerly Rachel) Mayer; FHL microfilm 488,719.

75. See Myer-Reas marriage announcement, *New Orleans Bee*, 5 May 1835. No record of the marriage appears in the earliest known register for Congregation Gates of Mercy: Marriage Contracts, 1839–1845, 7; Touro Synagogue Records, 1828–1869, LaRC, Tulane University. No Mayer-Ries marriage contract appears in the notarial records of Louis Thimelet Caire, vols. 43–48-A (January–December 1835); Hilary Breton Cenas, vols. 1–3 (January–June 1835); and Joseph Cuvillier, vols. 4–5 (October 1834–July 1835). No record of John Worms's marriage appears in Marriage Contracts, 1839–1845, 7; Touro Synagogue Records, 1828–1869, LaRC, Tulane University. Also, Orleans Parish, Justice of the Peace Marriage Records, 1846–80, card index, NOPL. Also, notarial records of Louis Thimelet Caire, vols. 63–78-A (January 1838–December 1840); Hilary Breton Cenas, vols. 16–23 (January 1838–February 1841); Joseph Benzaken Marks, vols. 9–13 (December 1837–December 1840); Edward Barnett, vols. 1–13 (March 1838–December 1840); and Lucien Hermann, 1 (November 1839–December 1840).

76. Moses, *Aunt Sister's Book*, 1.

77. Jennie Mayo lived in Kalamazoo with her parents, Egbert and Cornelia Mayo, in 1880. See 1880 U.S. census, Kalamazoo Co., Mich., pop. sch., Kalamazoo Village, ED 135, p. 1, dwell./fam. 2, Egbert "Mays" household; NARA microfilm T9, roll 586. Imogene "Emma" (Mayo) Landon lived in Kalamazoo with her husband and two daughters in 1880. See 1880 U.S. census, Kalamazoo Co., Mich., pop. sch., Kalamazoo Village, ED 132, p. 20, dwell. 210, fam. 221, "Hiram Landen" household; NARA microfilm T9, roll 586.

Reis—as spelled by some Ries descendants—as his mother’s maiden name.⁷⁸ The second, an 1889 record, says *Raer* is her maiden name.⁷⁹

The records are registrar copies of marriage returns from officiating clergy.⁸⁰ Clerical error may explain discrepancies of Julius’s parents’ names. Clerks would be unlikely, however, to confuse Louisville, Kentucky, with Natchez, Mississippi, as his birthplace, or Chicago with Galesburg, Michigan, as Emma’s birthplace.⁸¹ Those discrepancies more likely result from intentional misinformation in the later record. In August 1889 Emma Mayo was still married to her first husband, Herman Landon, who had apparently deserted her earlier that year.⁸² The 1882 record thus appears the more reliable source for Julius’s mother’s maiden name.

WORMS DAUGHTERS IN NEW YORK

John Worms reportedly had four daughters, three married and living in New York in 1878.⁸³

- Rosalie, the oldest, was absent from her father’s household in 1870.⁸⁴ The likely Rosa or Rosalie, born 1840–50 in Mississippi and living in New York in 1870, is Rosa Rich, apparent wife of Charles Rich and mother of a

78. Ontario, Canada, Civil Marriage Registrations, Waterloo County, 1882; H:148, no. 11916, Worms-Mayo; Registrations of Marriages, RG 80-5, Archives of Ontario, Toronto; FHL microfilm 1,869,760, item 3. For another example of the spelling variant *Reis* used by a Ries descendant, see Louisiana Department of Health, death certificate file no. 2591, reg. no. 8383, Emma Reis Fink, 12 July 1935; Division of Archives, Records Management, and History, Baton Rouge. Emma was the daughter of Salomon and Julie (Mesritz) Ries. See Orleans Parish, Birth Records 21:463, Emma Ries, 22 February 1855. *Reis*, rhyming with the English word *rice* is a recognized surname distinct from *Ries*. Spelling variants, like *Reas*, *Rees*, *Ris*, and *Rÿss*, found in records created by or about members of the Ries family of Obernai and New Orleans, indicate their surname rhymed with the English word *niece*.

79. Ontario, Canada, Civil Marriage Registrations, Huron County, 1889; C:543, no. 5310, Worms-Mays [sic]; RG 80-5, Archives of Ontario; FHL microfilm 1,870,224.

80. See signed statement at the bottom of each page of the register.

81. For Julius’s birthplace, see Barnard, *American Biographical History: Michigan Volume*, 143. For Emma’s birthplace, see Kalamazoo Co., Mich., Marriage Records 4:109, no. 1627, Landon-Mayo, 16 July 1872; County Clerk’s Office, Kalamazoo; FHL microfilm 984,141.

82. For Emma’s first marriage, see Kalamazoo Co., Marriage Records 4:109, no. 1627, Landon-Mayo, 16 July 1872. For Herman’s disappearance, see “A Sudden Departure,” *Kalamazoo Gazette*, 3 January 1889, page [5], col. 3. Emma filed for divorce in January 1891; the final decree was issued eight months later. See Kalamazoo Co., Chancery Docket files 6:403, Emmegene Landon v. Herman Landon; Circuit Court Clerk’s Office, Kalamazoo; FHL microfilm 2,195,893.

83. Barnard, *American Biographical History of Eminent and Self-Made Men: Michigan Volume*, 142.

84. 1870 U.S. census, Shelby Co., Tenn., pop. sch., Memphis City, ward 2, p. 24, dwell. 164, fam. 186, John “Wormes” household.

two-year-old daughter Pauline.⁸⁵ Rosa died a widow on 30 January 1917 in Brooklyn, New York. She was the daughter of John and Pauline Worms.⁸⁶

- Rachel, the second—reportedly born in “Natchez, Tenn.,” to John and Paulina Worms—married Marcus Rich 10 March 1872 in New York City.⁸⁷ Identified as Pauline Ries’s daughter, she died a widow on 10 June 1912 in Manhattan.⁸⁸
- Theresa, the third, born in Natchez, Mississippi, to John and Polin Worms, natives of France, died single on 11 November 1901 in Brooklyn.⁸⁹

Pauline Worms died of consumption, 28 April 1867, apparently in Rochester, where she was buried two days later.⁹⁰ She died at fifty-four, the right age to be Pauline Ries of Obernai, but no known source identifies the town of her birth.⁹¹ The Hebrew inscription on her Mount Hope Cemetery gravestone mentions no

85. 1870 U.S. census, New York Co., N.Y., pop. sch., New York City, ward 22, election district 16, p. 89, dwell. 438, fam. 706, Charles Rich household; NARA microfilm M593, roll 1013.

86. New York City, Brooklyn Borough, death certificate no. 2815 (30 January 1917), Rosa A. Rich; Municipal Archives, Manhattan, N.Y. The record reports 23 September 1843, United States, as her date and place of birth. An undocumented online database lists the same birth date for her and identifies Natchez, Mississippi, as her birthplace. See Sarah Paul, comp., “Morrin/Paul Family Tree,” Ancestry Public Member Trees, *Ancestry.com*, for Rosalie Adolphina Worms [wife of Charles Rich].

87. New York City, Manhattan Borough, marriage certificate no. 1831 (20 March 1872), Rich-Worms; Municipal Archives; FHL microfilm 1,561,849.

88. New York City, Manhattan Borough, death certificate no. 17884 (10 June 1912), Rachel Rich; Municipal Archives.

89. New York City, Brooklyn Borough, death certificate no. 20605 (11 November 1901), Theresa Worms; Municipal Archives.

90. Pauline Worms obituary, *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, 29 April 1867, page 3, col. 7. For her cause of death, see Mt. Hope Cemetery, Rochester, N.Y., Register of Interments, p. [41], Pauline Worms; digital images, Mt. Hope and Riverside Cemetery Records, University of Rochester, River Campus Libraries, “Mt. Hope and Riverside Cemetery Records: Search,” *University of Rochester* (<http://www.lib.rochester.edu/IN/RBSCP/Databases/IMAGES/MtHope/disc1/00000753.pdf>). Neither Pauline’s obituary nor her burial record suggests she died anywhere but Rochester. In contrast, her husband John’s obituary notes his out-of-town death, 27 April 1885, in Toronto. See *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, 29 April 1885, page 7, col. 5.

91. Pauline’s birthplace is not mentioned in her obituary or those of her husband and children. For Pauline, see *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, 29 April 1867. For John, see *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, 29 April 1885. For Henry, see *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, 12 September 1914, page 8, col. 7. For Julius, see *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, 11 December 1907, page 15, col. 3. For Rachel Rich’s death, see *New York Times*, 12 June 1912. For Theresa, see *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, 14 November 1901, page 15, col. 4. No obituary was found for Rosa (Worms) Rich. Pauline’s age, but not her birthplace, appears on the monument she shares with her husband. They also have individual gravestones. See Mount Hope Cemetery (Rochester, N.Y.), Worms lot (southwest quarter of lot fourteen in range three), John and Pauline Worms monument and gravestones; photographs 24 and 28 October 2011 by Edward Groszewski; author’s files.

father but gives her Hebrew name: Beyla—the Hebrew name associated with Pauline Ries’s great-grandmother, Belle Blien.⁹²

Additional evidence confirms the hypothesis that Pauline (Ries) Worms and Pauline (Ries) Haymer were one person. Theresa Worms was single; her sisters, Rosa and Rachel, were widows. Who was John Worms’s third married daughter, said to be in New York in 1878?⁹³ John’s 1850 household included six-month-old Ellen Worms. Her absence in 1860 suggests she had died, but no death record appears in Natchez, Mississippi, or Waterloo, New York.⁹⁴

RE-EXAMINING NEW ORLEANS RECORDS

If Ellen Worms had died by 1860, she could not have been the third married Worms daughter living in New York in 1878. If Pauline, wife of John Worms, and Pauline, wife of Elias Haymer, were one person, might Eline Em Haymer be the “missing” Worms daughter? Efforts to find a Haymer family in New Orleans after 1838 had been unsuccessful. A broader search for Elias located a possible burial record, prompting a second look at his daughter’s birth registration.

Gates of Mercy’s records list eighteen burials in September 1837. Only one has a given name beginning with *E*: “El^s Emsheimer,” a twenty-two year old native of Goecklingen, Rh. Ba—Rhine Bavaria, now part of Rhineland-Palatinate. El^s died 12 September 1837 in New Orleans.⁹⁵ Two similarly named men appear in city records: twenty-two-year-old French native Elias Emsheimer, who died 22 September 1835 and was buried at Gates of Mercy; and twenty-one-year-old German immigrant Elis Emstheimer, who arrived 22 January 1836.⁹⁶

92. Mount Hope Cemetery, Worms lot, Pauline Worms gravestone. See translation by David Rosen; author’s files. Traditional Hebrew inscriptions usually identify a woman as A, daughter of B; Pauline’s inscription identifies only her husband, “Yonah Worms.” For a discussion of secular names similar to or associated with the Hebrew name בֵּילָה (Beyla), see Alexander Beider, *A Dictionary of Ashkenazic Given Names: Their Origins, Structure, Pronunciation, and Migrations* (Bergenfield, N.J.: Avotaynu, 2001), 480. Also, Paul Lévy, *Les noms des israélites en France: Histoire et dictionnaire* [the names of the Israelites in France: history and dictionary] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1960), part 2, s.v. “Bella, Belle, Belette; Beile, Beyle.”

93. Barnard, *American Biographical History of Eminent and Self-Made Men: Michigan Volume*, 142.

94. Shumway, “Natchez City Cemetery Transcriptions.” Also, Shumway, “Adams County Sexton Records.” Also, Robert H. Stewart Family Account Books, Series IV: Daybooks, 1841–1899, 8 (1850–1861); LLMVC, LSU Libraries. Also, Adams County Historical Research Project, “First Jewish Cemetery.” Also, S. J. Genuing and Son, (Seneca County, N.Y.), funeral records, January 1858–August 1887. Statewide registration of deaths in New York State did not begin until 1880–81. See “Vital Records,” *New York State Archives*.

95. *Rhine Bavaria*, the English translation of *Rheinbayern*, is the name by which the Palatinate was known after 1837 when it became an administrative district of Bavaria. See Wendy K. Uncapher, *Lands of the German Empire and Before* (Janesville, Wis.: Origins, 2000), 47. Congregation Gates of Mercy, Records of Interments, 1829–1846, 1:[8–9], El^s Emsheimer; Touro Synagogue Records, 1828–1869, LaRC, Tulane University.

96. “Hebrew Cemetery at Jackson and Saratoga Streets, Records, 1834–1919,” marker for Elias Emsheimer. Also, *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, Louisiana, 1820–1902*; NARS microfilm M259, roll 13, SS *Fortune*, 22 January 1836, unpaginated, Elis Emstheimer.

Despite discrepancies in nationality and birth and death dates, the three records seem to refer to one individual. Examining the history of his birthplace resolves the conflict regarding his origin—German versus French. From 1798 to 1814 Göcklingen was part of the Canton of Annweiler, District (arrondissement) of Deux Ponts, Department of Mont-Tonnerre, France.⁹⁷ On 9 June 1815 the Kingdom of Bavaria gained control of the Rhenish Palatinate (Rheinpfalz), including the village of Göcklingen.⁹⁸

The differing death dates on the burial records—22 September 1835 versus 12 September 1837—is likely due to an inaccurate reading of a deteriorated gravestone. The earlier date, recorded in the 1930s, was likely transcribed from Elias's gravestone.⁹⁹ By the late 1950s it was so weathered that one observer misread his name as "Elias F. Usheimer."¹⁰⁰ His death date was probably equally hard to decipher. If it was 1837, not 1835, the approximate birth date for German El^s Emsheimer and French Elias Emsheimer, reportedly buried at the same cemetery, would be 1814–15—like that of Elis Emstheimer who arrived in New Orleans in 1836.¹⁰¹

The 1837 date appears in an early burial register, the book's only Emsheimer entry: El^s Emsheimer, who died 12 September 1837 in New Orleans.¹⁰² A single

97. *GenWiki* (<http://wiki-de.genealogy.net/Hauptseite>), s.v. "Département du Mont-Tonnerre," rev. 10:48, 14 August 2011. Also, *ibid.*, "Göcklingen," esp. "Zugehörigkeit" [affiliation] under "Daten aus dem Genealogischen Ortsverzeichnis" [data from the genealogical gazetteer], rev. 15:18, 2 May 2011. *Deux-Ponts* is the French name for the German town of *Zweibrücken*; *Mont-Tonnerre* is the French name for the mountain known in German as *Donnersberg*. On 4 November 1797 the French Directory divided German territory on the left bank of the Rhine into four administrative departments, including Mont-Tonnerre, but Germany did not surrender the area until 9 March 1798. For 1797, see *Wikipédia* (<http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mont-Tonnerre>), s.v. "Mont-Tonnerre," rev. 13:29, 7 October 2011. For 1798, see Tom Holmberg, "The Conference at Rastadt and the Assassination of French Plenipotentiaries," *The Napoleon Series*, Research Subjects: Government and Politics (http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/government/diplomatic/c_rastadt.html).

98. *Wikipedia* (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Main_Page), s.v. "Congress of Vienna," rev. 17:16, 23 June 2011. The Final Act was signed a few days before the decisive Battle of Waterloo.

99. "Hebrew Cemetery at Jackson and Saratoga Streets, Records, 1834–1919," Elias Emsheimer marker. Although the WPA's survey of New Orleans cemeteries includes information from interment records, the phrases "Here rests" and "Rest in peace" on Elias's burial card indicate his information was transcribed from his no-longer-extant gravestone.

100. Hebrew Rest Cemetery no. 1 (New Orleans, La.), memorial gravestone identifying reinternments from Gates of Mercy Cemetery. The memorial stone includes the name "Elizabeth Emsheimer," apparently a misinterpretation of Elias's abbreviated given name recorded in the congregational burial register. No known record suggests an Elizabeth Emsheimer lived in New Orleans.

101. *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, Louisiana, 1820–1902*; NARS microfilm M259, roll 13, *SS Fortune*, 22 January 1836, unpaginated, Elis Emstheimer.

102. Congregation Gates of Mercy, Records of Interments, 1829–1846, 1:[8–9], El^s Emsheimer; Touro Synagogue Records, 1828–1869, LaRC, Tulane University.

hand apparently had copied the entries from an earlier volume, now lost.¹⁰³ Several points suggest the copy dates to the nineteenth century, likely within a few decades of Elias's death:

- Five similar burial registers, with entries from 1841–46, survive.¹⁰⁴
- The section and row headings on each page are written in Spencerian script, the most popular handwriting style in mid-nineteenth century America.¹⁰⁵
- The printed heading *Condition, Bond or Free* shows the register was printed before 1 January 1863, when the Emancipation Proclamation was issued.¹⁰⁶

Entry numbers from the earlier, chronological volume appear in the later copy, organized by cemetery section and row. El^s Emsheimer's record is entry ninety-two. Entry ninety-one, for Jac^b Delange who died 10 September 1837, precedes it; entry ninety-three, for B. S. de Young who died 14 September 1837, follows it. They show that Elias Emsheimer died 12 September 1837.¹⁰⁷

The German surname Emsheimer is so rare that the *Dictionary of German-Jewish Surnames* cites only one occurrence after 1800: in Göcklingen, now in Rhineland-Palatinate.¹⁰⁸ Of just four Jewish household heads in 1809–10 in Göcklingen, only one was named *Emsheimer*: dry-goods merchant Jacob Emsheimer.¹⁰⁹ Emsheimer researchers believe all Emsheimers descend from

103. Louisiana Historical Records Survey, Division of Community Service Programs, Work Projects Administration, *Inventory of the Church and Synagogue Archives of Louisiana: Jewish Congregations and Organizations* (University, La.: Louisiana State University, 1941), 24, sect. f.

104. "Records of Interments in the Non-municipal Cemeteries of New Orleans, 1841–1846," City Archives, NOPL, *Guide to Early (1760–1861) Records: Public Health* (<http://nutrias.org/~nopl/inv/neh/nehff.htm#ff3>). The column headings in the Gates of Mercy register and the five registers included in series LM433 at the City Archives are identical.

105. "Mid 19th Century Handwriting," *Sullivan Press* (<http://www.sullivanpress.com/Spencerian.htm>).

106. *Wikipedia* (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Main_Page), s.v. "Emancipation Proclamation," rev. 01:03, 4 July 2011.

107. Congregation Gates of Mercy, Records of Interments, 1829–1846, 1:[12–13], Jac^b Delange, and [8–9], El^s Emsheimer and B. S. de Young; Touro Synagogue Records, 1828–1869, LaRC, Tulane University.

108. Lars Menk, *Dictionary of German-Jewish Surnames* (Bergenfield, N.J.: Avotaynu, 2005), s.v. "Emsheimer."

109. In 1808—just six years before Elias Emsheimer's birth—Göcklingen was home to only forty-one Jews. See Arbeitsgemeinschaft für die Erforschung der Geschichte der Juden im süddeutschen und angrenzenden Raum [consortium for research on Jewish history in southern Germany and neighboring regions], *Alemannia Judaica*, "Göcklingen (VG Landau-Land, Kreis Südliche Weinstraße): Jüdische Geschichte/Synagoge" [(Landau Collective Municipality, Southern Wine Route District): Jewish history/synagogues] (http://www.alemannia-judaica.de/goecklingen_synagoge.htm#Goecklingen), "Zur Geschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde" [on the history of the Jewish community]. VG abbreviates Verbandsgemeinde [collective municipality], an administrative unit in the German state of Rhineland-Palatinate.

Jacob, father of twelve known children.¹¹⁰ They include Elias Emsheimer, born 15 October 1814 in Göcklingen to Jacob and his wife, Bessle Dreÿfus.¹¹¹

Analyzed and combined evidence from records for El^s Emsheimer, Elias Emsheimer, and Elis Emstheimer in New Orleans, and Elias Emsheimer in Göcklingen, support merging their identities. Might Elias Emsheimer of Göcklingen and New Orleans also be the same person as Elias Haymer of the District of Landau? New Orleans notarial acts identify no heir for either man.¹¹²

Eline Haymer's birth record gives her father's only known information. Is it reliable? John Mayer reported the birth, likely correctly giving "District of Landau" as Haymer's birthplace.¹¹³ A Landau native, Mayer would have known its 1837 localities, including Göcklingen, Elias Emsheimer's birthplace.¹¹⁴

Mayer's report of 25 September 1837 as Haymer's death date appears wrong. Parental death dates rarely appear on children's birth records. Perhaps Mayer

110. James Blum (Scarsdale, N.Y.) to author, e-mails, 3 February 2004 and 20 March 2011; author's files. Blum and fellow Emsheimer descendant Dr. Henri C. Mars (Issoire, France) have identified eleven children born 1798–1820 to Jacob Emsheimer and Bössel, Bessle, or Babette Dreÿfus. A twelfth child, Simon, is one of Jacob's heirs in *Beilage zum Amts- und Intelligenz-Blatte des Rheinkreises* [addenda to the official register and news sheet of the Rhine District], no. 5, Speyer, 15 January 1837, p. 34.

111. Göcklingen, Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany, Zivilstandsregister [civil registrations], 1814, Geburtsregister [birth register], no. 51, Elias Emsheimer; digital copy, 20 March 2011, from Henri C. Mars. Civil registrations for Göcklingen, few of which have been microfilmed, are held at Verbandsgemeindeverwaltung [joint community administration] Landau-Land, An 44 Nr. 31, 76829 Landau in der Pfalz, Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany. Dr. Mars and Mr. Blum have identified only one Emsheimer named *Elias*: Elias Emsheimer, born 15 October 1814 in Göcklingen. See Blum to author, e-mail, 20 March 2011.

112. Historical Notaries' Indexes, By Decade," digital images, *New Orleans Notarial Archives*, for Louis Thimelet Caire, vols. 56–68-A (January 1837–December 1838); Hilary Breton Cenas, vols. 15–18 (July 1837–December 1838); Felix De Armas, vols. 51–52 (January 1837–December 1838); Octave De Armas, vol. 30 (January 1837–December 1840); Amedee Ducatel, vols. 6–8 (August 1837–August 1838); Louis Feraud, vols. 18–22 (January 1837–April 1838); Felix Grima, vols. 17–22 (July 1837–September 1838); Adolphe Mazureau, vols. 17–18 (May 1837–December 1838); and Theodore Tureau, vol. 1 (May 1837–December 1838). Also, Joseph Cuvillier, Notarial Acts 15–16 (June 1837–January 1838); FHL microfilm 837,090. Also, Philippe Lacoste, Notarial Acts 10 (September–December 1837), nos. 189–251; FHL microfilm 853,559. Also, Joseph Benzaken Marks, Notarial Acts 8 (August–November 1837); FHL microfilm 557,140. Also, "Estate Inventories of Orleans Parish Civil Courts, 1803–1877," "Court of Probates (Orleans Parish): General Index of All Successions, 1805–1846," and "Court of Probates (Orleans Parish): Index to Suit Records, Numbered Series, 1823–1845," databases, Louisiana Division, City Archives, and Special Collections, *Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library*. No notice regarding Elias's succession appears in the *New Orleans Picayune*, September 1837–September 1838.

113. Orleans Parish, Birth Records, 5:79, Eline Em Haymer.

114. For Mayer's birthplace, see Landau, Familienregister der Stadt Landau, Buchstabe L, Familie no. 11, Jakob (formerly Mayer) Levy. An 1837 licitation notice issued by the District Court of Landau regarding the property of the late Jacob Emsheimer of Göcklingen confirms Göcklingen's inclusion in the District of Landau in 1837. See *Beilage zum Amts- und Intelligenz-Blatte des Rheinkreises*, no. 5, Speyer, 15 January 1837, p. 34.

was not present at Elias's death or recalled it inaccurately ten months later, when registering Elias's daughter's birth.¹¹⁵ Orleans Parish records show only four 25 September 1837 deaths, none for an Elias.¹¹⁶ Gates of Mercy Cemetery records list no 25 September 1837 death. Elias Emsheimer, who died 12 September 1837, is the only known adult Elias buried there.¹¹⁷ Elias Haymer, who married Pauline Ries about 1835–37, probably in New Orleans, and died there September 1837, was likely Elias Emsheimer, who arrived 1836 in the city and died there in September 1837.¹¹⁸

Why, then, did Vincent Ramos, who created Eline Em Haymer's birth record, not write her name as Emsheimer? Ramos's native language may have been Spanish. Son of a Havana native, he used Spanish place names—*Panzacola* for *Pensacola* and *Baviera* for *Bavaria*.¹¹⁹ German-speaking John Mayer would have pronounced *Emsheimer* by accenting the first syllable.¹²⁰ To a non-German speaker, it might have sounded like two words, *Ems* and *Heimer*, rhyming with the English *timer*. The spelling of *Emsheimer* and *Mayer*—the latter rhyming with the English *tire*—reflect two of the four ways the German diphthong /ai/ may be written: *ei*, *ay*, *ai*, or *ey*.¹²¹ The Spanish diphthong /ai/ is written *ay* or

115. Orleans Parish, Birth Records 5:79, Eline Em Haymer.

116. Palisi, et al., comps., "1837 Orleans Parish Death Index." See "Interments," *New Orleans Picayune*, 13 September 1837.

117. JewishGen, comp., "JewishGen Online Worldwide Burial Registry," database, *Ancestry.com*. Also, "Hebrew Cemetery at Jackson and Saratoga Streets, Records, 1834–1919."

118. Elias and Pauline's estimated marriage date assumes they married after Pauline's arrival 15 January 1835 in New Orleans and one to two years before their daughter Eline's estimated date of conception, between 5 December 1836 and 9 January 1837—thirty-seven to forty-two weeks before her birth, 25 September 1837. For Pauline's New Orleans arrival, see *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, Louisiana, 1820–1902*; NARS microfilm M259, roll 12, brig *Dido*, 15 January 1835, unpaginated, Polin Ries. For Eline Haymer's birth date and Elias Haymer's death date, see Orleans Parish, Birth Records, 5:79, Eline Em Haymer. For Elias Emsheimer's New Orleans arrival, see *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, Louisiana, 1820–1902*; NARS microfilm M259, roll 13, SS *Fortune*, 22 January 1836, unpaginated, Elis Emstheimer. For Elias Emsheimer's death date, see Congregation Gates of Mercy, Records of Interments, 1829–1846, 1:[8–9], El^s Emsheimer; Touro Synagogue Records, 1828–1869, LaRC, Tulane University.

119. For Ramos's nativity, see Earl C. Woods and Charles E. Nolan, eds., *Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of New Orleans*, 19 vols. (New Orleans, La.: Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, 1989), 4:259. For *Panzacola*, see Orleans Parish, Birth Records, 5:332, Jeanne Gualbert Blanche Ramos, 12 July 1840; FHL microfilm 2,257,097. Ramos signed his granddaughter's birth record. Also, Ann L. Henderson and Gary Ross Mormino, eds., *Spanish Pathways in Florida: 1492–1992/ Caminos Españoles en la Florida: 1492–1992* (Sarasota, Fla.: Pineapple Press, 1991), 224. Also, *El Pequeño Larousse Ilustrado 1998 en Color* [the little illustrated Larousse in color] (Barcelona, Spain: Larousse, 1998), s.v. "Baviera."

120. Hebert Lederer, *Reference Grammar of the German Language* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969), 18.

121. Roger P. Minert, *Spelling Variations in German Names: Solving Family History Problems Through Applications of German and English Phonetics* (Woods Cross, Utah: GRT, 2000), 14.

ai, but never ei.¹²² Ramos's unfamiliarity with German apparently led him to misinterpret and record Eline's three-syllable surname, Emsheimer, as a one-syllable middle name, "Em," and a two-syllable surname, "Haymer."¹²³

Linguistic analysis of Eline's birth registration combined with indirect evidence from New Orleans burial records make the case her father's surname was Emsheimer, not Haymer. Might a search for Eline Emsheimer succeed where the search for Eline Haymer had failed?

ELINE EMSHEIMER

Louisiana marriage records show no Eline Emsheimer, or anyone similarly named.¹²⁴ Mississippi, however, has a candidate. Ellen Emsheimer married Lehman Lehrburger on 1 November 1852 in Adams County, the 1850 home of John and Pauline Worms.¹²⁵ In 1860 the Lehrburgers lived in Ontario County, New York, adjacent to Seneca County, where John Worms had settled in 1858.¹²⁶ Two censuses show Louisiana as Ellen's birthplace.¹²⁷ Elene "Ellen" (Emsheimer) Lehrburger died 16 October 1899 in Brookline, Massachusetts, at sixty-two years, one month, and sixteen days—thus born 30 August 1837.¹²⁸

Seven points suggest that Elene "Ellen" Emsheimer, wife of Lehman Lehrburger, was Eline, daughter of Elias Emsheimer and Pauline Ries:

122. Sarah and John [—?—], "Spanish Pronunciation Guide," database entry and audio recording for diphthongs ai-ay, *Lingolex* (<http://lingolex.com/pronounce/>).

123. Ramos made a similar error when he identified Ferdinand Brey's birthplace as "Frankfort on mayn" [should read Main]. See Orleans Parish, Birth Records, 5: 56, Elisabeth Brey, 10 August 1837. For a related discussion, see Richard Camaur, "Linguistic Analysis as a Genealogical Tool: The Camaur Case Study" in *NGS Quarterly* 94 (June 2006): 117. Camaur writes, "Foreign scribes with no familiarity with some sounds [apparently] attempted to record surnames as if they contained sounds in their own language."

124. No entries for Eline Emsheimer or anyone with a similar name appear in "New Orleans (La.) Justices of the Peace: Index to Marriage Records, 1846–1880," database, *Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library* (<http://nutrias.org/~nopl/inv/jpmarrindex/jpmarrindex.htm>). The incomplete online index includes all surnames beginning with E. Also, "New Orleans Marriage Index, *Daily Picayune*, 1837–1857." Also, "New Orleans, Louisiana, Marriage Records Index, 1831–1925," and "Louisiana Marriage Records, 1851–1900," databases, *Ancestry.com*. Also, "Louisiana Marriages, 1816–1906," database, *FamilySearch*.

125. Adams Co., Miss., Marriage Records (White) 7-A:126, Lehrburger-Emsheimer, 1852.

126. 1860 U.S. census, Ontario Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Town of Seneca, Geneva post office, p. 81, dwell./fam. 650, Lehman Lehrburger household; NARA microfilm M653, roll 831. For the Worms family's 1858 move to Waterloo, Seneca Co., N.Y., see Barnard, *American Biographical History of Eminent and Self-Made Men: Michigan Volume*, 142.

127. 1860 U.S. census, Ontario Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Town of Seneca, Geneva post office, p. 81, dwell./fam. 650, Lehman Lehrburger household. Also, 1880 U.S. census, New York Co., N.Y., pop. sch., New York City, Manhattan Borough, ED 562, p. 33, dwell. 80, fam. 369, Ella "Lahrburger"; NARA microfilm T9, roll 984.

128. Boston, Mass., "Undertaker's Return," permit no. 205 (1899), Elene Lehrburger; Town Clerk's Office, Brookline, Mass.

- Her maiden name was the rare German surname, Emsheimer.¹²⁹
- Her given name, Elene, resembles Eline Emsheimer's given name.¹³⁰
- Her nicknames—Ellen, Ella, and Helen¹³¹—resemble the given names of Pauline Ries's great-grandmother, Elle (Hélène) Moch.¹³²
- Elene was born in New Orleans.¹³³
- Her mother's given name was Pauline.¹³⁴
- Her mother was born in France, as was Pauline Ries.¹³⁵
- Elene's oldest known daughter was Eleanor, as was Pauline Ries's mother.¹³⁶
- Her father was born in Bavaria or France—the same countries identified as Elias Emsheimer's birthplace.¹³⁷

Elene's death record lists an "Unknown" father, suggesting her family knew little of their Emsheimer ancestry.¹³⁸ Yet when her daughter Pauline became engaged in 1898 to New York City merchant Harry Tein Huchberger, she entertained not at home in Boston, but at the New York City home of her aunt,

129. Boston, Mass., "Undertaker's Return," permit no. 205 (1899), Elene Lehrburger.

130. Elene Lehrburger obituary, *Boston Herald*, 17 October 1899, page 10, col. 4.

131. For Eline's nicknames, see 1860 U.S. census, Ontario Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Town of Seneca, Geneva post office, p. 81, dwell./fam. 650, Ellen Lehrburger. Also, 1870 U.S. census, Onondaga Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Syracuse City, ward 2, p. 45, dwell. 248, fam. 353, Helen "Lehrburg"; NARA microfilm M593, roll 1062. Also, 1880 U.S. census, New York Co., N.Y., pop. sch., New York City, Manhattan Borough, ED 562, p. 33, dwell. 80, fam. 369, Ella "Lahrburger."

132. Ella and Ellen are also nicknames for Eléonore, but if Pauline followed Ashkenazi naming customs—as she appears to have done when she named her son Maurice/Morris Worms—she would not have named a daughter for her mother while her mother was still living. Pauline Ries's maternal grandfather, Cerf Salomon, also known as Naftaly or Hirtz/Hertz, was the son of Joel (Jacob) Salomon and Elle (Hélène) Moch. For Cerf's father, see Fraenckel, *Mémoire juive en Alsace: contrats de mariage au XVIIIème siècle*, 184. For Cerf's mother, see Fraenckel, *Mémoire juive en Alsace: contrats de mariage au XVIIIème siècle*, 277.

133. Boston, Mass., "Undertaker's Return," permit no. 205 (1899), Elene Lehrburger.

134. *Ibid.*

135. 1880 U.S. census, New York Co., N.Y., pop. sch., New York City, ED 562, p. 33, dwell. 80, fam. 369, Ella Lahrburger. For Pauline Ries's birthplace, see Orleans Parish, Birth Records, 5:79, Eline Em Haymer.

136. Boston, Mass., death certificate, no. 5578 (14 June 1939), Eleanor Lehrburger; Office of the City Registrar, Boston. *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, Louisiana, 1820–1902*; NARS microfilm M259, roll 12, brig *Dido*, 15 January 1835, unpaginated, Elinor Ries and Polin Ries. Eleanor and Elinor are English equivalents of the French given name, Eléonore, the name by which Eléonore "Ellen" (Salomon) Ries is identified on her children's birth records—including that of Sibille (also known as Pauline). See table 1.

137. For Bavaria, see Boston, Mass., "Undertaker's Return," permit no. 205 (1899), Elene Lehrburger. For France, see 1880 U.S. census, New York Co., N.Y., pop. sch., New York City, Manhattan Borough, ED 562, p. 33, dwell. 80, fam. 369, Ella Lahrburger.

138. Boston, Mass., "Undertaker's Return," permit no. 205 (1899), Elene Lehrburger. Elene's parents' are not named in her obituary, *Boston Herald*, 17 October 1899. Also, Elene Lehrburger death notice, *Brookline Chronicle*, 21 October 1899, page 9, col. 2.

“Mrs. Emsheimer” of 143 West 175th Street.¹³⁹ Elene’s children perhaps did not know their maternal grandfather’s name, but more than sixty years after Elias Emsheimer died, they were in contact with his Göcklingen-born relatives.¹⁴⁰

The approximate four-week difference in the birth dates of Elene (Emsheimer) Lehrburger and Eline Emsheimer—about 30 August versus 25 September 1837—is a minor conflict. Furthermore, Orleans Parish birth records show only one Elene, Eline, Ellen, or Ella born in 1837 to a woman named Pauline: Eline Em Haymer (Emsheimer), born 25 September 1837 to Pauline Ris and husband, Elias.¹⁴¹ The birth date discrepancy may indicate the unnamed informant for Elene’s death record, apparently her son Simon, did not know the date.¹⁴² Alternatively, the informant for Eline’s birth record perhaps reported the wrong date.¹⁴³ Regardless, Elene likely believed she was born in August.¹⁴⁴

Elene’s death record presents an additional conflict by identifying Emsheimer, rather than Ries, as her mother’s maiden name. Was Emsheimer her mother’s surname as well as her father’s? A French-born Pauline Emsheimer arrived at New Orleans in spring 1849. Born in 1825–26, she was too young to have given

139. For the engagement, see *New York Evening Telegram*, 8 March 1898, page 4, col. 4. For Harry’s full name, see New York City, Manhattan Borough, marriage certificate no. 6691 (26 April 1898), Huchberger-Lehrburger. For his occupation, see 1900 U.S. census, New York Co., N.Y., Manhattan Borough, p. 236-A (stamped), ED 523, sheet 14B, dwell. 115, fam. 308, Harry T. Huchberger household; NARA microfilm T623, roll 1105. For the address and the Emsheimer husband’s name, see “Incidents in Society,” *New York Daily Tribune*, 13 December 1899, page 5, col. 5. Jacob was not Pauline’s uncle but her first cousin, once removed. Jacob’s parents were Israel Emsheimer and Fanny Kahn. See New York City, Manhattan Borough, marriage certificate no. 487 (24 March 1872), Emsheimer-Flato; FHL microfilm 1,543,860. Israel Emsheimer’s parents were Jacob and Bertha [Bessie] Emsheimer—also the parents of Elias Emsheimer. See New York City, Manhattan Borough, death certificate no. 2955 (23 January 1893), Israel Emsheimer; FHL microfilm 1,322,852.

140. For Göcklingen, see *Passport Applications, 1795–1905*, NARA microfilm publication M1372, 694 rolls (Washington, D.C.: NARA, n.d.), roll 318, chronologically arranged, for Jacob Emsheimer, no. 6169, 30 April 1889. For Israel Emsheimer’s birthplace, see Blum to author, e-mail, 20 March 2011; author’s files.

141. Kendrick, comp., “1837 Orleans Parish Birth Index.”

142. The handwriting on Elene’s death record is nearly identical to the signature on Simon’s 1904 passport application. See Boston, Mass., “Undertaker’s Return,” permit no. 205 (1899), Elene Lehrburger. Also, *Passport Applications, 1795–1905*, NARA microfilm M1372, roll 666, for Simon L. Lehrburger, no. 96311, 20 December 1904. Elene’s gravestone notes only the year of her birth. See Temple Israel Cemetery (Wakefield, Mass.), Lehrburger lot (section M, lot 108), joint gravestone for Simon L. Lehrburger (1859–1925), Matilda Frank Lehrburger (1865–1916), Allen Lehrburger (1898–1901), Eleanor Lehrburger (1861–1939), Richard S. Lehrburger (1890–1971), and Elene Lehrburger (1837–1899); photographs, 9 November 2011, by Ruy Cardoso; author’s files.

143. Orleans Parish, Birth Records 5:79, Eline Em Haymer.

144. 1880 U.S. census, New York Co., N.Y., pop. sch., New York City, ED 562, p. 17A, dwell. 80, fam. 369, Lehman “Lahrburger” household. The form instructed enumerators to record the birth month only of those born within the census year, but the enumerator who visited the Lehrburgers noted every family member’s birth month.

birth in 1837.¹⁴⁵ The Lehrburger children may have forgotten, or never have known, their maternal grandmother's maiden name.

1850 Federal Census of Adams County, Mississippi

One last question remains before merging Elene "Ellen" (Emsheimer) Lehrburger's and Eline Emsheimer's identities. Where was twelve-and-a-half-year-old Elene in 1850? The 1850 enumeration's history may explain her absence from the Worms household in Natchez—her likely residence—and elsewhere.¹⁴⁶

In June 1850 Natchez merchant Jackson Warner served as census-taker for Adams County, Mississippi.¹⁴⁷ The law required him to complete the census by 1 November. On 30 August 1850, however, the forms had not arrived. Nevertheless, Warner had "at much labor and expense already made considerable progress in the census."¹⁴⁸ He apparently had begun to gather data, which he likely planned to copy onto the official forms after they arrived.

Copying risks introducing error, and the risk grows when the original recorder is not the copyist.¹⁴⁹ Two people recorded data on the only surviving copy of Adams County's 1850 census.¹⁵⁰ Warner's handwriting, identifiable from a signed note on an unused census blank included in the return, appears—with a few exceptions—only at each page's top, where he signed "J. Warner" and added *North* or *South* to *City of Natchez*.¹⁵¹ The copyist, who recorded most of the information, is unknown. Examples illustrate significant errors:

- Duplicate number series 273–289 identify dwellings in the city's northern section: the Worms dwelling is one of two shown as dwelling 283.¹⁵²
- Jos. Ouvre's and Louis David's households divide Joseph Cohen's household. Cohen and his apparent wife appear on lines 29–30. Their apparent

145. *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, Louisiana, 1820–1902*; NARS microfilm M259 roll 30, SS *Caspian*, 3 April 1849, unpaginated, line 40, Pauline Emsheimer. The author thanks James Blum for calling this record to her attention.

146. 1850 U.S. census, Adams Co., Miss., pop. sch., Natchez City (North), pp. 35r–v, dwell. 283, fam. 271, J. Worms household. Also, "1850 United States Federal Census," Soundex searches for an Ela*, Ele*, Eli*, Ell*, or Elo* Emsheimer, born 1832–1842 in Louisiana.

147. "Taking of the Census in Adams County," *Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Gazette*, 22 June 1850, page [2], col. 1.

148. *Natchez Courier*, 30 August 1850, page [3], col. 1.

149. For a related discussion, see Thomas W. Jones and Melinde Lutz Sanborn, "Facts and Judgment," *NGS Quarterly* 96 (June 2008): 83.

150. De'Niecechsi Comans Layton (Archivist, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson), interview by author, 21 June 2008. Ms. Layton reports that no local or state copy of any Adams County federal census survives.

151. 1850 U.S. census, Adams Co., Miss., pop. sch., Natchez City (South), p. 1r. See page 17 for Warner's note.

152. *Ibid.*, Natchez City (North), pp. 33v–35r, dwells. 273–89, fams. 265–81, and pp. 35r–v, dwells. 273–89, fams. 261–75.

children, Rebecca, Ginny, Caroline, and Rachel, with the same dwelling and family numbers, appear on lines 34–37.¹⁵³

- Henry Spitzfaden and Maria Petrie were enumerated on 26 July 1850 as Henry and Mary Spicperter—but they did not marry until 21 August 1850.¹⁵⁴

Worms Family Timeline, 1850–60

Could Jackson Warner or the unknown copyist have also erred in recording twelve-and-a-half-year-old Elene “Ellen” Emsheimer as a six-month-old named Ellen Worms? An 1850–60 Worms-family timeline suggests six-month-old Ellen Worms in the family’s 1850 household never existed. See table 2.

If Ellen Worms existed, she died between 31 July 1850 and 15 November 1853—presumably in Natchez, where business, census, and court records, family tradition, newspapers, and personal tax rolls point to a continuous Worms family residency.¹⁵⁵ Two Worms burials occurred there, 1850–53: John and Pauline Worms’s unnamed stillborn child and Rachel Worms, from a neighboring

153. 1850 U.S. census, Adams Co., Miss., pop. sch., Natchez City (North), p. 23r, dwell. 85, fam. 86, Joseph Cohen household; dwell. 86, fam. [blank], Jos. Ouvre household; and dwell./fam. 87, Louis David household.

154. 1850 U.S. census, Adams Co., Miss., pop. sch., Natchez City (South), p. 13v, dwell. 212, fam. 207, A. Winston household, for Henry and Mary Spicperter. Also, Adams Co., Marriage Records (White) 6:1042, Spitzfaden-Petrie, 21 August 1850. Inscriptions on the Spitzfaden mausoleum at Greenwood Cemetery in New Orleans confirm the family’s 1850s residence in Natchez. See [Darnell Brunner Beck], submitter, “Greenwood Cemetery: Spitzfaden,” *USGenWeb Archives: Louisiana, Orleans Parish* (<http://files.usgwarchives.net/la/orleans/cemeteries/green/00000178.txt>).

155. In 1851 Jakiel Seligman stabbed John Worms in an “affray” Under-the-Hill. See *Mississippi Free Trader and Gazette*, Natchez, 12 April 1851, page [2], col. 1. For Seligman’s given name, see Adams Co., Circuit Court Files, box 16 (1850s), file 48, State of Mississippi v. Jakiel Seligman, 1851; Historic Natchez Foundation. In January 1852 Worms relocated his store from Under-the-Hill to Main Street. See *Natchez Courier*, 9 January 1852, page [2], col. 3. In March 1852 Worms paid seven dollars on his account with a local merchant. See Robert H. Stewart Family Account Books, Series X: Ledgers, 1823–1893, 39 (1848–1852), p. 130, 24 March 1852, J. “Wormes” entry; microfilm S, reel 6; LLMVC, LSU Libraries. Also, Adams Co., Personal Tax Rolls, 1852, p. 24, J. Worms; microfilm GR6; Judge George W. Armstrong Library, Natchez. Rolls for 1851 and 1853 do not survive. In 1853 Worms presented the Natchez City Council with a bill for three dollars and fifty cents for the city’s purchase of two mosquito bars for the Pest House. See *Natchez Daily Courier*, 12 August 1853, page [2], col. 1. Henry Worms identified Natchez as his family’s residence, 1845–1858, in Barnard, *American Biographical History of Eminent and Self-Made Men: Michigan Volume*, 142.

Table 2
Worms Family Events from 1850 through 1860

DATES	EVENTS
About January 1850– February 1850	Ellen Worms, apparent daughter of John and Pauline Worms, was born. ^a
31 July 1850	Four females lived in the Worms's Natchez household: Pauline, Rosalie (seven) and Rachel (three), and Ellen (six months). ^b
2 September 1850	Two females, over six and under twenty years of age, lived in J. Worms's Natchez household. ^c
About 15–17 September 1850	Pauline gave birth to a stillborn child. ^d
17 September 1850	"J. Wormis's" stillborn infant was buried in Natchez. ^e
About 15 December 1852	Theresa Worms, daughter of John and Pauline Worms, was born in Natchez. ^f
On or before 15 November 1853	Four unnamed females lived in the Worms's Natchez household. ^g
6 August 1860	Four females lived in the Worms's Waterloo, New York, household—Pauline and daughters, Rosalie, Rachel, and Theresa—suggesting they were the four unnamed females in the family's Natchez household in 1853. ^h

a. Ellen's approximate birth date is calculated from her age (six months) on 31 July 1850, the day of the Worms household's enumeration. See 1850 U.S. census, Adams Co., Miss., population schedule, Natchez City (North), pp. 35r–v, dwelling 283, family 271, J. Worms household; National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) microfilm M432, roll 368.

b. *Ibid.*, where Rosalie's name appears as "Rosaline." Her death certificate identifies her parents. See New York City, Brooklyn Borough, death certificate no. 2815 (30 January 1917), Rosa A. Rich; Municipal Archives, Manhattan, N.Y. Rachel's death certificate identifies her parents. See New York City, Manhattan Borough, death certificate no. 17884 (10 June 1912), Rachel Rich; Municipal Archives.

c. "Enumeration of White Children, Adams County, Over 6 and Under 20 Years of Age," p. 5, for J. Worms (1 male, 2 females); folder Adams Co., 1850; box 2478, series 105; Educable Children Lists, 1850–1894, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson; digital images *FamilySearch* (<https://www.familysearch.org>). E. S. Glassburn, Assessor, notes on the last page that he conducted the enumeration on 2 September 1850.

d. Robert H. Stewart Family Account Books, Series IV: Daybooks, 1841–1899, 7 (1841–1850), unpaginated, 17 September 1850, for J. "Wormis"; Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collections, Louisiana State University Libraries, Baton Rouge. Worms paid three dollars to have a grave dug for a stillborn child. The child is presumed to have been his as the record mentions no other person or society, as in other entries where a non-family member paid for a burial. The estimated birth date assumes that the family would have buried the child within forty-eight hours of its birth.

e. *Ibid.*

f. Karen E. Dau, comp., "Mt. Hope Cemetery, Tombstones in Range Three, lots 1–111," *GenWeb of Monroe County, New York*, "Monroe County Cemetery Records" (<http://mcnygenealogy.com/cem/mthope-range-3a.htm>), Theresa Worms. Theresa's approximate birth date is calculated from her age at death as recorded on her tombstone: forty-eight years, ten months, and twenty-seven days.

g. 1853 Mississippi state census, Adams Co., Natchez City, unpaginated, arranged by location and then alphabetically by initial letter of surname, J. Worms household; digital image, "Mississippi State and Territorial Census Collection, 1792–1866," *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>). See final page of the Adams County enumeration for completion date.

h. 1860 U.S. census, Seneca Co., N.Y., pop. sch., South Waterloo, Town of Fayette, Waterloo post office, p. 166, dwell. 1254, fam. 1283, John Worms household; NARA microfilm M653, roll 861. Rosalie's name is misspelled as "Rosella" and Theresa's as "Clarissa."

county.¹⁵⁶ Absent a Natchez death or burial record for Ellen Worms, the question remains uncertain. Recording Elene's name as *Ellen*, reporting her age of twelve years as six months ("6/12"), and identifying her with her stepfather's surname—all understandable errors—the enumerator created a false identity.

CONNECTING THE LEHRBURGER AND WORMS FAMILIES

Lehman and Elene Lehrburger's migration from Natchez to upstate New York in the 1850s—paralleling that of John and Pauline Worms—suggests a connection.¹⁵⁷ A directory confirms it:

- Leherberger Leman [sic], mer[chant] tailor, h[ouse at] 91 Castle [Geneva]
- Worms Morris, clerk, b[oard]s 91 Castle [Geneva]
- Worms John, clothing, 29 Virginia, h[ouse at] 10 Fayette [Waterloo]¹⁵⁸

Morris Worms, boarder in Lehman Lehrburger's home, was likely John and Pauline Worms's son. He is the only Worms in the directory's Geneva section; John is the only Worms in the Waterloo section.¹⁵⁹ Geneva is less than seven miles from Waterloo, home to John's family in 1860.¹⁶⁰ The entries connect the Lehrburgers and Wormses, without revealing how the families are linked.

Family discord produced court records confirming kinship between the families. Henry Worms, John and Pauline Worms's last surviving son, died 11

156. For the stillborn "Wormis" child's burial, see Robert H. Stewart Family Account Books, Series IV: Daybooks, 1841–1899, 7 (1841–1850), unpaginated, 17 September 1850, J. Wormis; LLMVC, LSU Libraries. Rachel Worms's unmarked burial place is recorded in Adams County Historical Research Project, "First Jewish Cemetery," lot no. 47, Rachel Warms [sic]. Rachel was buried 31 August 1853. See "List of Interments in the City of Natchez and Its Vicinity, During the Late Prevailing Epidemic," *Natchez Daily Courier*, 25 October 1853, page [2], col. 3, entry for "Miss R. Worms." R[achel] Worms, the only identifiably Jewish female among the eleven individuals buried 31 August 1853 in Natchez, appears to be the same person as the "woman from Fayett[e]" [in nearby Jefferson County] for whose burial the Hebrew Society paid on 31 August 1853. See Robert H. Stewart Family Account Books, Series IV: Daybooks, 1841–1899, 8 (1850–1861), unpaginated, 31 August 1853, for Hebrew Society [for] "Wormes" burial; microfilm S, reel 2; LLMVC, LSU Libraries.

157. The Lehrburgers moved to New York between 1853 and 1859. See 1853 Mississippi state census, Adams Co., Natchez City, unpaginated, L. Lehrburger household. Also, Advertisement for L. Lehrburger's Mammoth Clothing Store, *Geneva Courier*, Geneva, N.Y., 2 February 1859, page 1, col. 2. For the Worms family's 1858 move to Waterloo, see Barnard, *American Biographical History of Eminent and Self-Made Men: Michigan Volume*, 142.

158. A. DeLancey Brigham, comp., *Brigham's Geneva, Seneca Falls and Waterloo Directory and Business Advertiser for 1862 and 1863* (Geneva, N.Y.: A. DeLancey Brigham, 1862), "Geneva Directory," 76, Leman Leherberger [sic], and 95, Morris Worms; and "Waterloo Directory," 49, John Worms.

159. *Ibid.*, "Geneva Directory," 95, and "Waterloo Directory," 49.

160. *Google Maps* (<http://maps.google.com>). Also, 1860 U.S. census, Seneca Co., N.Y., pop. sch., South Waterloo, Town of Fayette, Waterloo post office, p. 166, dwell. 1254, fam. 1283, John Worms household.

September 1914 in Rochester, New York.¹⁶¹ Single and without issue, he was apparently estranged from surviving relatives. Several disputed Henry's will:

Objections to the probate of the will of Henry E. Worms . . . were filed yesterday Worms cut off each relative with \$5 and declared in his will that he did not want any of them to benefit further than that. . . . The relatives who have started the contest are Frances Taussig and Ella Lehrburger, nieces, Brookline, Mass.; Simon L. Lehrburger, nephew, Boston; Pauline Levison, niece, New York; Rosalie Rich, sister, New York.¹⁶²

Henry's will, written 10 May 1913, made bequests to six individuals, three identified as relatives: "my sister, Rosalie Worms, wife of Charles Rich, of New York City"; "my sister, Rachel Worms, wife of Marcus Rich, of New York City"; and "my brother Morris Worms." Another legatee, with no stated relationship, was "Mrs. Helen Lehrburger, wife of Lehman Lehrberger [sic]."¹⁶³ Executor Clarence W. Huber's petition, filed 7 October 1914 to probate Henry's estate, identified three deceased legatees—Mrs. Helen Lehrburger, Rachel Worms Rich, and Morris Worms. It stated the only surviving heirs were Rosalie A. Rich, a sister; Simon L. Lehrburger, a nephew; and Ella Lehrburger, Frances Taussig, Pauline Huchberger, and Pauline Levison, nieces.¹⁶⁴

161. Henry Worms obituary, *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, 12 September 1914, page 17, col. 7. Also, Henry Worms obituary, *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, 12 September 1914, page 8, col. 7. Morris, the oldest Worms son, appears to have died between 13 September 1879 and 4 June 1880. For his last mention, see "Wormyfuge: Peculiar Business Transaction of Two Michigan Clothing Merchants," *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune*, 14 December 1879, extra sheet, page 1, col. 4. Morris's wife, Lorette, was a widow in 1880. See 1880 U.S. census, Kent Co., Mich., pop. sch., Grand Rapids City, ED 140, p. 15, dwell. 137, fam. 163, Lorette Worms; NARA microfilm T9, roll 588. Julius, the youngest Worms son, died 10 December 1907 in Rochester. See *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, 11 December 1907, page 15, col. 3.

162. "Objections to Worms Will Filed in Surrogate's Court by Relatives with \$5 Bequests," *Rochester Democrat and Chronicle*, 10 November 1914, page 16, col. 7.

163. Monroe Co., N.Y., Probate file 1914-992, Henry Worms will; Surrogate Court Clerk's Office, Rochester, N.Y.

164. *Ibid.*, petition for probate of will, 7 October 1914; Surrogate Court, Rochester. For Eleanor Lehrburger's nickname, see 1880 U.S. census, New York Co., N.Y., pop. sch., New York City, ED 562, p. 33, dwell. 80, fam. 369, for Ella Lahrburger, age 19. Frances Taussig was daughter of Lehman and Elene (Emsheimer) Lehrburger. See Massachusetts Department of Public Health, Deaths, 1940, 22:379, Frances L. Lehrburger Taussig; Registry of Vital Records and Statistics, Dorchester. Frances's state-level death record, for which her son Felix Taussig served as informant, identifies her parents as Lehman Lehrburger of Germany and Ellen "Ernsheimer" of New Orleans, La. Pauline (Rich) Levison was the daughter of Marcus and Rachel (Worms) Rich. See New York City, Manhattan Borough, marriage certificate no. 6004 (27 March 1901), Levison-Rich.

Simon L. Lehrburger, Eleanor “Ella” Lehrburger, Frances (Lehrburger) Taussig, and Pauline (Lehrburger) Huchberger, were children of Lehman Lehrburger and Elene “Ellen” Emsheimer.¹⁶⁵ If Henry was the Lehrburger children’s uncle, he was brother to one of their parents. Elene, daughter of Pauline Ries, is the logical candidate. Henry Worms and Elene (Emsheimer) Lehrburger were half siblings. Therefore, their mothers, Pauline Ries, wife of John Worms, and Pauline Ries, wife of Elias Emsheimer, were one person.

CONCLUSION

Direct evidence fails to identify parents, husbands, and children of Polin Ries who arrived in New Orleans in 1835. Evidence from six states and three countries demonstrate that records pertaining to Polin Ries; Sibille Ries of Obernai, France; Pauline (Ris) Emsheimer of New Orleans, Louisiana; and Pauline (Ries) Worms of New Orleans, Natchez, Mississippi, and Waterloo and Rochester, New York, are chronologically and geographically consistent with a single merged identity:

- Pauline Ries was born 3 July 1812, in Obernai, Bas-Rhin, France, daughter of Moses and Eléonore “Ellen” (Salomon) Ries.
- She married (1) about 1836–37, probably in New Orleans, Louisiana, Elias Emsheimer.
- She gave birth, about 30 August or 25 September 1837, in New Orleans, to Elene “Ellen” Emsheimer.
- Pauline married (2) about 1838–40, in New Orleans, John Worms.
- She gave birth, about 1840–41, in New Orleans, to Morris Worms.
- She gave birth, 1843–52, in Natchez, Mississippi, to six more children—Rosalie “Rosa” Worms, Henry Worms, Julius Worms, Rachel Worms, an unnamed stillborn child, and Theresa Worms.
- She died 28 April 1867, apparently in Rochester, New York.

165. Mass. Department of Public Health, Deaths, 1925, 8:405, Simon L. Lehrburger; 1939, 16:104, Eleanor Lehrburger; and 1940, 22:379, Frances Lehrburger Taussig. Also, New York City, Manhattan Borough, marriage certificate no. 6691 (26 April 1898), Huchberger-Lehrburger. Pauline later anglicized her married surname to Hutchins. See New York City, Manhattan Borough, death certificate no. 156-49-120417 (27 September 1949), Pauline Lehrburger Hutchins; New York City Department of Health and Mental Hygiene, Office of Vital Records.

Nathan W. Dowd of Ohio: Whose Child Was He?

By Linda Dowd Vivian

No source says Nathan W. Dowd was the son of William and Martha D. Dowd and brother to Alexander, David, Ichabod, and William E., but a combination of documents with no contradictions supports this conclusion.

Nathan W. Dowd was born 19 December 1833 in Athens County, Ohio. He reportedly “emigrated to Iowa when a young man and married Miss Laura Mathena, in which state they lived until 1886, when, with his wife and children, he moved to Nebraska.”¹ Despite these details’ implication of informative sources, no record names Nathan’s parents. A process of elimination leaves only one candidate for his father, but the candidate’s 1850 household, likely to include Nathan, seems absent from that year’s census.² Neither the candidate nor his widow left a will or probate file to name their children.³ A case built on indirect evidence, however, identifies five sons, including Nathan.

CANDIDATES

Athens County contained four Dowd households in 1830. Heads Charles, Conner, Owen, and William lived in Elk Township. Alexander and Jesse Dowd

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1. “Death of Mr. N. W. Dowd,” *Manatee River Journal*, Bradenton, Fla., 16 February 1906, page 8, col. 3.

2. “1850 United States Federal Census,” *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>), search for Dowd and all conceivable variants, including Dowell and Dodge, in the Midwest and nationally. The search included page-by-page readings of the 1850 U.S. censuses of Noble Co., and La Porte Co., Ind., and Henderson Co., and Mason Co., Ill.

3. Jefferson County Genealogical Society, *Jefferson County, Iowa, Probate Index*, 2 vols. (Des Moines, Iowa: Iowa Genealogical Society, 1984), vol. 1, 1839–90.

lived in adjoining Hocking County.⁴ Jesse died in 1840.⁵ Conner was father of the other men as well as Hannah, John, and another Conner.⁶

In his seventies in 1830, the senior Connor is an unlikely candidate for Nathan's father. His sons Alexander, Charles, Owen, and William were in their twenties, and Jesse was in his thirties. One of these younger men likely fathered Nathan.⁷

All but William can be eliminated as Nathan's father. The brothers lived in Athens County or nearby in 1840, when Nathan was seven. Charles, Owen, and William headed households containing a male between five and ten.⁸ Charles's son, however, apparently was Isaac F. Dowd, born about 1831, and Owen's was Alexander C. Dowd, born about 1832.⁹ Jesse's only son of comparable age was J. J. Dowd, born in 1835.¹⁰

4. 1830 U.S. census, Athens Co., Ohio, population schedule, Elk Township, p. 6, Connor, Owen, William, and Charles Dowd households; National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) microfilm publication M19, roll 126. Also, 1830 U.S. census, Hocking Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Eagle Twp., p. 375, Alexander Daud, and Salt Creek Twp., p. 379, Jesse Doud; NARA microfilm M19, roll 132.

5. Walter Stevenson, Dowd family Bible record, undated typescript; photocopy, author's files. Mr. Stevenson descends from Conner Dowd's daughter Hannah. The Bible's whereabouts are unknown. Also, "Biographical," *History of Tama Co., Iowa*, 1883 (Springfield: Union, 1883), 1029.

6. *Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files*, microfilm publication M804, 2,670 rolls (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1974), roll 844, alphabetically arranged, for Conner Dowd, no. W3664, containing "Declaration of Hannah Dowd[,] Widow of Conner Dowd," 15 September 1851; digital image, *Fold3.com* (<http://www.fold3.com/image/#24619217886>), pp. 72-75. Hannah named her children and gave their ages.

7. 1830 U.S. census, Athens Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Elk Twp., p. 6, Conner, Owen, William, and Charles Dowd households. Also, 1830 U.S. census, Hocking Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Eagle Twp., p. 375, Alexander Doud; NARA microfilm M19, roll 132.

8. 1840 U.S. census, Athens Co., Ohio, pop. sch., Brown Twp., p. 388, Wm., Owen, Conner, and John Dowd households; NARA microfilm M704, roll 377. Also, *ibid.*, Elk Twp., p. 391, Chas. Dowd household. Also, *ibid.*, Ross Co., Eagle Twp., p. 365, Alexander Dowd household.

9. 1850 U.S. census, Vinton Co., Ohio, pop. sch., McArthurstown, Dist. 148, p. 234, dwelling 17, family 206, Alexander C. Dowd; NARA microfilm M432, roll 736. Also, *ibid.*, Elk Twp., p. 221v, dwell./fam. 46, Charles Dowd household. In 1850 Vinton County was formed from several counties, including Athens County. See "An Act to Erect the County of Vinton," *Acts of a Local Nature Passed by the Forty-Eighth General Assembly of the State of Ohio*, vol. 48 (Columbus: State of Ohio, 1850), 684-86.

10. "Biographical," *History of Tama Co., Iowa*, 1029.

WILLIAM'S FAMILY

William married Martha Woodard in Athens County on 26 July 1826.¹¹ By 1845 they were living in Noble County, Indiana.¹² About 1851 they settled in Iowa.¹³ In 1852 William lived in Wapello County, Iowa. His household comprised six males and one female, suggesting he and Martha had five sons.¹⁴ Evidence reveals their names:

- In 1856 W. E. Dowd, twenty, Alex Dowd, thirteen, and David Dowd, eleven, lived in William and Martha's household in Henry County, adjacent to Wapello.¹⁵ Other sources specify that William was David's father and that William and Martha (Woodard) Dowd were Alexander's parents.¹⁶
- Nathan Dowd married Laura P. Mathena in Wapello County on 3 April 1856.¹⁷ Her parents likely were Nathaniel and Mary Mathena of Athens County, Ohio, in 1850.¹⁸ In Wapello County in 1856 Nathan, like William, had lived in Iowa for five years.¹⁹ Nathan apparently was named for Martha's brother Nathan B. Woodard.²⁰

11. Deposition of Claimant, 29 June 1867, Martha Dowd, widow's pension application no. 156,733, certificate no. 114,209; service of William Dowd (Pvt., Co. H, 37th Iowa Inf.); Case Files of Approved Pension Applications . . . , 1861–1934; Civil War and Later Pension Files; Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, Record Group (RG) 15, NA–Washington.

12. David Dowd (Pvt., Co. B, 14th Iowa Inf., Civil War) pension application no. 610,233, certificate no. 422,227, Civil War, RG 15, NA–Washington. A return to the Commissioner of Pensions, dated 11 April 1907, reports David was born in Noble County, Indiana, and a wrapper titled "Act of May 11, 1912" gives his birth date as 10 February 1845.

13. 1856 Iowa census, Henry Co., Iowa, pop. sch., Center Twp., p. 8, dwell. 29, fam. 30, William Dowd household; State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines; digital image, "Iowa State Census Collection, 1836–1925," *Ancestry.com*.

14. 1852 Iowa census, Wapello Co., Columbia Twp., p. 10, Wm. Dowd household; State Historical Society of Iowa; digital image, "Iowa State Census Collection, 1836–1925," *Ancestry.com*.

15. 1856 Iowa census, Henry Co., Iowa, pop. sch., Center Twp., p. 8, dwell. 29, fam. 30, William Dowd household.

16. William Dowd, "Consent in Case of Minor," 16 October 1862; papers for David Dowd (Co. B, 14th Iowa Vol. Inf.); Civil War Volunteer Enlistments 1862–1865; Records of Iowa Adjutant General, RG 101; State Historical Society of Iowa, Des Moines. Also, Nebraska, Certificate of Death no. 7732, Alexander Dowd, 28 August 1922; Department of Health and Human Services, Lincoln, Neb.

17. Wapello Co., Iowa, Marriage Records B:121, Dowd-Mathena, 3 April 1856; District Court, Ottumwa; FHL microfilm 979,586, item 2.

18. 1850 U.S. census, Athens Co., Ohio, pop. sch., York Twp., Dist. 186, p. 219v, dwell. 682, fam. 695, Nathaniel "Matheny" household; NARA microfilm roll M432, roll 660.

19. 1856 Iowa census, Wapello Co., Cass Twp., p. 721, dwell. 5, Nathan Dowd household; digital image, "Iowa State Census Collection," *Ancestry.com*.

20. Robert E. Redd and Clara Mae Redd, "Starr Township" in *History of Hocking Valley, Ohio* (Chicago: Inter-State, 1883), 1068–70.

- Ichabod Dowd was born in Hocking County, Ohio, in 1833–34.²¹ He had the same first name as Martha's father and brother.²²
- In 1860 only David remained with William and Martha, still in Henry County.²³ Nathan and Laura were in Oskaloosa, Kansas Territory, with Alexander, seventeen, in their household.²⁴

Nearly all the males in William and Martha's family served in the Civil War. William and his son David served in Iowa units.²⁵ In 1862, in Henderson County, Illinois, Alexander and William E. enlisted in the 10th Illinois Infantry.²⁶ Ichabod, who served from Mason County, Illinois, in the 38th Illinois Infantry, died from disease at Andersonville Prison in 1864.²⁷ Nathan, back in Wapello County in 1863, appears on a Civil War draft record, but he apparently did not serve.²⁸

FURTHER ASSOCIATIONS

William Dowd died in Jefferson County, Iowa, on 22 November 1865.²⁹ Martha went back to Hocking County for a few years and returned to Iowa in 1869 "to live near her children."³⁰ In the 1860s through the 1880s Martha

21. Compiled military service record, Ichabod W. Dowd, Pvt. Co. G, 38 Ill. Inf.; Carded Records, Volunteer Organizations, Civil War; Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780s–1917, RG 94, NA–Washington.

22. Deposition of Claimant, 29 June 1867, Martha Dowd, widow's application no. 156,733, Civil War, RG 15, NA–Washington. Woodard relatives witnessed Martha's Ohio affidavits. For her father and brothers, Ichabod Woodard Sr., Ichabod Woodard, and Nathan B. Woodard, see Redd and Redd, "Starr Township" in *History of Hocking Valley, Ohio*, 1068–70.

23. 1860 U.S. census, Henry Co., Iowa, pop. sch., Mount Pleasant, p. 83, dwell. 657/379, fam. 585/557, Wm. Dowd; NARA microfilm M653, roll 324.

24. 1860 U.S. census, Jefferson Co., Kansas Territory, pop. sch., Oskaloosa Twp., p. 58, dwell. 379, fam. 394, Nathan Dowd; NARA microfilm M653, roll 349.

25. Compiled military service record, William Dowd, Pvt., Co. H, 37 Iowa Inf., Army of the United States, Certificate of Disability for Discharge, 5 October 1864. Also, David Dowd Civil War pension application no. 610,233, RG 15, NA–Washington.

26. Compiled military service records, Alexander Dowd and William E. Dowd, Pvt., Co. E, 10th Ill. Inf.; Civil War, RG 94, NA–Washington.

27. *Ibid.*, Ichabod W. Dowd, Pvt. Co. G, 38 Ill. Inf.

28. Consolidated List: Class 1; Fourth District; Iowa, p. 166; digital image, "U.S., Civil War Draft Registrations Records, 1863–1865," *Ancestry.com*; citing Consolidated Lists of Civil War Draft Registrations, 1863–1865, NM-65, entry 172, 620 vols.; Records of the Provost Marshal General's Bureau (Civil War), RG 110, NA–Washington.

29. Deposition of Daniel Stout, 30 March 1868; Martha D. Dowd, widow's pension application no. 156,733, Civil War, RG 15, NA–Washington. Also, Mt. Zion Cemetery (south of Fairfield, Jefferson Co., Iowa on 239th Street, Section 8, Twp. 71N, Range 8W), William Dowd marker; digital image, Catharine Howard, "William Dowd," memorial 14,542,254, *Find a Grave* (<http://www.findagrave.com>).

30. Deposition of Claimant, 23 August 1869, Martha D. Dowd, widow's pension application no. 156,733, Civil War, RG 15, NA–Washington.

and Alexander, David, Nathan, and William E. Dowd interacted in Jefferson County or nearby:

- On 14 August 1869 William E. sold Nathan and Alexander land. Martha and Nathan finalized an agreement concerning the land, which Alexander and Nathan's wife, Laura, witnessed.³¹
- On 23 August 1869 Nathan witnessed Martha's affidavit to transfer her Civil War widow's pension from Ohio to Iowa.³²
- In 1870 Martha, sixty-nine, and Alexander, twenty-seven, resided together.³³ Nathan lived in the same township.³⁴
- In 1871 Martha bought land from Alexander and sold it back to him.³⁵
- In 1873 Martha sold land to David.³⁶
- In 1880 and 1885 Martha lived in David's household.³⁷ Nathan lived in adjoining Wapello County.³⁸

ON THE MOVE AGAIN

Martha died around February 1886.³⁹ Her children settled in three states:

- Nathan moved to Nebraska in 1886, the year Martha died.⁴⁰ In 1900 he lived in Conley, Holt County, Nebraska.⁴¹ Laura died there on 20 December 1902.⁴² The next year Nathan purchased property in Manatee County,

31. Jefferson Co., Iowa, Deeds 10:29–30, Dowd to Dowd, 14 August 1869; Recorder, Fairfield, Iowa; FHL microfilm 966,211.

32. Deposition of Claimant, 23 August 1869, Martha D. Dowd, widow's pension application no. 156,733, Civil War, RG 15, NA–Washington.

33. 1870 U.S. census, Jefferson Co., Iowa, pop. sch., Round Prairie Twp., p. 20, dwell. 155, fam. 155, Martha Dowd; NARA microfilm M593, roll 399.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 23, dwell. 181, fam. 176, Nathan Dowd.

35. Jefferson Co., Deeds 16:353–54, Dowd to Dowd, 7 October 1871; FHL microfilm 966,214.

36. Jefferson Co., Deeds 16:553, Dowd to Dowd, 11 August 1873.

37. 1880 U.S. census, Jefferson Co., Iowa, pop. sch., Buchanan Twp., enumeration district (ED) 79, p. 1, dwell./fam. 8, David L. Dowd; NARA microfilm T9, roll 347. Also, 1885 Iowa census, Jefferson Co., Fairfield, p. 267, dwell. 13, fam. 12, David "Daud" household; digital image, "Iowa State Census Collection, 1836–1925," *Ancestry.com*.

38. 1880 U.S. census, Wapello Co., Iowa, pop. sch., Adams Twp., ED 68, p. 14, dwell. 84, fam. 85, N. W. Dowd household; NARA microfilm T9, roll 368.

39. Martha D. Dowd, widow's pension application no. 156,733, Civil War, RG 15, NA–Washington. An untitled wrapper contains the file's last entry: "Feby-18-86, Wilson & Hinkle, now receiving all entitled to O. H. R."

40. "Death of Mr. N.W. Dowd," *Manatee River Journal*, 16 February 1906, page 8, col. 3.

41. 1900 U.S. census, Holt Co., Neb., pop. sch., Conley Twp., ED 112, sheet 8B, dwell./fam. 138, Nathan W. Dowd; NARA microfilm T623, roll 930.

42. Chambers Cemetery (Chambers, Neb.), Laura Dowd marker; digital image, Catharine Howard, "Laura P. Mathena Dowd," memorial 59,011,463, *Find a Grave*.

Florida, where he died on 9 February 1906.⁴³ His son James administered the estate.⁴⁴

- David also relocated to Nebraska.⁴⁵ He died in Milford, Nebraska, in 1916.⁴⁶
- Alexander settled in Nebraska by 1910.⁴⁷ He died in 1922, also in Milford.⁴⁸
- William E. remained in Iowa.⁴⁹ He died in Jefferson County in May 1906.⁵⁰

CONCLUSION

Nathan Dowd was son of William and Martha (Woodard) Dowd and brother to Alexander, David, Ichabod, and William E. Dowd. Their associations over their lifetimes support this conclusion, and no known evidence contradicts it.

43. Manatee Co., Fla., Deed Record 87:694, Robinson to Dowd, 18 November 1903; Historical Records Library of Manatee County, Bradenton, Fla. Also, Fogartyville Cemetery (Bradenton, Fla.), Nathan W. Dowd marker; digital image, Catharine Howard, "Nathan W. Dowd," memorial 25,705,232, *Find a Grave*. Florida has no record of Nathan's death in Manatee County in 1906. See Florida Office of Vital Statistics to author, certificate of no record found, 21 November 2006; author's files.

44. Manatee Co., probate case file, Nathan W. Dowd, 1906; Historical Records Library, Bradenton.

45. 1900 U.S. census, Lancaster Co., Neb., pop. sch., Lincoln City, Ward 6, ED 6, sheet 3B, 2383 O St., dwell. 67, fam. 80, David Dowd; NARA microfilm T623, roll 933.

46. David Dowd Civil War pension application no. 610,233, RG 15, NA-Washington.

47. 1910 U.S. census, Webster Co., Neb., pop. sch., Glenwood Twp., ED 187, sheet 12A, dwell. 227, fam. 230, Alexander Dowd; NARA microfilm T624, roll 856.

48. Nebraska, Certificate of Death no. 7732, Alexander Dowd, 28 August 1922.

49. 1900 U.S. census, Wapello Co., Iowa, pop. sch., Richland Twp., ED 137, sheet 4A, dwell. 85, fam. 86, William E. Dowd; NARA microfilm T623, roll 463.

50. "Died After Brief Illness," *Fairfield Ledger*, Fairfield, Iowa, 2 May 1906, page 6, col. 4. Also, *Jefferson County Republican*, Fairfield, 4 May 1906, page 1, col. 3.

May They Rest in Peace, Separately

John Nicholls of Treviso in the County of Cornwall, Esquire, in his 9 April 1712 will, goes on to say:

my body I commit to a decent but as private a buriall as conveniently may be in hopes it may so happen that I may be interred in the Grave of my fathers in the Parish Church of St. Maddern in the said County of Cornwall where, or in whatever church or place, I shall bee buried in I desire my wife may not be interred after me That soe after a Toylesome and discontented Life I may rest in peace and quiett till the blessed and joyfull day of my Resurrection.

[John Nicholls will, dated 9 April 1712, proved 4 January 1714; reference PROB 11:544, The National Archives, Kew, Surrey, U.K.]

—Contributed by Ronald Ames Hill, Ph.D., CG, FASG

Using Indirect Evidence to Find In-Laws for Conrad Peters of Monroe County, New York

By Nancy A. Peters, CG

*Without a marriage record there are other ways
to prove a woman's maiden name. When her
given name seems to change, too, the solution
becomes more complex.*

Building a case from indirect evidence may require a wide range of sources and an understanding of cultural context. Determining a wife's parentage without a marriage record requires thoroughly studying the woman, her husband, and their associates. These techniques helped identify Conrad Peters's wife as Gertrude "Catherine" Eberle, born in the Palatinate to Christopher Eberle and Catharina Kunz. Three obstacles complicated this identification:

- The couple's marriage record cannot be found and may not exist.
- The wife's multiple given names confused the identity.
- No Monroe County document names her parents.

CONRAD PETERS OF BADEN AND NEW YORK

Conrad Peters, born in Baden in 1825, immigrated to the United States with his parents in 1834.¹ By 1850 he lived in the Town of Chili, Monroe County,

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1. The Peters surname is also spelled Peter in European records and some American records. Conrad used both spellings. For the birth, see Katholische Kirche Sinzheim [Sinzheim Catholic Church] (Sinzheim, Baden), Kirchenbuchduplikat [duplicate church book] (1809–1869), Taufen [baptisms], p. 11, Conrad Peter (1825); Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, Karlsruhe, Baden-Württemberg, Germany; microfilm 1,055,213, item 2, Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City. Conrad was born and baptized on 22 November 1825. For his immigration, see *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1820–1897*, microfilm publication M237, 675 rolls (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1962), roll 23, arranged by arrival date, manifest, 3 July 1834, *France*, Havre to New York, for Theodore Peter party, p. 2, lines 23–26.

New York, with his apparent wife, “Catherin” Peters, and son, John Peters.² Conrad’s parents resided in the adjacent Town of Gates.³

Conrad had a son baptized on 29 June 1847 at Sts. Peter and Paul Roman Catholic Church in the City of Rochester, Monroe County. The priest recorded the child’s mother as Gertrude Eberle. Conrad presumably married Gertrude before his son’s 27 June birth because the church record makes no mention of illegitimacy.⁴ Conrad would have been twenty-one years old, suggesting a first marriage. Over the next decades he and his wife—sometimes Gertrude and sometimes a variant of Catherine—had nine children baptized in Rochester.

Unsuccessful Search for Conrad’s Marriage

Four Roman Catholic parishes served Monroe County in the 1840s: St. Joseph’s, Sts. Peter and Paul, St. Mary’s, and St. Patrick’s.⁵ Irish Catholics organized and attended St. Patrick’s and St. Mary’s.⁶ Germanic Catholics founded St. Joseph’s in 1836 and Sts. Peter and Paul in 1843, both served by German-speaking priests on Rochester’s west side.⁷ A Germanic Catholic immigrant couple in the Rochester area might have married in either church. The four churches’ surviving marriage books, however, record no Conrad Peters marriage from 1842 to 1847.⁸ Either the priest failed to record Conrad’s marriage or he married elsewhere.

2. 1850 U.S. census, Monroe Co., N.Y., population schedule, Town of Chili, p. 307r, dwelling/family 391, “Coonrad” Peters household; microfilm publication M432, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), roll 528.

3. *Ibid.*, Town of Gates, p. 257r, dwell./fam. 9, Theodore Peter and Delphine Peter. The towns of Chili and Gates were small adjacent Monroe County farming communities west and southwest of Rochester. See U.S. Works Progress Administration, Federal Writers’ Project, State of New York, *Rochester and Monroe County: A History and Guide*, American Guide Series (Rochester: Scrantom’s, 1937), 280–81. Also, Howard C. Hosmer, *Monroe County (1821–1971): The Sesqui-Centennial Account of the History of Monroe County, New York* (Rochester: Rochester Museum and Science Center, 1971), 144–45 and 162–63.

4. Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church (Rochester, N.Y.), Baptisms 1:29, Francis Joseph Peter (29 June 1847); Nazareth College, Rochester; FHL microfilm 1,432,394.

5. James L. Elwood and Dellon M. Dewey, comps., *A Directory and Gazetteer of the City of Rochester for 1844* (Rochester: Canfield and Warren, 1844), 17.

6. Gerard Muhl and Charles Bennett, “St. Mary’s Church,” *Rochester History* 44 (October 1982): 2–5.

7. Blake McKelvey, “The Germans of Rochester: Their Traditions and Contributions,” *Rochester History* 24 (January 1958): 3. Also, Vincent A. Lenti, “St. Joseph’s Roman Catholic Church: One Hundred Twenty-Eight Years on Franklin Street,” *Rochester History* 63 (Summer 2001): 7–8.

8. St. Joseph’s Catholic Church (Rochester), Marriages 1 (1836–1850); FHL microfilm 1,432,393. Also, Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church, Marriages 1 (1843–1854); FHL microfilm 1,432,395, item 7. Also, St. Mary’s Catholic Church (Rochester), Marriages 1 (1843–1898); FHL microfilm 1,420,498, item 4. St. Patrick’s marriage book for these years appears not to survive. The records were not among the Diocese of Rochester parish registers at Nazareth College’s Wilmot Library in 1986. See St. Patrick’s Catholic Church (Rochester), parish registers of marriages, baptisms, and confirmations; FHL microfilm 1,420,497, items 6–16.

New York state vital records outside New York City begin in 1881, too late to contain Conrad's marriage or identify his wife's parents.⁹ Monroe County maintains birth and death records from 1880.¹⁰ Rochester has marriage records starting in 1876.¹¹

Gertrude aka Catherine

Between 1847 and 1892 Conrad's wife used Gertrude and Catherine as her given name. In church records she was always Gertrude from 1847 until 1861, in which last year her name was recorded as "Cath."¹² She was Gertrude again in 1865, but was Cath. or Catharina three times in a row until 1877 where she was again Gertrude.¹³ A few months later, she was Catharina, and remained Cath. or Catherine in church records until her last appearance there in 1892.¹⁴ Such name usage is consistent with a Germanic custom of two given names: a baptismal, saint's name and a "call name."¹⁵ *Gertrude*, used in sacramental registers, likely was the saint's name and forename of her baptismal sponsor.

9. New York State, Department of Health, "Birth, Death, Marriage and Divorce Records," *New York State Department of Health* (http://www.health.state.ny.us/vital_records/ : accessed 25 June 2010).

10. Monroe County, "Vital Records," *MonroeCounty.gov* (<http://www.monroecounty.gov/health-VitalRecords.php> : accessed 29 May 2010).

11. City of Rochester, "Historic Marriage Records Research," *City of Rochester* (<http://www.cityofrochester.gov/app.aspx?id=8589936475> : accessed 29 May 2010).

12. Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church (Rochester, N.Y.), Baptisms 1:29, Francis Joseph Peter (29 June 1847). Also, 1:68, Francis Joseph Peter (23 February 1851); 1:100, George Peter (17 June 1853); 2:43, Anna Mary Peter (16 September 1855); 3:7, Mary Josephine Peter (28 November 1858); 3:54, Balbina Peter (21 July 1861). In the first five she is Gertrude. In the last she is "Cath."

13. Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church (Rochester, N.Y.), Baptisms 4:12, Joseph Peter (19 February 1865); 4:52, Eliz. Barbara Peter (27 April 1868). Also, Holy Family Catholic Church (Rochester, New York), Baptisms 1:52, Pancratius Peter (24 July 1870); Deaths Book (1864–1936), p. 62, Elizabeth Peter (15 November 1875); FHL microfilm 1,432,393. Also, Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church, Marriages Book 3, 1877, no. 5 (chronologically arranged, n.p.), Hauck-Peter (8 February 1877); FHL microfilm 1,432,395, item 9. The bride's mother was Gertrude. No civil record of this marriage was found in Rochester.

14. Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church (Rochester, N.Y.), Marriages 3, 1877, no. 8, Stuvenhaver-Peter (11 May 1877). No civil record was found in Rochester for this couple. Also, Holy Family Catholic Church, Marriages, 1864–1942, p. 114, no. 6, Londo-Peters; FHL microfilm 1,432,393. Also, Holy Family Catholic Church, Death Book, 1864–1936, p. 182, line 5, Catherine Peters (23 January 1890). Also, Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church (Rochester, N.Y.), Marriages 3, 1892, no. 34, Peters-Striegel.

15. Arta F. Johnson, *The Origins, Development, and Meanings of German Names* (Columbus, Ohio: privately printed, 1984), 18–20. Also, Edward R. Brandt et al., *Germanic Genealogy: A Guide to Worldwide Sources and Migration Patterns*, 3rd ed. (St. Paul, Minn.: Germanic Genealogy Society, 2007), 48–49.

In civil records, only once, in 1865, was she called Gertrude.¹⁶ All other civil records of Conrad Peters's wife give her name as Catherine, Cath., or Kate.¹⁷ *Catherine* was the name she used in the community. Cultural context and chronology support a conclusion that Conrad's wife's name varied with the recorder. As she got older she more consistently was known as *Catherine*.

Table 1 compares census details. Except for the 1870 birthplace, they appear consistent for one woman. Conrad was born in Baden near the Württemberg border.¹⁸ The enumerator may have copied the birthplace from Conrad's entry or misunderstood the informant.

Reported ages support Conrad's having one wife born between 1825 and 1827.¹⁹ Her baptismal name was possibly *Gertrude* and her call name or second name, *Catherine*. *Eberle* was probably her maiden name rather than a prior husband's because when her first known child was born in 1847 she was twenty-two or younger, a reasonable age for a first marriage.

16. 1865 N.Y. census, Monroe Co., Rochester, ward 11, part 2, p. 21, dwell. 131, fam. 148, Conrad Peter household; FHL microfilm 833,775.

17. 1850 U.S. census, Monroe Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Town of Chili, p. 307, dwelling 391, family 391, "Coonrad" Peters household. Also, 1855 N.Y. census, Monroe Co., pop. sch., Town of Gates, unpaginated, dwell. 15, fam. 20, "Peter Conrad" household; FHL microfilm 833,737. Also, 1860 U.S. census, Monroe Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Town of Gates, p. 155, dwell./fam. 1220, Conrad Peters household; NARA microfilm M653, roll 785. Also, 1870 U.S. census, Monroe Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Town of Gates (North Chili post office), p. 14, dwell. 108, fam. 107, Conrad Peter household; NARA microfilm M593, roll 971. Also, 1875 N.Y. census, Monroe Co., pop. sch., Town of Gates, p. 23, dwell. 182, fam. 192, Conrad Peters household; FHL microfilm 833,781. Also, 1880 U.S. census, Monroe Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Town of Gates, enumeration district (ED) 46, p. 22, [dwell./fam. nos. not given], Conrad Peters household; NARA microfilm T9, roll 861. Also, Monroe County, N.Y., Deed Book 391:474, John H. Martindale estate to Conrad and Catherine Peters; County Clerk's Office, Rochester. Also, Rochester, N.Y., Municipal Archives, marriage, Londo-Hauck, 26 April 1887, roll no. 1, p. 264; database, search terms=Peter Londo, 1876-1907, "Historic Marriage Records Research," *City of Rochester [NY]* (<http://www.cityofrochester.gov/app.aspx?id=8589936475> : accessed 30 May 2010). Also, Rochester, New York, Municipal Archives, marriage, Peters-Reinfeld, 10 August 1877, roll no. 1, p. 278; database, search terms=Jas Peters, 1876-1907, "Historic Marriage Records Research," *City of Rochester [NY]* (<http://www.cityofrochester.gov/app.aspx?id=8589936475> : accessed 30 May 2010). No church marriage for this couple was found. Also, Monroe Co., N.Y., Deed Book 438:437, Conrad and Catherine Peters to George Wick. Also, Monroe Co., N.Y., "A Verified Transcript from the Register of Death," Cath. Peters, 23 January 1890 [no register number]; Monroe County Department of Health, Office of Vital Records, Rochester; copy in author's files. Also, Monroe Co., N.Y., Letters of Administration 9:608, estate of Kate Peters; Surrogate's Court Clerk's Office, Rochester; FHL microfilm 1,004,148. Also, Rochester, New York, Municipal Archives, marriage, Peters-Striegel, 25 October 1892, roll no. 2, p. 43; database, search terms=Bernard Peters, 1876-1907, "Historic Marriage Records Research," *City of Rochester [NY]* (<http://www.cityofrochester.gov/app.aspx?id=8589936475> : accessed 30 May 2010).

18. Katholische Kirche Sinzheim, Taufen (1825), Conrad Peter.

19. In 1850 she is twenty-three. In 1855 she is twenty-nine. In 1860 she is thirty-four. In 1865 she is thirty-nine. In 1870 she is forty-four. In 1875 she is forty-eight. In 1880 she is fifty-four.

Table 1
Census Data for Catherine Peters in Household of Conrad Peters

CENSUS YEAR	AGE	BIRTH YEAR	BIRTHPLACE
1850 ^a	23	1826–27	Germany
1855 ^b	29	1825–26	Germany
1860 ^c	34	1825–26	Biar [Bayem] ^h
1865 ^d	39	1825–26	Bavaria
1870 ^e	44	1825–26	Wurtemberg [sic]
1875 ^f	48	1826–27	Germany
1880 ^g	54	1825–26	Germany

a. 1850 U.S. census, Monroe Co., N.Y., population schedule, Town of Chili, p. 307r, dwelling/family 391, “Coonrad” Peters household; microfilm publication M432, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), roll 528.

b. 1855 N.Y. census, Monroe Co., pop. sch., Town of Gates, unpaginated, dwell. 15, fam. 20, “Peter Conrad” household; microfilm 833,737, Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City, Utah. Here Catherine is called his wife.

c. 1860 U.S. census, Monroe Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Town of Gates, p. 155, dwell./fam. 1220, Conrad Peters household; NARA microfilm M653, roll 785.

d. 1865 N.Y. census, Monroe Co., Rochester, ward 11, part 2, p. 21, dwell. 131, fam. 148, Conrad Peter household; FHL microfilm 833,775. Here Gertrude is called his wife.

e. 1870 U.S. census, Monroe Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Town of Gates (North Chili post office), p. 14, dwell. 108, fam. 107, Conrad Peter household; NARA microfilm M593, roll 971.

f. 1875 N.Y. census, Monroe Co., pop. sch., Town of Gates, p. 23, dwell. 182, fam. 192, Conrad Peters household; FHL microfilm 833,781. Here Catherine is called his wife.

g. 1880 U.S. census, Monroe Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Town of Gates, enumeration district 46, p. 22, [dwell./fam. nos. not given], Conrad Peters household; NARA microfilm T9, roll 861. Here she is called his wife.

h. The German place name Bayern (Bavaria) was often phonetically spelled as “Bairn,” “Beirn,” “Byron,” and “Biren” in the United States. On other census pages for the Town of Gates, the same enumerator recorded “Biran” and “Biren” as birthplaces. See Roger P. Minert, *Spelling Variations in German Names: Solving Family History Problems Through Applications of German and English Phonetics* (Provo, Utah: GRT Publications, 2000), 37.

GEORGE EBERLE

On 8 August 1862 in Rochester Conrad Peters and George Eberle were mustered into Company I of the 108th Infantry New York State Volunteers. George was nineteen years old and Conrad thirty-seven.²⁰ George, son of Christopher Eberle and Catherina Kunz, was born 25 March 1843 and baptized

20. Compiled service record, George Eberle, Pvt., Co. I, 108 N.Y. Inf.; Carded Records, Volunteer Organizations, Civil War; Records of the Adjutant General’s Office, 1780s–1917, Record Group (RG) 94; NA–Washington. Also, Compiled service record, Conrad Peter, Pvt., Co. I, 108 N.Y. Inf., Civil War, RG 94, NA–Washington.

in St. Joseph's Catholic Church in Rochester.²¹ After 1852, when his mother died, George lived with his father in Gates.²²

The company, raised by Captain William Graebe, comprised primarily German-speaking immigrants from the Rochester area.²³ The unit engaged in some of the war's heaviest fighting. About one-third of the regiment perished in the Battle of Gettysburg.²⁴ George served as an orderly in the battle's aftermath, likely carrying the dead and wounded from the battlefield.²⁵

On 15 May 1864 at Guinea Station, Virginia, Confederates captured George, transferred him to Richmond, and imprisoned him at Andersonville in Georgia.²⁶ For a few months, George endured privations and the scorching Georgia summer. On 6 September 1864 he was admitted to the hospital with "scorbutus" (scurvy), a condition caused by malnutrition.²⁷ He died on 21 October 1864.²⁸

On 31 May 1865 Catherine Peters, presumably Conrad's wife, and others filed a monetary claim based on the death from service-related causes of George

21. St. Joseph's Catholic Church, Baptisms 1:143, George Eberle (1843); FHL microfilm 1,432,393.

22. For George's mother's death, see Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church, Deaths 2, chronologically arranged, Katharina Eberle, 2 September 1852; FHL microfilm 1,432,395, item 15. For George's residence, see 1855 N.Y. census, Monroe Co., Town of Gates, unpaginated, dwell. 397, fam. 425, Christopher Eberly household; FHL microfilm 833,737. Also, 1860 U.S. census, Monroe Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Town of Gates, p. 164, dwell./fam. 1295, Christian Everly household; NARA microfilm M653, roll 785. In 1860 "George Everly," eighteen, was enumerated with "Christian Everly."

23. New York State Adjutant General's Office, *A Record of the Commissioned Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Privates of the Regiments Which Were Organized in the State of New York and Called into the Service of the United States to Assist in Suppressing the Rebellion, Caused by the Secession of Some of the Southern States from the Union A.D. 1861, as Taken from the Muster-in Rolls on File in the Adjutant-General's Office*, 8 vols. (Albany: Comstock and Cassidy, 1864–68). For Company I, 108th Regiment, see 4:78.

24. Frederick Phisterer, comp., *New York in the War of the Rebellion 1861–1865*, 3rd ed., 6 vols. (Albany: J. R. Lyon, 1912), 1:311.

25. Extract of Special Order No. 164, 7 July 1863, from Head Quarters 3rd Division 2nd Army Corps, in compiled service record, George Eberle, Private, Co. I, 108th N.Y. Inf., Civil War, RG 94, NA–Washington. In the aftermath of Gettysburg, orderlies transported the wounded and dead or carried messages for Corps staff.

26. Compiled service record, George Eberle, Pvt., Co. I, 108 N.Y. Inf., Civil War, RG 94, NA–Washington.

27. *Selected Records of the War Department Commissary General of Prisoners Relating to Federal Prisoners of War Confined at Andersonville, GA, 1864–65*, microfilm publication M1303, 51 rolls (Washington, D.C.: NARA, 1993), roll 2, for vol. 113, Original Register of Federal Prisoners of War Admitted to the Hospital at Andersonville Prison, Ga., February 1864–April 1865, p. 231, admission no. 11271, George Eberle.

28. *Ibid.*, roll 4, for vol. 42½, Register of Deaths and Burials of Federal Prisoners of War Confined at Andersonville Prison, GA, Sept. 16, 1864–Apr. 28, 1865, p. 74, grave no. 11263, George Everly. Also, Compiled service record, George Eberle, Pvt., Co. I, 108 N.Y. Inf., Civil War, RG 94, NA–Washington.

Eberle.²⁹ The government consequently paid \$191.60 to Alfred G. Mudge on 27 February 1866.³⁰ In the 1860s Mudge was a pension agent, attorney, and judge in Rochester, with an office in the courthouse.³¹ Catherine Peters might have heard of Mudge from an article featuring him as a friend of pensioners and claimants. He helped them navigate federal rules and prepare required paperwork.³²

Catherine Peters based her claim on “An Act to authorize the Employment of Volunteers to aid in enforcing the Laws and protecting Public Property.” Section 6 provided for payment to heirs if a soldier’s death resulted from service:

That any volunteer . . . who may be wounded or otherwise disabled in the service, shall be entitled to the benefits which have been or may be conferred on persons disabled in the regular service, and the widow, if there be one, and if not, the legal heirs of such as die, or may be killed in service, in addition to all arrears of pay and allowances, shall receive the sum of one hundred dollars.³³

George never married and his parents had died by 1865.³⁴ Catherine Peters, as one of his heirs, likely was his sister.³⁵ Unfortunately, the original claim file and letters that might confirm her relationship to George are missing.³⁶

29. George Eberle, Registry of the 108th Regiment Infantry, New York Volunteers; Registers of Settled Claims, compiled 1861–1900, vol. 8, entry 443, Office of the Second Auditor; Records of the Accounting Officers of the Department of the Treasury, 1775–1978, RG 217, NA–Washington. George Eberle was erroneously recorded as serving in Co. C of the 108th Infantry. The only Eberle in the 108th regiment was George of Co. I. See National Park Service, “Search Regiments,” database, *Civil War Soldiers and Sailors System* (<http://www.itd.nps.gov/cwss/regiments.cfm> : accessed 15 November 2011), for search terms Union, New York, 108, Infantry.

30. “Records of Auditors Certificates,” vol. 10, claim no. 208859, Catherine Peters et al.; Numerical Registers of Treasury Certificates Paid, compiled 07/16/1862–08/30/1899, entry 456; RG 217, NA–Washington. The author thanks Angela McGhie for retrieving this record.

31. *Rochester Daily Union City Directory for 1861* (Rochester: Curtis, Butts, 1861), 248. Also, 1860 U.S. census, Monroe Co., N.Y., pop. sch., p. 36, dwell. 243, fam. 242, Alfred Mudge; NARA microfilm M653, roll 782. Also, 1865 New York census, Monroe Co., pop. sch., Rochester, ward 1, p. 30, dwell. 169, fam. 179, A. G. Mudge household; FHL microfilm 833,774.

32. “Military Claims,” *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, 21 July 1864, page 2, col. 4.

33. United States Congress, *U.S. Statutes at Large*, vol. 12 (Boston: Little, Brown, 1863), 268–71, “An Act to authorize the Employment of Volunteers to aid in enforcing the Laws and protecting Public Property.”

34. See Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church, Deaths 2 (1848–1879), chronologically arranged, Christopher Eberle (12 March 1863) and Katharina Eberle (2 September 1852).

35. At this time in New York the property of an intestate without living spouse, issue, or parents was inherited by full-blooded siblings. See “An Act to abolish entails, to confirm conveyances by tenants in tail, to distribute estates real of intestates, to remedy defective conveyances to joint tenants, and directing the mode of such conveyances in future,” in *Laws of the State of New York Passed at the Session of the Legislature Held in the Years 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783 and 1784, Inclusive* (Albany: Weed Parsons, 1886), 1:501–2, Sixth Session, Chapter 2.

36. DeAnne Blanton (Archivist, National Archives, Washington, D.C.) to author, e-mail, 25 May 2010; author’s files.

Table 2
Christopher Eberle Family in Germany and America

BAPTISMAL RECORDS ^a	1850 UNITED STATES CENSUS ^b
Christopher Eberle, b. 14 December 1799*	Christopher Eberte, male, b. 1797–98
Catharina Kunz, b. 12 February 1799	Catharine Eberte, female, b. 1797–98
Elisabeth Eberle, b. 23 March 1825	
Gertrude Eberle, b. 13 February 1827	[married, in Conrad Peters household]
Francis Joseph Eberle, b. 14 September 1829	[died young in Germany ^c]
Francis Eberle, b. 9 July 1832	Fransis [sic] Eberte, male, b. 1831–32
Gertrude Eberle, b. 1 August 1835	Catharine Eberte, female, b. 1834–35
Catharina Eberle, b. 11 January 1838	
George Eberle, b. 25 March 1843	George Eberte, male, b. 1842–43

*A gap in the Waldhambach baptism book exists for years 1798 to 1801, the start of the French Republic's control of civil registration in the Palatinate. Christopher stated in his naturalization papers that he was born on 14 December 1799. See text for reference. The civil record agrees. See Waldhambach, Rheinland-Pfalz [Rhineland-Palatinate], États-civil, birth of Christoph Eberle, 23 Frimaire VIII [14 December 1799]; Verbandsgemeindearchiv [community association archives], Annweiler am Trifels, Germany; copy received 11 August 2010, author's files.

a. With one exception, noted above, these birth dates are from Leimen, Waldhambach, and Rochester Catholic Church baptismal registers. See Leimen Katholische Kirche [Leimen Catholic Church] (Leimen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany), Taufregister [baptismal register], 1785–1804, p. 74, Catharina Kunz (1799); microfilm 400,489, item 1, Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City. Also, Leimen Katholische Kirche, Taufregister, 1803–1856, Elisabetha Eberle (1825), pp. 118–19; FHL microfilm 400,487, item 2. Also, Waldhambach Katholische Kirche [Waldhambach Catholic Church] (Waldhambach, Rheinland-Pfalz), Taufregister, 1735–1858; Gertrude Eberle (1827), p. 92; Francis Joseph Eberle (1829), p. 98; Francis Eberle (1832), p. 106; Gertrude Eberle (1835), p. 114; and Catharina Eberle (1838), p. 121; FHL microfilm 400,459, item 1. Also, St. Joseph Catholic Church (Rochester, N.Y.), Baptisms 1, p. 143, George Eberle (1843); FHL microfilm 1,432,393, item 30.

b. 1850 U.S. census, Monroe Co., New York, pop. sch., Town of Gates, p. 544, dwell./fam. 266, Christopher “Eberte” household; microfilm publication M432, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), roll 528.

c. Waldhambach Katholische Kirche, Sterberegister [death register], 1735–1858, p. 79, Francis Joseph Eberle (1831); FHL microfilm 400,459, item 1.

CHRISTOPHER EBERLE

George's father, Christopher Eberle, had married Catharina Kunz on 9 November 1824 at Leimen, Germany.³⁷ They had six children born in the Palatine villages of Leimen and Waldhambach. See table 2.

Christopher and Elisabeth Eberle (likely his eldest daughter) left the Palatinate and arrived in New York on 30 April 1839.³⁸ The rest of his family may have immigrated in 1841, certainly before 25 March 1843, when Christopher's son George was born in New York State.³⁹

On 4 March 1844 at Rochester Christopher declared his intention to become a citizen. On 3 March 1846 he swore he was a subject of the King of Bavaria and was born in Bavaria on 14 December 1799. He declared that he arrived in New York on 29 April 1839, a near date-match to the ship manifest.⁴⁰

Leaving no will or probate, Christopher died in Monroe County on 12 March 1863.⁴¹ He owned no land at his death, and land records do not identify his heirs. In 1852 and 1859 he bought and sold his only real estate.⁴²

The Same Couple?

Christopher Eberle and Catharina Kunz of Leimen and Waldhambach apparently headed a Monroe County family in 1850. See table 2. The family composition is consistent between the Palatinate and New York with three explainable exceptions:

37. Leimen Katholische Kirche [Leimen Catholic Church] (Leimen, Rhineland-Palatinate), Heiratsregister [marriage register], 1803–1856, p. 500, Christopher Eberle and Catharina Kunz (1824); Stadtarchiv Speyer, Speyer, Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany; FHL microfilm 400,487, item 2.

38. *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1820–1897*, microfilm publication M237, 675 rolls (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1962), roll 38, for manifest, 30 April 1839, *Silvie de Grasse*, Havre to New York, p. 3, line 20, for Christoph Eberle, and p. 1, line 42, for Elisabeth Eberle.

39. For the 1841 immigration of Francis Eberle, Gertrude Eberle's probable brother, see 1900 U.S. census, Monroe Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Rochester, ED 124, sheet 1B, dwell. 14, fam. 16, Frank Ebbel household; NARA microfilm T623, roll 1077.

40. Monroe Co., N.Y., Naturalization Petitions, 1823–1906, box 1895, Christopher Eberle; Courthouse, Rochester; FHL microfilm 980,260.

41. Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church, Deaths 2, Christopher Eberle (12 March 1863). Also, Monroe Co., Probate Index, 1821–1970, E–J; County Clerk's Office, Rochester; FHL microfilm 833,794.

42. Monroe Co., Deed Book 106:33, Childs to Eberle; FHL microfilm 825,865. Also, *ibid.*, 154:174, Eberle to Schaefer; FHL microfilm 825,890.

1. Elisabeth Eberle, born in 1825, is absent from the 1850 Christopher “Eberte” household in Gates. She may have died or was living under a married surname.
2. Catharina Eberle, born in 1838, also is missing from the 1850 household. Emigrating as a young child, she may have died en route. No death record appears in Waldhambach, Leimen, or Rochester Catholic registers.⁴³
3. Gertrude Eberle, born in 1835, corresponds to *Catharine* in the census. As *Gertrude*, she died in 1850.⁴⁴

Further Supporting Evidence for the Same Man

Christopher used a variation of the Current script taught in Germanic areas during the 1700s and 1800s.⁴⁵ His signature appears on European and American documents spanning thirty-five years. Nearly identical in letter forms, size, and slope, they support the conclusion that the man from Leimen and Waldhambach settled in Monroe County. See figure 1.

Merging Identities: Catherine Peters of Monroe County and Gertrude Eberle of Germany

Conrad Peters’s wife, Catherine alias Gertrude, fits into the Christopher Eberle family as the child Gertrude, born 13 February 1827. Catherine Peters was born between 1825 and 1827. Her birth date, birthplace, religion, and baptismal name mesh with the child born in Waldhambach. Gertrude was the forename of her baptismal sponsor in Waldhambach.⁴⁶ No evidence conflicts with a conclusion that the adult Catherine Peters was the Waldhambach child Gertrude Eberle.

43. No Eberle child’s death is recorded in the Waldhambach or Leimen Catholic Church death registers from 1838 to 1843. See Waldhambach Katholische Kirche [Waldhambach Catholic Church] (Waldhambach, Rhineland-Palatinate), Sterberegister [death register], 1735–1858; Stadtarchiv Speyer; FHL microfilm 400,459, item 1. Also, Leimen Katholische Kirche, Sterberegister, 1804–1856. No Eberle child’s death appears in Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church death book or St. Joseph’s Catholic Church death book from 1839 to June 1850. See Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church, Deaths 1 (1848–1861). Also, St. Joseph’s Catholic Church, Deaths 1 (1836–1850); FHL microfilm 1,432,394.

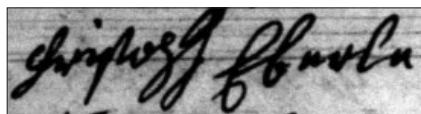
44. Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church, Deaths 1, chronologically arranged, Gertrude Eberle (26 July 1850); FHL microfilm 1,432,395.

45. Roger P. Minert, *Deciphering Handwriting in German Documents: Analyzing German, Latin, and French in Vital Records Written in Germany* (Woods Cross, Utah: GRT, 2001), 4–6.

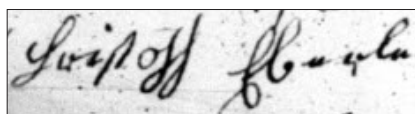
46. Waldhambach Katholische Kirche, Taufregister [baptismal register], 1735–1858, p. 92, Gertrude Eberle (1827). Gertrude Kugle[r] was the sponsor. The child’s forename was often chosen to honor the godparent. See Brandt et al., *Germanic Genealogy*, 49.

Figure 1

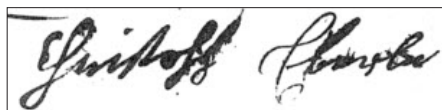
Signatures of “Christoph” Eberle of Germany and America



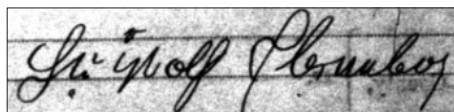
9 November 1824
Leimen, Palatinate (marriage)^a



14 September 1829
Waldhambach, Palatinate
(baptism of son)^b



3 March 1846
Rochester, New York
(oath of allegiance)^c



17 November 1859
Gates, New York (deed)^d

Note: “Christoph” is the German spelling of the male given name Christopher. See Ernest Thode, *German-English Genealogical Dictionary* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1992), 45. See also pp. xii–xiii for an alphabet of German handwriting examples.

a. Leimen Katholische Kirche [Leimen Catholic Church] (Leimen, Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany), Heiratsregister [marriage register], 1803–1856, p. 500 [p. 34 crossed out], Christopher Eberle and Catharina Kunz marriage (1824); Stadtarchiv Speyer, Germany; microfilm 400,487, item 2, Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City.

b. Waldhambach Katholische Kirche [Waldhambach Catholic Church] (Waldhambach, Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany), Taufregister [baptismal register], 1735–1858, p. 98, Francis Joseph Eberle baptism (1829); Stadtarchiv Speyer; FHL microfilm 400,459, item 1.

c. Monroe Co., N.Y., Naturalization Petitions, 1823–1906, box no. 1895, Christopher “Ebele” oath of allegiance, 3 March 1846; Courthouse, Rochester; FHL microfilm 980,260.

d. Monroe Co., Deed Book 154:174, Christopher Eberle to Christian Schaefer; County Clerk’s Office, Rochester; FHL microfilm 825,890.

CONNECTIONS AND PARALLELS

If a child died young or if a name was particularly important to a family, parents might christen a later child with the same name to ensure that special

names were carried on.⁴⁷ Christopher Eberle named two sons Francis and two daughters Gertrude. Conrad named two sons Francis Joseph.⁴⁸

Christopher's children were baptized with one name and used another call name.⁴⁹ Conrad and Catherine Peters also followed this tradition. The priest baptized Conrad's last son as "Pancratius" in 1870, but he was known as "Bernard" or "Barney."⁵⁰

From 1850 to 1860 the Christopher Eberle family lived in the Town of Gates, the same town as the Conrad Peters family, or nearby.⁵¹ Francis "Frank" Eberle, probable son of Christopher Eberle, lived within two miles of Conrad's family from 1865 onward.⁵² In 1847 Francis Joseph Eberle sponsored the baptism

47. For discussion of children in a family with the same given name, see Larry O. Jensen, *A Genealogical Handbook of German Research*, 2 vols. (Pleasant Grove, Utah: Jensen, 1983), 2:164–65. See, also, Kenneth L. Smith, *German Church Books: Beyond the Basics* (1989; reprint, Rockland, Maine: Picton, 2009), 116–25.

48. For children's births in the Christopher and Catharina (Kunz) Eberle family, see table 2. For Conrad and Catherine (Eberle) Peters's sons Francis Joseph, see Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church, Baptisms 1:29, Francis Joseph Peter (1847), and 1:68, Francis Joseph Peter (1851); FHL microfilm 1,432,394, item 22.

49. For discussion of multiple given names, see Kevan M. Hansen, *Finding Your German Ancestors: A Beginner's Guide* (Orem, Utah: Ancestry, 1999), 25.

50. For the baptism, see Holy Family Catholic Church (Rochester), Baptisms 1:52, Pancratius Peter (1870). His sponsor was Pancratius Köhler. Also, 1880 U.S. census, Monroe Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Town of Gates, ED 46, p. 21, lines 21–26 (no other numbers), "Barney" Peters in Conrad Peters household; NARA microfilm T9, roll 861. Also, Holy Family Catholic Church, Confirmations (1864–1946), 1884 Boys, p. 35, line 52, Bernard Peters; FHL microfilm 1,432,393, item 9. Also, Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church (Rochester), Marriages 3, chronologically arranged, 1892, no. 34, Bernard Peters and Catharine Striegel (25 October 1892); FHL microfilm 1,432,395, item 9.

51. 1850 U.S. census, Monroe Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Town of Gates, p. 544, dwell./fam. 266, Christopher Eberle household. Also, 1855 New York census, Monroe Co., pop. sch., Town of Gates, unpaginated, dwell. 397, fam. 425, Christopher Eberly household. Also, 1860 U.S. census, Monroe Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Town of Gates, p. 164, dwell./fam. 1295, Christian Everly household.

52. Except for 1869, Frank Eberle appears in Rochester City directories from 1867 through 1902, where his 1901 death is noted. See *The Rochester Directory* (Rochester: publishers vary), for 1867, p. 76; and 1868, p. 132. Also, *ibid.*, 20 (1869): 72, 21 (1870): 71, 22 (1871): 82, 23 (1872): 91, 24 (1873): 102, 25 (1874): 102, 26 (1875): 107, 27 (1876): 110, 28 (1877): 109, 29 (1878): 111, 30 (1879): 131, 31 (1880): 134, 32 (1881): 139, 33 (1882): 147, 34 (1883): 153, 35 (1884): 188, 36 (1885): 159, 37 (1886): 162, 38 (1887): 164, 39 (1888): 174, 40 (1889): 178, 41 (1890): 182, 42 (1891): 189, 43 (1892): 201, 44 (1893): 200, 45 (1894): 205, 46 (1895): 209, 47 (1896): 214, 48 (1897): 218, 49 (1898): 223, 50 (1899): 229, 51 (1900): 232, 52 (1901): 242, and [53] (1902): 236. For images, see "Rochester City Directories by Decade," *Monroe County Library System* (<http://www3.libraryweb.org/lh.aspx?id=1105> : accessed 16 November 2011). Also, 1865 N.Y. census, Monroe Co., pop. sch., Rochester, ward 1, part 2, p. 29, dwell. 186, fam. 214, Francis Eberle household. Also, 1870 U.S. census, Monroe Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Rochester, ward 11, pp. 16–17, dwell. 113, fam. 122, Frank "Eberley" household; NARA microfilm M593, roll 970. Also, 1880 U.S. census, Monroe Co., N.Y., pop. sch., Rochester, ED 98, p. 3, dwell. 23, fam. 28, Frank "Ebbly" household; NARA microfilm T9, roll 864.

of Francis Joseph Peters, Conrad Peters's son.⁵³ Again in 1851 Francis acted as sponsor for Conrad's second child named Francis Joseph Peters.⁵⁴

In 1853 Christopher Eberle sponsored the baptism of George Peters, son of Conrad Peters and Gertrude Eberle.⁵⁵ Christopher also was a church associate of Theodore Peters, Conrad's father.⁵⁶

CONFLICTING EVIDENCE

Waldhambach's civil registrations for 1816 to 1833 apparently were destroyed during World War II. Only a name register, containing forename, family name, and date, survives. Its one-line entry for Gertrauth Eberle, born on 14 February 1827, differs by one day from Gertrude Eberle's baptismal record and includes a notation she died the same day.⁵⁷ If Gertrude Eberle died at birth in Germany, how could she have become Conrad Peters's wife? Waldhambach's priest would have recorded that death, but he recorded only Gertrude's baptism.

Another entry in the baptismal register provides a plausible explanation. The entry following Gertrude's documents the death of John Bibus, the Waldhambach schoolmaster who died 26 February 1827 and was buried 28 February 1827.⁵⁸ Cross-referencing the unusual baptismal-register burial entry, the priest inserted a marginal comment between burial-register entries.⁵⁹ If the priest's note was made first, this record-keeping anomaly may have confused the civil registrar. Thinking the priest's notation of John Bibus's death pertained to Gertrude, he may have made an erroneous civil-record entry.

CONCLUSION

No single document from Monroe County names the parents of Conrad Peters's wife, Gertrude "Catherine" Eberle. An understanding of Germanic customs, research into her husband's associates, and evidence from a range of sources solve the mystery of her parentage. Excepting an explainable conflict, evidence agrees that Conrad's wife was daughter of Christopher Eberle and Catharina Kunz from the Palatinate.

53. Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church, Baptisms 1:29, Francis Joseph Peter (1847).

54. *Ibid.*, 1:68, Francis Joseph Peter (1851).

55. *Ibid.*, 1:100, George Peter (1853).

56. Sts. Peter and Paul Catholic Church, Deaths 2:4, account entries, Christopher Eberle, and 2:13, Theodore Peter.

57. Rolf Übel (Archivist, Verbandsgemeindearchiv [community association archives], Annweiler am Trifels, Rhineland-Palatinate, Germany) to author, e-mail, 3 August 2010; author's files. Also, Rolf Übel, interview by author, 3 August 2010 and 17 August 2010; notes in author's files.

58. Waldhambach Katholische Kirche, Taufregister, p. 92, John Bibus (1827); FHL microfilm 400,459.

59. Waldhambach Katholische Kirche, Sterberegister, p. 525, marginal note for John Bibus (1827).

An Illegal Vote for Lincoln

[George W Moody to Hon J. S. Davenport, Commissioner of Pensions, letter, 17 October 1910; George W. Moody pension application, no. 54,435, certificate no. 35,164; service of George Moody (Pvt., Co. G, 36th Ill. Inf., Civil War); Case Files of Approved Pension Applications . . . , 1861–1934; Civil War and Later Pension Files; Department of Veterans Affairs, Record Group 15; National Archives, Washington, D.C. The letter—but not the signature—is in the notary’s handwriting.]

Sir

I beg respectfully to say that I am unable to furnish any record of my birth for the reason that I dont know where to inquire if any such existed

My mother died as I have been informed when I was 6 months old, my father when I was about 12 months.

I was brought [up] by my unkle by marriage Joseph Thomas and my Aunt, his wife Sarah Thomas on a farm about 5 miles from Morris, Grundy Co. Ill.— I cannot remember the name of the township unless it was Mazon or Mazon Creek

The only knowledge I have of date of my birth was derived From my unkle who told me I was born on July 3, 1840.

At the Presidential election of November 1860 I voted for Abraham Lincoln my unkle vouching for me — I afterwards discovered That I lacked 8 months of being of age.

I resided on the farm of my Uncle Joseph Thomas as above Stated Continuously from the time I was taken there as a child until my Enlistment in the 3 mos Service — Co F. 11h Ill Inftry in April 1861

I am Sir very respectfully

[signed] George W Moody

Co G 36h Ill. Inftry — Cert No. 35164

[on back]

State of Wisconsin

County of Milwaukee

Sworn to and Subscribed before me this 17h day of October 1910.

MORyan [sic] notary public

—Contributed by the editors

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

French Spoliation Awards: Heirs of Seth Russell of New Bedford, Massachusetts

By George Ely Russell, CG, FASG, FNGS

*Generations after an undeclared war, government
distributions document sixty heirs-at-law.*

French spoliation awards resulting from a little-known, mostly naval conflict between the United States and France contain multigenerational lists of American heirs to thousands of claims.¹ The Convention of 1800 ended the Quasi-War, but only after the French navy had seized and plundered about two thousand American merchant ships.²

Payment for related American losses, described as awards, had a long and checkered history and few original claimants lived to see payment.³ In many cases, the proper distribution of funds after more than a century of delays required documentation of descendants for multiple generations.

CONGRESS FAILS TO ACT

The complicated history of French spoliation awards defies easy explanation.⁴ When several treaties or conventions, multiple appropriations, and numerous

© George Ely Russell, FASG; 5110 Garland Court; Ijamsville, MD 21754-9630; GeorgeERussell@msn.com. The author edited this journal from 1971 through 1986. He acknowledges the assistance of Sheldon Jenckes Howe (1887–1978) of Deerfield, Massachusetts, who brought the original heirs-at-law chart to his attention.

1. Indexes may be found in *National Archives Record Group 205, French Spoliation Awards by the Court of Claims of the United States Under the Act of January 20, 1885* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Court of Claims, 1934). Organized by case file nos., these contain claimant, vessel, and master names.

2. George A. King, "The French Spoliation Claims," *American Journal of International Law* 6 (October 1912): 831. The 1800 convention specifically referred to debts, not claims. At the time of the Louisiana Purchase, the issue was further muddied. See *ibid.*, 832–33.

3. *Ibid.*, 830–57. Adult owners in 1798 would have been generally over one hundred ten years old by 1885 when claim payments were seriously addressed.

4. *Ibid.* For discussion of the event, see also Richard Aubrey McLemore, "The French Spoliation Claims, 1816–1836: A Study in Jacksonian Diplomacy," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, Series II, 2 (1933) no. 4. Also, Edward Everett, "French Spoliation Claims," *North American Review* 140 (June 1885): 551–56. Also, Greg H. Williams, *The French Assault on American Shipping, 1793–1813: A History and Comprehensive Record of Merchant Marine Losses* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2009).

congressional addresses failed to produce claims payments, aging owners and some insurance companies needed a champion to marshal their forces.

A CHAMPION SELF-SELECTS

In 1821 James Hymen Causten, a young Baltimore shipping merchant, discovered that his father, Isaac, had underwritten thirty thousand dollars in French spoliation claims:

The younger Causten had never heard of them, and took a stagecoach to Washington in order to inquire about them. Once in the capital, he found the first published report on the claims (1802) as well as several later ones. After studying the printed documents, Causten became convinced of the essential validity of the claims. It was Causten's feeling that if the claims were presented piecemeal to Congress, they would not have the same forcefulness as if they were massed together in a group.⁵

Thus began Causten's six-decade effort to gather, organize, and present documentation for these claims culled from a "wholly disarranged mass" from one room and the dusty attic at the Department of State.⁶ To that end, Causten contacted claimants and American legislators who had heard the claims. He traveled to France and found that these records and similar ones, considered useless, were being given to "grocers, cheesemongers & as waste paper."⁷

Causten died in 1874, shortly after publishing his last edition of "A Sketch of the Claims."⁸ His pertinent papers were eventually donated to the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, absent letters containing valuable signatures of luminaries like Thomas Jefferson and John Adams.⁹

In 1885, after many lifetimes of false starts, the United States Court of Claims was authorized to settle these cases; over 5,520 petitions remained unanswered. In the next twenty years, many, but not all, claimants' heirs finally saw payment for century-old losses.¹⁰

CAUSTEN-PICKETT PAPERS

A recently revised finding aid describes the Causten-Pickett papers as thirty-three thousand items covering 1765–1916. Apparently John T. Pickett's son, Theodore, a Washington lawyer, "succeeded to Causten's interest in the claims

5. Henry Bartholomew Cox, "A Nineteenth-Century Archival Search: The History of the French Spoliation Claims Papers," *American Archivist* 33 (October 1970): 389–401, especially 391.

6. *Ibid.*, 391–92.

7. *Ibid.*, 395.

8. "Death of James H. Causten," *Evening Star*, Washington, D.C., 29 October 1874, page 4, col. 4.

9. Cox, "A Nineteenth-Century Archival Search," *American Archivist* 33 (October 1970): 397.

10. U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: various publishers, 1845–), 23:283–84. Also, King, "The French Spoliation Claims," *American Journal of International Law* 6 (October 1912) 830–57. Also, Angie Spicer Van Deredt, "Do We Have Any Records Relating to French Spoliation Claims?" *Prologue* 20 (Spring 1991): 92–97.

cases.”¹¹ The voluminous letter files, arranged alphabetically by correspondent, may be of interest to claims researchers, particularly if all original owners, their assigns, and the ship masters and vessels’ names are known. Most promising are the case files on ships covering correspondence, bills for repairs, insurance policies, captain’s protests, and bills of lading for 1789–1910.

Collections users should appreciate Causten’s organizational skills. His methods could have served as a model for early manuscript curators.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES RECORD GROUPS

Sixteen record groups contain French spoliation records. Three may contain the materials of greatest interest to genealogists:

- RG 76, Records of International Boundary and Claims Commissions and Arbitrations
- RG 123, Records of the United States Court of Claims
- RG 205, Records of the Court of Claims Section (Justice)

RG 217, Records of the Accounting Officers of the Department of the Treasury, contains individual accounts naming assignees and indicating amounts “drawn in favor of the administrator and delivered to . . . attorneys of record, after adequate bond had been given by the administrator for the legal disbursement of the awards.”¹² Individual cases may include content-rich documents in the other twelve record groups, as well.

SETH RUSSELL AND THE SHIP FOX

Seth Russell, New Bedford, Massachusetts, merchant trader, whaler, and part owner of the captured ship *Fox*, joined his sons and the ship’s other owners to petition the twelfth and twenty-third congresses for spoliation awards.¹³ As years dragged on, Charles R. Price of New Bedford, Massachusetts, representing Seth Russell [Jr.], late of New Bedford, deceased, intestate, pursued the case.¹⁴

11. Melinda K. Friend, *Causten-Pickett Papers. A Finding Aid to the Collection in the Library of Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, 2011).

12. Certificate of the Fifth Auditor on the Account of John Lowell Jr., Payment of French Spoliation Claims, 1905, box 1; Records of the Accounting Officers of the Department of the Treasury, RG 217; NA–Washington. Also, William F. Sherman, *Records of the Accounting Officers of the Department of the Treasury, Inventory 14 Revised* (Lovettsville, Va.: Willow Bend Books, 1997), 293.

13. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States, at the second session of the Twelfth Congress, in the thirty-seventh year of the independence of the United States*, 2 November 1812, p. 62. *Ibid.*, *Twenty-third Congress*, 3 March 1837, p. 10.

14. U.S. Congress, *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America* (Washington, D.C.: various publishers, 1845–), 23:283–84, “An Act of 20 January 1885,” *Ship Fox*, Coffin Whippey, master, claim no. 3080, Charles R. Price, administrator of Seth Russell, surviving partner of the firm of Seth Russell & Son, et al., v. The United States; Court of Claims, French spoliations. Also, petition of claimant, sworn by notary in Bristol Co., Mass., probate court, District of Massachusetts 1886; Records of the U.S. Court of Claims, RG 123, NA–Washington.

A claim of forty-eight hundred dollars for losses remained unrealized in the lifetimes of the elder Seth and his children.¹⁵ Representatives of Fox owners' descendants, including Charles Price, petitioned the United States Court of Claims on 6 January 1887. Despite a finding that the claim was valid, none of Seth's grandchildren lived to see a payment.¹⁶

In 1901 Russell heirs saw hope when John Randolph, assistant clerk in the Court of Claims, wrote to the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Citing the original claim and listing the original owners, Randolph described the claimants and the events leading to the court's conclusions of fact:

15. Seth Russell died testate in New Bedford, Massachusetts, 15 February 1820 "in the 87th year of his age." See notarized statement by New Bedford town clerk; case file 3080, French Spoliation Records, RG 123; NA—Washington. Also, in the same file, Deposition of a witness, 7 June 1902 at New Bedford, Mass., Charles R. Price, administrator of the estate of Seth Russell who had been an owner of the ship *Fox*. Price answered interrogatories about survivors. It was established that Seth Russell and all his children were deceased. When asked if any of the younger Seth Russell's children (grandchildren of the elder Seth) were living, Price answered, "I think not, but they left children." Also, Bristol Co., Mass., probate records, copybook 57:29–31, will of Seth Russell; Judicial Archives Storage, Worcester, Mass.

16. Ship *Fox*, Letter from the Assistant Clerk of the Court of Claims, Coffin Whippey, master, v. the United States, 14 January 1901; *Serial Set* 4155, 14 January 1901, House Document 329. Also, Deposition of a witness, 7 June 1902 at New Bedford, Mass., Charles R. Price, administrator of the estate of Seth Russell who had been an owner of the ship *Fox*; case file 3080, French Spoliation Records, RG 123. Price was asked about the children of Seth Russell's son Charles Russell and whether any were now living. Price answered, "one." By process of elimination, that one was Kezia R. Russell Price, Charles's own mother. She did not survive to see the payment, however. For the grandchildren: Seth's granddaughter Mary (Smith) Tyson died in New Bedford 23 March 1824. See "Died," *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, Mass., 31 March 1824, page 2, col. 5. Seth's granddaughter Meribah (Russell) (Keith) Tyson was certainly dead when her descendants received her share of the spoliation claim in 1904. Seth's granddaughter Anne (Russell) Anthony died in New Bedford of stomach cancer, 18 May 1888, age 71 years, 10 months. See Massachusetts Vital Records, 1888 Deaths 391:148, Anne Anthony; Commonwealth Archives, Dorchester. She requested that Charles R. Price administer her grandfather's estate. Seth's grandson the artist Benjamin Russell died 3 March 1885 at the residence of his daughter Maria, wife of Samuel C. Brown, in Warren, Rhode Island, age 81 years. See "Died," *Newport Mercury*, Newport, R.I., 7 March 1885, page 8, col. 5. Seth's grandson George Russell died 10 July 1881 in Elmwood, Ohio. See "Deaths," *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune*, 12 July 1881, page 5, col. 3. Seth's grandson Seth Russell died of cholera in Panama 18 August 1849. See *New Bedford Mercury*, 21 September 1849, page 1, col. 7. Seth's grandson John S. Russell died in New Bedford 14 February 1834, age 36 years, 10 months, 6 days. See Rural Cemetery, New Bedford, gravestone, John Summers Russell. Seth Russell's granddaughter Abby Tillinghast (Russell) Campbell died in New Bedford 29 December 1833, age 34 years, 7 months, 24 days. See Friends Cemetery, New Bedford, gravestone, Abby Tillinghast Campbell, wife of Alexander H. Campbell. Seth's granddaughter Mary (Russell) VanOlin died at Albany 17 February 1872, age 94 years, 6 months, and 11 days. See "Died," *New York Times*, 24 February 1872, page 3, col. 6. Seth's granddaughter Martha T. (Russell) Allen died in New Bedford 15 November 1845. See *Vital Records of New Bedford, Massachusetts To The Year 1850*, 3 vols. (Boston, Mass.: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1941), 3:16. Seth's youngest granddaughter, Kezia R. (Russell) Price, died testate in New Bedford 31 January 1904. See Massachusetts Vital Records, 1904 Deaths 69:140, Keziah R. Price, age 92 years, 11 months, 25 days. Also, Bristol Co., Mass., probate, case no. 20623, administrator's appointment; Judicial Archives Storage, Worcester, Mass.

The ship *Fox*, whereof Coffin Whippey was then master, sailed from New Bedford, Mass., on the 24th day of October, 1796, bound on a whaling voyage to the South Seas; that she prosecuted said voyage along the coast of Africa to the east of the Cape of Good Hope as far as Delagoa Bay, the mouth of the Mozambique Channel and southwest coast of the island of Madagascar, and from thence to the coast of Brazil, in South America, in all of which cruise she obtained a full load of whale oil, spermaceti oil, head matter, and whalebone

While peacefully pursuing her homeward voyage from the coast of Brazil the *Fox* was seized on the high seas on or about the 11th day of May, 1798, by the French privateer *L'Importune* and carried into Hasse Terre, in the island of Guadelope, and condemned as good prize by the tribunal of commerce of said island, whereby both vessel and cargo became a total loss to the owners thereof.¹⁷

The Fifty-Seventh Congress passed a bill to pay the *Fox* owners. The act identified Seth Russell's heirs-at-law and on 11 June 1902 ordered the distribution of \$7,024.62 for monetary loss of the long-forgotten *Fox*.¹⁸

Before his death in 1978 Sheldon Jenkes Howe used unnamed French spoliation sources to construct a chart, with names and precise award amounts.¹⁹ See figure 1. This chart omits individuals deceased without issue. Only heirs living at the time of distribution appear with their lineages back to Seth's children.

Barrett Beard Russell prepared and published a genealogy of early generations of the prolific Dartmouth Russell family. A cousin amended it.²⁰ Although Russell cites no sources, his sketch of Seth Russell, son of Abraham and Dinah (Allen) Russell, shows the claimant had four children, three of whom had children.²¹ This agrees with the distribution chart showing that descendants of Meribah, the younger Seth, and Charles enjoyed a portion of the award, apparently paid out in 1904.

17. "Ship *Fox*, Letter from the Assistant Clerk of the Court of Claims, Coffin Whippey, master, v. the United States, 14 January 1901; *Serial Set* 4155, 14 January 1901, House Document 329.

18. For the *Fox*, see, "An act for the allowance of certain claims for stores and supplies reported by the Court of Claims under the provisions of the Act approved March third, eighteen hundred and eighty-three, and commonly known as the Bowman Act, and for other purposes," *U.S. Statutes at Large*, 57th Congress, 1901–1903, 32:2:224.

19. Ship *Fox*, Coffin Whippey, master, claim no. 3080, Charles R. Price, administrator of Seth Russell, surviving partner of the firm of Seth Russell & Son, et al., v. The United States; Court of Claims, French spoliations, Act 20 January 1885, 23 *Stat. L.*, 283. This claim was first tried before the Court of Claims 25 February 1889. Other claimants for the ship *Fox* were included in claim nos. 149 and 2388. The file was stamped with the date 11 June 1902 and the certificate was delivered to George S. Boutwell, attorney, 27 June 1902. Some of the data in figure 1 are seen here.

20. Barrett Beard Russell, "The Descendants of John Russell of Dartmouth, Mass.," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 58 (October 1904): 364–71 and 59 (January 1905): 22–32. Also, Edward P. Russell, "Descendants of John Russell of Dartmouth, Mass.: Additions," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 79 (January 1925): 109–10.

21. Russell, "Descendants of John Russell of Dartmouth," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 59 (January 1905): 28.

Figure 1

Heirs-At-Law of Seth Russell of New Bedford, Massachusetts

CHILDREN	GRANDCHILDREN	GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN	GREAT-GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN
Meribah Russell m. Asa Smith	Mary Smith m. George Tyson	Mary Tyson m. Amos Geltner	George Geltner \$72.73 Frank Geltner \$72.73
Seth Russell m. Elizabeth Swain	Meribah Russell m. George Tyson	Caroline Brown \$130.48 Henry G. Tyson \$130.48 Elizabeth Perry \$130.48 George Tyson md.	Elizabeth Tyson \$86.99 Russell Tyson \$86.98 George Tyson \$86.98
	Anne Russell m. Caleb Anthony	Sarah Anthony Edward J. Anthony Elisha D. Anthony Annie R. Anthony	\$130.48 \$130.48 \$130.48
	Benjamin Russell m. Hannah Howland	Maria Brown estate Thomas Russell estate Louise J. Howe	\$142.60 \$142.60 \$142.61
	George Russell m. Alice Butler	Samuel Russell Charles Russell George B. Russell Alice R. Wentz	Annie Antz \$130.48 \$130.48 \$130.48 \$130.49
	Seth Russell m. Maria Haskell	Alice R. Swain Horatio Russell	\$166.85 \$166.85
	John S. Russell m. Lydia Macy	Martha Russell Mary V. Russell	\$232.73 \$232.73
	Abby Russell m. Alexander Campbell	Isabell Lay \$232.73 John R. Campbell \$232.73	Mary Whitefield \$232.73
Charles Russell m. Martha Tillinghast	Mary Russell m. Peter VanOlinda	Mary Whitefield Sarah Whitefield \$232.73	Mary C. Heath \$14.55 Sarah R. Heath \$14.55 Richard S. Heath \$14.55 Charles Heath estate \$14.55 Virginia D. Heath \$14.55 John Heath estate \$14.55 Robert E. L. Heath \$14.55 Maria C. Nowland \$14.55
	Martha Russell m. James Allen	Mary Heath Charles Allen	
	Kezia R. Russell \$465.45	Sarah B. Guigon Josephine Kinney \$116.36	Elsie Leicester \$116.36 Alex. B. Guigon Jr. \$58.18 Ellen Guigon \$58.18

CONCLUSION

Not all claimants received payment even in this untimely fashion. In his 1911 State of the Union address, President William Henry Taft disguised his impatience with the slow progress of French spoliation awards with his usual political eloquence:

In my last message, I recommended to Congress that it authorize the payment of the findings or judgments of the Court of Claims in the matter of the French spoliation cases. There has been no appropriation to pay these judgments since 1905. The findings and awards were obtained after a very bitter fight, the Government succeeding in about 75 per cent of the cases. The amount of the awards ought, as a matter of good faith on the part of the Government, to be paid.²²

Claims were still pending in 1924.²³

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- Ulibarri, George S., compiler. *Preliminary Inventory of Records Relating to International Claims* (RG 76). PI 177. Washington, D.C.: NARS, GSA, 1974.

22. "William H. Taft, "State of the Union Address," 5 December 1911; *ThisNation.com: American Government and Politics Online* (<http://www.thisnation.com/library/sotu/1911wt.html> : accessed 1 April 2011).

23. Van Deredt, "Do We Have Any Records Relating to French Spoliation Claims?" *Prologue* 20 (Spring 1991): 93.

Early Signs of Trouble — The French Won't Pay

Remark

Appearances are favorable to a successful issue to the negotiation of our Envoys at Paris—at least as far as pen, ink and paper will go.—As to indemnification for the twenty-millions of spoliation, the French never will pay them until they are forced to; and our Envoys have not power to force them.

—*Newburyport Herald*, 5 August 1800, page 3, col. 3

Agency at Washington City.

James H. Causten, (late of Baltimore,) having made this city his permanent residence, and located his dwelling and office directly opposite to the State and Treasury Departments, will undertake, with his accustomed zeal and diligence, the settlement of claims generally; and, more particularly, claims before Congress—against the United States or the several Departments thereof—and before any Board of Commissioners raised or to be raised, for the adjustment of spoliations or other claims. He has now in charge the entire class arising out of French spoliations prior to the year 1800, and many of those embraced by the treaty lately concluded with the French Government; with reference to which he has access to the archives of the Government, and has secured legal aid of undoubted qualifications. He has been so long before the public as an Agent, that it can only be necessary now to say, that economy and prompt attention shall be extended to all business confided to his care; and that, to enable him to render his services and facilities more efficacious, he has obtained a commission of Notary Public.

It is but just that, while it will be his pleasure to give instant attention to all proper communications, the postage should be paid on letters addressed to him.

—*Enquirer*, Washington D.C., 14 August 1832, page 4, col. 7

The French Spoliation Claimants

James H. Causten, the venerable agent of the French Spoliation claimants, is again before Congress, where he has during the past half century urged the payment of these just demands. During that time there have been favorable reports made upon them by forty different committees of Congress, and twice both houses have passed bills for their payment, which were vetoed by Polk and by Pierce. A bill now pending in the Senate, which was drawn by Mr. Sumner, provides for a board of commissioners to audit the claims, whose awards shall be paid by a pro rata of five millions, as full satisfaction for all claims.

—*Weekly Eastern Argus*, Portland, Maine, 21 December 1871, page 1, col. 5

The French Spoliation Claims—The Causten Papers.—Since the passage of the act of Congress transferring the French spoliation claims to the Court of Claims for adjudication there has been a looking up of documentary evidence on the part of the descendants and assignees of the original owners of those claims. A case has just been decided by the Probate Court at Washington which has an important bearing on this subject. The contention before the court was whether Mrs. Alice E. Fisher, the next of kin, should be allowed to take out letters of administration on that part of the estate of the late James H. Causten which had not been already administered upon, or whether a different administrator should be appointed. The court decided to appoint a Mr. Wagner administrator, and fixed his bond at \$200,000. The part of the estate of Mr. Causten which had not been administered upon, because the heirs believed it to be worthless, consisted of a complete record of all the vessels, their value, the owners and sufferers from French depredations at sea, and much other documentary evidence relating to the French spoliation claims. The late Mr. Causten had been actively engaged for many years in collecting this mass of documents that have now become so valuable. . . .

—*Sun* (supplement), Baltimore, Md., 13 May 1885, page 1, col. 3

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The Usefulness of School Records: Uncovering Roberta Dyer Howard's Story

By Mary L. Mall

A family's oral history, however recent and directly transmitted, may hide unknown facts. Roberta didn't lie—she just failed to reveal the whole truth. School records tell her story.

School records, where archived, constitute a valuable historical resource. They may provide more personal information than many genealogical sources. Along with attendance dates, ages, and grades, they may identify parents, siblings, and other relatives. They also may reveal guardianships, health histories, addresses, and other biographical information not available elsewhere.¹ Roberta Dyer Howard's records provide an example.

Roberta's daughter claimed that Roberta was born in Washington, D.C., on 6 July 1909 and had always lived there.² Roberta's mother, Lida Cole (Matchett) Howard, did live in Washington, and Roberta likely considered it home. Nonetheless, she grew up elsewhere.

In 1910 ten-month-old Roberta lived with her widowed mother at the Washington home of her maternal grandparents "B. J." (V. J.) and Emma V. Matchett.³ By 1920 Lida, a thirty-six-year-old widow living alone in an

© Mary L. Mall; 2379 Bear Den Road; Frederick, MD 21701; mallmary@comcast.net Mrs. Mall is a retired special educator whose grandfather inspired her interest in family history at age nine by sharing family letters and stories.

1. Kay Haviland Freilich and Ann Carter Fleming, "School Records," in *The Source: A Guidebook to American Genealogy*, 3rd ed., Loretto Dennis Szucs and Sandra Hargreaves Luebking (Provo, Utah: Ancestry, 2006), 130–33.

2. Karen Ricker (daughter of Roberta), interview by author, February 2005; notes in author's files.

3. 1910 U.S. census, District of Columbia, population schedule, Washington City, enumeration district (ED) 154, sheet 14B, 949 Rhode Island Avenue NW, dwelling 136, family 161, B. J. Matchett household; National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) microfilm T624, roll 153. Lida's father's was Viraldo John Matchett. His name is inscribed on the back of several family photos in possession of Paul and Karen Ricker of Hilton Head Island, South Carolina. Also, see Mrs. Lida Matchett Howard, SS no. 579-60-3382, 10 May 1962, Application for Account Number (Form 3227), Internal Revenue Service, Baltimore, Maryland. Thus "B. J." is an enumerator error. His name is correct on the 1900 U.S. census, District of Columbia, pop. sch., Washington City, ED 62, sheet 16A, 636 Q St., dwell. 276, fam. 340, Viraldo J. and Emma V. Matchett; NARA microfilm T623, roll 161.

apartment, worked at a Washington “Lodging-house.”⁴ Her seventy-two-year-old widowed father lived at the John Dickson Home, a nursing facility for indigent men.⁵ Lida’s parents could not help her care for Roberta.

On 3 September 1919 Roberta D. Howard entered the Samuel Ready School in Baltimore, Maryland.⁶ Age ten, she resided there in 1920.⁷ Samuel Ready School was an exclusive girls’ school, and acceptance was competitive.⁸ Only the best scholars could enter.⁹ Students had to have good health and character. If they did not show progress, they were dismissed. Girls with disciplinary problems were not admitted. In addition to academics, students were prepared for running a household and other careers. Older girls could learn typing and shorthand. They also prepared culinary delights and learned how to set a beautiful table in domestic cooking classes.¹⁰ The principal envisioned a program of “helping girls to help themselves and training them to become useful, self-supporting women.”¹¹

AN UNUSUAL HISTORY

In 1909 Lida’s husband, a druggist, died.¹² Lida got temporary work as a clerk typist but was unable to support her daughter.¹³ Lida successfully petitioned to

4. 1920 U.S. census, District of Columbia, pop. sch., Washington City, Precinct 2, ED 9, sheet 8B, 1426 M St., dwell. 59, fam. 154, Lida M. Howard; NARA microfilm T625, roll 205.

5. *Ibid.*, ED 329, sheet 25A, John Dickson Home, 5500 Fourteenth St., B. J. Matchett; NARA microfilm T625, roll 213. For the John Dickson Home, see “About Us,” *Lisner-Louise-Dickson-Hurt Home* (<http://www.lldhhome.org/history.html> : accessed 14 November 2011).

6. Roberta Dyer Howard, 3 September 1919, Register of Applicants, 13 September 1887–30 June 1930, box 2, subseries A, series 4, SRS collection; Special Collections, Langsdale Library; University of Baltimore, Baltimore, Md. For a guide to this collection, comprising sixty-eight linear feet, see University of Baltimore, “Samuel Ready School (SRS),” *Langsdale Library: Special Collections* (<http://langsdale.ubalt.edu/special-collections/a-z-holdings-list/samuel-ready-school/> : viewed 14 November 2011).

7. 1920 U.S. census, Baltimore Co., Md., pop. sch., Baltimore City, ward 8, ED 119, sheet 27A, Samuel Ready School, 1400–1702 North Ave., Roberta D. Howard; NARA microfilm T625, roll 657.

8. Thomas Hollowak (archivist, Langsdale Library), interview by author, 3 August 2005; notes in author’s files.

9. Frances S. Meginnis, *Samuel Ready: The Man and His Legacy* (Baltimore: University of Baltimore, 1987), 20.

10. *Ibid.*, 20, 23–25, and 29.

11. *Ibid.*, 26, quoting principal Helen J. Rowe.

12. D.C. Office of Public Records, Certificate of Death 187925 (1909), Robert Dyer Howard; District of Columbia Archives, Washington, D.C. Robert’s cause of death was “Pulmonary and Laryngeal Tuberculosis,” immediate cause “Inanition.” Robert was buried at Mt. Olivet Cemetery, where his gravestone gives his dates as “1879–1910.” See Mount Olivet Cemetery (Washington, D.C.), Robert D. Howard marker, section 1, lot 154, E 1 ½; read by author, April 2009.

13. Lida M. Howard, “Application for Admission,” Roberta Dyer Howard file, box 7, subseries B, series 4, SRS collection.

be appointed estate guardian for the infant Roberta Dyer Howard, but after eight years, on 8 March 1917 the estate was declared insolvent and “No funds turned over to Gdn. [guardian].”¹⁴ Roberta was sent to Waterford, New York, to become Carrie L. Dickson’s ward.¹⁵

Roberta moved at least three times. On 17 September 1917 her guardian completed a health waiver for the Waterford public schools.¹⁶ Nearly two years later the Waterford schools promised to send Roberta’s grades and results of her last physical exam to West Chester, Pennsylvania.¹⁷ She probably lived in West Chester from January until September 1919, when she began attending Samuel Ready School.

Roberta’s new school kept exceptional records. Her physical examination for entrance to Samuel Ready School reveals a history of typhoid and tonsils removed.¹⁸ While enrolled she caught measles, whooping cough, and chicken pox.¹⁹

SUPPORT FOR A FATHERLESS CHILD

Samuel Ready School enrolled female orphans or half orphans who lived in Maryland. Roberta’s records, therefore, provide Lida’s addresses:

- In January 1919 she lived on M St. NW, Washington D.C.²⁰
- On 3 September 1919 she lived in “Tacoma Park (temporary) Maryland.”²¹ A scrap of paper awkwardly states “The address of Roberta Howard’s mother. R. J. Tumbleson and Mr. George Corner interested in the child. She is now in Tacoma Park evidently to gain citizenship in Md.”²² Tumbleson and

14. Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, Probate Court Files, no. 4022, Roberta Dyer Howard, minor, petition for estate guardianship, 16 September 1909, order of estate guardianship, 17 September 1909, and administration of minor’s estate, 8 March 1917; District of Columbia Archives.

15. “Health Certificate and Waiver, Waterford Public Schools,” Saratoga Co., N.Y., 17 September 1917,” Roberta Dyer Howard file, box 7, subseries B, series 4, SRS collection.

16. *Ibid.*

17. L. W. Bills (Board of Education of Waterford, N.Y.) to Mr. A. Arthur Palmateer (Westchester, Pa.), letter, 16 January 1919, and Lida M. Howard, “Application for Admission,” Roberta Dyer Howard file, box 7, subseries B, series 4, SRS collection.

18. “Physical Examination,” Roberta Dyer Howard file, box 7, subseries B, series 4, SRS collection.

19. “Health Certificate Waterford Public Schools” Roberta Dyer Howard file, box 7, subseries B, series 4, SRS collection.

20. “Application for Admission,” Roberta Dyer Howard file, box 7, subseries B, series 4, SRS collection.

21. Roberta Dyer Howard, 3 September 1919, Student Register, 13 September 1887–30 June 1930, arranged by admission date; Registers (Oversize), box 2; Enrollment Records, subseries A; series 4, SRS collection.

22. Unsigned, undated scrap note, Roberta Dyer Howard file, box 7, subseries B, series 4, SRS collection.

Corner were school trustees, whose interest in Roberta would be powerful recommendations.²³

Baltimore's Methodist Episcopal Church Pastor Charles L. Pate gave Roberta a recommendation:

This little girl is without a home, and has been moved about from place to place as her mother seeks employment, and evidently will not have the advantages of good education and home culture if the present conditions continue. Her father is dead.²⁴

Pate's mentioning "home culture" shows his familiarity with the Samuel Ready institution, which strived to provide a happy home as well as a school.²⁵ Visiting alumni have said that each older girl was a big sister responsible for helping a younger girl.²⁶ The 1920 census lists every student as "daughter."²⁷

ROBERTA'S LIFE AFTER SAMUEL READY

On 30 June 1927 Roberta, just short of age eighteen, was graduated from Samuel Ready School.²⁸ In 1930 she and her mother lodged together at 3116 North Dakota Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. Lida worked as a clerk for the federal government, and Roberta was an insurance clerk.²⁹ Given their circumstances in 1919, they were lucky to have found the school. Roberta fulfilled the principal's vision of a Samuel Ready "daughter" who became a "useful and self-supporting" woman.³⁰ Roberta's life may have been very different, if not for this school.

CONCLUSION

When asked where she learned to roast suckling pig, Roberta replied, "At school."³¹ No Washington, D.C., school taught this. Roberta didn't lie; she just omitted information about her early life. Instead, school records tell her story.

23. Hollowak, interview by author, 3 August 2005.

24. Charles L. Pate (pastor, West Baltimore Methodist Episcopal Church) to Helen J. Rowe (principal, Samuel Ready School), letter 22 January 1919, Roberta Dyer Howard file, box 7, subseries B, series 4, SRS collection.

25. Meginnis, *Samuel Ready*, 24.

26. Thomas Hollowak, interview by author, 3 August 2005.

27. 1920 U.S. census, Baltimore Co., Md., pop. sch., Baltimore, ward 8, ED 119, sheet 27A, Samuel Ready School, 1400–1702 North Ave.

28. Entry for Roberta Dyer Howard, 3 September 1919, Student Register, 13 September 1887–30 June 1930, box 2, subseries A, series 4, SRS collection.

29. 1930 U.S. census, District of Columbia, pop. sch., Washington City, ED 354, sheet 12A, 3116 South Dakota Ave., dwell. 129, fam. 136, Lida M. Howard household; NARA microfilm T626, roll 203.

30. Meginnis, *Samuel Ready*, 26, quoting Principal Helen J. Rowe.

31. Roberta Dyer Howard, interview by author, 1980s; notes in author's files.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

'Tout le Monde' Revisited: The William Moyle Family in Saint John, New Brunswick

By Ronald A. Hill, Ph.D., CG, FASG

*The William Moyle family deported from
Cornwall emerges in Saint John, New Brunswick.*

An article on William Moyle and Mary Pearse of Cornwall, England, published in 2009, questioned whether the family had emigrated from England and speculated they perhaps perished at sea after 1837. The family had apparently disappeared without record.¹

By 4 April 1830 the overseers of the poor in Otterham, Cornwall, intended to deport the burdensome William Moyle family to "America."² His final entry as a poorhouse resident appeared 22 March 1837:

Moyle, Wm, going to America — £2-12-6³

British America, including New Brunswick and Ontario, was the Moyses' likely destination. Where, or even if, they landed was a mystery until 1851 New Brunswick records revealed family remnants.

© Ronald A. Hill, Ph.D., CG, FASG; 5618 N. Star Ridge Way, Star, ID 83669-5334. Dr. Hill is a retired physicist, former president of the New Mexico Genealogical Society, and past trustee of the Board for Certification of Genealogists. He is a member of the *NGS Quarterly* editorial board and an award-winning author. All websites were accessed 28 November 2011.

1. Ronald A. Hill, "'Tout le Monde': The Marriage Consent for William Moyle and Mary Pearse in Cornwall, England," *NGS Quarterly* 97 (September 2009): 229.

2. Otterham Parish (Co. Cornwall), overseers accounts, 1820-1837, unpaginated; reference DDP169/12/2, Cornwall Record Office (CRO), Truro, England; microfilm 1,596,898, item 12, Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City.

3. *Ibid.*

NEW BRUNSWICK CENSUS RECORDS

The 1851 census records of New Brunswick, particularly parts of Saint John County, were elusive—neither part of common databases nor listed in a major microfilm collection.⁴ Records for Carleton Ward, Lancaster, and Portland Parish were unavailable. The 1851 census for the sub-districts of Dukes and Queens and Kings and Sydney, however, survive and are microfilmed and online.⁵ Of the 1861 census for the city of Saint John, only the ward of Albert has survived.⁶

WILLIAM AND MARY MOYSE OF CORNWALL AND NEW BRUNSWICK

The deported Otterham residents, William Moyse and Mary Pearse, were married by banns there 17 May 1813.⁷ Their youngest children, Anne, baptized 21 March 1820, and Martha and Joseph, probable twins, baptized 21 June 1822, should have migrated with their parents.⁸

In 1851 English-born seventy-three-year-old widow Mary Moyse lived in Frederick Smith's household in Saint John. Frederick, forty, a mariner born in England, immigrated in 1840. His English-born wife Ann, was thirty-one.⁹

A Saint John newspaper noted Mary's death in March 1853:

d. Wednesday eve., 16th inst., Mrs. Mary Moyse, age 75, native of Cornwall, England, left family.¹⁰

The same newspaper reported William's death in December 1850:

4. The commonly used database in its collection, "Canadian Census and Voter Lists," *Ancestry.com* (<http://www.ancestry.com>) does not include several New Brunswick sub-districts, implying they do not exist.

5. New Brunswick census, Saint John Co., Dukes and Queens Wards, 1851, microfilm F23440; and Kings and Sidney Wards, 1851, microfilm F23441; reference RS266, Population Returns and Statistics, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick (PANB), Fredericton, N.B. Also, "1851 Census of New Brunswick Index," *Automated Genealogy* (<http://automatedgenealogy.com>).

6. Rob Gilmore (Public Service Archivist, PANB) to author, e-mail, 12 May 2010; author's files.

7. Otterham Parish, marriage register, 1813–1837, p. 1, Moyse-Pearse (1813); reference DDP169/1/4, CRO; FHL microfilm 1,596,067.

8. Otterham Parish, baptism register, 1813–1900, p. 6 (Anne) and p. 10 (Martha and Joseph); reference DDP169/1/2, CRO; FHL microfilm 1,596,067.

9. 1851 New Brunswick census, Saint John Co., Dukes and Queens Wards, p. 208.

10. "Daniel F. Johnson's New Brunswick Newspaper Vital Statistics, 1784–1896," database of transcriptions of abstracts, vol. 14, no. 1202, *New Brunswick Canada Provincial Archives* (<http://archives.gnb.ca/APPS/NewspaperVitalStats/NameIndex.aspx>), for *New Brunswick Courier*, Saint John, 19 March 1853.

d. Studholm (Kings Co.) 15th inst., William Moyes, age 63, native of Cornwall, England. Resident of this Province last 20 years.¹¹

William Moyse and his wife Mary had survived the trip to “America.”

Baptized at Otterham, 19 December 1790, son of John and “Ann” (should be *Grace*) Moyse, William would have been at least sixty years old on 15 December 1850.¹² His period of residence in New Brunswick is wrong; deported after 22 March 1837, he would have been there about thirteen years. Mary Pearse, likely William’s “wife,” was baptized at Davidstow in Cornwall on 14 March 1782.¹³ She would have been seventy-one or older on 16 March 1853.

WILLIAM AND MARY’S CHILDREN IN NEW BRUNSWICK

Three of William and Mary’s children baptized at Otterham also appear in New Brunswick records.

Anne Moyse, baptized at Otterham 21 March 1820

The marriage of Frederick Smith and Miss Ann “Moss” was reported in May 1848:

m. 15th inst., by Rev. Henry Daniel, Frederick Smith/Miss Ann Moss both of (St. John) city. (WC: Ann Moses)¹⁴

Sarah Jane Smith, ninety and single, daughter of Frederick A. Smith, born in Sweden, and Anne Moyse, born in England, died 5 December 1945 in Saint John.¹⁵ This record supports the Smith–Moyse marriage. In 1851 English-born Ann Smith was thirty-one, consistent with Anne Moyse’s Otterham baptism record.

11. *Ibid.*, vol. 13, no. 568, 28 December 1850.

12. Otterham Parish, register, 1687–1811, p. 21 (William Moyse baptism, 19 December 1789 or 1790); reference DDP169/1/1, CRO; FHL microfilm 1,596,067. William’s baptismal year was omitted in the Otterham register; the Otterham Bishop’s Transcript for 1790 lists the William Moyse baptism as 19 December 1790. See reference FET169, CRO.

13. Davidstow Parish (Cornwall), register, p. 31 (Mary Pearse baptism); reference DDP46/1/1, CRO; FHL microfilm 1,545,418.

14. “Daniel F. Johnson’s New Brunswick Newspaper Vital Statistics,” vol. 12, no. 358, for *New Brunswick Courier*, 20 May 1848. She was called “Moses” in the *Weekly Chronicle*, probably a misreading of the y for an s.

15. “Brenan’s Funeral Home (MC793),” database, *New Brunswick Canada Provincial Archives* (<http://archives.gnb.ca/APPS/PrivRecs/MC793/Details.aspx>), for Sarah Jane Smith, 5 December 1945. Also, Certificate of Registration of Death, Sarah Jane Smith; reference RS141 C5, 1945-55383 and microfilm F19575, PANB.

Martha Moyse, baptized at Otterham 12 June 1822

In 1851 English-born servant Martha Moyes, twenty-eight, lived in the Thomas M. Smith household. The record states erroneously that she migrated to New Brunswick in 1830.¹⁶

On 20 May 1858 a thirty-six-year-old pregnant Martha Moyes, “nativity” Cornwall, was admitted to the Saint John Almshouse. Her child, William Fenwick, was born there on 8 June 1858. He died 8 September 1859, and Martha was discharged three days later.¹⁷ On 4 September 1860 Martha Moise and William Fenwick entered into a marriage bond and were married the same day by “McDonald Am. Min. of St. Andrews Church” in Saint John.¹⁸

On 9 December 1861 the Saint John Almshouse admitted pregnant Martha Fenwick. Confined for 298 days, the destitute Cornwall native gave birth to a male child born on 9 February 1862. She lived intermittently in the almshouse from 3 December 1873 until her death, 8 March 1879.¹⁹

Joseph Moyse, baptized at Otterham 12 June 1822

In May 1851 the *New Brunswick Courier* reported the marriage of Joseph Moyes and Miss Frances A. Leonard :

m. 22nd inst., by Rev. R. Cooney, Joseph Moyes/Miss Frances A. Leonard, both of (St. John)²⁰

In 1851 Joseph Moyse, twenty-nine, was a mariner of Irish descent, who entered New Brunswick in 1835; his wife Frances was the same age.²¹ The Irish descent is apparently an enumerator error. In 1881 widower Joseph “Moyce,”

16. 1851 New Brunswick census, Saint John Co., Dukes and Queens Wards, p. 244, Thomas M. Smith household.

17. “Saint John Almshouse Records,” database and digital images, *The New Brunswick Irish Portal* (http://archives.gnb.ca/Irish/databases_en.html), for Martha Fenwick and Martha Moyes.

18. Marriage Bonds, chronologically arranged, Fenwick-Moise, 6 September 1860; reference RS551, 1860-6355 and microfilm F9092, PANB. Also, Saint John Co., Marriage Register F:146, Fenwick-Moise; reference RS156 and microfilm F16244, PANB.

19. “Saint John Almshouse Records,” database and digital images, *The New Brunswick Irish Portal* (http://archives.gnb.ca/Irish/databases_en.html), for Martha Fenwick and Martha Moyes.

20. “Daniel F. Johnson’s New Brunswick Newspaper Vital Statistics,” vol. 13, no. 1168, for *New Brunswick Courier*, 24 May 1851.

21. 1851 New Brunswick census, Saint John Co., Dukes and Queens Wards, p. 147, Joseph Moyse household.

fifty-eight, was a “Taler,” born in England.²² Joseph’s ages in 1851 and 1881 correspond to his 1822 birth date.

Joseph and Frances apparently lost their first child, Ann Jane, 20 December 1853; however, their surname is misspelled:

d. Tuesday eve., age 1 year 8 mos., Ann Jane Moyre d/o Joseph Moyre and Frances Moyre of (St. John) city.²³

There was another misfortune in January 1873:

An old man named Joseph Moise fell upon the ice near the corner of St. Andrews and Sydney Sts. (St. John) and had his head badly cut.²⁴

Joseph Moysé literally fell on hard times. Destitute, he went to the Saint John Almshouse on 17 February 1875 and lived there 124 days, then intermittently until 1 January 1878, and then continuously until his death, 8 October 1896. On 1 January 1885 he reportedly had “cancer in the face.” Between 1 January 1888 and 1 January 1891 he was called the “Taylor at Almshouse.” Cornwall was his “nativity,” and his recorded ages place his birth about 1821–23.²⁵

Widow Frances A. Moysé, age eighty, died 23 April 1904 in Saint John.²⁶ She was born in Ireland, daughter of Peter Leonard, and had married Joseph Moysé.²⁷ In 1871 English-born Joseph, “forty,” a servant and reportedly a “widower,” lived with his Irish-born mother-in-law, Margaret Leonard, seventy-eight.²⁸

Frances was apparently Joseph Moysé’s former wife. In 1901, widow “Francis A. Walberton,” born 22 May 1822 in Ireland, lived in Saint John City with her son John J. Moise, born 2 April 1859 in New Brunswick.²⁹ In 1891 Irish-

22. 1881 New Brunswick census, Saint John Co., District 25, p. 68, line 10, Joseph Moysé.

23. “Daniel F. Johnson’s New Brunswick Newspaper Vital Statistics,” vol. 14, no. 2076, for *New Brunswick Courier*, 24 December 1853.

24. *Ibid.*, vol. 33, no. 1291, for *Daily News*, Saint John, 16 January 1873.

25. “Saint John Almshouse Records,” for Joseph Moyses and Joseph Moysé.

26. “Brenan’s Funeral Home,” for Frances A. Moysé, 23 April 1904.

27. Saint John Burial Permits, vol. 13, no. 623; reference RS315 and microfilm 20749, PANB.

28. 1871 New Brunswick census, District 174, Saint John, Sydney Ward, p. 40, line 172, Margaret Leonard household. Eighty-five-year-old Margaret, relict of Sgt. Peter Leonard, died in Saint John, 27 November 1875. See “Daniel F. Johnson’s New Brunswick Newspaper Vital Statistics,” vol. 37, no. 141, for *The Watchman*, Saint John, 4 December 1875.

29. 1901 New Brunswick census, District 21, Saint John City, Sydney Ward, p. 2, line 13, Francis A. Walburton household.

born widow Frances Warburton, age sixty-six, and her son John Moyce, age thirty-three, lodged with New Brunswick native “Carl” Secord, thirty-five; his Prince Edward Island-born wife Margaret, age twenty-five; and their son Arthur Secord, age three months.³⁰

In 1881 Irish-born widow Frances Warburton, fifty-five, lived in Saint John City with New Brunswick natives John James “Warburton” (should be Moyse), age twenty-three, and Margaret Warburton, age fifteen.³¹ Apparently young Margaret Warburton married Caleb Secord, as recorded in their son’s 1891 birth record; however, her birthplace was reported in 1891 as Prince Edward Island.

In 1871 Irish-born Frances A. “Waburton,” forty-five, lived with Irish-born Solomon Waburton, forty-five, a liquor shop operator.³² Frances and Solomon were reportedly married. The family was enumerated in the following order: Solomon; Margaret, five, born on Prince Edward Isle; Frances A.; and John J., thirteen, born in New Brunswick. At about this time, Frances Ann Warburton, a married woman of Duke Street (Saint John), testified at October and November 1870 inquests on the bodies of Mrs. Catherine Jackson and her child, Hattie Jackson.³³

Margaret Frances Warburton, daughter of Solomon and Frances Ann Warburton, was born 14 March 1865 and baptized 28 February 1866 at St. Paul’s Church.³⁴ Her birth on Prince Edward Island agrees with her birthplace recorded in the 1891 census.

30. 1891 New Brunswick census, District 20, Saint John City, Sydney Ward, p. 78, line 405, Carl Secord household. Arthur Herbert Secord was born 28 January 1891 to Caleb Secord and his wife, Margaret F. Warburton. See Arthur Secord birth, 28 January 1891, Index to Saint John County Birth Registers, Vital Statistics from Government Records, RS141A2/2, (http://archives.gnb.ca/APPS/GovRecs/VISSE/141A2_2.aspx?culture=en-CA&guid=9C17AE59-97DB-4A48-8C39-AD5938EF1379).

31. 1881 New Brunswick census, District 26, Saint John City, Sidney Ward, p. 66, line 316, Francis Warburton household.

32. 1871 New Brunswick census, Saint John Co., District 174, Saint John City, Queens Ward, p. 116, line 462, Solomon Waburton household.

33. “Daniel F. Johnson’s New Brunswick Newspaper Vital Statistics,” vol. 29, no. 1688, for *The Daily Telegraph*, 1 November 1870.

34. St. Paul’s Church, parish book, “Baptisms from 1853 to 1886,” vol. 1, pt. 3, p. 92, no. 16, Margaret Frances Warburton, 28 February 1866; Public Archives and Records Office (PARO) microfilm roll 3069/1; PARO, Charlottetown, P.E.I.; St. Paul’s Church office, Charlottetown. “Margarett Frances, born 1865 March 14th baptized 1866 Feby 28, daughter of Solomon Warburton of CharTown, Corporal 15th Regt., and Frances Ann. By DB Parnther. Private [baptism].” The record was examined on site by George Freeman Sanborn Jr., FASG.

No divorce was recorded in Saint John County, New Brunswick, for Joseph Moyses and his wife Frances Ann (Leonard).³⁵ Divorce was an expensive proposition for the poor who simply walked away from unhappy unions. Censuses suggest Joseph and Frances separated after the 1859 birth of their son, John James Moyses. Frances later lived with Solomon Warburton as his wife. Their daughter Margaret was baptized on Prince Edward Island, where they were probably unknown. At Frances's 1906 death, the informant—probably her son John James Moyses—identified her as Frances Ann Moyses.

CONCLUSION

If not for the 1851 census records at the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, records of William Moyses and his Cornwall-born children would be unknown. No English source specifies their destination “America” would be New Brunswick.

35. Gilmore to author, e-mail, 25 May 2010; in author's files. Also, Marriage Act, 1791, Statutes of New Brunswick, 31 George III, Chapter 5 in *Acts of the General Assembly of His Majesty's Province of New-Brunswick, Passed in the Year 1791* (St. John: Christopher Sower, King's Printer, 1791), 209–14.

Divorce Unacceptable in Nineteenth-Century Canada

Despite shared roots in English common law, most Canadian provinces still had no formal divorce process long after it was accepted practice in the jurisdictions of its southern neighbor.

CANADA

From Our Own Correspondent. [Anonymous]

Toronto, May 25, 1859

. . . Toward the close of the late session, a dispatch was received by the Governor-General from Lord Stanley, urging him to press upon his Council the adoption of the principle of the English law of divorce. The Council, when the matter was brought before them, refused compliance. The Lower Canadians are opposed to divorce, on the principles taught them by the Roman Catholic Church, in any shape; and I suspect it will be difficult to get them to assent to a measure for legalizing in Canada divorces effected in England. It is certain they will not go further than this, so that there is no chance of Lord Stanley's recommendation to adopt the principle of the English law of divorce in Canada being acted upon.

—*New York Herald-Tribune*, 6 January 1859, page 6, col. 3

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Index to Volume 99

Entries for persons with no surnames or with unknown surnames appear at the beginning of this index. They include people who lived in a time or culture without surnames or who never took a surname. *Ackn.* and *cited* refer, respectively, to assistance rendered and sources of information. Known maiden names appear in parentheses, as do dates and other information identifying people of the same name or with incomplete names. Subject entries appear alphabetically and under the following broad headings:

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health	methodology and subject areas
records and sources	religions and religious groups
ships	

Abbreviations are limited to locations, titles, and the following:

<i>ackn.</i>	acknowledged	<i>aka</i>	also known as
Cath.	Catholic	Ch.	Church
Cem.	Cemetery	Co./co.	county
<i>contr.</i>	contributor	Dist.	District
Evan.	Evangelical	Inf.	Infantry
m.	married	Meth.	Methodist
Par.	Parish	R.C.	Roman Catholic
Regt.	Regiment	St.	Saint
Twp.	Township	Univ.	University
<i>var.</i>	variously spelled		

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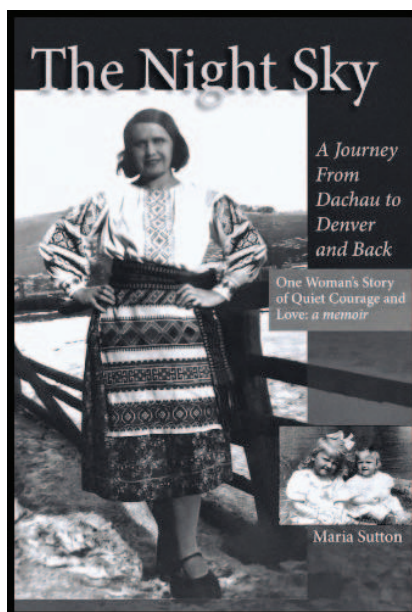
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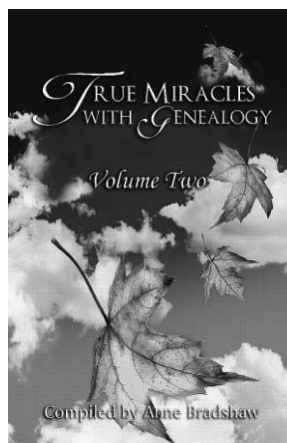
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