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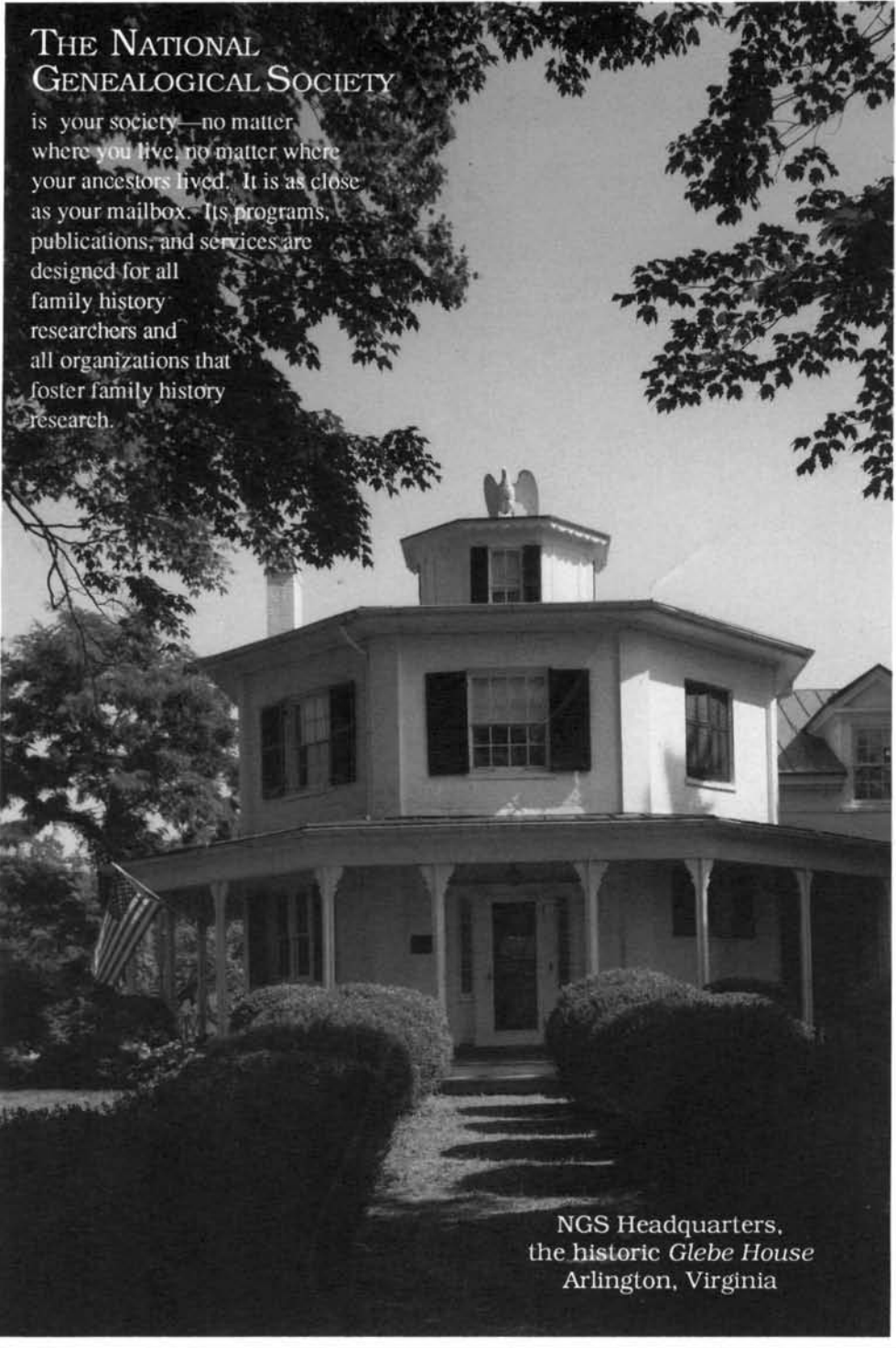


A journal for today's

family historian

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National Genealogical Society

Quarterly

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VOLUME 84
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Editors' Corner

Sources: you can't miss them now!

"Dear Editors," the letter began. "Every issue, you solve problems. So here's my problem. If you solve it, you can publish it."

Umhhh, journal publishing doesn't quite work that way! Still, the family name was one that interested us, so we read on. The problem was intriguing, too; but as we ploughed through the writer's account, frustration mounted.

"We know that John . . ." the writer began, as he related a potentially crucial point. *But HOW do we know that?* we argued back. Whether the source of that information is a reliable one is incredibly important to this case.

"A court record said . . ." *Ohhh?* we moaned. *Here we go again!* What court record? Which court? What kind of case? Is this a reference to an entry in the clerk's record book, which highly abbreviates the proceedings; or did the writer actually access the full file of original petitions, rejoinders, affidavits, and receipts?

"According to the census, J.W. and M.E. . . ." *St. Genie, help us!* Which census? Which schedule, for which year? Is this data from the federal copy, on which all names may be represented by initials, or did the writer also consult the state-level copy which identifies all household members by full names?

The more we read, the more questions bedeviled us. In the end, they all rolled into one: *How can we help you, sir, if we don't really know what you've used?*

Sources matter. All sources are not created equal. Solving genealogical problems often depends not so much on finding a new record as in carefully evaluating the ones we already have. That evaluation is not possible when the particulars of a source are not known. Contrary to the manual of a popular genealogical software program—which advises its users that (we paraphrase here for anonymity) "documentation is not necessary for family researchers, although most professionals do it"—there are *not* differing standards for different types of genealogists. The truth is, professional help would not be needed nearly so often, if all types of genealogists documented their sources carefully enough to permit thorough and accurate analyses.

With this issue of NGSQ, source citations are no longer discreetly relegated to endnotes. It isn't an in-your-face mood by your editors that motivates the adoption of footnotes. Rather—we are *delighted* to report—it is the requests of readers, who realize that source citations not only document the materials used by a particular author but also lead others to myriad resources available for various places, eras, and cultures. So: *enjoy!*

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A Name Switch and a Double Dose of Joneses: Weighing Evidence to Identify Charles R. Jones

By Thomas W. Jones, Ph.D., CG*

The search for the origins of Charles R. Jones began with his death certificate, a certified legal document of seeming credibility. The records that ultimately offered the best evidence of his paternity, however, differed from that death certificate on almost every fact possible—his name, birthdate, place of origin, and parents.

Identify problems plague all researchers, perhaps none more so in American genealogy than with families surnamed Jones or Smith. Numerous people of the same name are to be expected. The opposite situation, posed by someone who used different names without any direct evidence of an alias or a name change, is even more challenging. When a Jones marries a Jones and a correct identification of their offspring also depends upon properly sorting parental relatives, the problem is even more daunting.

Ancestral records greatly vary in dependability, rarely agree perfectly, and often contain inconsistencies in chronology, relationships, and identity. Variations in names commonly occurred when an individual moved from one jurisdiction to another. Yet this is the very case in which genealogists seek similarities and parallels in names and other details, to establish that records in both locales refer to the same family. Failure to recognize or prove aberrations in crucial detail will thwart the linkage of generations across places and time. Faced with an identity conflict, researchers must evaluate all pertinent sources, weighing the degree of reliability that can be placed upon each, in order to establish a connection through the preponderance of the evidence.

THE PROBLEM

Charles R. Jones, who died in Jackson County, Florida, in 1925 presents a typical problem of this type. His era—from the mid-nineteenth century to the early-twentieth—is one in which many Americans moved from one state or territory to

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another, taking with them little evidence of their family background or origins. It is an era for which genealogists commonly employ five methods as they seek the needed evidence of birthplace and parentage:

- Read all extant censuses in the known place(s) of residence.
- Write for a death certificate, whereon birth data might be recorded.
- Seek out family records, correspondence, or Bibles.
- Interview surviving relatives to harvest recollections of the problem ancestor.
- Search for military files, if the forebear's age seems compatible with the time frame of one war or another.

All these methods produced evidence for Charles R. Jones—evidence that conflicted in major ways. Records of prime value appeared to be the following:

DEATH CERTIFICATE

The registration created at Jones's death in 1925, aged eighty-four, states that "Charlie Robert Jones" of Jackson County, Florida, was born in "Virginia (Richmond)" as the son of "C. R. Jones" and "Virginia (—) Jones."¹

FAMILY RECORDS AND RECOLLECTIONS

Several grandchildren also report a tradition that he was born in Virginia. Three added that his parents died when he was young, after which he was sent from Virginia to Alabama to be reared by an uncle.² One grandson owns the originals of three letters written by Jones's mother and dated 1845, 1849, and 1852; those letters are addressed to one George M. Jones of "Brooklin, Conecuh Co., Alabama," a site some two hundred miles from Jackson County, Florida, by the roads of that day. The letters carry the salutation "My Dear Brother" and are signed "Your affectionate sister, Jane E. Jones." The extant portions of the letters bear no return address.³

Family tradition holds that Charles's father was another Charles Jones, who died near Evergreen in Conecuh County, Alabama, and was buried in an unmarked grave in

1. Death certificate of Charlie Robert Jones, file no. 8218, reg. no. 145, filed 3 July 1925; certified photocopy from Florida's Bureau of Vital Statistics, Jacksonville, 4 June 1965. The informant was "Mrs. W. B. Anderson" of Greenwood, Fla.—i.e., his daughter Corrine Virginia, who married Walter Bryant Anderson at Campbellton (Jackson Co.), Fla., on 7 March 1879, according to her mother's Bible. A transcription of the Bible was provided by Corrine's son, James Albon Anderson (1908–84) of Dothan, Ala., on 16 February 1976 to his brother John Hayes Anderson (1903–90) of Hawkinsville, Ga., who forwarded it to the present author on 20 February 1976. The Bible's flyleaf reads, "Rebecca Elizabeth Collier, presented by her Farther Joseph Collier—1858." The transcription agrees with another one sent to the author on 6 January 1964 by Mrs. Ruth Golden, while the Bible was still in the possession of Corrine Virginia (Jones) Anderson in Greenwood, Fla. This record is herein cited as Bible of Rebecca Elizabeth (Collier) (Minchin) Jones.

2. James Albon Anderson, interview by the author, 14 January 1981; John Hayes Anderson, letter to the author, 1 January 1971; Charles Albon Jones Jr. (1902–81), interview at his home in Cocoa, Fla., by the author, 22 May 1965; and Nellie Corinne Jones (1907–1983), Bradenton, Fla., letter to the author, 7 April 1963. James Albon, John Hayes, and Charles Albon are the three who reported the uncle in Alabama.

3. Jane E. Jones to George M. Jones, letters dated 3 July 1845, 18 June 1849, and 13 August 1852, photocopies in possession of the author. In 1981, the originals were owed by James Albon Anderson.

“the old cemetery” there.⁴ Record destruction in Conecuh and adjacent Covington County, where George M. Jones lived, forestalls any possibility of finding there a probate record for Charles.

MILITARY PENSION

One Charles R. Jones applied for a Civil War pension, in September 1907, from Campbellton in Jackson County, Florida, saying that he was born in Caroline County, Virginia, on 22 September 1841.⁵ The other personal detail is compatible with known data on the Charles of this study. He gave no parental information.

Records created by the various Jones families of Caroline offer no reference to a Charles, Charlie, or C. R. of the appropriate period. The materials that ultimately pointed to his origins and ancestry provide him a given name and age different from the ones he used in Florida. Finding those Caroline records and ascertaining that they did, indeed, treat *him* required an exhaustive search and four interlocking preponderance-of-the-evidence arguments. The foci of these hypotheses correspond to the so-called “building blocks” of genealogy—places, names, dates, and relationships—the minimum genealogical elements necessary to confirm identities and connect generations. Evidence for each of the four arguments will be presented separately, together with an evaluation of the evidence, an account of the additional work each entailed, and an explication of the final conclusions.

THE PLACE

The birthplace data for Jones, appearing in the three prime resources already cited, are both supported and contradicted by other public records. An exhaustive search of all known possibilities created the following results:

Civil War pension	Caroline County, Virginia
Death certificate	Richmond, Virginia
Family tradition	Virginia
1900, 1910, 1920 censuses ⁶	Virginia
1870, 1880 censuses ⁷	Alabama
1850, 1860 censuses	no young Charles R. Jones found in Caroline County, Virginia, or Alabama
Maternal letters	refer to nearby Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania County, Rappahannock River

4. Robert H. Jones Jr., Evergreen, Ala., letter to the author, 21 August 1978, relates this information as told him by his father, a grandson of George M. Jones.

5. Pension application of Charles R. Jones, [Fla.] Confederate Veteran no. 8008, photocopy sent to the author by the State Comptroller's Office, Tallahassee.

6. 1900 U.S. cens., Jackson Co., Fla., township 6, precinct 2, enumeration district 50, p. 20A, dwelling 427, family 433; 1910 U.S. cens., Jackson Co., Campbellton, prct. 2, e.d. 44, p. 30B, dwell. 16, fam. 16; and 1920 U.S. cens., Jackson Co., Greenwood, prct. 3, e.d. 90, p. 16B, dwell. 303, fam. 313 (in home of son-in-law, Walter B. Anderson).

7. 1870 U.S. cens., Jackson Co., p. 204, dwell. 412, fam. 353; and 1880 U.S. cens., Jackson Co., e.d. 66, p. 15, dwell. 150, fam. [no. not given].

Analysis

PENSION APPLICATION

Normally, pensioners' statements about themselves carry heavy weight, presuming they have nothing to gain by falsifying evidence. No such motivation can be posed for Jones. His place of birth had no bearing on his pension eligibility, and there is no plausible reason for him to have fabricated it. Yet no person is developed sufficiently at birth to have a personal recollection of that event and its locale, so Jones's testimony as to his birth remains secondary information that he would have obtained from another source.

No discoverable evidence suggests that the pensioner is not the Charles of this search, although a certain record of his enlistment has not been found in the fragmentary records surviving for his unit (Company A, Twenty-Fifth Alabama Regiment). Aside from the fact that no other individual of his name and approximate age resided in his locale at the time of his application, the pensioner stated that he was wounded during the defense of Atlanta; and descendants of Charles R. have preserved a bullet said to have been removed surgically from him in the 1920s. One grandson wrote in 1979: "As a boy I have sat in my grandfather's lap and he would let me feel of the bullet in his neck. I recall when he had a spell with apoplexy and fell and dislodged the bullet, which had attached itself to the bre[a]st bone, and was just under the skin."⁸

DEATH CERTIFICATE

A death certificate, signed by an attending physician who may have witnessed the death, is difficult to surpass as evidence of the date, place, and cause of *death*. On the other hand, the credibility of information concerning date and place of *birth* and *parents* of the deceased is dependent on the position of the informant to know these facts. That person, in Jones's case, was his daughter. Because she was not present at his birth, her statement that he was born in "Virginia (Richmond)" is one of secondary (more probably tertiary) reliability that would carry less weight than Jones's own statement of Caroline County.

CENSUS RECORDS

Although they often point the way to more-reliable records, census schedules are of questionable credibility. Researchers have no way of knowing whether the information was provided to the enumerator by a person in position to know the facts of names, ages, birthplaces, etc. In the present case, all census returns initially identifiable for Charles were created in Florida. All that can be concluded from them is that they support the family tradition of his birth in Virginia and his dispatch to Alabama to live with an uncle during his childhood.

8. John Hayes Anderson, letter to author, 17 April 1979.

MATERNAL LETTERS

The landmarks cited in the letters written by Jones’s mother are compatible with his own statement of his birthplace, although they attest only that she may have lived there between 1845 and 1852—not that she lived there in 1841, the birth year he gave for himself. Spotsylvania County and the Rappahannock River form the northwestern and northeastern bounds of Caroline County; and Fredericksburg lies on the Rappahannock a few miles above the Spotsylvania-Caroline county line.

Conclusion

Primary evidence of Jones’s birthplace is still lacking. Of the various indications that exist, greater weight should lie with his own direct and seemingly unself-serving statement of birth in Caroline County, which is indirectly supported by the correspondence attributed to his mother.

Further action

Research focused upon Virginia’s Caroline County. Unfortunately, many of its public records were destroyed during the Civil War. An exhaustive search of the surviving documents yielded nothing of a Charles, Charles R., or C. R. Jones born in or about 1841.

THE NAME

The accumulated resources are more in agreement as to Jones’s given name—although variances do exist. In brief:

Personal signature ⁹	Charles R. Jones
Death certificate	Charlie Robert Jones
Grandchildren ¹⁰	Robert E. Jones, R. E. Jones, Charles Robert Jones
Gravestone ¹¹	C. R. Jones
Wife’s Bible ¹²	Charles Robert Jones
Marriage record ¹³	Charles R. Jones
Deed of sale ¹⁴	C. R. Jones (“and R. E. Jones, his wife”)
Maternal letters	Charly
1870–1920 censuses	Charles R., Chas. R., C. R. Jones

9. Pension application of Charles R. Jones

10. Charles Albon Jones Jr. identified his grandfather as R. E. Jones; when Charles Albon Sr. died, his daughter reported her father’s father as *Robert E. Jones*; see death certificate of Charles Albon Jones [Sr.], Manatee Co., Fla., 22 September 1943, state file no. 1832, certified photocopy from the Fla. Bureau of Vital Statistics, 24 October 1980, on which his daughter, Nellie C. Jones of Manatee, was the informant. However, the first cousins of Charles Albon Jr.—James Albon and John Hayes Anderson—reported their grandfather’s name as *Charles Robert Jones*.

11. Churchyard, First Baptist Church, Campbellton, Fla.; transcription by present author, 31 July 1994.

12. Bible of Rebecca Elizabeth (Collier) (Minchin) Jones.

13. Marriage of Charles R. Jones and Mrs. Rebecca E. Minchin, 22 December 1867, Jackson Co., Fla., Marr. Book B: 273.

14. Deed of C. R. and R. E. Jones, 6 November 1905, Jackson Co. Deed Book MM: 276.

The maternal letters are particularly revealing. In the one dated 1845, for example, she describes herself as a “pore helpless widow” and cites many health problems. Worried that she would die before her two children matured, she asks her correspondent (“My Dear Brother”) to take them in, if that should happen. With loving pride she writes of her daughter Virginia and her son *Charly*.¹⁵

Further action

The concurrent search of Caroline County’s surviving resources offered two records that reference a child *Virginia* in connection with one named *Robert* (but not *Charles*, *Charly*, or *Charlie*):

1850 FEDERAL CENSUS, POPULATION SCHEDULE

A line-by-line reading of the county’s return for this year spotlights one child named Robert Jones—aged six, living in the household with a Jane E. Jones (aged thirty), Virginia (aged eight), and Judith (aged fifty-five). An adjacent dwelling housed one Richard Jones and an apparent daughter Columbia.¹⁶

COURT CASE

An 1856 suit heard in Caroline County’s circuit court treats the orphans of Jane E. Jones. At her death she owned 115 acres, inherited from her father, Stanfield Jones. Because the children had “moved to the state of Alabama, where they [were] in all probability permanently domiciled,” their custodial guardian, George M. Jones of Covington County, Alabama, wished to sell the land rather than rent it out. The orphans are named several times therein as *Virginia Jones* and *Robert Jones*. Two other individuals of the same surname participated in the suit, William I. Jones and Stanfield C. Jones. The latter was cited as guardian ad litem of the orphaned Robert.¹⁷

Analysis

The court data and the letters addressed to “My Dear Brother” suggest two alternatives with regard to the paternity of Jane E. Jones’s children. Given her father’s identification by the surname *Jones* and her reference to George M. Jones as her *brother*, it is reasonable to conclude that either Jane Jones married a man named Jones or else she bore children by an unidentified father and those children used *her* surname. The latter possibility seems negated by the letter writer’s reference to herself as a “pore widow,” although it could be argued that the term *widow* might have been used euphemistically.

15. In her 1849 letter, Jane describes the death from measles of another child, Ellen (“my dear Baby”), in the middle of May.

16. 1850 U.S. cens., Caroline Co., Va., p. 301, dwell. 1240, fam. 1242, and dwell. 1241, fam. 1243.

17. *Jones v. Jones* [1856], Caroline Co., Circuit Court Box labeled “Ended Papers 1855 E–Z 1856 A–Z.” Elements of this case are recorded in Caroline Co. Order Book, Chancery, 2 (1842–64): 245, 247, 254, 277. A guardian ad litem was one appointed by the court to transact legal business for a propertied orphan under fourteen.

Two other extant records for Caroline help to eliminate the question and to sort out various Joneses of that county. First, on 16 September 1839, one Charles Jones (over his X) posted a bond there, announcing his intention to wed Jane E. Jones. His surety, Richard G. Jones, swore that both the bride and groom had reached the age of twenty-one.¹⁸ Second, on 13 August 1844, Stanfield Jones wrote his last will and testament; his named children included Jane, Richard, and Stanfield Jr.¹⁹ They did not include George M. Jones (“My Beloved Brother”), to whom Jane entrusted her orphans. Clearly, Jane’s kinship to George was in the now-archaic context of the term, i.e., brother-in-law. Not surprisingly, the 1860 enumeration of Covington County, Alabama, places one Robert Jones, aged sixteen, in the household of George M. Jones.²⁰

Reevaluation

Parallels are strong between the Caroline County family and that of Charles R. Jones of Florida. Yet differences exist in two crucial areas:

PARALLELS

- Charles R. of Florida is said to have been sent to live with an uncle George in Alabama after the death of his father. So was Robert of Caroline and Covington.
- Charles R. of Florida is said to have had a sister, Virginia. So did Robert of Caroline and Covington.
- Charles R. of Florida claimed a birth in Caroline.

CONFLICTS

- Charles R. of Florida, in his pension application, gave his birthdate as 22 September 1841. Robert of Caroline and Covington was born in 1843–44, according to the previously cited 1850 and 1860 censuses.
- Charles R. of Florida never referred to himself as *Robert*, and the letters of his mother call her young son *Charly*. Yet the Jones boy of Caroline and Covington, between 1850 and 1860, is consistently called *Robert*—and only *Robert*—by several independently created records.

Regarding the name, it can be reasonably argued that no real conflict exists, as Charles used the middle initial R. He and his mother obviously preferred *Charles R.* or *Charly*, while *Robert* was the preferred legal name that appeared on all the court

18. Caroline Co. Marr. Book 9 (1835–45): 103, bond dated 16 September 1839.

19. Will of Stanfield Jones, Caroline Co., Va., Will Book 35: 15. Dated 13 August 1844 and proved 9 September 1844, this document was recorded originally in one of the will books that destroyed after many of the Caroline Co. records were transported to Richmond for protection during the Civil War. Later, a copy of the will was recovered from the loose chancery papers and recorded 29 November 1874. In Jane’s letter that bears the 1845 date, she probably refers to the property she had inherited from her father, when she wrote, “If it is the will of the Lord to take me from them [her children] I shall leave a plenty for them if it is rightly manage[d].”

20. 1860 U.S. cens., Covington Co., Ala., p. 362, dwell. 52, fam. 52. The fact that George M. is not the birth brother of Jane is also evident from her repeated accounts to George, in the 1845–52 letters, of recent visits with “your [George’s] father.” As noted above, Jane’s father, Stanfield Jones, died in 1844.

papers and the two federal enumerations of his childhood. Commonly, legal records favor an individual's first name, even though the middle one might be his "call name." Thus, it might be posited that Jones, at birth, was named *Robert Charles* rather than the *Charles Robert* of his signature. The most extreme digression, a grandchild's contention that he was *R. E.* or *Robert E.*, wanes in significance when one considers that Charles R.'s wife appears as *R. E.* in contemporary legal records (or when one considers the number of times that Southern males of the Civil War era, with the given name Robert, are said by descendants to have borne the very same name as the beloved Confederate hero, *Robert E. Lee* himself).

Conclusion

Given the extreme commonness of the surname Jones, it remains possible that all similarities are still coincidence. However, the nature of the parallels would suggest that they deserve far more weight than the dissimilarities. If so, wherein lies the truth about Charles Robert's age?

THE BIRTH YEAR

Thirteen sources state various ages and birthdates for Charles or Robert Jones:

NAME USED	SOURCE	DATA GIVEN	CONCLUSION
Charles R.	Pension file	b. 22 Sept. 1841	b. 22 Sept. 1841
Charles R.	Wife's Bible		
Charlie Robert	Death certificate		
Charles R.	Tombstone		
Charles R.	Granddaughter	age ca. 16 at enlistment	b. ca. 1846
Charles R.	1920 census	age 80	b. 1839 ²¹
Charles R.	1910 census	age 70	b. 15 Apr. 1839–14 Apr. 1840 ²²
Charles R.	1900 census	b. Sept. 1839	b. Sept. 1839
Charles R.	1880 census	age 38	b. 1 June 1841–31 May 1842 ²³
Charles R.	1870 census	age 26	b. 1 June 1843–31 May 1844
Robert	1860 census	age 16	
Robert	1850 census	age 6	
Robert	1856 court case	under 14	b. after March 1842

One other crucial source implies an age indirectly. Jane E. Jones's letter of 3 July 1845 to George M. Jones reports, "Charly is going to School to Brother Richard[']s] daughter Columbia, he out learns anny little Fellow i ever saw, he can read and write very well for this is the first year he ever went to Chool."

21. The official census date for this year, from which ages are calculated, is 1 January. See *Guide to Genealogical Research in the National Archives* (Washington: National Archives and Records Service, 1982), 38.

22. The official census date for 1910 is 15 April.

23. The official census date for the 1850–1900 period is 1 June.

Analysis

The disparity between these records is considerable. Between some, conflicts cannot be reconciled without additional evidence. Yet the analytical process, and the investigations suggested by it, has led to a reasonable conclusion.

BIBLE RECORD

An internal inscription reveals that the Bible in which Jones's birth was recorded was given to his wife before her first marriage in 1858. Thus, it can be proposed that she recorded his birthdate during their marriage and that he supplied the date, as he did for his own pension application. While Jones clearly would have no recollection of his own birth, a man's statements regarding his birthdate are generally taken as primary evidence—presuming he has no motive for altering that date. Making one's self of legal age for marriage, military service, or a pension is a common motive. Possibly one or another provided a motivation in Charles's case.

CENSUS RECORDS

Despite the seeming reliability of the 1841 date, census records made earlier in Jones's life place his birth at 1843–44. Because these documents were closer in time to his birth, they ordinarily would merit greater credibility than records created during later years. Moreover, the well-known shortcomings of census records are diminished in the present argument, because of the total agreement between the disparate records of 1850, 1860, and 1870—the first three censuses of his life, taken for three different households in three different states.

COURT RECORD

The claimed 1841 birthdate also conflicts with the 1856 court record, contending that Robert Jones was under fourteen years. Whether he fell above or below that age was an important distinction, legally. His sister, said to be above fourteen, was therefore of legal age to present her own testimony and sign a record of it—which she did—as well as to choose her own guardian. But Robert's stated age required that a guardian ad litem be appointed for him and that all legal testimony be made by that guardian. Although both of his parents were dead at that time, a paternal uncle, two maternal uncles, and his sister testified in the case—each of whom was in a position to know his age.

MILITARY RECORD

Traditions of military service at young ages are as persistent in families as the ubiquitous tales of "three immigrant brothers who came to America." Realistically, the contention of Charles's granddaughter that he enlisted around the age of sixteen could be a family fancy. Certainly, she could have had no firsthand knowledge of his military service that she related over a century after his enlistment.

While her “evidence” might be used to set a bottom limit for his age, it also reinforces the census data and the court testimony, both of which place his birth after March 1843 rather than September 1841.

MATERNAL LETTERS

Jane’s description of her son Charly was written by a person obviously in a position to know him well. Even from a doting mother, this could be considered highly credible evidence. Yet her description is at odds with all the other evidence of age—including that given by Charles himself. Her remarks imply a child older than three years and ten months—the age he would have been in July 1845, if the 1841 birthdate were correct.

No study (known to this author, at least) has been made to establish the “typical” age at which a child of this place and time started to school. A subjective conclusion from reading contemporary censuses is that six years was common, then as now. Fluctuations from five to ten years can be found. If Charles or Robert was born after March 1842, as the court case asserts, or in 1843–44, as the censuses of 1850–70 contend, then it is dubious that he could already “read and write very well” by 3 July 1845. If he were born on 22 September 1841, as Charles himself asserted, then he was still *quite* a “little Fellow,” as his mother characterized him in that letter dated 1845. Reading and writing before the age of four is possible, but it is difficult to support such a claim without more-substantial proof.

On the surface, the birthdate evidence appears fatal to the hypothesis that Charles R. Jones of Jackson County, Florida, was Robert Jones of Caroline County, Virginia. However, thorough analysis of genealogical evidence requires corroboration of all details, rather than conjectures, to explain discrepancies.

Further action

The same letter in which Jane praised her “little Fellow” describes a community event of a documentable nature. Under the date of 3 July 1845, that letter reports “the suden death on last Sunday eivning [in which] Mr Pain of Fredericksburg,¹¹ a Murchant,¹¹ went out to the river with some gentleman to baith and was drowned.” The *Fredericksburg Weekly Advertiser* includes an account of this death—on 9 July 1853: “Drowned.—Daniel Payne who kept a store at the lower end of town, was drowned on Sunday evening last in the river.” Clearly, the date penned on the letter is erroneous. Close inspection reveals that the year could have been added by a hand other than hers.

Reevaluation

Correcting the date of Jane’s letter from 1845 to 1853 resolves its conflict with all other age evidence, save Charles’s own statement. The alteration of his age by at least two years, between the censuses of 1870 and 1880, remains to be explained. Three times in Jones’s life, situations are known to have arisen of a nature that sometimes prompted males to increase their age:

- his military enlistment in January 1862—at which time he may or may not have been of age to enlist. The Confederate draft age initially was eighteen years for regular service, with volunteer enlistment open to younger males; but by fall 1862 the draft for regular service included youth “who lacked a few months of being eighteen,” and sixteen became the obligatory age for militia duty.²⁴
- his marriage in 1867—at which time he should have been of age. However, the woman he wooed was born in 1839.²⁵ Backdating his age from 1843–46 to 1841 would make his age seem more compatible with hers.
- his pension application of 1907. However, eligibility for a Confederate veteran’s pension in Florida, at this time, required evidence of disability resulting from injury during the war, rather than advanced age.²⁶

It is also possible that the orphaned Charles simply did not know his birthdate. In any event, the preponderance of the evidence lies with a conclusion that he was not born in 1841, as he stated, but in the 1843–46 period.

THE RELATIONSHIPS

Evidence

The only direct evidence in Florida that attests Jones’s parentage, his death certificate, cites him as son of “C. R. Jones” and “Virginia (—) Jones.” The maternal letters of Jane E. Jones contradict that, posing Virginia as his sister. The previously cited marriage bond from Caroline couples Jane with a Charles Jones, and the 1856 court case in Caroline confirms their union. According to the petition of George M. Jones of Covington County, Alabama, “Charles Jones, formerly of This County died about the year [blank] leaving a widow Jane E. Jones, and two infant children Virginia Jones and Robert Jones.”²⁷ No other record has been found that cites a father for Virginia or Robert.

The previously cited maternal letter reporting Charly’s attendance at school carries an additional clue to other Virginia relations. On 3 July 18[53], Jane wrote: “Charly is going to School to *Brother Richard[’s] daughter Columbia.*” The previously cited census of 1850, for the Caroline County household of Jane and her children Virginia and Robert, places them in a dwelling next door to Richard Jones (aged forty-one) and his apparent daughter, Columbia (aged thirteen).²⁸ The name

24. Act of 16 April 1862, Pub. Laws, C.S.A., 1st Cong., 1st Sess.; acts of 27 September and 17 November 1862, Pub. Laws, C.S.A., 1st Cong., 2d Sess. See also Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (1905; reprinted, Spartanburg, S.C.: Reprint Co., 1978), 78–95.

25. Bible of Rebecca Elizabeth (Collier) (Minchin) Jones.

26. “An Act to Provide an Annuity for Disabled Soldiers and Sailors of the State of Florida” [Chap. 3861—No. 15], *The Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the Legislature of Florida at Its Extra Session, under the Constitution of A.D. 1885* (Tallahassee: N. M. Bowen, 1889), 33–35.

27. *Jones v. Jones* [1856], Caroline Co. Circuit Court.

28. 1850 U.S. cens., Caroline Co., p. 301, dwell. 1240, fam. 1242, and dwell. 1241, fam. 1243.

Richard Jones also appears for the surety to the marriage bond of Charles Jones, when he sought a license to marry Jane.

Analysis

All existing evidence points to the identity of “Charles and Jane E.” rather than “C. R. and Virginia [—]” as the parents of Charles Robert Jones—except for his 1925 death certificate. The weight of the evidence clearly belies the postmortem record. The court suit, as a contemporary legal document dealing with inheritance, merits the greatest credibility. The parties involved in the case were in a position to know the children’s parentage. The record was created during Charles Robert’s and Virginia’s childhood, and their parentage is corroborated by other evidence. The marriage bond posted for Charles Jones to wed Jane E. Jones is evidence only of the parties’ intention to marry. Alone, it would not establish his paternity of Jane’s subsequent children; but coupled with court testimony on that point, the evidence is convincing. By contrast, the parents alleged for Charles Robert Jones on his death certificate are names provided after his death, by a daughter who had no firsthand knowledge of his parents.

CONCLUSION

The search for the origins of Charles R. Jones began with his death certificate, a certified legal document of seeming credibility. The records that ultimately offered the best evidence of his paternity, however, differed from that death certificate on almost every fact possible—his name, birthdate, place of origin, and parents. Establishing that the records do refer to the same individual has required four interdependent preponderance-of-the-evidence arguments. Together, they are overwhelmingly conclusive. Charles Robert Jones was the only son of Charles and Jane E. (née Jones) Jones. He was born in Caroline County, Virginia, almost certainly, and probably on a 22 September during the 1843–46 period.

Efficiency in the U.S. Post Office: 1858

Ashtabula (Ohio) Telegraph, 23 October 1858, p. 3, col. 2

“A letter was dropped into the post office in Greenfield, Mass. last week, directed to *Egg Harborcity Nuschersy*.

After some study, it was sent to Egg Harbor City N.J.”

—Contributed by *Claire Prechtel-Klusens*; 2602 Ryegate Lane; Alexandria, VA 22308

Widows, Stepkin, and Support Networks: Clues to the Unknown Father of Miranda (Taylor) Morris

By William M. Litchman, Ph.D., CG*

Traditional literature favors accounts of families split asunder by remarriages and incompatible steprelationships. Less publicized are the marital kinships that strengthened families, extended them, and—consequently—expanded the options that genealogists must consider. Miranda (Taylor) Morris makes this point.

Birth identities for married females of past centuries are notoriously difficult to establish. If lucky, a researcher will find the woman's marriage record, whereon some surname is given—usually with no indication as to whether it is a maiden name or a prior husband's name. For that record to identify parents also is almost beyond hope. If truly lucky, a researcher may find that the region's records have been well abstracted, indexed, and published; and that one or another index links the bride to a parental will or deed of gift. But seldom is this the *reality* a genealogist faces when tracking a family across America's frontier. Instead, one often must labor to build a case for the woman's birth family—by studying the males to whom she was attached, by studying the entire pool of males within her area who bore her birth surname, by expanding the research to include stepkin, and by following all those males whenever and wherever the itch to move may have led them.

The point is made often in today's methodological lectures on the subject of tracking ancestral females.¹ It still is often ignored. Miranda (Taylor) Morris proves both the validity of the advice and the extent of the labor it entails.

MIRANDA AND HER CHILDREN

The Widow Morris died in 1876.² In her forty-nine years, she had trekked across some three thousand miles of the American frontier. Like most pioneers of her era, she migrated in stages—at least four of them. From her native Virginia, she crossed the rugged Appalachians and the Mississippi to settle in Warren County, Missouri

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1. For example, see Elizabeth Shown Mills, "Finding Females: Name Unknown, Parents Unknown, Origins Unknown," National Genealogical Society's 1991 Conference in the States, Portland; available from Repeat Performance; 2911 Crabapple Lane; Hobart, IN 46342.

2. *Saline County (Kansas) Journal*, 26 April 1876, p. 3, col. 1.

(or perhaps in Montgomery County, from which Warren was cut in 1833). There, she married Nathaniel Morris on 28 August 1847,³ before a Baptist minister named Thomas Bowen. Over the next fifteen years, Miranda bore seven children, all in Missouri—John (1847–48), William (1849–50), Mary E. (1852), Charles (1854), Martha (1856), Louella (1859–60), and Eli A. (1861–62).⁴

By 1870, Miranda was again a *feme sole*, still landless like many postwar widows, eking out an existence for herself and children. But they were not in Missouri. They had ascended the Mississippi nearly a thousand miles, into Grant County, Wisconsin.⁵ Miranda would make two more moves in the next five years—following her son William's new in-laws westward into Iowa, then onto the plains of Kansas, where she apparently homesteaded. The agricultural schedule of the 1875 state census of Kansas's Rice County credits her with 160 unfenced acres worth \$300. Four of those acres were planted in corn. She and the two children still at home were the owners of one cow and one dog.⁶ It is doubtful they had accumulated much more before consumption felled her the next spring, 10 April 1876.⁷

True to the life of most females of her era, Miranda created few records of her own. The counties in which she lived offer no probate, church, or court records to document her identity, much less her trials. Yet indirect pointers to her kinsmen can be found by closely analyzing the few records of her husband and by studying their details in conjunction with the larger body of records existing for contemporaries of her surname and the families into which these intermarried.

HER HUSBAND

Nathaniel Morris was also born in Virginia, about 1819–21.⁸ The 1850 and 1860 censuses of Warren County call him a “farmer;” but, like many other husbandmen of his era, he showed little interest in landownership. Small-scale farming could be done on rental parcels or unclaimed public land. Thus, Nathaniel created few records at the Warren County courthouse. One small tract of 40 acres that he purchased in 1855 was sold just a few days later, at nearly double the price—an aberrant transaction for him. The plot's legal description—i.e., northeast quarter of

3. Warren Co., Mo., Marriage Book B: 150; see also Mrs. Howard W. Woodruff, *The Marriage Records of Warren County, Missouri, Books “A” and “B,” 1833–1860* (Kansas City, Mo.: Privately printed, 1969), 23.

4. 1850 U.S. census, population schedule, Warren Co., Mo., 99th district, p. 74, dwelling 705, family 705; 1860 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Warren Co., Campbranch township, Pin Oak post office, p. 186, dwell. 394, fam. 395; 1870 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Grant Co., Wis., Potosi twp., Plattesville p.o., p. 3, dwell. 18, fam. 18; 1875 Kans. state cens., Rice Co., Farmer twp., Atlanta p.o., dwell. 91, fam. 91. The pop. sch. of this state cens., which says that she last lived in Iowa, erroneously gives Miranda's name as *Margaret*; the agricultural sch. cites it as *Myranda*.

5. 1870 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Grant Co., Wis., Potosi twp., Plattesville p.o., p. 3, dwell. 18, fam. 18.

6. 1875 Kans. state cens., agr. sch. Rice Co., Farmer twp., Atlanta p.o. The family with which she moved from Wis. to Iowa to Kans. was the Bonhams. See family record of Edmund James Bonham, Los Angeles, Calif., dated 1920; unpublished manuscript in possession of the present writer. Edmund James was the brother of Anna Eliza Bonham, who married William Eleazar Morris.

7. *Saline County (Kansas) Journal*, 26 April 1876, p. 3, col. 1.

8. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Warren Co., Mo., 99th dist., p. 74, dwell. 705, fam. 705; 1860 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Warren Co., Campbranch twp., Pin Oak p.o., p. 186, dwell. 394, fam. 395.

southwest quarter of section 5, township 47 north, range 2 west—could be immensely important.⁹ When platted on a county map, the land falls just northwest of the county seat of Warrenton. See figure 1.

Nathaniel made no other court appearances in Warren. No military service can be established for him. The timing of his last child, circa 1861–62, suggests that he may not have lived through the Civil War; but no Union or Confederate records of Missouri's sorely divided population seem to relate to this Nathaniel Morris.¹⁰ Whether he moved with Miranda and children to Wisconsin is unknown. No probate record has been found in either locale—a not surprising fact, because he apparently died without real estate or chattel of significant value.

ASSESSING THE PROBLEM

Sometime between Eli's birth in 1861–62 and the date of the 1870 census data, Miranda lost her husband. Sometime during that block of years, she and the children (with or without Nathaniel) relocated in Wisconsin. These facts raise several questions about Miranda which, if they can be answered, might lead to the identification of her parents.

- How did Miranda, who was born in Virginia, come to be in Warren County, Missouri, in 1847, aged nineteen to twenty-one?
- Why did Miranda leave Missouri after 1861–62?
- Why did she choose to relocate in Grant County, Wisconsin?

Given Miranda's youth at her first appearance in Missouri, it is reasonable to conclude that she likely migrated there with her family. As a working hypothesis, it is reasonable to begin with the premise that her family's surname was the one under which she married: Taylor.

IDENTIFYING A POOL OF CANDIDATES

To test the hypothesis, all contemporary households of the Taylor surname in Warren County, Missouri, were identified and studied. That exercise yielded nine possibilities—two appearing in 1835–40 probate records and seven more appearing on the 1840 census.

9. Warren Co. Deed Book G: 25, 34. The circumstances of this purchase and immediate sale are unusual and continue to be investigated. The difference in the purchase/sale prices and the wording of Morris's purchase document suggest that he may have bought only a partial interest (from Warren V. Stewart and wife Ann E.), and that he or Miranda may have held a partial interest of their own prior to the first transaction.

10. Two military enrollments for individuals named Nathaniel Morris have been found for the Civil War era, but neither can be definitely attached to him. The two are: (1) no. 3198, enlistment 1 November 1863 at Fayette, with service in Co. C, 1st Prov. Regt., E.M.M., Co. H, 46th Regt., E.M.M., Co. L, 8th MSM Cav. Vols., and Co. A, 9th MSM Cav. Vols.; and (2) no. 3198-C, enlistment 1862, age 31, Co. B, 2d Inf. CSA. See "Missouri, Adjutant General's Office, Military Records, General Index Files for Seminole, Mexican and Civil Wars, 1837–1865," Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City.

Additionally, there exists an 1865–66 militia index for Missouri, arranged by county. Nathaniel Morris is not found there. See FHL microcopy 1204772. The author thanks the NGSQ reviewers of this manuscript for suggesting this source.

[—?—] Taylor

This unknown male died before August 1835, leaving a modest estate with several slaves. He left a minor, Theodore, for whom annual accounts were posted by his guardian, Francis J. Bevan, between August 1836 and May 1842. Court proceedings intimate that Theodore lived in the town of Pinckney.¹¹ On 9 December 1841, he married Tobellah Owsley in a ceremony performed by the Reverend John Anderson.¹² That record does not cite him as a minor. The implication is that Theodore came of age between November 1841 (when Bevan filed that year's annual account) and May 1842 (when the final guardianship account was filed). None of the records relating to this guardianship identify the parent from whom Theodore presumably inherited. None mention any other relative. No similar record was created for Miranda, who was likewise a minor in the period this guardianship transpired.

Daniel Taylor

Of Bridgeport township at the time of the 1840 census, Daniel was said to be in his nineties, sharing a home with a female in her sixties. The family included no other occupant—particularly no female child in the ten-to-fifteen category as Miranda would have been.¹³ Revolutionary War pension files reveal that Daniel had been a soldier of the Virginia line. Born in New Jersey, about forty miles from New York City, he had moved with his family to Virginia and lived in Frederick and Greenbrier counties. About 1800, he migrated westward to Bardstown, Kentucky. From there he moved, before 1830, to Montgomery County, Missouri (later Warren), where he applied for his pension in May 1833. No mention is made of a wife or a daughter at that time.¹⁴ As a pensioner, he left no property to probate.

Elizabeth Taylor

Possibly a widow, Elizabeth of Bridgeport was in her thirties in 1840, living with a small boy and girl, both under five years, and a man said to be over one hundred. On the basis of age, Elizabeth would seem to be a viable candidate for Miranda's mother, but there is no adolescent female of Miranda's age living with Elizabeth.¹⁵

Fountain Taylor

This young man of Hickory Grove township was one of seven Taylor heads of household enumerated on the 1840 census. Aged fifteen to twenty, with a wife aged twenty to thirty and no children, Fountain can be eliminated as a possible father of

11. Warren Co. Probate Book A: 173, 250; see also pp. 139, 217, 250, 341, and 379.

12. Warren Co. Marr. Book A: 79.

13. 1840 U.S. cens., Warren Co., p. 153.

14. Virgil D. White, *Genealogical Abstracts of Revolutionary War Pension Files*, 4 vols. (Waynesboro, Tenn.: National Historical Publishing Co., 1992), 3: 3426; 1830 U.S. cens., Montgomery Co., Mo., Lower Laurre twp., p. 207.

15. 1840 U.S. cens., Warren Co., p. 152.

Miranda—although he might remain in consideration as a potential brother.¹⁶ On 12 September 1839, he wed one Delilah McCann before Joseph Nichols, a Missionary Baptist minister at Warrenton. The county's record of that marriage states "groom underage, father present and consenting."¹⁷

Jesse Taylor

A non-testamentary estate was probated for Jesse Taylor in May 1840. A guardian was appointed for his son, William W., who was said to be "a minor, abandoned by his father for more than six months."¹⁸ No mention is made of a child Miranda being left in similar circumstances.

Roger Taylor

This householder of Hickory Grove, aged fifty to sixty, was of appropriate age to qualify for Miranda's father. However, his dwelling housed only one female (of his same age bracket) and two young males (aged ten to fifteen and twenty to thirty). No teenaged females were recorded.¹⁹ Moreover, his estate was probated in Warren County; and Miranda is not named amid the lengthy list of his heirs that included the following:²⁰

Hannah Taylor, widow
William O. Ross and wife Lucinda
Benajah English and wife Sarah S.
James T. [F?] Taylor
Robert J. Huston and wife Caroline
Colby H. Taylor
Samuel D. Taylor
John A. Woolfolte[?], attorney-in-fact of Matilda Woolfocte[?], late Matilda Taylor
Daniel McFarland and wife Letitia, late Letitia Taylor
W. G. Porter, husband of the deceased Eleanor Porter, late Eleanor Taylor
(and guardian of Martha V. and Eleanor M. C. Porter, their infants)
William R. Taylor, infant heir over age fourteen
Jacob F. Taylor, infant heir over age fourteen

Thomas Taylor

This young man, in his twenties, lived alone in the town of Warrenton in 1840.²¹ He was hardly of the right age to be the father of Miranda, although he might remain a candidate for brother or other relative.

16. 1840 U.S. cens., Warren Co., p. 170.

17. Warren Co. Marr. Book A: 56.

18. Warren Co. Probate Book A: 237.

19. 1840 U.S. cens., Warren Co., p. 170.

20. Warren Co. Probate Book A: 446, 455, 482, 496.

21. 1840 U.S. cens., Warren Co., p. 172.

Vincent Taylor

The Hickory Grove family of Vincent Taylor was the only 1840 household with a female of appropriate age. Vincent and his apparent wife were both between forty and fifty years. Four boys ranged from five to fifteen. Three girls were of compatible age with Miranda (ten to fifteen), while a fourth was between fifteen and twenty.²² Given the children's ages, Vincent's marriage would seem to antedate the 1833 creation of the county. His intestate probate file, begun 1 May 1865, names only creditors (including one Eli P. Taylor), purchasers of estate goods, and his widow Cecilia J. Taylor, who received final distribution of the resulting ten dollars.²³

Washington Taylor

Living in Elk Horn township, Washington Taylor and his apparent wife were both recorded as twenty to thirty years of age, with two boys under the age of five.²⁴ Clearly, this family could be excluded also.

FOCUSING THE SEARCH

Nine Taylor families could be placed in Warren County during the decade Miranda came of age and married there. Presuming that her parents had settled the region prior to the 1840 census, then only one of the nine possibilities was viable: the Vincent Taylors of Hickory Grove. Geographically, the middle-aged Vincent might also be linked with two other males of the Hickory Grove township: Roger Taylor (aged fifty to sixty) and Fountain Taylor (fifteen to twenty). Because Fountain's 1839 marriage record explicitly says that he was a minor and that his father attended the wedding, it might be hypothesized that either Vincent or Roger was that unnamed father.

Focusing the search upon Vincent produced numerous associational, geographic, and migratory links with Miranda—almost all centering upon the McCann family into which Vincent married.

Associational links

On 6 November 1839, a Missionary Baptist minister named Joseph Nichols performed the Warrenton wedding of Vincent to the widow Mary McCann.²⁵ (Nichols was the same preacher who had officiated when Fountain Taylor married Delilah McCann on 12 September 1839, in the presence of Fountain's unidentified father.²⁶) Assuming Vincent's 1839 bride to be the adult female in his 1840 home

22. *Ibid.*, 170.

23. Warren Co. Probate Book B: 267, 294; also Warren Co. Loose Paper Probate File for Vincent Taylor. Regarding the involvement of Eli in Vincent's estate, note that Miranda named a son Eli.

24. Warren Co. Probate Book B: 172.

25. Warren Co. Marr. Book A: 59.

26. *Ibid.*, 56

(aged forty to fifty), then she should not be the mother of Miranda, who was born circa 1826–28.

The estate of Mary's first husband, Neal McCann, had gone to probate in Warren County in May 1836. Their children and heirs are identified in the proceedings, and several have marriages recorded in Warren. In brief:²⁷

MCCANN CHILD	SPOUSE	MARRIAGE DATE	OFFICIATING PARTY
Salama	[—?—] Skinner	before 1836	
Jesse ²⁸	Thalba Williams	17 May 1836	John P. Shaw, J.P.
Rhoda	Elihu Cooper	before 1836	
Matilda ²⁹	William Cook	10 April 1836	John P. Shaw, J.P.
Polly ³⁰	Lawrence Lankford	14 July 1836	Thos. Bowen, Bapt. Min.
Delilah ³¹	Fountain Taylor	12 Sept. 1839	Jos. Nichols, Bapt. Min.
Lewis ³²	Mary Ann Johnson	28 Nov. 1844	A. S. Wood, J.P.
Sarah ³³	Jesse Cartwright	27 May 1841	Jos. Nichols, Bapt. Min.
Ruhama ³⁴	Porter Neal	ca. 1840–50 ³⁵	

Two of the factors outlined in this table support the hypothesis that Miranda belongs to the family of Vincent Taylor—i.e.:

- At the time of the 1840 census, two of the McCann girls remained unmarried and probably followed their mother into Vincent's household. They should account for two of the females aged ten to fifteen, leaving one remaining possibility for Miranda.
- The Baptist minister who officiated at the 1836 marriage of Polly McCann to Lawrence Lankford in 1836 was the same minister who served Miranda Taylor and Nathaniel Morris in 1847. By implication, either Miranda or Nathaniel attended the same church as Polly McCann, stepdaughter of Vincent Taylor.

Geographic links

Two sets of circumstances offer potential to test geographic links between Vincent Taylor and Miranda (Taylor) Morris. The first considers Vincent's origins; the second, his place of residence in Warren County.

27. Warren Co. Probate Book A: 74, 108, 128. Unless otherwise stated, data given in the above table for the McCann children and heirs are from this probate record.

28. Warren Co. Marr. Book A: 24.

29. *Ibid.*, 22. This record states "bride underage, [married] by consent of her parents." Thus, it would seem that Neal McCann died between the 10 April 1836 marriage and the May 1836 opening of his probate.

30. Warren Co. Marr. Book A: 24.

31. *Ibid.*, 56.

32. *Ibid.*, 113.

33. *Ibid.*, 73.

34. Family record of Edmund James Bonham.

35. Ruhama died before 1850, at which time her husband is enumerated in the household of Jesse and Sarah (McCann) Cartwright; see 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Grant Co., Wis., dist. 24, p. 29, dwell. 403, fam. 409. Ruhama is not found on the mortality schedule of that 1850 census. Thus, she possibly died before 1 June 1849, as all deaths between that date and 1 June 1850 were supposed to be recorded on the mortality schedule.

According to the 1850 census of Warren, the fifty-two-year-old Vincent (like Miranda) was born in Virginia. A farmer and apparently a widower again, he shared his home with the seventeen-year-old Stephen B. Taylor, also born in Virginia.³⁶ Agreeable to this data, the 1830 census shows no Vincent Taylor in Missouri. But two men of this name were householders in the Old Dominion:

FAUQUIER COUNTY, VIRGINIA, 1830, P. 454

Vincent Taylor	1 male	50–59	1 female	50–59
	3 males	0–5	1 female	20–29

KING AND QUEEN COUNTY, VIRGINIA, 1830, P. 289³⁷

Vincent Taylor	1 male	30–39	1 female	30–39
	1 male	20–29	2 females	5–9
	1 male	10–14	1 female	0–5
	1 male	0–5		

The latter family's composition and age data are compatible with the family that removed to Missouri—including a girl of age corresponding to Miranda. Vincent of King and Queen does not appear on that county's enumeration in 1840. Meanwhile, when the first town lots were sold in Warrenton, Missouri, in January 1836, the original purchasers included Vincent Taylor.³⁸ Whether his first wife accompanied him to Missouri is uncertain. In the extant land records of that county, he first appears as a grantor on 19 January 1839—ten months before his remarriage; no wife participated in that January sale or subsequently relinquished her dower.³⁹

No document directly states the community in which Miranda resided with her husband; nor does any state how close their residence was to that of Vincent Taylor. However, the purchase and sale of land that Nathaniel Morris made in January 1855 and a conveyance executed soon after by Vincent Taylor provide a common locus for the households. Warren County in the 1850s sprawled across some three hundred and ten square miles; yet the Morris land and the Taylor land lay less than a mile apart. (See figure 1.) The key documents that testify to their geographic proximity are these:

20 January 1855

Nathaniel Morris and wife Miranda Morris sell 40 acres of land in Morris County, described as northeast quarter of southwest quarter of section 5, township 47 north, range 2 west.⁴⁰

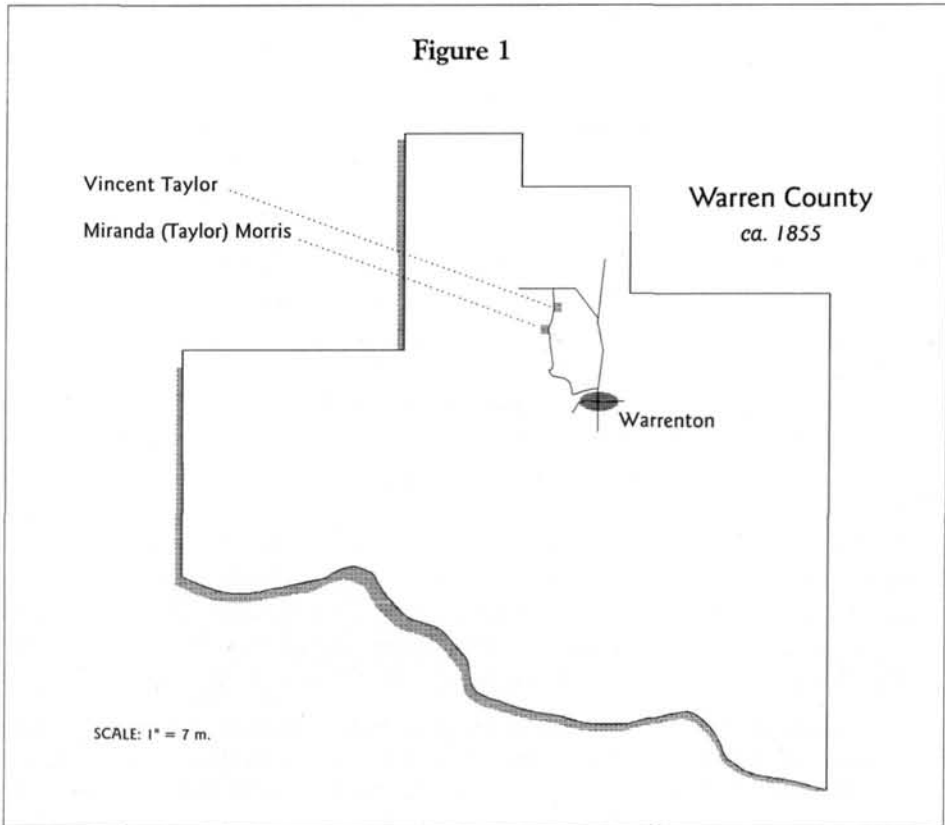
36. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Warren Co., 99th dist., p. 40, dwell. 189, fam. 199.

37. Next-door to this Vincent Taylor is the household of Caleb Taylor, aged sixty to sixty-nine—i.e., old enough to be Vincent Taylor's father.

38. *History of St. Charles, Montgomery, and Warren Counties, Missouri* (1885; reprinted, St. Louis: Paul V. Cochrane, 1969), 1068. The extant land records of Warren Co. do not begin until 1838, two years after the original town lots were sold.

39. Warren Co. Warrantee Deed Book B: 326, and Mortgage Book C: 324.

40. Warren Co. Deed Book G: 34.



8 March 1855

Vincent Taylor (no wife)⁴¹ sells 37.5 acres described as northeast quarter of southeast quarter of section 7, township 47 north, range 2 west; also 2.5 acres lying in adjoining section 8, township 47 north, range 2 west.⁴²

A long-standing association with this township 47, range 2, neighborhood is suggested for Vincent by one other record—one that could be misleading if his connection to the McCanns was not known. Sued for debt in the wake of the worldwide financial crash of 1837—a crisis that extended into the mid-1840s—Vincent and wife Mary were forced in 1842 to sell a tract of land described as 237.40 acres in section 13, township 47, range 3, and section 18, township 47, range 2. Purchaser

41. Vincent remarried before 1860, but the marriage record has not been found. The wife Cecilia, named as widow in his 1865 probate file, is enumerated with him in 1860 as Criscillia, age 35. Also in the household was Geminah [Jemima] J. Garrett, 15; Thomas W. Garrett, 11; Agatha Gile (or Gill), 80; and John Collins, a farm laborer. See 1860 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Warren Co., Elkhorn twp., p. 38, dwell. 61, fam. 61. The 1855 sale of land above may have marked his marriage and removal to the land or community of the new wife.

42. Warren Co. Deed Book G: 66.

was Ephraim Riddle. In April 1845, Fountain Taylor executed a deed in which he is cited as selling the exact same property to Ephraim Riddle.⁴³

It is tempting to deduce, from this information, some familial connection between Vincent and Fountain Taylor; but a more-thorough study of the deed records reveals that the property and the connection was a McCann one. Similar conveyances for this tract are found for “Lewis D. McCann and Maryann his wife” to Ephraim Riddle; for Jesse McCann to Riddle; and for “Lawrence Langford and Elizabeth, his wife” to Riddle. Still more are found for “William Cook and Matilda Cook, [his] wife” to Jesse Cartwright; then from “Jessee Cartwright and Sarah Cartwright his wife” to Mathew H. Cartwright, “estate administrator,” who conveyed it to Riddle. This chain of transactions, the last of which occurred in 1850, represents the disposal of the real property of Neal McCann. Vincent and Fountain Taylor participated in the conveyances only as husbands of two McCann heirs.⁴⁴

Migratory links

In the mid-1860s—concurrent perhaps with the deaths of Vincent Taylor (her proposed father) and Nathaniel Morris, her husband—Miranda moved with her children to Wisconsin. If the developing hypothesis is correct, that Miranda (Taylor) Morris is connected to the Taylor-McCann cluster, then members of that extended family should be found with her in the new locale. They were. In brief:

- Fountain and Delilah (McCann) Taylor moved to Wisconsin around 1845. The 1850 census of Grant County cites a Missouri birth about 1842 for their second child and a Wisconsin birth about 1845 for the third.⁴⁵ Fountain and Delilah were still in the county in 1870, in the same vicinity as Miranda.⁴⁶
- Jesse and Sarah (McCann) Cartwright and William and Matilda (McCann) Cook also appear on the Grant enumeration of 1850, virtually next door to Fountain and Delilah. With the Cartwrights lived Porter Neal, widower of Ruhama McCann.⁴⁷
- William Cook and Jesse Cartwright were actually listed in absentia, in the Wisconsin households of their wives and children. Both men had gone to California in 1849. Cook died there in 1850. Jesse Cartwright, who was enumerated in California's Eldorado County in 1850, apparently died there as well. In 1853, his widow Sarah (McCann) married her late sister's husband, Porter Neal. Meanwhile, Cook's widow Matilda (McCann) married James Bonham, formerly of Pike County.⁴⁸

43. Warren Co. Deed Books C: 324; D: 351, 535.

44. Warren Co. Deed Books C: 332, 403; E: 404; and F: 22.5 [sic], 32, 43.

45. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Grant Co., Wis., dist. 24, p. 29, dwell. 402, fam. 408.

46. 1870 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Grant Co., Wis., Potosi twp., p. 3, dwell. 18, fam. 18 (Miranda Morris) and Beetown, p.16, dwell. 22, fam. 22 (Fountain Taylor). Beetown and Potosi townships are contiguous.

47. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Grant Co., Wis., dist. 24, p. 29, dwells. 403, 407, fams. 409, 413.

48. For the Neal-Cartwright marriage, see Grant Co. Marr. Book 1: 148. For Cook's death and his widow's remarriage to Bonham, see Family Records of Edmund James Bonham, 1920; and Emmet L. Smith, *Bonham, 1631-1908* (Chicago: Privately printed, 1908), 33. See also 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Eldorado Co., Calif., p. 269.

- After Miranda (Taylor) Morris and her children joined the Taylor-McCann family in Wisconsin, Miranda's son William wed Anna Bonham, son of James and Matilda (McCann) Bonham. With James, Matilda, William, Anna, and other members of this extended family (including Edmund James Bonham, who compiled a family account in 1920), Miranda migrated to Iowa and Kansas.⁴⁹

CONCLUSION

No known documentary evidence exists by which the parentage of Miranda (Taylor) Morris can be directly proved. However, the indirect evidence is compelling. She emerged in Warren County, Missouri, as a young bride in 1847. The only area family of her surname, of compatible age and family composition, was that of Vincent Taylor. The only land that she and her husband owned was located within a mile of Vincent's land. As a widow in need of a support network, after Vincent and her husband died, she relocated in Grant County, Wisconsin—amid Vincent's stepchildren, who were surely her own stepsisters. There, her son married the daughter of Vincent's stepdaughter. And from there, she followed the stepkin across two more states.

Miranda's behavior, Miranda's choices, are logical and convincing. Traditional literature favors accounts of families split asunder by remarriages and incompatible steprelationships. Less publicized are the marital kinships that strengthened families, extended them, and—consequently—expanded the options that genealogists must consider. Miranda (Taylor) Morris makes this point.

49. Family Record of Edmund James Bonham, 1920.

African American Naturalization, 1872

*Certificates of Naturalization, Box 5, Folder 22, Natchitoches Parish Records Collection,
Louisiana State University Archives, Baton Rouge*

7 September 1872.

“State of Louisiana, 9th Judicial District, Parish of Natchitoches . . . before the Hon. Henry C. Myers, Judge of the said Court . . . personally came and appeared in Open Court Denège Taylor, who applied to & declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States of America, and of abjuring entirely and absolutely all fidelity and allegiance to any foreign Prince, State, Sovereignty, Potentate whatever, and in particular to King Wyambo, in Africa. [Signed] Denège Taylor X his mark.”

—Contributed by the editors

Lost Boys and Imprudent Young Men: Using U.S. Consular Despatches from Hawaii to Track Nineteenth-Century Prodigals

By Gordon L. Remington*

The information contained in these consular despatches adds a human dimension that cannot be drawn from pedigree charts and family-group records. It can augment genealogies that already seem to have been thoroughly researched in the usual records. While consular records can be expected to treat only a small fraction of the population, they should be considered when family records suggest that an elusive young male may have gone to sea.

Prior to annexation by the United States in 1898, Hawaii was an independent kingdom. The U.S. maintained consular offices there from 1820, when the first representative arrived at Honolulu. At various times in the nineteenth century, consular offices also existed at Hilo and Mahukona on Hawaii and at Lahaina and Kahului on Maui. Despatches were sent quarterly to the secretary of state in Washington and are preserved in two separate collections at the National Archives: Record Group 59 (American Consular Despatches), and Record Group 84 (Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State). The despatches from the consul at Honolulu, covering the years 1820 to 1903, are published by the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) as M144, rolls 1–22. The introduction to these records states:

A large number of these consular despatches are covering letters for enclosures of a routine nature forwarded by the consul to the Department of State. Many of these are tables or other reports of consular fees received, of arrivals and departures of American vessels, or trade statistics, of aid rendered American seamen, and of other data collected in the ordinary course of consular duty.¹

Routine matters in later despatches (from the 1850s onward) were lists of deceased Americans and papers pertaining to the probate of their estates. Interspersed with these are “fairly detailed despatches covering a wide range of subjects”—including mutinies; shipwrecks; relations of the Hawaiian government with other

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1. *Despatches from U.S. Consuls in Honolulu, Hawaii, 1820–1903*, NARA M144, roll 1, pp. ii–iv; General Records of the Department of State, RG 59. Roll 1 also contains a chronological “register” of the contents of the despatches received in Washington from 1834 to 1903. The arrangement of documents on the films is roughly chronological, according to the quarter of the despatch in which the document was sent.

nations; and letters from the United States, both official and private. The private letters seem to be concerned mainly with locating relatives. Indeed, it is clear from the collection that the consulate was a clearinghouse for information on Americans and their increasing activities in the Pacific during the nineteenth-century heyday of whaling.

To illustrate the nature of these materials and the manner in which they augment more-conventional research, this paper draws from two kinds of cases: reports on sick and destitute seamen and inquiries about missing sons and brothers. Details provided in the consular despatches are then compared to other known genealogical data from usual sources.

SICK AND DESTITUTE SEAMEN

Many American sailors were left at foreign ports by their ship captains if they were too ill to render effective service. Quarterly despatches from the United States consuls in at least some ports tabulate “cases of relief afforded to sick and destitute American seamen,” which contain the following information: name, vessel, master, owner, port of registry, date admitted to consular care, description of need, amount spent, and date discharged. If the seaman died, his date of death is given in the column for his date of discharge. Several dozen sailors might be listed each quarter. If they were not discharged or did not die, their names are carried on to the next quarterly report. The U.S. ships that left seamen in Hawaii were commonly New England whalers out of such ports as Boston, Gloucester, Nantucket, New Bedford, New London, and Salem. The information on those who died at Honolulu can often supplement detail found in published genealogies. At the very least, it can provide certain knowledge of the final resting place of a son or brother who went to sea and was not heard from again.

Quarterly despatches for September 1851 list two American sailors who died while under the care of the consulate:

Dennis Spelling; Ship *Cygnnet*; P. B. Holmes, Master; Wm Appleton & Co., Owners, out of Boston; admitted 18 June 1850, sickness; died 22 Sept 1851.

Elisha M. Tobey; Ship *Eagle*; C. Davis, Master; C. Davis & Others, Owners, out of Gloucester; admitted 10 April 1851, sick and destitute; died 29 September 1851.²

The name Spelling is not a typically New England name, and it is possible that this sailor was a recent immigrant to Boston—perhaps from Ireland. On the other hand, Elisha M. Tobey is undoubtedly Elijah Miller (Nathaniel⁷, John⁶, Samuel⁵, Thomas⁴⁻¹) Tobey, who was born 24 December 1825 at Jefferson, Lincoln County, Maine. The 1905 Tobey genealogy states that he was “captain of a ship, sailed to

2. “Statement of Cases of Relief Afforded to Destitute American Seamen at United States Consulate of Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands, during the quarter ending September 30th 1851,” volume 5, 7 January 1851–31 December 1854; M 144, roll 5.

Honolulu, H.I., and d. there,” giving just the year, 1850.³ The consular records make it clear that he was not a ship’s captain and also give a specific date of death.

MISSING SONS AND BROTHERS

Concerned parents or siblings penned many of the letters found in the consular despatches, inquiring about sons or brothers suspected or known to be in the Pacific. In this era, when a son or brother “disappeared” in a seaport town, families did consider the possibility that he had been shanghaied into the service of a whaling fleet. Whether or not the lost ones disappeared of their own volition, whaling voyages could last for several years—during which shipwreck, illness, or death by accident could prevent their returning home. Letters of inquiry were usually sent to the secretary of state in Washington, who then forwarded them to the appropriate consulates. There, the officials apparently copied the letters and returned the originals with their despatches to Washington. The following cases are reasonably typical of the Hawaiian collection.

Batchelder

In February 1849, Edmund R. Batchelder of Candia, New Hampshire, wrote to then Secretary of State James Buchanan concerning his missing brother, David:

Dear sir. I hope you will excuse the liberty I have taken to address a few lines to you by way of inquiry but first I will give you my reason for so doing

David F Batchelder_[1], a Brother of mine_[1], sailed from New Bedford Oct 20= 1845 on a whaling voyage on the ship *America*_[1], expecting to be gone thirty months_[1] which period expired last April_[1]; but not receiving any news from him and being anxious to learn if he was still living_[1], I wrote a few lines to the owner of the vessel in which he sailed_[1], from whom I learned a few days since that he being sick was discharged from the ship at the port of Honolulu_[1], one of the sandwich islands_[1], Nov 3d 1846 and left in the care of the United States Consul at that port_[1], since which he has heard nothing from him_[1].

Now what I wished to learn from you if you would be so kind as to communicate it to me was whether or not it is customary for the Consuls to report such things to their government in case the person dies or is any expense to them_[1]. Should this be the case if you could obtain any information in regard to my Brother from that Consul[’s] despatches_[1], you would do me a great favour by communicating the same to me_[1]; but if you should not be able to do this_[1], if you would write to me the Consul[’]s name that was there at that time_[1], also if he is there now or where he is if you know and the method by which I can communicate with him_[1], you will greatly oblige your humble servant . . . Edmund R Batchelder.⁴

3. Rufus Babcock Tobey and Charles Henry Pope, *Tobey (Tobie, Toby) Genealogy: Thomas, of Sandwich and James, of Kittery and their Descendants* (Boston: Charles H. Pope, 1905), 199–200.

4. “Letter from Edmund R. Batchelder to James Buchanan, 12 February 1849,” vol. 4, 3 January 1848–2 December 1850, Despatch for Quarter Ending 31 March 1849; M144, roll 4.

No further correspondence in the consular despatches treat this case. Unfortunately, the lists of sick and destitute seamen for the quarter ending 31 December 1846 are not among the filmed consular despatches, so it could not be readily determined whether or not David F. Batchelder was admitted to consular care and whether he was discharged or died there. The fact that he was not on the list for the quarter ending 31 March 1847 means that he either had been discharged or had died in the previous quarter.⁵ Knowing that his brother had not heard from him, death seems likely.

Meanwhile, Edmund R. Batchelder was listed in the 1850 census of Candia, Rockingham County, New Hampshire. He was said to be twenty-eight years old and born in New Hampshire, with a wife and four children. His brother, David F. Batchelder, was not living with him.⁶ Neither of these men are found in Frederick Clifton Pierce's 1898 Batchelder/Batcheller genealogy, half of which deals with the descendants of Reverend Stephen Bachiler, an early New Hampshire settler—but they are probably among his descendants.⁷ Their births also do not appear in the official index to New Hampshire vital records.⁸ Should the Batchelder genealogy ever be updated, this letter found in the consular despatches is proof of the existence of a brother of Edmund R. Batchelder who may well have died before 1850.

Hand

While Spelling, Tobey, and Batchelder apparently went to sea voluntarily, some of the inquiring letters deal with minor sons believed to have been lured away. On 9 October 1854, a concerned father wrote to Secretary of State William L. Marcy about his son, who was being “detained at service against his will.” The following deposition, which was sent to Honolulu on 28 October 1854, accompanied the letter:

United States of America State of Pennsylvania Lehigh County

Personally appeared before me James S. Reese, a Notary Public in and for the County and State aforesaid, [George C. Hand] personally known to me to be a person of credibility, who upon his oath deposeth as follows. That William M. Hand, who on or about the thirty first day of July A.D. one thousand eight hundred and fifty three at the port of Warren in the State of Rhode Island, in the United States aforesaid,

5. Vol. 3, 4 February 1846–31 December 1847, Despatches for Quarters Ending 31 December 1846; M144, roll 3. The records of the foreign-service posts (RG 84) contain the original lists of seamen from which the quarterly lists were drawn and are a potential source for verifying that David F. Batchelder did indeed die at Honolulu. However, the inventory for the records from the Honolulu consulate could not be located at the National Archives when research was conducted for this paper.

6. 1850 U.S. census, population schedule, Rockingham Co., N. H., Candia township, p. 254, dwelling 299, family 328.

7. Frederick Clifton Pierce, *Batchelder, Batcheller Genealogy: Descendants of Rev. Stephen Bachiler of England, a Leading Non-conformist, Who Settled the Town of New Hampton, New Hampshire; and Joseph, Henry, Joshua, and John Batcheller of Essex Co., Massachusetts* (Chicago: W. B. Conkey Co., 1898).

8. “N.H. Registrar of Vital Statistics, Index to Births, Early to 1900,” card index, Division of Records Management and Archives, Concord; microcopy 1000373, Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

shipped on board the Ship James Rush, said to be bound on a whaling voyage and last heard from at the Sandwich Islands, is my son and a Minor under the age of twenty one years. That I never consented to my son¹¹s entering into service as aforesaid in any way whatever, that the same was done without my knowledge and is against my will and desire. That the said William M. Hand was born at Allentown, county and state aforesaid on the Eleventh day of May A.D. one thousand eight hundred and thirty four, and left his home on or about the twenty ninth day of July A.D. one thousand eight hundred and fifty three and was under my care, government and direction when he so left. That as your deponent is informed and believes the said William M. Hand was enticed away from his home through persuasion and false representations of persons in the employ of the owners of said vessel. That your deponent is desirous of again having his said Son restored to his home and to this end authorizes any person to reclaim him and send him home to my residence at Allentown aforesaid or to any port in the United States or deliver him to any Consul or Government Agent of the United States for said purpose. Sworn 9 October 1854.⁹

As in the Batchelder case, the consular despatches make no further mention of young Hand. His father, George C. Hand, appears on the 1850 census of Allentown as a forty-four-year-old dentist, with his wife Susan and their nine children. Interestingly, George D. Hand, age eighteen and probably the eldest son, is listed at the end of the household as an "officer in the US Navy."¹⁰ When William eloped, he obviously was not the first in his family to answer the siren song of the sea.

Young William, however, was not lost—although he did not return home to settle. In 1855 he enlisted in the second regiment of the Oregon Mounted Volunteers.¹¹ He eventually settled at The Dalles, Wasco County, Oregon, where he was the editor and proprietor of a newspaper, *The Mountaineer*. He may not have seen his family again until 1870, when he went east on a honeymoon trip. He died at The Dalles on 19 September 1881, leaving a ten-year-old daughter, Blanche, and a one-year-old son, Arnold.¹² The story of his going to sea, two years previous to his

9. "Letter from George C. Hand to William L. Marcy" and "Deposition of George C. Hand," 9 October 1854, vol. 5, 7 January 1851–31 December 1854; Despatch for Quarter Ending 31 December 1854; M144, roll 5.

10. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Lehigh Co., Pa., Allentown borough, p. 320, dwell. 312, fam. 365. Mention of George C. Hand is found in the only published genealogy to deal with the particular Hand family to which he belonged, but it does not list his children; see Carol Clark Johnson's *Hand, Sisson and Scott: More Yeoman Ancestors* (Mobile, Ala.: Leonca Publications, 1981), 105–6.

11. Ruby Lacy and Lida Childers, *Pioneer People of Jackson County, Oregon: DLC Surveyor's Record; Census 1853–54–55–56–57–58–59; Hospital & Outpatients 1855–56; Militia Muster Rolls* (Ashland, Ore.: Ruby Lacy, 1990), 134, lists patients of the hospital at Jacksonville from "2d R.V.M. Volunteers 1855–1856" and includes "Hand, William M. Pvt._[1] Capt Harris_[1] age 21, admitted 21 No 55_[1] dismissed 17 Au 56."

12. 1880 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Wasco Co., Ore., Dalles City, enumeration district 121, sheet 38, dwell. 369, fam. 410. William M. Hand is listed as a forty-six-year-old publisher, born in Pa. Enumerated with him are his wife Violetta, age thirty; daughter Blanche, 9; and son Arnold, 9 mos. The *Daily Oregonian*, 10 January 1870, p. 2, col. 2, mentions his marriage at San Francisco on 13 December 1869. The *Mountaineer* of 22 February 1870, p. 2, col. 3, states, "Our Chief, Mr. W. M. Hand, arrived safe at home by last Thursday's stage from the Atlantic States, where he has been for the last four months on a visit to his friends and relatives." Hand is buried at The Dalles; see *Cemetery Record: Independent Order of Odd Fellows (I.O.O.F.) The Dalles, Wasco County, Oregon*, 2 vols. (Salt Lake City: Genealogical Society of Utah, 1957), 2: 84.

residence in Oregon, suggests that he arrived there from the Pacific, rather than taking the overland trail.

Crooks

In other cases, the consular records offer evidence that an inquiry was vigorously pursued on behalf of a concerned father. For example, in January 1850, Ramsay Crooks, a merchant of New York City, launched an investigation when he wrote to Secretary of State John M. Clayton, requesting help in locating his missing son:

Sir, My son Bernard Crooks who was a Seaman on board the Whaler "Ploughboy," Captain Phelon, of New Bedford, is said to have left that ship in April 1849, at the Island of Tahiti or Otaheite, where there were at the time, two French vessels of War, and I suspect he obtained a passage on board [one] of these ships to the Sandwich Islands, and finally to San Francisco —There is however a report that an English merchant at Tahiti had induced him to remain at that island by the promise of a large salary, and it is possible he has remained there. I would therefore beg that you cause the necessary enquiry to be made of the Consuls at San Francisco, the Sandwich Islands, and Tahiti, so as if possible to ascertain where this imprudent young man is— He is not yet 19 years of age, and is a native of the City of New York, where I shall continue to reside,¹³ With this I transmit an introduction to you from my friend Daniel Lord, Esq., and remain Very Respectfully, your ob¹³ servant Ramsay Crooks,¹³

Secretary Clayton forwarded this letter to Elisha H. Allen, the American consul at Honolulu, who responded on 22 May, as follows:

Sir — I hereby acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch dated the 28th of January last enclosing a copy of a letter of inquiry, addressed to you, from Ramsay Crooks [next words crossed out] Merchant of the City of New York respecting his absent son, Bernard Crooks. Immediately on the reception of your letter, I caused inquiries respecting the young man in question, to be made in every place where there was the least hope of obtaining any information but as yet without success. Should I at any future time obtain any information respecting him, I shall, at the earliest date thereafter forward to you such as I may obtain. Understanding that Mr Hawes, the Consul for the Society Islands was at San Francisco I addressed a note to Messrs. Lucet & Colley, Merchants of Tahiti & to the Commercial Agent of the U.S at the same place, requesting them to make such inquiries as the case indicates to be proper. I have the honor to remain, Sir, with sentiments of high esteem Your obedient servant,¹⁴ E H Allen,¹⁴ U.S. Consul.¹⁴

Allen's next set of despatches includes his response and two attachments:

Sir, Immediately after the reception of your Communication enclosing a copy of enquiries addressed to you from Ramsay Crooks a Merchant of the City of New York,

13. "Letter of Ramsay Crooks to John M. Clayton, 25 January 1850," vol. 4, 3 January 1848–2 December 1850, Despatch for Quarter Ending 30 June 1850; M144, roll 4.

14. "Letter of E. H. Allen to John M. Clayton, 22 May 1850," vol. 4, 3 January 1848–2 December 1850, Despatch for Quarter Ending 30 June 1850; M144, roll 4.

respecting his absent son Bernard Crooks, I addressed a note to the U.S. Commercial Agent at Tahiti and have this day received reply, of which the following is a copy:

“Consulate of the United States,^[1] Tahiti, Society Islands. Sir, Your letter of April 24th 1850, relating to Bernard Crooks, with its enclosure from his father to the Hon^{ble} Secretary of State came duly to hand. It appears that Bernard Crooks did desert from the Ploughboy in April 1849[. Signed:] William H. Kelley Act^s Consul here. ”

“I have made all the enquiries in my power on the subject and the result is that he left this place soon after his desertion in a ship called the Courier de Tahiti bound to Sidney, N.S.W. [New South Wales]. That the said ship touched at the Navigator Islands on her way down, and that Crooks ran away from the ship there and joined a French Schooner in the Service of the Catholic Mission, which vessel was to call at a large number of Islands before returning to Sidney, and beyond this I have not been able to learn anything of his movements. I have the honor to remain,^[1] Respectfully,^[1] Your ob^s Edward S. Gray, Jr. U.S. Coml Agent.”¹⁵

On 24 February 1851, the secretary of state notified young Crook’s father of their findings, sending a copy of the correspondence.

As with many such men at sea, Bernard is nonetheless listed in the parental household on 26 August 1850:¹⁶

Ramsay Crooks	65	male	Merchant	Scotland
Emily Crooks	40	female		Missouri
Margaret Crooks	22	female		New York
Ramsay Crooks	20	male	Clerk	New York
Bernard Crooks	19	male	None	New York
William Crooks	18	male	Student	New York
Sylvester Crooks	17	male	Clerk	New York
Julia Crooks	11	female		New York

Bernard’s appearance on this census, when he was clearly in parts unknown, is not uncommon—and points to a circumstance that researchers may unsuspectingly encounter. Federal enumerators of that year were specifically instructed to include “the names of those temporarily absent, as well as those who were at home on that day.”¹⁷ Obviously, the family assumed that their wayward son would return to the fold as soon as he was located. They were destined to be disappointed.

The family is one that genealogists have already examined in print, without adequately accounting for young Bernard. Ramsay Crooks’s business or occupation is listed in the 1850–51 city directory of New York as “American Fur Company.”¹⁸

15. “Letter of E. H. Allen to John M. Clayton, 1 August 1850,” Despatch for Quarter Ending 30 September 1850.

16. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., N.Y. Co., city of N.Y., ward 3, p. 362, dwell. 214, fam. 610.

17. Bureau of the Census, *Twenty Censuses: Population and Housing Questions, 1790–1980* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 1979), 14.

18. *Rode’s New York City Directory, for 1850–51* (N.Y.: Charles R. Rode, 1850), 21.

Indeed, Ramsay Crooks was a key figure in the American fur trade, having been a partner of John Jacob Astor.¹⁹ It may have been his wealth and influence that led the consulate to pursue his inquiry more vigorously.

By virtue of this business, apparently, Crooks had married at Saint Louis, on 10 March 1825, Marianne Pelagie Emelie Pratte—a member of that city's wealthy and influential Chouteau family. Several genealogies and historical accounts mention this marriage or list her children by Ramsay, but they offer little further information. Beckwith's 1893 *Creoles of St. Louis* states only "Bernard Crooks, died unmarried."²⁰ Turner's 1934 *Chouteau Family: A Genealogy of Descendants and Collateral Branches* merely gives the name "Bernard Crooks."²¹ Cunningham and Blythe's 1977 *Founding Family of St. Louis* states: "#3135 Bernard Crooks born February 22, 1831; died 1852."²²

None of these genealogies contain any citations or documentation; the validity of their data must be sought elsewhere. Ramsay Crooks died intestate in New York City on 6 June 1859; and his widow, Emilie, was appointed administratrix of his estate on 15 June 1859.²³ She died 20 September 1863 in New York City, having made at least two wills. The first, dated prior to Ramsay's death, made him and two sons-in-law executors. The only child who is mentioned by name is her daughter Julia, for whom Emilie made special provision. After her husband died, she added the first of three codicils that mention her sons Ramsay and William; the second codicil was witnessed by her son Sylvester. Nowhere is there mention of Bernard.²⁴ A couple of weeks after Emilie Crooks died, her son Ramsay was appointed to replace her in the administration of his father's estate.²⁵

Beginning in 1830, the state of New York required the filing of a petition as the first step in probating a will or administering an estate. That petition was supposed to list the names of all the heirs-at-law, their relationship to the decedent, and their respective residences. Even if a son or daughter were intentionally left out of a will, the petition would list his or her name. The petitions were rarely recorded in will books or with the letters of administration. Instead, they are usually found as loose

19. Much has been written on Ramsay Crooks in various biographical compendiums, but there is no definitive biography. The most-concise yet thorough overview of his life is the article contributed by Tanis C. Thorne to the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 13 vols. (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1985), 8: 190–91. A longer article by Harvey L. Carter appears in LeRoy H. Hafen, ed., *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West: Biographical Sketches of the Participants by Scholars of the Subject and with Introductions by the Editor*, 10 vols. (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1972), 9: 125–31. However, Carter errs when he states that only three daughters by Emilie Pratte survived Crooks.

20. Paul Beckwith, *Creoles of St. Louis* (St. Louis: Nixon Jones Printing Co., 1893), 110.

21. Beatrice Clark Turner, *The Chouteau Family: A Genealogy of Descendants and Collateral Branches* (N.p.: the author?, 1934), 47.

22. Mary B. Cunningham and Jeanne C. Blythe, *The Founding Family of St. Louis* (St. Louis: Midwest Technical Publications, 1977), 154.

23. N.Y. Co., Letters of Administration, 68: 151, Surrogate's Court, N.Y. City.

24. N.Y. Co., Wills, 152:104–13. Curiously, the will is dated only "1854." Even when it is referred to in the codicils and by the proving witnesses, only the date "1854" is given.

25. N.Y. Co., Letters of Administration, 76: 150.

papers in a probate packet. In most New York counties, these packets are filed according to the name of the estate and contain all pertinent documents relating to the settlement. In New York County, however, the loose papers for each estate have been separated and organized according to record type. A search of the petitions for administration for 1859 and 1863 turned up no petition for the estate of Ramsay Crooks in either year.²⁶ His loose papers may have been lost or perhaps misplaced in another file.

The petition of Ramsay Jr. to probate the estate of Emilie Pratte Crooks was made on 2 October 1863. The heirs-at-law to Emilie are listed as²⁷

Margaret Plunkett, wife of Eugene Plunkett, residing at Nyack, Rockland County,
New York

William Crooks, residing at St. Pauls [sic], Minnesota

Virginia Gour, wife of John Gour

"Your Petitioner" (Ramsay Crooks)

Sylvester Crooks

Julia Crooks

"severally residing in the city of New York and all of full age—her only surviving children"

Emile Noel, Mary Noel, and Virginia Noel

"severally minors, having for their general guardian the said John Gour and residing in the said City of New York—the only surviving children of a deceased daughter of the deceased"

The petition then specifically states, "The said deceased left no husband or other child or descendant of any deceased child except those above named her surviving."²⁸ It is clear that the family considered Bernard dead by 1863. The 1852 date shown in the latest genealogy may have come from private family papers; but whether this date was a guess or was based on some further communication from the secretary of state is not known. There is no record of Bernard's demise in the New York death registers for 1852.²⁹

Clark

There is at least one story with a happy ending. In 1855, James A. Clark, a Baltimore merchant and a "worthy member of society," wrote to Secretary Marcy concerning his sixteen-year-old son John P. His letter calls the lad "a fugitive from the care of [an] affectionate Father, who is much distressed [in] mind on account of his loss & is willing [to] pay any reasonable expense incurred for [his] restoration."³⁰

26. N.Y. Co., Petitions for Administration, Box 8-28989 (1859, 1863).

27. N.Y. Co., Probate Proceedings, Box 8-26568 (December 1863).

28. *Ibid.*

29. N.Y. Dept. of Health, Manhattan Registers of Death, vols. 18–19.

30. "Letter of James A. Clark to William L. Marcy, 14 December 1855," vol. 6, January 1855–31 December 1867, Despatch for Quarter Ending 31 March 1856; M144, roll 6.

Accompanying this letter was a deposition detailing the circumstances of the case:

On this eleventh day of December, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and fifty five, before me, the subscriber, one of the justices of the peace in and for the said city, Personally appeared James A. Clark, and made oath on the holy evangels of Almighty God, that on or about the seventh day of November last, a certain man by the name of Waterman induced his son John P. Clark, to abscond from Baltimore, and that the said Waterman took his said son to New Bedford, Massachusetts and he there shipped in a whale ship, James Edwards; that his said son sailed in said ship James Edwards, on a whaling voyage, and that he is a minor, and only sixteen years old at this time; and that he desires the interposition of the Government, for the purpose of getting his said son back to the United States.³¹

The despatches offer no further correspondence on this matter; but when a census taker enumerated the Clark household five years later, he included John P., age twenty-one. Unlike the case of Bernard Crooks, who had been gone for only a short time and was listed with “occupation: none,” an occupation was specified for young Clark—i.e., “Produce Dealer.” It seems reasonable to conclude that he did come home.³²

CONCLUSION

The information contained in these consular despatches adds a human dimension that cannot be drawn from pedigree charts and family-group records. It can augment genealogies that already seem to have been thoroughly researched in the usual records. While consular records can be expected to treat only a small fraction of the population, they should be considered when family records suggest that an elusive young male may have gone to sea.

The letters of Hand, Crooks, and Clark—especially—reflect a human quality often forgotten by genealogists concerned solely with names, dates, and places: the special bond that exists between parent and child. Yet one cannot help but imagine that the youths were more than willing to leave their homes, regardless of paternal protestations that they were “enticed” away. William M. Hand’s life in Allentown may have been dreary—although he was a charter member of the “Shakespeare Literary Society,” formed in 1849³³—and his older brother George, the naval officer, may have regaled him with tales of the sea. John P. Clark was his father’s only son by a first wife who had died when he was two years old; and his father did not remarry until he was six.³⁴ It is tempting to offer the old saw that John and his stepmother did not get along and that he left home as soon as he was able.

31. “Deposition of James A. Clark, 11 December 1855,” vol. 6, January 1855–31 December 1857, Despatch for Quarter Ending 31 March 1856; M144, roll 6.

32. 1860 U. S. cens., pop. sch., Baltimore Co., Md., Baltimore City, 7th ward, p. 860, dwell. 3054, fam. 4086.

33. F. J. F. Schantz, “Allentown and Its Vicinity About Sixty Years Ago,” *Proceedings and Papers Read Before the Lehigh County Historical Society* (Allentown: Lehigh Co. Historical Society, 1908), 168.

34. Thomas L. Hollowak, *Index to Marriages and Deaths in the (Baltimore) Sun, 1837–1850* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1978), 104.

It is the case of Bernard Crooks, however, that offers the best stage on which to portray a not-uncommon family dilemma. His father surely spoke of his own early adventures in the fur trade—which commenced when he was sixteen and included an overland trek to Oregon at the age of twenty-three. Bernard may have longed for similar excitement. Ramsay Crooks's description of his son as "this imprudent young man" sounds not only stern but almost hypocritical when his own past is examined, although it perhaps reflects his own knowledge of the world's dangers. Thorne characterizes the elder Crooks as "an unusually gentle person" who found no faults in others except "indolence, inefficiency, and impertinence."³⁵ Even if Bernard possessed these traits, his absconding must have been hard on the father, for Thorne also states that Ramsay "cherished his family" and once described them as "the only true solace of [his] existence."³⁶

The loss of a son, albeit an imprudent one, was something that even a man of wealth and status could ill-afford emotionally.

35. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 8: 190–91.

36. N.Y. Co., *Letters of Administration*, 76: 150.

California Migrants

Kanesville [later Council Bluffs], Iowa, *Frontier Guardian*, 15 May 1850

Letter to the Guardian from The Cutler Company:

"April 23d 1850. We the undersigned officers and members of said Company crossed the Missouri River at Bethelam, on Monday, April 22d, moved to Council Grove about 8 miles to camp, excellent wood and water. We found it about 20 miles from Bethelam to the Government Road, excellent road and well supplied with wood and water for Camping; Capt. R. C. Petty piloted us, and we made our road and traveled about 25 miles the first day. We would say to California Emigrants to cross where they please, but if we were to cross again we should cross at Bethelam [sic].

"L. K. Cutler, Captain; D. Smith, 1st Lieutenant; E. Chapman, 2d Lieutenant; John W. Shapper, Secretary; Edwin Grieve, Wm. Jolly, M. L. Shook, Timothy Milarhy, Ira Giltner, F. H. Dodge, Miles B. Dodge, David Jolly, Charles Leeland, Jacob Ruse, Wm. Johnston, Geo. H. Hall [Hull?], Miles Tyrel, Albert Pickering, B. Dodge, John Baker, Geo. J. Niver, Richard Barney, Wm. H. Baker, Saml. T. Baker, Richard Robinson, Lemuel Huston, Henry Kelner, Samuel Parker, Wm. Scovill, L. C. Dow, Wm. Chaddock, Oliver Camp, Elijah Camp, Wm. Camp, Dr. Samuel Houston, Owen Ruble, Nathaniel Brown, Wm. White, John Giler, Jas. J. Fairbanks, Joseph P. Webster, A. Dewel, Orin Gray, Charles D. Wickox, Martin Millet, Harrison Brown, Moses Dane, Christopher Bennett, John Metts, Sidney Sutherland, Silas Sutherland, Mason Sutherland, Wm. Scovill, James P. Webster, Chas. D. Hickox, Philip Carrnon, Wm. Chaddock."

—Contributed by Myrtle Stevens Hyde, FASG; 3628 Iowa Avenue; Ogden, UT 84403

Notes and Documents

American Seamen Certificates of Citizenship: 1815

*Contributed by Christopher A. Nordmann, Ph.D., CGRS**

American genealogists are avid users of immigrant *passenger* lists, both the ship rolls and the quarterly customs abstracts, from which researchers can identify places of origin, ages, and—sometimes—occupations and names of relatives. Far less used are the records of U.S. seamen, the men working the ocean-going vessels that flew the American stars and bars. Even when an ancestor is known to be a crewman, researchers often fail to find the personal record they seek, either because the relevant material has not been indexed or because the search is restricted by parameters that are irrelevant to this type of resource. A quest for arriving passengers commonly focuses on the port named by family tradition or suggested by the geographic region in which the immigrant family settled. However, seamen saw many ports—a fact that infinitely multiplies the possibilities of finding germane records.

To stem the seafarer's age-old "occupational hazard"—the risk of being kidnapped and forced into the naval service of other countries—the new United States began almost immediately to pass protective legislation. By an act of 1796,¹ Congress decreed that each district collector of customs should issue protection certificates to any seaman presenting evidence of citizenship (e.g., a passport, an earlier protection certificate, or an oath sworn before a public official). An 1803 act instructed all masters of American vessels arriving from or departing on a foreign voyage to file a list of crewmen with that port's collector of customs.² Yet another act (1840) required that owners of the seagoing vessels should file, with this same

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1. *Laws of the United States of America from the 4th of March 1789 to the 4th of March 1815*, 5 vols. (Washington: R. C. Weightman, 1815–16), 1: 477—being first five volumes of the series *U.S. Statutes at Large*, hereinafter cited in the manner 1 Stat. 477.

2. 2 Stat. 203.

official at the port of engagement or discharge, copies of the shipping articles (contracts) that the officers of their vessels executed with each seaman.³ The surviving records are housed today in Record Group 36 (Records of the U.S. Customs Service) at the National Archives.⁴

The protection certificates, which have been previously introduced in this journal,⁵ are extant for random ports, for random years, and in various forms. Discussing files created in the nineteenth century, the National Archives's 1982 guide to the use of its material for genealogical research specifically cites nineteenth-century registers from Fall River, Massachusetts; New Haven and New London, Connecticut; and Newport, Rhode Island. It mentions original applications for Philadelphia, New Haven, and Mobile, Alabama; as well as supporting documents from New York City and Salem and Beverly, Massachusetts.⁶ Beyond this, quarterly abstracts from the registers can be found for numerous other ports—as illustrated by the present list created at New Orleans.

This document also illustrates another point of extreme significance to genealogical and biographical researchers: seamen's records are one resource whose site of creation can be totally independent from the known place of a given individual's residence. The present document was created at New Orleans. Yet only one man of the one hundred sixty covered by the present document had origins in the Crescent City. Only five were from the state of Louisiana; and only one other originated in any state in the Gulf region. Overwhelmingly, these New Orleans-based seamen certificates were for men born in the Northeastern United States, as the following table shows.⁷

NEW ENGLAND		MIDDLE ATLANTIC		UPPER SOUTH		LOWER SOUTH	
Connecticut	5	Delaware	4	D.C.	1	Georgia	1
Maine	1	Maryland	19	North Carolina	4	Louisiana	5
Massachusetts	39	New Jersey	4	Virginia	8	South Carolina	4
Rhode Island	4	New York	28			Tennessee	1
		Pennsylvania	17				

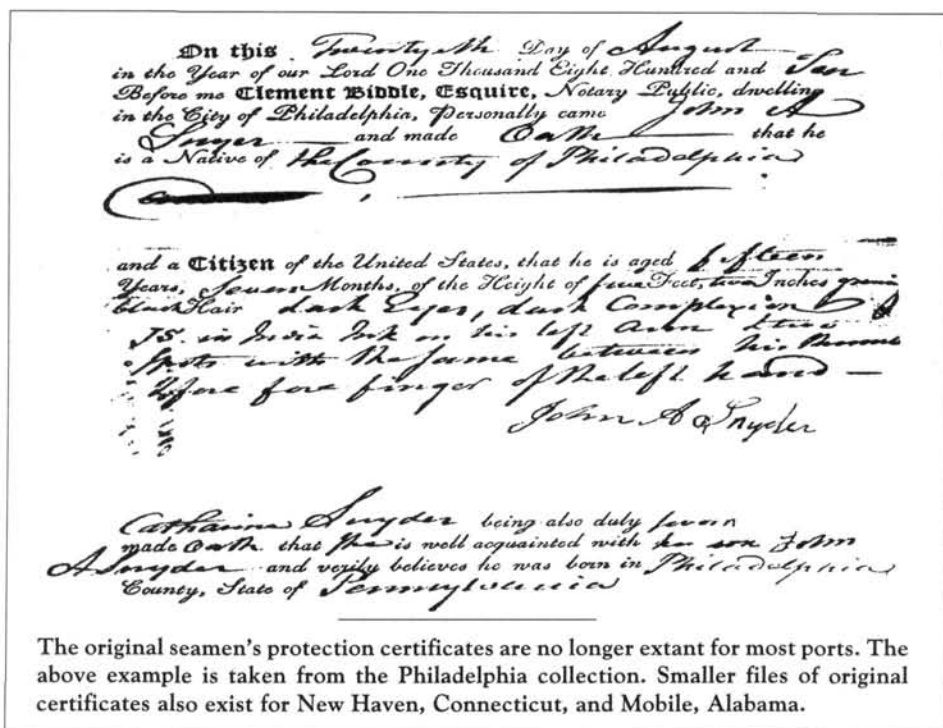
3. 5 Stat. 394.

4. For useful discussions of the available records, see also *Guide to Genealogical Research in the National Archives* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1982), chap. 13. For overviews of other National Archives records relating to American seamen, see Ira Dye, "Seafarers of 1812—A Profile," *Prologue: Journal of the National Archives* 5 (Spring 1973): 3–13; Dye, "Early American Merchant Seafarers," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 120 (October 1976): 331–60; Dye, "The Philadelphia Seamen's Protection Certificate Applications," *Prologue* 18 (Spring 1986): 46–54; John VanDereedt, "Maritime Records in the National Archives," *NGS Quarterly* 76 (March 1988): 52–66; and Craig Roberts Scott, "Naval Records Research in the National Archives," *NGS Quarterly* 79 (September 1991): 207–17.

5. Ruth Dixon, "Seamen's Protection Certificate Records for Genealogical Research," *NGS Quarterly* 78 (September 1990): 204–12.

6. *Guide to Genealogical Research in the National Archives*, 189–94.

7. Also: naturalized citizens: 14; unknown U.S. birth: 1.



Even a cursory scanning of a register such as this makes clear one other point of genealogical import. Employment on the high seas was perhaps the closest equivalent to “equal employment opportunities” that existed in nineteenth-century America. The following list includes five males labeled *black* and *mulatto*, whose Negro heritage is further suggested by (or perhaps its determining factor was then) the description of hair *texture* rather than *color*. The numerous others whose skin is labeled *dark* or *brown* or *yellow* may well be partly of African American or Native American descent as well. Population statistics of this era reveal that roughly 3 percent of the American population was free and nonwhite⁸—the same representation found within the seagoing labor force covered by this list.

The document herein transcribed is labeled “Abstract of Certificates of Citizenship issued to American Seamen for the second quarter of the year 1815.” It is one of a number of such lists boxed as “Abstracts of American Seamen for the District of Mississippi,” in RG 36 of the National Archives.

8. Statistics from the U.S. census of 1810 are used for this calculation, as reported in *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789 to 1945* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949), 25. For the black-seaman experience, also see Debra L. Newman, *Black History: A Guide to Civilian Records in the National Archives* (Washington: National Archives Trust Fund Board, 1984).

DATE	NAME	NATIVITY	AGE	HEIGHT	COMPLEXION	HAIR	EYES
3 April	Joseph Robinson	Massachusetts	25	5' 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	Fair	Brown	Grey
	William Clark	D ^o [Ditto]	25	5' 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	Brown	Black	Blue
	Thomas Thompson	Maryland	26	5' 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Fair	Brown	Blue
6 April	Hollis Sawtell [Lawtell?]	Massachusetts	24	5' 8"	Fair	Brown	Hazle
	James Robinson	Connecticut	30	5' 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Dark	Dark	Blue
	James Nowlan	New York	22	5' 2"	Dark	Brown	Grey
10 April	Archibald McClesh	Virginia	25	5' 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Fair	Light	Hazle
	James Williams	South Carolina	25	5' 6"	Brown	Black	Hazle
11 April	Andrew Bartholo	Naturalized	33	5' 7"	Fair	Dark	Dark
13 April	David Johnson	Citizen of the U.S.	32	5' 5"	Dark	Dark	Grey
14 April	James S. Meredith	Philadelphia	17	5' 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Fair	Light	Blue
15 April	Thomas Elsey	Maryland	18	5' 9"	Fair	Light	Blue
	Pierre Ferrand	Naturalized	45	5' 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	Dark	Black	Hazle
17 April	William Jones	Norfolk Virg ^a	24	4' 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Fair	Light	Blue
18 April	John Camron	New York	20	5' 8"	Fair	Dark	Blue
19 April	Edw ^d G. Hearsey	Louisiana	15	5' 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Fair	Light	Blue
	William Knab	Baltimore	25	5' 10"	Fair	Light	Grey
	John Renaud	Naturalized	36	5' 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	Fair	Chestnut	Brown
20 April	James P. [L?] Boss	Rhode Island	26	5' 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	Brown	Black	Dark
21 April	William Murphy	Philadelphia	20	5' 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	Light	Dark	Dark
	Samuel Smith	Massachuset[t]s	26	5' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Fair	Brown	Hazle
	Tho ^s G. Easterbrooks	D ^o	21	5' 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Light	Brown	Blue
	Charles Henry	Maryland	35	5' 8"	Black	Wooley	Black
25 April	Joseph Fernandez	Naturalized	28	5' 4"	Dark	Black	Black
	Lewis Jo ^s Polon	D ^o	25	5' 5"	Sallow	Brown	Hazle
	Anthony Serneng	D ^o	52	5' 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Sallow	Grey	Brown
	Sam ^l . W. Rowan	Tennessee	26	5' 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Fair	Brown	Brown

DATE	NAME	NATIVITY	AGE	HEIGHT	COMPLEXION	HAIR	EYES
25 April	George Watson	Virginia	37	5' 7"	Brown	Black	Dark
	Clement Messick	Delaware	22	5' 7"	Fair	Light	Grey
	John Shaddle	New York	22	5' 7¼"	Fair	Brown	Grey
27 April	William Morton	Massachusetts	21	5' 7"	Fair	Dark	Hazle
	Martin Cortelyn	New York	19	5' 6"	Brown	Light	Blue
	Henry Parker	North Carolina	23	5' 10"	Fair	Brown	Hazle
	Joseph Ellison	New York	18	5' 7"	Fair	Light	Hazle
	Jonathan Jewitt	Massachusetts	26	5' 6"	Fair	Light	Blue
	[torn—]	Connecticut	27	6' [?]	Brown	Light	Grey
	[torn—]		24	5' 6"	Brown	Black	Grey
	[torn—]						
28 April	George Smith	Maryland	23	5' 11"	Fair	Light	Blue
29 April	Ebenezer Thompson	Massachusetts	46	5' 8¾"	Fair	Brown	Blue
	Ralph Foster	Pennsylvania	23	6' 2"	Fair	Brown	Blue
	James Armstrong	New York	28	5' 4"	Fair	Brown	Blue
1 May	John Murdock	Philadelphia	28	5' 10½"	Fair	Brown	Grey
	John Rodolph	Philadelphia	22	5' 6½"	Fair	Brown	Blue
	Judson Josselyn	Massachusetts	25	5' 7½"	Fair	Black	Dark
	John Turner	D ^o	23	5' 7"	Fair	Brown	Dark
	John McCland [?]	New York	23	5' 7"	Fair	Light	Blue
	Thomas Dunningham	Massachusetts	42	5' 5¾"	Fair	Light	Grey
	Bertrand Phillips	Naturalized	32	5' 4¼"	Dark	Black	Black
	William Sutton [?]	Virginia	28	5' 11"	Fair	Light	Blue
	Joseph Patterson	Louisiana	12	4' 7"	Yellow	Light	Hazle
3 May	William Passarow	Massachusetts, Boston	18	5' 4½"	Fair	Light	Blue
	Sylvain Fournier [?]	New Orleans	16	5'	Mulatto	Wooley	Dark
	Laurence Farrell	Massachusetts	25	5' 7½"	Fair	Light	Blue

DATE	NAME	NATIVITY	AGE	HEIGHT	COMPLEXION	HAIR	EYES
4 May	Jeremiah Courtney	New York	22	5' 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	Fair	Brown	Dark
4 May	Joseph Perry	Louisiana	32	5' 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	Brown	Black	Dark
5 May	Michael Liddle	Baltimore, Mar ^d	18	5' 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Fair	Brown	Hazle
	John Williams	Maryland	23	5' 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	Dark	Brown	Hazle
	George Clark	North Carolina	19	5' 11"	Fair	Brown	Blue
6 May	Samuel Morton	New York	29	5' 6"	Fair	Black	Hazle
	Samuel Bailey	Delaware	20	5' 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Black	Wooley	Dark
8 May	William Penn	Pen ⁿ [n]sylvania	38	5' 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	Fair	Black	Dark
10 May	Peter Lind	New York	28	5' 4"	Fair	Fair	Blue
11 May	John Sundry	Massachusetts	21	5' 3"	Fair	Brown	Grey
12 May	John Crawley	Alexandria	24	5' 9"	Fair	Light	Blue
	Willis Lang [Lany?]	South Carolina	22	5' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Fair	Brown	Blue
	John Edwards	Philadelphia	31	5' 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ "	Fair	Brown	Blue
15 May	John Atkins	Virginia	25	5' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Fair	Brown	Light
16 May	John Bonnell [Bennett?]	Massachusetts	24	5' 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ "	Brown	Brown	Brown
17 May	James Ferguson	Philadelphia	24	5' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Brown	Black	Hazle
18 May	Billie [Bilbe?]Blackwood	New Jersey	30	5' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Fair	Brown	Blue
	Amos Speed	Massachusetts	20	5' 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Brown	Black	Hazle
19 May	William Estaugh	New Jersey	23	5' 7"	Brown	Brown	Blue
	William Moore	Delaware	31	5' 5"	Fair	Light	Blue
	Thomas Emlen [?]	Delaware	38	5' 7"	Brown	Grey	Blue
	John Oliver	New Jersey	22	5' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Dark	Dark	Black
	Geo. H. Campbell	New York	31	5' 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Dark	Black	Grey
	John Dubois	Naturalized	38	5' 4"	Light	Dark Grey	Hazle
	Joseph Whipple	Massachusetts	22	5' 7"	Fair	Light	Blue
	James Morgan	Massachusetts	24	6'	Dark	Black	Black
	James Griffith	Massachusetts	24	6'	Fair	Light	Black
	John Phoenix	New York	32	5' 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ "	Brown	Brown	Grey

DATE	NAME	NATIVITY	AGE	HEIGHT	COMPLEXION	HAIR	EYES
19 May	Joseph Williamson Hale	Virginia	26	6' 0½"	Fair	Light	Grey
	William Lamb	Massachusetts	24	5' 5"	Fair	Light	Grey
	Francis Forrestall	Louisiana	21	5' 9½"	Sallow	Black	Black
	[torn—]						
22 May	John Thompson	New York	21	5' 3½"	Brown	Brown	Dark
	John Clay	Massachusetts	20	5' 7"	Ruddy	D ^k Brown	Grey
	Samuel Parsons	Portland	23	5' 8"	Fair	Brown	Grey
	Henry Shefer	Maryland	21	5' 4"	Brown	Hazle [sic]	Hazle
23 May	William Saddler	Maryland	32	5' 10½"	Fair	Brown	Hazle
	Robert Morris	North Carolina	24	5' 5"	Brown	Black	Hazle
	William Newman	Maryland	31	5' 5¼"	Fair	L ^t Brown	Blue
24 May	Jacob Fox	North Carolina	26	5' 7"	Brown	Brown	Blue
	William Lambert	Massachusetts	15	4' 6¾"	Fair	Brown	Blue
	William Dakin	Pen[n]sylvania	31	5' 8"	Brown	Brown	Grey
	Francis Ellis	Massachusetts	20	5' 4½"	Fair	Light	Blue
	Pierre Mazile	Naturalized	44	5' 4"	Dark	Grey	D ^k Grey
	Eugene Ladner	Naturalized	24	6'	Mulatto	Black	Black
25 May	Daniel Ross	Philadelphia	25	5' 6¾"	Brown	Brown	Hazle
	William Black	Pen[n]sylvania	35	5' 10"	Black	Wooley	Black
	Anthony Michaels	D ^o	15	4' 10½"	Fair	Sandy	Hazle
	John Drew	Philadelphia	45	5' 10¾"	Brown	Brown	Blue
26 May	John Steel	Baltimore	21	5' 6½"	Dark	Brown	Blue
	Ebenezer Underwood	Boston	17	5' 11½"	Fair	Light	L ^t Blue
27 May	William Parker	Philadelphia	28	5' 5"	Brown	Brown	Blue
	Thomas Talmage	New Jersey	33	5' 9¼"	Fair	Black	Grey
	Martin Thornton	Georgia	29	5' 9"	Fair	Light	Grey
	Auguste German	Naturalized	20	5' 5½"	Fair	Light	Blue
	Henry V. [?] Goss	New York	21	5' 6½"	Fair	Dark	Grey

DATE	NAME	NATIVITY	AGE	HEIGHT	COMPLEXION	HAIR	EYES
29 May	James Rose	Rhode Island	44	5' 6½"	Brown	Dark	Grey
	Joseph Richards	Charleston	21	5' 7"	Brown	Brown	Brown
	James Kerns	New York	27	5' 10"	Fair	Brown	Grey
	John Smith	Massachusetts	22	5' 6"	Brown	Brown	Grey
30 May	Vincente Tacquechel [r?]	Naturalized	24	5' 5½"	Brown	Black	Black
	Thomas Wilson	New York	24	5' 8"	Brown	Brown	Hazle
	Barnett Adamson	Massachusetts	23	5' 5½"	Fair	Dark	Blue
	Jeremiah Martin	New York	46	5' 2¾"	Fair	Brown	Blue
	Samuel Mims	Maryland	23	5' 3½"	Fair	Light	Hazle
31 May	William West	Philadelphia	21	5' 7"	Dark	Dark	Black
1 June	Richard Salter	New York	24	5' 8"	Brown	Brown	Blue
2 June	Samuel Russell	New York	25	5' 6"	Fair	Brown	Hazle
3 June	George Jones	Baltimore	20	5' 5½"	Brown	Dark	Grey
6 June	Robert W---[faded]	Naturalized	37	5' 9"	Fair	Brown	Hazle
7 June	James Brown	Massachusetts	26	5' 8"	Fair	Brown	Grey
	John Anthony	Naturalized	39	5' 4½"	Brown	D ^k Brown	Brown
9 June	Daniel Warner	Rhode Island	31	5' 6"	Fair	Brown	Blue
	Marthaw Gardner	Massachusetts	25	5' 2½"	Fair	D ^k Brown	Black
10 June	James Johnston	Massachusetts	21	5' 7"	Brown	Brown	Blue
	Corner Wheeling	Massachusetts	24	5' 3¾"	Brown	Brown	Blue
	Raphael Spalding	Maryland	22	5' 8¾"	Ruddy	Brown	Black
	Christopher Stanton	Connecticut	20	5' 6"	Fair	Red	Grey
	James Scott	Massachusetts	29	6'	Ruddy	Brown	Blue
12 June	Alexander Scott	New York	23	5' 5"	Fair	Light	Blue
	William Smith	New York	20	5' 4"	Fair	Dark	Blue
13 June	Abraham E---ston [Cranston?]	Maryland	[torn—]				
17 June	John Camp	New York	38	5' 6¾"	Dark	Black	Grey
	Jerman W. Altaines	Philadelphia	30	5' 9"	Fair	Brown	Blue

DATE	NAME	NATIVITY	AGE	HEIGHT	COMPLEXION	HAIR	EYES
19 June	Oliver L. [?] Gurney	Massachusetts	18	5' 6"	Fair	Light	Hazle
20 June	Jeremiah Lanton	Rhode Island	35	5' 5½"	Fair	Light	Blue
	Charles Cutter	Massachusetts	26	5' 4"	Brown	Black	Grey
	John Smith	New York	21	5' 5½"	Fair	Red	Blue
	Daniel Chapman	Baltimore	42	5' 8"	Brown	Brown	Brown
	Francis Boyles	Baltimore	25	5' 7½"	Fair	Light	Blue
21 June	Aaron R. Savage	Middletown	21	5' 4½"	Brown	Brown	Grey
	Thomas Channings	Massachusetts	21	5' 7"	Brown	Brown	Brown
	James Butler	New York	23	5' 7½"	Dark	Dark	Grey
	William Smith	New York	25	5' 5"	Fair	Black	Hazle
	John Baker	New York	36	5' 7½"	Fair	L ^t Brown	L ^t Blue
22 June	William Thompson	Philadelphia	24	5' 11"	Dark	Brown	Hazle
	Andrew Temer [Lerner?]	New York	24	5' 5"	Fair	Brown	Blue
23 June	Hamilton Dryden	Maryland	22	5' 5"	Fair	Light	Blue
24 June	William Martin	New York	18	5'	L ^t Brown	Light	Grey
27 June	Gerard Dulen	District of Columbia	21	5' 7"	Ruddy	Brown	L ^t Hazle
28 June	Joseph Lindsay	Massachusetts	36	5' 6¼"	Light	Light	Blue
	Robert Gamble	Baltimore	22	5' 9¼"	Brown	Light	Grey
	Henry Grinnalds	Virginia	20	5' 9½"	Fair	Brown	Blue
29 June	John Duvant	Massachusetts	28	4' 11"	Dark	Dark	Dark
	Thomas Jones	Connecticut	21	5' 6½"	Ruddy	Dark	Hazle
	James Smith	Massachusetts	29	5' 0½"	Brown	D ^k Brown	Hazle
	Robert Bell	Massachusetts	17	5' 7¾"	Fair	Light	L ^t blue
30 June	John Baptiste	South Carolina	20	5' 5½"	Brown	L ^t Brown	L ^t Grey
	Reuben Howard	Massachusetts	15	4' 10"	Light	Light	Blue

Collector's Office, District of Mississippi, June 30th 1815

P. L. B. Duplessis [Pierre Le Barbier Duplessis]

Guidelines for Responsible Editing in Genealogy

By

Elizabeth Shown Mills and Gary B. Mills, *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*
Jane Fletcher Fiske, *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*
David L. Greene and Robert C. Anderson, *The American Genealogist*
Henry B. Hoff and Harry Macy Jr., *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*
Sandra Hargreaves Luebking, *Federation of Genealogical Societies FORUM*

MOST GENEALOGICAL EDITORS are dedicated volunteers, learning—through trial and error—the duties of their post. Some are blessed to have a journalism or publishing background. Others are trained in writing—but according to the canons of their primary vocation. Some have limited experience in formal communication methods but, because of their genealogical expertise, have been chosen for the position of editor.

Editing manuals abound. Yet few offer concise discussions of the main concern of *genealogical* editors—the obligation to present only the most reliable publication possible, by appropriately choosing material, by editing manuscripts for clarity and consistency, and by properly citing all sources.

The present guidelines are offered to help new colleagues identify the policies and procedures they should establish for a stable and trustworthy publication.

NOTIFICATION

Contributions should be immediately acknowledged. Beyond that, authors should be informed in writing whether their manuscripts are accepted, rejected, or accepted

pending a satisfactory revision. Journals that conduct a peer review of manuscripts commonly notify writers of a decision within two to five months.

NON-DUPLICATION

The most-respected genealogical publications seek fresh and original material their readers cannot find in other magazines and newsletters. To avoid an embarrassing duplication of articles, most editors request that contributors submit only manuscripts not under consideration elsewhere.

VERIFICATION

Responsible editors take reasonable steps to ensure the accuracy of their content. Fundamental checks include the verification of

- material “borrowed” from other publications. The better policy is not to borrow; but, when a reuse of material is appropriate, the editor’s responsibility to verify its accuracy is not relieved by merely citing the publication from which it is reproduced. Tips, addresses, and controversies should be verified through authoritative sources or major guidebooks before presenting them to trusting readers.

- manuscript content. Each seemingly usable contribution should be submitted to at least one authority in its subject area, who can suggest corrections or amplifications, if necessary. Journals commonly use more reviewers than do newsletters.
- quotations—when attributed to active genealogists, public officials, or other individuals who are locatable without undue difficulty. Not only courtesy but also prudence is at stake.
- source citations (or quotations from published sources). Authors, titles, and publication details can be checked through library or online catalogs. If the cited archival material is accessible, a cautious editor will at least spotcheck it to appraise the contributor's accuracy. When archival materials are unavailable, contributors can be asked to supply photocopied documents—or sample photocopies, if a large record group is being abstracted.

AUTHORIZATION

If justification exists to reprint the work of another editor—or to quote extensively (perhaps more than three paragraphs) from another publication—advance permission must be sought in writing from both the original editor and the author or compiler of the material. Either or both may wish to add to or correct their information before it is reprinted. Additionally, many archives expect that permission be sought before their manuscript material is published.

The issues of copyright, plagiarism, and fair use are all involved. While *facts*, *opinions*, and *historical discoveries* are not copyrightable, ethics demand that prior developers of this material be acknowledged and their contribution clearly defined. *The arrangement of words* used by an author is copyrightable, and permission must always be obtained before using lengthy quotations from material under copyright.

STANDARDIZATION

The widely varying backgrounds of genealogists guarantee that manuscripts submitted to any editor will form a mosaic of style and format. Yet readers expect consistency. Editors are the conduit through which manuscripts progress from raw material to a well-finished product. Much editing can be avoided by preparing a writers' style sheet that defines the type and length of manuscripts desired and the manner in which writers should prepare them. Useful contributions that do not meet these guidelines can be returned to writers for revision, or they must be revamped editorially to achieve the consistency that readers expect.

DOCUMENTATION

All genealogical compilations today are expected to be documented. That is, each and every statement of fact which is not public knowledge must carry its own individual and complete citation of source. Undocumented compilations—or those that merely cite a generic list of sources in which information of interest supposedly appears somewhere—do not meet current standards of acceptability.

CORRECTION

No publication can be error free; but, when misstatements are brought to the attention of editors, they should be corrected in print, with reasonable promptness.

Editing is a delightful challenge, but it carries considerable responsibility. Geneticists, historians, social scientists, courts of law, and untold future generations—as well as current genealogists—depend upon the reliability of the material we put into print. Conscientious attention to these several points will help ensure that our contribution to genealogy will advance the state of research in this field and enhance the quality of our journals and newsletters.

Bible Records

The John G. Wallace Bible

Contributed by the editors

ORIGINS:

The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments: Translated out of the Original Tongues (Philadelphia: Hogan & Thompson, 1839). Photocopy donated July 1940 to the Filson Club of Louisville, Kentucky, by Mrs. Clarence E. Walker of Louisville.

FAMILY RECORD:

(p. 1)

Mary Jane Wallace was born May the 21 1819
David H. Wallace was born February 17 1821
Arthur Washington Wallace was born March 6 1823
Elizabeth Allen Wallace was born October 18 1825
William Alfred Wallace. Born August 3^d 1828
Kitty Ann Wallace. Born April 11th 1831
John Napoleon Wallace. Born September 21st 1833
Infant Born April 18th 1836. Died the 2^d of May 1836
Margaret Crittenden Wallace. Born 5th of May 1837
Indiana McFarland Wallace. Born May 26th 1840.

(p. 2)

David Locke Wallace was Born Oct 6 1852 (double entry)
Ada Cate Wallace. Bor[n] May 1[?] 1854

(p. 3)

John G. Wallace Departed this life April 15th 1841
Jane Taylor Wallace Doke [Duke?] departed this life Oct 27th 1888

Note:

Tucked into the Bible is an undated newspaper clipping from an unnamed paper said to be published at "Hartford." It carries a tribute to one Hayden Berryman. Berryman's connection to the family is unstated.

Book and Media Reviews

ETHNIC GUIDES

African American Genealogical Sourcebook. Edited by Paula K. Byers. Published by Gale Research; 835 Penobscot Building; Detroit, MI 48226; 1995. Illustrations, indexes. xix, 244 pp. Hardback. \$69.00.

Because so few sources on African American genealogical research are available, genealogists welcome any new volume that promises to guide their investigation through this complicated subject. Unfortunately, this sourcebook identifies more types of materials for African American *historical* studies than it does for *genealogical* work.

The book offers three sections. Part 1 consists of three essays by three different authors, each discussing steps to be taken to ensure a successful search. In the first essay, "Problems in Interpreting Data" (kinship terms, spelling variations, slave-naming practices), DeWitt S. Dykes Jr. mentions (p. 11) that slave-naming practices were distinctly different from those of the master. This information may mislead the reader, because given names of slaves often did duplicate those in the master's family—thus giving genealogists clues by which to identify slaveowners. In the second essay (pp. 16–35), Christopher Nordmann, CGRS, provides the reader with a wide range of genealogical resources (census, cemetery, church, court, military, naturalization, newspaper, passenger, and vital records) of considerable value. In easy-to-follow-and-understand terms, he explains each record source, tells where to find it, and notes its problems and limitations.

In the third essay, Tony Burroughs focuses upon three types of records that are routinely emphasized in African American studies: slave oral history (for antebellum life); the Freedmen's Bureau files (for postbellum life); and, briefly, plantation records. Cautions are in order. Slave narratives can be misleading, and careful genealogists accept oral histories only as clues to be supported by other sources. (On this subject, Frederick Douglass provides a revealing statement in *My Bondage and My Freedom* [1855; reprinted, 1987, p. 28]: "Genealogical trees do not flourish among slaves. . . . I never met a slave who could tell me how old he was. . . . Slave mothers kept no family records with marriages, births, and deaths. They measure the ages of their children by spring time, winter time, harvest time, planting time. But these soon become undistinguishable and forgotten.") Freedmen's Bureau records *can* provide an excellent source for African American genealogical research; however, they were not created in all states and, where found, often are incomplete and difficult to read. Therefore, the specialized materials in this chapter are best used by the African American researcher as supplements to the more-general genealogical sources covered by chapter 2.

Parts 2 and 3 of the *Sourcebook* emphasize primary materials, repositories, and societies. Included in the impressive directory section are public and private collections of genealogical and historical organizations. There is also an annotated listing of numerous collections of

state libraries and archives, African American colleges and universities, and various societies across the United States.

Within this framework, the *Sourcebook* serves as a useful reference for anyone studying families of African American origin.

Chicago, Illinois

Curtis Brasfield, CGRS

Amish Mennonites in Germany: Their Congregations, the Estates Where They Lived, Their Families. By Herman Guth. Translated by Neil Ann Stuckey Levine, Anne Augspurger Schmidt-Lange, et al.; edited by V. Gordon Oyer. Published by Masthof Press (formerly Olde Springfield Shoppe); 10 West Main Street; Post Office Box 171; Elverson, PA 19520-0171; 1995. x, 380 pp. Appendix, bibliography, glossary, index, maps, photographs. Hardback. \$19.50 (shipping: \$3.00).

For more than twenty years, Guth, a German genealogist, has researched the Amish Mennonite families in his country and their migrations within the German territories. The result of this effort was first published in 1993 under the title *Amische Mennoniten in Deutschland*. Now his authoritative work has been translated into English, making it available to American researchers.

The book opens with a short historical summary of the Anabaptist movement throughout central Europe, and it reviews the reasons for these migrations. The author reports that the Amish stayed together in groups of ten or twelve families and sought places on neighboring estates, where they could develop an active congregational life as well as make a living. Ten of these congregations and the families that compose them are the subject of this book—with one chapter devoted to each congregation: Darmstadt, Durlach, Frönsburg, Hochburg, Hofstätten, Nassau-Weilburg, Lower Palatinate, Upper Palatinate, Waldeck, and Zweibrücken. Each congregational chapter includes additional historical background for the specific area and a description of the estates and the families. This section is followed by thirty-five genealogies, including those of Dettweiler, Eyer, Gerber, Güngerich, Guth, Habecker, Hauter, Hochstättler, Holly, Imhof, Jordy, Kennel, Kinzinger, Müller, Nafziger, Oesch, Reidiger, Ringenberg, Roggy, Schantz, Schrag, Schwarzentruher, Siegel, Stalter, Unzicker, Wagler, Zehr, and many other related families.

This wealth of information is supplemented, in ten appendixes, by translations of original documents from a variety of sources. Of the several personal letters included, three are of particular interest to American readers: two from Hans Nafziger of Essingen to Christian Schowalter in Pennsylvania (1787-90); and one from the immigrant Johannes Güngerich, living in Illinois in 1840.

Explanatory footnotes by the author and the editor provide clarification of terminology and historical information. A bibliography cites the sources used for the research. A glossary includes units on antique coinage, measures of land, terminology for the Amish ministry, and a list of German terms that is especially helpful in determining the meaning of archaic words. The author preferred that the English text contain the older German place-names for localities now in France; but the current French place-names are included in parentheses to assist the reader in locating these

sites on modern maps. The English edition (but not the original) concludes with a comprehensive index of personal and place-names.

The publication of this new edition provides, for the first time, access to European records and documents vital to Amish and Mennonite researchers. Students of eighteenth- or nineteenth-century German emigration, even if they have no known Amish Mennonite ancestry, will find much valuable historical information herein.

Myerstown, Pennsylvania

Annette K. Burgert, FASG

Italian Genealogical Records: How to Use Italian Civil, Ecclesiastical, & Other Records in Family History Research. By Trafford R. Cole. Published by Ancestry; Post Office Box 476; Salt Lake City, UT 84110-0476; 1995. xiii, 251 pp. Appendixes, glossary, illustrations, index, maps, photographs. Hardback. \$34.95 (shipping: \$4.50).

Some books should come with a label like washing instructions for a garment. If this one did, it would say: *Read from cover to cover. Do not skim. Then rest. Repeat.*

The need for clear, concise, user-friendly how-to books remains a staple in the ever-changing field of genealogy, especially because of the specific needs that the ethnic genres have. For Italian-Americans, there is now hope—and help—in *Italian Genealogical Records*, although the book is not meant for novices. It will assist genealogists in using record sources in Italy and can be applied to the limited resources available on microfilm via the Family History Library in Salt Lake City. However, researchers of Italian ancestry must do their homework with U.S. records before using this book to find Italian materials.

In a logical progression, this guide builds upon the groundwork already laid in earlier articles by Cole (an American living in Italy, who draws upon years of research experience in that country), as well as by the work of John Philip Colletta, Priscilla DeAngelis, and others. After brief discussions on beginning research, Italian history, surname meaning and origin, and nobility, Cole dives right into the records. Civil, parish, and diocesan resources are treated—including Waldensian, Jewish, and Greek Orthodox sources. Such auxiliary materials as census, emigration, military, notarial, passport, tax, and university records (all elusive to most Italian researchers) are also covered. Cole illustrates his discussions with various transcribed and translated documents; he explains them in detail—including variations based on type, time period, and location—and points out the genealogical importance contained within each type. The section on research procedure is extremely important to the reader who might travel to Italy to perform research. It offers much insight on accessibility, problems and problem-solving techniques, the hiring of a professional researcher, and correspondence. Sample letters appear in both Italian and English.

Unfortunately, over-generalizations occur in the book regarding the availability and location of various record types. The general censuses for the province of Lucca from at least 1861 through 1881 are not held at the state archives (Archivio di Stato) in that province, but rather at the local (comune) archives. However, the tax and census records through 1851 are at Lucca's Archivio di Stato—not at Florence in Tuscany (as the reader has been told). Lucca was not considered a part of Tuscany until 1851. Contrary to Cole's opinion, these censuses are indeed useful in documenting and constructing several generations of families. Also, not all state archives hold notarial records; there are several

notarial archives separate from the state archives. Readers should write to each repository to ascertain its holdings for specific record types and the dates encompassed. A future edition of this guide should adjust these oversights and include more in-depth discussions of comune archives and court records.

Cole provides superb enhancements. The documents he discusses are illustrated by manuscripts, photocopies, photographs, relationship charts, and maps that highlight important political and geographic changes affecting research procedure and methodology. All are especially well presented for the later period, 1812–70. Tables of essential terminology include numbers and ordinals, months, days of the week, occupations, and common names—as well as address lists for the various state archives and the Catholic diocesan seats. The tables of common male and female names provide the Italian spelling and abbreviation, the Latin spelling and Latin abbreviation, the English equivalent, and a dialect or nickname for each. While the whole is excellent, many common names are missing; and abbreviations would have been better indicated by using the customary superscript letters and elongated superscript dash to indicate abbreviations as they appear in original records. The section on the explanation of names found in documents should be carefully noted, especially the discussion of the various grammatical cases used in Latin.

All in all, *Italian Genealogical Records* is almost one-stop shopping for the Italian genealogist. Readers who comb it cover to cover, with close attention to details and explanations, will glean a much better understanding of this country's resources and their regional variances.

Cranston, Rhode Island

Jonathan Galli, CGRS

Collins Scottish Clan and Family Encyclopedia. Edited by George Way of Pleun and by Romilly Squire. Published by HarperCollins; Post Office Box [no number specified], Glasgow G40NB Scotland; 1994. 512 pp. Appendixes, illustrations, index, maps. Hardback. £25 or \$40.00.

Most clan and tartan guides provide mythohistorical sketches of Gaelic Scotland's principal Highland and Island clans. Sometimes they also feature Lowland noble families and the landed elite. Almost always they illustrate tartans designed at various points in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to represent clan or family names.

This guide differs. It features members of the Standing Council of Scottish Chiefs, a substantial majority of whom represent Lowland noble and landed families whose ancestors never belonged to a clan. Formed in 1952, the council's membership is ultimately decided by Scotland's heraldic authority, the Court of the Lord Lyon, which has invariably recognized an armiger as the leading representative of his surname. The book also contains brief entries on other Scottish armigers who, for various reasons, have not been recognized as chief of a surname.

The *Encyclopedia* opens with a history of clanship and the sociopolitical system of Gaelic Scotland's Highlands and Islands. There follows an essay describing traditional Highland dress, the way it was once worn, and the method by which tartan is woven. Both discussions are informative and colorfully illustrated, but they are basically irrelevant to

the ancestries of the Lowland nobles and baronets who are chiefs of most of the featured surnames. More relevant is a definitive discussion of Scottish heraldry, and the five-page review of records to use in tracing Scottish ancestry that constitutes appendix 5.

For each treated surname, the editors display the tartan (if there is one) or the arms of the chief. The first of their entries will serve here to illustrate the whole. *Agnew* is said to be the anglicized name of a family of controversial origins that settled in Wigtownshire in the fourteenth century. Some claim the name once was *d'Agneaux*, a Norman place-name; others believe it was *O'Gnimh*, the name of hereditary poets to the O'Neils in Ulster. If the former hypothesis is correct, Agnews can claim Norman heritage; if the latter, they might take pride in descent from Somerled, the twelfth-century Lord of the Isles. About five hundred years ago, some Agnews were sheriffs of Wigtownshire, but they were never chiefs of a "Clan Agnew." Notwithstanding, page 65 reports that "the world-wide family of Agnew has developed strong links with their Scottish homeland, largely through the efforts of their present chief, Sir Crispin Agnew of Lochnaw, eleventh Baronet." The entry concludes by reporting that "a thriving clan society exists and a tartan has been designed by the chief to further unite Agnews throughout the world." One wonders whether the former United States vice-president, Spiro T. Agnew, whose name was anglicized from the Greek *Anagnostopoulos*, has been invited to join the Agnew Clan Society.

Appendix 4 offers a list of some nine hundred surnames, sometimes called septs, and their "associated clans." Traditionally, septs were branches of a clan headed by a cadet (younger) member of the chief's family. The cadet's given name, nickname, occupation, the place he settled, or his wife's surname eventually became the name of the sept. Later descendants were associated with the original clan through the cadet. However, thousands of others whose surnames derived from similar sources had nothing to do with the clan and were not related to the cadet. For example, legend has it that the original chief of Clan Gunn had a son named Will; thus, this guide—like many others—suggests that people named Wilson are associated with Clan Gunn.

Using similarity of spelling or meaning, the *Encyclopedia* joins with others of its type in posing some ludicrous associations. For example: it links *Davis* (a typically Welsh name) with Clan Davidson. Yet readers are told (p. 381) that Clan Davidson was "virtually wiped out as a clan . . . in 1370," that the Clan Davidson Association was nonetheless founded in 1909, but that it was "inactive for some time until it revived recently and now vigorously seeks to unite Davidsons throughout the world." The guide associates *Cook* (an English occupational name) with "Clan Stewart." There never was a Clan Stewart. This surname is also occupationally derived, coming from the Scottish royal family from 1371–1603 and the British royal family from 1603–1714. For no discernible reason, the guide associates *Smith*, the most common surname in the English-speaking world, with either Clan Macpherson or Clan Mackintosh.

To their credit, the editors admit (p. 493) that the subject of associated names is "a contentious one" and that their list is not "definitive." However, one would expect better than this from the Secretary and Deputy Secretary of the Standing Council of Chiefs. One wonders whether the purpose of this work, at least in part, is to foster the business of selling surnames.

FAMILY HISTORIES

Gateway Families: Ancestors and Descendants of Richard Simrall Hawes, III, and Marie Christy Johnson. By Christy Hawes Bond; edited by Alicia Crane Williams. Published by the author; 1994. Distributed by the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Sales Department; 101 Newbury Street; Boston, MA 02116-3087. xxvii, 630 pp. Appendixes, charts, illustrations, photographs. Hardback. \$75.00 (shipping: \$6.00).

Gateway Families is truly a fascinating family history, worthy of being studied by scholars as a window on the diverse ethnic backgrounds and migration patterns of today's society. Geographically, Bond's families come together in Saint Louis; but their roots extend—among other places—to colonial Louisiana, New York, and Virginia and to medieval England, France, and Spain.

Extensive research has been well organized and fluently written in a modified Ahnentafel form, with all of Mrs. Bond's direct ancestors presented in detail. Each generation is presented as a chapter, introduced by a chart explaining the relationship of each family in that generation. For most ancestors, there are anecdotal accounts and information on collateral lines. Especially noteworthy treatment is given the families of Armistead, Carter, Cary, Clark, and Hancock of Virginia; the Lispenards and Pells of New York; the Gignilliat of South Carolina; the Church, Foote, and Montague families of New England; and the Beauvais, LaCroix, Rivard, Thaumur, and Turpin families of Quebec and the Mississippi Valley. Each chapter is also introduced by a full-color photograph of a family heirloom that represents the time setting for that generation. An unusually large number of family portraits have been assembled and are superbly reproduced, usually in full color.

As a collaborative effort, the individual participants brought considerable and complementary skills to the task. Bond conducted extensive research herself. Williams, a professional genealogist who specializes in Pilgrim families, provided both research assistance and editorial and reproduction services. Additionally, Dr. James Neal Primm, an expert in Saint Louis history, offers excellent insight concerning the historical significance of *Gateway Families* and provides biographical sketches of a number of the Saint Louis ancestors. James J. Holmberg contributes an anecdotal account of General William Clark, the famous explorer, whose recently discovered letters add new personal detail to this sketch of his life.

Gateway Families is one of the most lavishly produced and carefully written genealogies to be published. Only one flaw keeps it from being a model for other genealogists and family history writers to follow—and it is a significant flaw. Its documentation is limited to a paragraph at the end of each sketch, a practice that no longer meets standards of genealogical scholarship. (See "Guidelines for Genealogical Editing," pp. 49–50 of the present journal.) As it is, *Gateway Families* is a fitting memorial to the families presented and a still-exceptional addition to family and historical research.

Williamsburg, Virginia

Virginia Lee Hutcheson Davis

Ike, This is You: A History of the Skelton, Boone, Barry, Beach, Blatner, Corum, Hoagland, Lehw, Strode, Wright, and Young Families. By Isaac Newton Skelton III and Earl Franklin Skelton. Published by Earl F. Skelton; 6311 29th Place, NW; Washington, DC 20015-2221; 1995. xx, 233 pp. Charts, index, photographs. Hardback. \$30.00.

When Isaac Newton Skelton (Ike III) died in 1965, he left research for an intended book that was to show the ancestry of his young grandson (Ike V). Even the title had been selected: *Ike, This is You*. Thirty years passed before Ike III's cousin, Earl Franklin Skelton, a physicist and family historian, was able to finish the task, using his own interest in Skelton history to build on data left by his predecessor.

The result is an interesting gift to the family—extensively documented, with endnotes from both primary and secondary sources. The book begins with descendants of John Skelton (circa 1751–1816/17) and his wife, Catharine Hepler. (Readers of the *NGS Quarterly* will recall this couple from the December 1992 issue, which offered Earl F. Skelton's winning entry in that year's NGS Family History Writing Contest.)

A pedigree chart, depicting the ancestors of Ike III, serves as a unifying device to tie together the various families. Each narrative section is followed by a chart showing the descendants of that line, although these charts use the difficult-to-follow modified Henry system of numbering. Following the order in the chart, each of the other families is treated separately. Much of the data in these later sections is from secondary sources. Numerous excerpts appear from histories and previously published genealogies—many still in copyright, and each carefully documented—but this reader searched in vain for evidence of permission to reprint the many quotations. Including this in the published draft would have cast the borrowed material in a better light.

Military and public service is a theme throughout. Members of the subject families fought in the battles of Princeton and Blue Licks during the Revolutionary War; in the capture of Romney, Virginia, during the Civil War; and in the Persian Gulf Campaign. Young Isaac Newton Skelton V grew up to become a lieutenant in the U.S. Navy, stationed in London. His brother, James Anding Skelton—not even born at the time of Ike III's death—received a Bronze Star from his tour of duty in the Persian Gulf. Meanwhile, Ike IV served as prosecuting attorney in Lafayette County, Missouri; as a state senator; and, finally, as U.S. Democratic congressman from Missouri's Fourth Congressional District—a post he still holds. This family history is a proud reminder of the service of these men and their ancestors.

Coos Bay, Oregon

Merrill Hill Mosher, CG

The Story Uncle Minyard Told: A Family's 200-Year Migration across the South. By Davis Blake Carter. Published by the Reprint Co.; Post Office Box 5401; Spartanburg, SC 29304; 1994. ix, 509 pp. Hardback. \$35.00.

Categorizing this work of prose could be a difficult undertaking, unless it is classified as an historical novel. Perhaps the most-appropriate description would be *genealogical* novel, as the author takes part of a family tree (presumably his own) and uses it as the skeleton of a story—recounting the tribulations and jubilations of a pioneer family as it trekked across the Southern United States. If the reader is somewhat confused in the beginning, it is understandable because of the ingenious manner in which the author has interwoven real persons and historical facts.

Purists in the genealogical community may frown upon the license Carter has taken. However, the many historical facts and customs depicted by the author can give readers

insight into their own families who took a similar route across the Southland in its formative years. Told in the first person by two individuals—first, Minyard Harris; then, after “Uncle Minyard’s” death, by one who had been his ardent listener—the book deals with several generations of an English Harris family that arrived in Southside Virginia during colonial times. From there, the reader is taken on an odyssey across the Carolinas into Georgia, Alabama, and finally East Texas, as each generation of this family continues to expand its American roots.

The first few pages give a brief account of the early generations of the family; then Uncle Minyard relates the story of his own generation from his earliest recollections in the 1840s to a few days before his death in 1914. This section is rich in detail on the customs and historic events surrounding Southern pioneers, who seemed to pack up and move farther westward with each new generation. Through Uncle Minyard’s eyes and thoughts, readers see the building of a plank road in Alabama and the daily struggles of Confederate families devastated by war and its aftermath. A steamer ride from New Orleans to Galveston in the 1870s transplants the reader to Texas, alongside Minyard’s family. From this point on, the book is rife with political events during and following Reconstruction, as the Harris family built a new life in the “land of milk and honey”—a description Minyard’s father-in-law gave to Freestone County.

Clearly, this is not a genealogy and was not intended to be one. Yet one need only spend a couple of hours in a good genealogical library, perusing census records, to determine that the family was real. The 1850, 1860, and 1870 federal returns for Coosa and Elmore Counties, Alabama, enumerate Minyard’s kin. It is evident that the author has done enormous research on both the family and local history in the areas where the Harrises lived. Any Southern-history buff will recognize a great many of the real characters and events that Carter has cleverly incorporated into the fabric of his story. (Even John Wesley Hardin gallops across page 421 on his road to infamy.) But be forewarned: there are no superscript numbers, no footnotes, and no index. The author’s purpose was to tell an interesting tale, and he does so. But it is sometimes hard to decide where truth ends and fiction begins in this elaborately contrived account.

Neither true genealogy nor pure fiction, *The Story Uncle Minyard Told* is still worthwhile reading for the genealogist and those curious about the Southern past. It is an entertaining and wholesome book, qualities not easy to satisfy in today’s world.

Georgetown, Texas

Donald Forbes Forsythe, CG

MISCELLANEOUS REFERENCE WORKS

Ancestors of American Presidents. By Gary Boyd Roberts. Published by Carl Boyer, 3d; Post Office Box 220333; Santa Clarita, CA 91322-0333; 1995. xvii, 456 pp. Appendixes, charts, indexes. Hardback. \$35.00 (shipping: \$3.00).

For more than a quarter century, Gary Boyd Roberts has been assembling and publishing presidential ancestries. Being a research specialist for the New England Historic Genealogical Society gives him daily access to one of the country’s finest genealogical libraries and also puts him at the desk to recruit those who visit or write the library. One could hardly be better placed to synopsise so scattered a field as the progenitors of forty-

one presidents. Roberts has lived up to his opportunities in this major work—at least so far as his Spartan format allows. He is also generous in crediting the people who did much of the original research.

Gaps and mistaken identities are inevitable, since no extensive pre-1850 ancestries for two-score Americans could possibly be without blemish. However, such imperfections pale in comparison to the convenience of this book, as one example will show. The announcement that the current White House occupant would visit Ireland caused the *New York Times* on 23 September 1995 to report some discussion in Ireland about who in “the Cassidy Clan” should be the official greeters of their American cousin, the son of Virginia Clinton née Cassidy. Roberts supplies Mrs. Clinton’s “probable” second and third great-grandfathers (nos. 48 and 96 in his Ahnentafel numbering system), and we see at once the blarney of the Irish cousinry: “48. (prob.) Levi Cassidy, [born] prob. Chesterfield Dist. [South Carolina] ca. 1790–[died] prob. Henry or Coffee Co., Ala. by 1850,” son of “96. (prob.) Zachariah Cassidy, prob. S.C. 1750/60–prob. Chesterfield Dist. post 1830, Revolutionary soldier of Cheraw Dist.” These are the complete entries; here the Cassidy lineage stops, without an immigrant in sight.

Roberts first issued a version of this book in March 1989 and an expanded edition eight months later. Now the fruits of five additional years appear in the same format within an even-fatter book. Presidents born in the eighteenth century get ancestries back seven generations in all identifiable lines; those born in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries stop after eight and nine generations respectively. Such cutoffs seem prudent for lineages in Europe, just to keep the project in bounds; but the American lines should have been carried back to known immigrants regardless of the number of generations. Then users could have made more American connections.

As already shown, the ancestral entries supply very restricted detail—usually just the ancestor’s name and the dates and places of birth, death (or probate), and marriage. This minimalism extends to the documentation. The sources appear in a separate section of forty-four pages, each president receiving a list of published sources and a few words concerning debatable identities. Readers who have a good genealogical library at their elbows may suffer much frustration and wasted time seeking mentioned books and articles until they reach the one that addresses the fact they are querying.

Of this section, Roberts writes, “Presidential ancestors, a few generations back, look like anyone else’s.” Browsing this book gives a nice feel for this fact and for how success and failure tend to match the usual ethnic, geographic, and socioeconomic variables. Consider the two presidents who served in 1829. The fifty-six ancestral slots for John Q. Adams’s fourth, fifth, and sixth generations (Ahnentafel numbers 8 to 63) are filled with fifty-four names, a tribute to the records in New England and England. For Andrew Jackson, the comparable slots are filled by just one name. His parents came from Ulster.

The second half of the book reports presidential descents from royalty (with a few royal origins for some *First Ladies*) and also produces charts showing collateral descents from common ancestors. Roberts clearly savors royal quarry (a taste not shared by this reviewer). Ditto the collateral descents that require eighty-nine charts to reveal such relationships as how Calvin Coolidge and Gerald Ford both share Peter Coffin of County Devon, England, as an ancestor. Too bad the author did not delete 90 percent of this monarchical and collateral trivia. That would have liberated 160 pages for use in expanding the biographical

facts about presidential ancestors and enhancing each entry with more-specific citations. Roberts obviously knows a whole lot more about presidential ancestries than he chose to put in this book.

Salt Lake City, Utah

William Thorndale, AG, CG

REGIONAL WORKS

Ohio Genealogical Research. By George K. Schweitzer, Ph.D. Published by the author; 407 Ascot Court; Knoxville, TN 37923-5807; 1994. 213 pp. Diagrams, maps. No index. Softback. \$15.00.

Schweitzer is a prolific writer of genealogical guidebooks—sixteen so far, ten of which are to specific states. This one has no introduction to tell its purpose and scope, but readers can infer that its intention is to assist researchers in finding and using Ohio's genealogical material. Page 212 says the book contains "1241 sources for tracing your OH ancestor along with detailed instructions." This is a commendable goal, and the author has produced a portable softback guide that names the appropriate resources. Its utility, however, is limited by serious defects in organization, accuracy, and emphasis.

The book consists of four chapters of roughly equal size. The first, "Ohio Background," gives a brief state history, accompanied by maps and a diagramed "genealogy" of county formation in Ohio. The second, "Types of Records," lists the sources available. The third, "Record Locations," tells where materials are found; and the fourth, "Research Procedure & County Listings," describes resources county by county. As this summary suggests, there is considerable repetition and redundancy between the chapters.

Chapter 1 (historical background) is weighted toward pre-Revolutionary Ohio, although the region was not then open for settlement. It is also long on graphics of low value. Four maps mark the location of "French Posts" in the Old Northwest. None are identified by name or present location, and none were in Ohio. The map of present-day counties on page 7 is repeated on pages 9 and 30. The county "genealogy" is a nine-page graphic representation that not only is confusing but also contains many factual errors. Stark and Wayne Counties are reported as created in 1808 from Columbiana County (pp. 47-48), although Columbiana is thrice said to have been created in 1810 (pp. 41, 47-48). Trumbull County (1800) and Columbiana County (actually formed in 1803) are shown as offspring of Muskingum County, which was not formed until 1804 (pp. 41, 47). Forty-two of Ohio's counties are reputed to contain territory once organized under Wayne County, Michigan—but only three actually do. It also would have helped, in this section, if the author had explained *why* it is important to know a county's ancestry. Because he aims at genealogical beginners, many of his readers will not understand the significance.

Chapter 2 (records) arranges its material oddly—in alphabetical order rather than by functional groups. *Birth records* are found between *biographies* and *cemetery records*, and *death records* between *DAR* and *divorce*, and *marriage records* between *manuscripts* and *military*. (It is as if a cookbook gave the recipes for salad, salmon, sauce, soup, spinach, sponge cake, and steak in that order.) Listings tend more to the inventory, less to the analysis; three pages of regional "mug books" are cited without an explanation of why and how they were created or what their virtues and limitations are. The section *Church records* lists published sources and addresses of archives (which one would expect to be in the next chapter under record locations). Here the reader would hope for, but does not find, a

discussion of the attitudes each denomination had toward recordkeeping and what that meant for the creation and survival of its records. Readers are given (p. 57) an incorrect address for the Division of Vital Statistics—Ohio Department of Health, which is the best source for birth certificates (since 1908), death certificates (since 1937), and marriage records (since 1949). The correct address is 35 East Chestnut Street (mailing address: Post Office Box 15098; Columbus, OH 43215–0098).

Chapter 3 (record locations) gives very short shrift to courthouses. Only half a page describes county government and the records that its different offices keep. No courthouse addresses are provided. Most of the county-by-county information—such as census holdings or microfilms available at the Ohio Historical Society or at an LDS Family History Center—could be shown more effectively in tabular form.

The boilerplate format of this section reveals a drawback of the wordprocessor: it can repeat information easily and repeat misinformation with equal ease. Under each county listing, readers are instructed to look for newspaper information in chapter 2, section 30, and for genealogical periodical articles in chapter 2, section 19. Both directions are wrong, and—since Ohio has eighty-eight counties—both errors are repeated eighty-eight times. Readers who seek the address of a county genealogical society are directed, eighty-eight times, to “contact library for current address.” The author explains (p. 152) that he did this because “these societies sometimes undergo address changes when they elect new officers.” In fact, to avoid this problem, at least eighty-one of the ninety-nine chapters of the Ohio Genealogical Society (OGS) have permanent addresses such as post-office boxes. All of these addresses appear each month on the back cover of the OGS newsletter and in the society’s quarterly journal, *The Report*.

Other infelicities also mar the usefulness of the work. The Shelby County section (p. 201) refers readers to the Marvin Memorial Library in Shelby, Ohio. But Shelby, the city, is halfway across the state from Shelby, the county. The telephone number given for this library is in Ontario, Canada. Shelby County’s local genealogical society is identified as the Richland-Shelby Chapter of OGS. However, that society is seated in the city of Shelby, in Richland County. The real Shelby County Genealogical Society meets in Sidney, the county seat of Shelby County, and is not a chapter of OGS. Page 159 cites the name of the Champaign County Genealogical Society’s newsletter as the *Mad River Current*. It was once called the *Mad River Courant*, but not since 1987.

Portions of the book raise questions about the author’s actual research experience. The discussion of court records, after listing Ohio’s various types of courts, says (p. 76):

The records of the different courts appear in record books, file cabinets, and filing boxes with various titles and labels. These titles and labels do not always describe everything in the volumes, and records of various types may be mixed up or they may all appear in a single set of books. The latter is especially true in the earlier years. Fortunately, there is a simple rule which avoids all these difficulties: look for your ancestor in all available court records, regardless of what the labellings on the books, cabinets, files, and boxes happen to be. . . . If all this seems complicated, do not worry. All you need to do is remember the rules: examine all [author’s emphasis] court records.

Is this description of court records informative? Can this advice be followed? Did the author ever try to examine all court records in any courthouse? How long did it take?

The most-serious failing of this book is its unfortunate emphasis upon collections and repositories of secondary sources. Page 121 advises, "Once you have located the county in which your ancestor lived, it is *usually not a good idea to go there first*. It is best to explore the microfilmed, *transcribed, and published copies of the records* at some central repository" [emphasis added]. This contradicts a principal tenet of good genealogy—that primary records are the gold standard in research; and that secondary-source data are far more prone to errors of transcription, omission, and misinterpretation. Aggravating the misdirection here is the boilerplate nature of the list (pp. 143–44) of "large genealogical libraries" to which readers are advised to go for Ohio research. Virtually the same set of libraries is recommended to users of the author's *Georgia Genealogical Research*, in a one-shoe-size-fits-all approach—but it *doesn't* fit. By way of example, the one Mississippi library Schweitzer recommends for Ohio research is the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, which has next-to-no Ohio material. Ignored is the L. W. Anderson Genealogical Library at Bay Saint Louis, which is by far the best genealogical library in the state and does offer a modest number of Ohio publications.

This book has no index. Its pages separate easily from the binding. The author uses many abbreviations of his own creation which are hard to follow—such as C for the 1890 Union veterans and widows census schedule; R for "regular" censuses (i.e., population schedules); and F for "farm and ranch censuses" (i.e., the agricultural schedules of the federal censuses, which are not limited to farm owners, as the reader is told [p. 62], but also include agents and tenants of the landowner). A list of abbreviations is provided and must be resorted to frequently. Brevity is gained, but at the cost of clarity—as, for example (p. 121): "After doing work at OHS-SLO, WRHS, PLC, ACPL, and HL (FHC) you then need to make a trip to the county (LL, LR, CH) and possibly to the ONAHC."

Regrettably, one other subject must be addressed: the use of another writer's material without permission. The author states (p. 149) that his listings of county resources were "obtained from the catalogs at FHL, OHS, WRHS, SLO and then compared to similar listings in works by Bell, Khouw, Clark, and Harter," the latter four being authors of existing guides to Ohio genealogical resources. Some of the information given in chapter 4—such as which counties lost records to courthouse fires—appears in print nowhere else but in the work of Carol W. Bell, namely her *Ohio Wills and Estates to 1850: an Index and Ohio Guide to Genealogical Sources*. No such guide to record destruction has been compiled by the state archives, the state genealogical society, or any other public entity. Unless Dr. Schweitzer has independently researched courthouse fires in all eighty-eight Ohio counties, this information would seem to have been taken directly from Bell's research. Knowledge in the public domain cannot be protected by copyright—a county's early wills, for example, are public documents and no one's compiled index to them could be considered the intellectual property of the indexer. However, there is a difference between copyright (a matter of laws) and plagiarism (a matter of ethics). If Dr. Schweitzer's information came from Mrs. Bell's work, which he now sells in direct competition with her, it is not illegal. Is it ethical? Does it fall within the framework of the fair-use principle—which can, in fact, be a legal issue if an aggrieved author chooses to pursue it?

Schweitzer's *Ohio Genealogical Research* cannot be recommended. Although it gathers together a large number of Ohio sources, it has significant defects in fact, emphasis, and organization. Researchers would be far better served by the guides already available.

Glückstadt, Madison County, Mississippi: A History of a German-American Catholic Farming Community in the Deep South. By Edward Joseph Klaas II. Published by Gateway Press. Available from the author; 3125 K Colonial Way; Atlanta, GA 30341; 1995. xiv, 240 pp. Appendixes, index, maps, photographs. Price not available.

In 1905, six German-American farm families from Lake County, Indiana, transplanted themselves to Central Mississippi. The rural community they chose, previously known as Calhoun Station on the Illinois Central Railroad, was renamed Glückstadt (Lucky City) in honor of the new settlers: Valentine Fetsch, Johannes H. Hasse, John Kehle, Henry A. Klass, Peter Schmidt, and Joseph Weilandt.

The enterprise reflects a historical chapter of American culture and migration that genealogists often miss. After the Civil War and Reconstruction, large plantations were no longer profitable, even with sharecropping and tenant farming. Large tracts were broken into smaller ones and offered for sale. The Highland Colony Company, a Chicago-based real-estate firm, heavily advertised Mississippi's land in the Midwestern states as well as in Europe—sometimes in the German language. The Illinois Central Railroad, needing northbound cargo, joined the effort to settle its southern track and produced promotional pamphlets that were mailed to U.S. residents as well as to European citizens. Joining the effort was the Catholic Church, which sought Mississippi parishioners.

Meanwhile, German-American Catholics of the North wanted a milder climate, a longer growing season, and larger farms, as well as a Catholic community with their own priest, church, and school. The Glückstadt group explored other options in Canada but agreed on Mississippi, at the encouragement of an agent for the Highland Colony Company who had been given "free passage" on the Illinois Central in exchange for promoting settlement of the southern routes.

The pioneer farmers paid the agent cash, their life's savings, for the promised farms. That agent took \$2,000 of the \$22,000 entrusted to him; paid down on a tract of 1,960 acres in present Madison County, Mississippi; and spent the rest speculating on other property. When the Chicago agent failed to pay the remainder of the Mississippi mortgage, the settlers had to make good the debt or return the land. Some of the Germans went back to Indiana; some remained, paying for their farms the second time. Local attorneys assisted the community in obtaining a loan and attaching the Highland Colony Company's remaining property, which the farmers attempted to sell to recoup their loss.

News of the swindle stymied additional immigration for several years, but new families joined them between 1915 and 1930: i.e., those of Henry Aulenbrock of Effingham, Illinois (1916); John A. Minninger from Hammond, Indiana (1921); Joseph Haas from Conway, Arkansas (1923); Anthony Weisenberger from Lanesville, Indiana (1923); and Peter Endris from Pana, Illinois (1924), among others.

Author Klaas attempts to place Glückstadt into historical context, but the lack of documentation thwarts his effectiveness. For some chapters, an appendix gives notes; but these are not keyed to any statements in the text. Principal sources appear to be interviews (which contribute attitude and flavor) and newspapers (often cited with no identifying date). The sole citation of a primary source appears in a note that reads (p. 226): "The Highland Colony Company turned over some of their land: Madison county chancery court records." There is heavy reliance on the published history of Madison County, Carol Mead's *The Land between Two Rivers*.

An appendix sets forth genealogical “charts” or outlines for the settler families, derived from data donated by descendants, with no apparent attempt to verify genealogical detail. There is no mention of sources consulted by most genealogists to reconstruct the fabric of human lives—i.e.: census records, deeds, tax lists, wills, probate files, marriage licenses and returns, etc. However, the text is wonderfully illustrated with pictures of the original settlers, their descendants, homes, farms, cattle, priests, churches, schools, and servicemen. Klaas also offers a diagram of Saint Joseph’s Cemetery, with entries commendably listed and numbered in order.

Although it cannot be set forth as a model for genealogists in compiling a community study, *Glückstadt* is still an enthusiastically and lovingly written tribute to its German pioneers. Their descendants will appreciate it. Some other genealogists may find in its story a suggestion of similar activity for their own forebears.

Jackson, Mississippi

Ruth Land Hatten, CGRS

Orangeburgh District, 1768–1868: History and Records. By Daniel Marchant Culler; edited by Justine Bond Culler, Mason Culler Wolfe, and Justine Smith Hundley Culler. Published by the Reprint Company; Post Office Box 5401; Spartanburg, SC 29304; 1995. xxvi, 737 pp. Appendixes, bibliography, index, map, photographs. Hardback. \$50.00 (shipping: \$3.00).

Not since 1898 has there been a major historical work on Orangeburg. Small wonder that researchers, who have been limited to Alexander S. Salley’s *History of Orangeburg: 1704–82* for the past century, are already hailing the Culler-Wolfe study for both its information and its readability. This study was begun by the late Judge Daniel Marchant Culler, who collected information on Orangeburgh District for eighteen years prior to his death during the district’s bicentennial year. His widow, a daughter, and a grandson have now brought Judge Culler’s work to press.

Created in 1768, Orangeburgh District included the present counties of Orangeburg, Barnwell, Bamberg, Calhoun, and Lexington, as well as parts of Aiken and Allendale. It contained four of the eleven “townships” (settlements) set up by South Carolina’s Township Act of 1730—Amelia, New Windsor, Orangeburgh, and Saxe-Gotha—and it remained a center of German-speaking settlers for many years.

Until the Revolution, all civil records of the Province of South Carolina were kept in Charleston, not in the “counties” or districts. Thus, local civil records do not exist prior to the Revolution. The colony of South Carolina was also divided into Anglican parishes that were *supposed* to keep birth, marriage, and death records of their residents—church members or not—but practice did not always follow principle. Orangeburgh was not officially in any Anglican parish until Saint Matthews Parish was established in 1768—the same year that recordkeeping fell out of favor in most of the parishes. Thus, no Anglican registers are known to exist for the Orangeburgh population. To fill the void, researchers have had only the Geissendanner Register, kept from 1740 to 1760 by two efficient German-Swiss ministers. On this subject, Culler offers one intriguing statement, curiously without a numbered citation, that will frustrate many readers: “There is a list of 663 baptisms and 154 marriages recorded in [the Reverend Paul Turquand’s] register. On July

3, 1785, for example, he baptized twenty-three persons" (p. 164). The statement actually is a quote from Frederick Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina* (Charleston: E. Thayer, 1820). One wonders whether Judge Culler saw the register. If so, is it extant today?

Culler's tome helps to explain the morass of political-boundary and institutional changes that confuse so many researchers. Orangeburgh District's first courthouse was built in 1772, was burned in 1781, and was replaced in 1783. In 1785, four counties were carved from the district—Orange, Winton (later Barnwell), Lewisburgh, and Lexington; but they were abolished in 1800 in favor of three circuit court districts—Orangeburgh, Barnwell, and Lexington. Where there already was a courthouse (as at Orangeburgh), the records continued to be kept in the same books. However, the Orangeburgh courthouse was occupied by Sherman's forces during the Civil War—and was burned by them as they left. Not until 1869–70 was the courthouse replaced.

It is not surprising that pre-1868 records for the area are almost nonexistent or that this volume offers little new insight into the colonial period. Its first chapter, covering historical background before 1768, is taken almost entirely from two secondary sources. That deficiency may perpetuate errors presented in the originals. The second section offers an alphabetized version of the 1790 federal census for Orangeburgh, north and south parts, as previously published by the Census Bureau. Thus, the chapter serves as an index to the earlier publication—although researchers will want to consult the bureau's version or the microfilmed original returns in order to identify ancestral neighbors and glean other community clues.

Ensuing chapters cover the range of topics one would expect of a county history: churches and their influence; roads, bridges, and ferries; villages and resorts; courthouses and jails; lawyers, legislators, and public officials; doctors, druggists, and medicine; slaves and free blacks; and newspapers and periodicals. The most-delightful chapter may be "Nineteenth Century Homes," which relates traditional stories of the families who lived in them and offers thirty attractive photographs of these beautiful and fascinating old buildings. Ten appendixes include original marriage records and lists of militiamen, county officials, and Confederate soldiers.

The book concludes with an alphabetized index of the population schedules of Orangeburg's federal census of 1850—but is limited to heads of household, with selected information. This presentation style was, of course, common to genealogy and local history in the 1960s, when Judge Culler performed his work. Today's genealogists, applying more-sophisticated methods of data analysis and linkage, will undoubtedly wish the transcription had left the entries in their original sequence.

There is some misleading historical information, particularly with regard to churches and their formation. The author may not have lived long enough to see the excellent research on the Reverend John Ulrich Giessendanner, published in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, vol. 67: 129–137, which disproves Salley's theory that Giessendanner was a Lutheran minister. In general, the historical narrative is well proofed, except for repetition of paragraphs in more than one chapter.

Culler has documented his sources carefully, in most cases, with chapter endnotes and a sixteen-page bibliography that is an invaluable guide to sources. The index contains not only people and places but also such other proper names as organizations, legislative acts,

and businesses. The work has much to recommend it to researchers sorely in need of resource material and historical perspective for a scorched-earth region.

Mount Pleasant, South Carolina

Beverly Sloan Shuler, CG

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Dictionary of Old Trades & Occupations. By Andrew and Sandra Twining. Published by Twining's Secretarial; 313 Pimpala Road, Mount Hurtle; Woodcroft SA 5162; Australia; 1995. iii, 108 pp. Glossary. Softback. \$12.50.

Over fifteen hundred occupations are included in this handbook, which emphasizes job titles in use before 1900. Gleaned from a variety of sources, most of the terms claim British origin (e.g., duffer, farrier, harbinger, linen draper, yeoman) but widespread usage in other English-speaking countries. Others are distinctively Australian (dogger, jackeroo, rabbitier, swagman), and a few even appear to be American (cowman, roughneck, wild-catter). The book includes many occupations whose titles have not changed over the years (farmer, fireman, fisherman, judge, undertaker), which may be a disappointment to some readers. Many titles are archaic (gaberlunzie, gauger, querier) or indicate occupations now obsolete (frobisher, lopseller, tweeny), and these will assist genealogists who are puzzled over pursuits indicated in historical materials. To aid in understanding occupational titles in parish records, manorial documents, etc., a glossary of Latin terms for various occupations is included.

U.S. Catholic Sources: A Diocesan Research Guide. Compiled by Virginia Humling. Published by Ancestry; Post Office Box 476; Salt Lake City, UT 84110-0476; 1995. Index. Softback. \$6.95 (shipping: \$2.50).

Roman Catholic records, especially those treating baptisms and marriages, can be a rich source of information for genealogists. Most are maintained at the parish level, rather than by the diocese, although the latter usually houses the records of parishes now extinct and may have additional materials. To assist researchers with Catholic ancestors in the United States, the compiler mailed questionnaires to all American dioceses; and all but three responded. The resulting directory gives the address and telephone number of each diocese, the area it includes, its access policy, and fees for research in person or by mail. Often the compiler notes the availability of diocesan histories, newspapers, published records, and special collections (such as cemetery and mortuary records). She also indicates which diocesan records have been microfilmed by the Genealogical Society of Utah, as well as the existence of some Catholic records in such non-diocesan repositories as public libraries and historical societies.

Trinity Lutheran Church Records; Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Volume 2. Translated and edited by Debra D. Smith, CGRS, and Pastor Frederick S. Weiser. Published by Closson Press. Order from Debra D. Smith; 1821 South Club Drive; Wellington, FL 33414; 1995. v, 582 pp. Appendix, illustrations, index. Hardback. \$39.95 (shipping: \$4.00).

Trinity was the second-largest Lutheran congregation in Pennsylvania and the largest outside Philadelphia. Its records begin in 1730 and treat not only the sacramental entries of Lutherans but also a substantial number of Mennonite marriages and a few Anglican and

Presbyterian baptisms. Several partial translations of Trinity's baptism, marriage, and burial records have been done over the years. The present work is a new translation, but the authors consulted the previous works and also made two separate readings of their own translation against the original register. This volume, labeled no. 2, actually covers part of the *third* manuscript volume—baptisms, burials, and marriages, 1768–82. To their transcription from the register, the authors add data from two other sources: listings of “confirmands and communicants” and pew rentals. The entries are transcribed meticulously and even include identification of each pastor's entries by his handwriting. A helpful addition is the insertion of present-day postal codes for each German town referred to in the register. Every name in the book is included in the 105-page index.

Surry County, Virginia, Register of Free Negroes. Transcribed and compiled by Dennis Hudgins. Published by the Virginia Genealogical Society; 5001 West Broad Street, Suite 115; Richmond, VA 23230; 1995. xii, 339 pp. Index. Softback. \$30.00 (shipping \$3.00).

The Virginia General Assembly in 1793 enacted a requirement for the registration of “every free Negro or mulatto” in each jurisdiction of the state. A number of the registers have survived, and this Surry County volume is the fourteenth to be published for the state. Completely transcribed, the register spans almost seventy years, 1794–1862. The demographic and emancipation data required by the law—including age, name, color, and height—are provided in richly descriptive detail. Many of the individuals are linked by name to white citizens, including former owners, which may aid in tracing the ancestry of both groups. In addition, some intergenerational links are provided directly; and at least two three-generation examples are evident. The consecutively numbered entries include references to the page numbers in the original register in the Surry County clerk's office. The volume is supplemented by transcription of the original registration laws and marriages recorded in the Surry County Freedman's Bureau files. An every-name index includes an extensive listing of single names, as well as locations in Surry and other Virginia counties, but no references to other states. Used in conjunction with tax lists and deed, marriage, probate, and court records, this volume will be indispensable for those tracing Surry County families.

Updates

Gordon L. Remington, “Law of the Land v. Copycat Genealogies:
Asahel Drake's Parentage,” *NGSQ* 83 (September 1995): 191, n. 37.

Change 1980 to 1969. Mr. Remington thanks Merrill Mosher, CG, of Coos Bay, Oregon, for calling his attention to the fact that the cited speaker appeared at the First World Conference on Records (1969), rather than the 1980 conference.

“Book and Media Reviews,” *NGSQ* 83 (September 1995): 217.

As clarification, Lowell Kosloskey of Petoskey, Michigan, offers the following: Computer programs known as shareware are not free but are freely distributed on a “try-before-you-buy” concept. Continued use of a program, usually beyond thirty days, requires the payment of a registration fee to the author.

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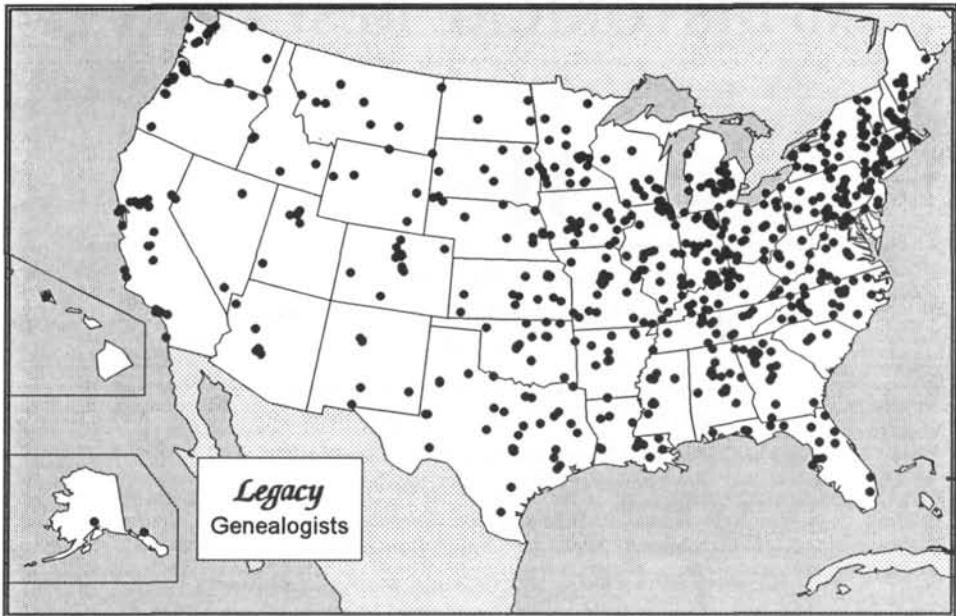
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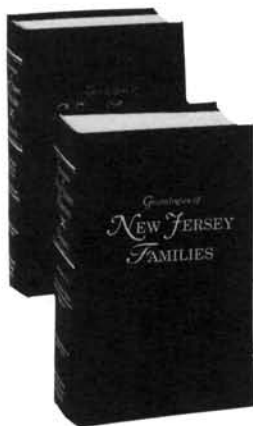
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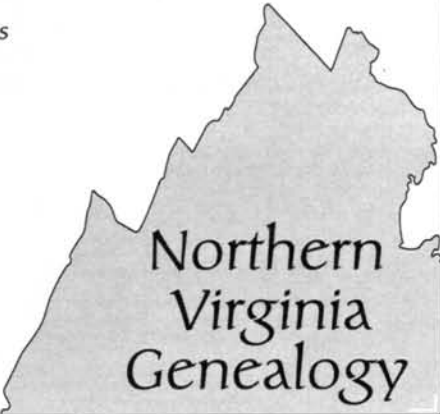
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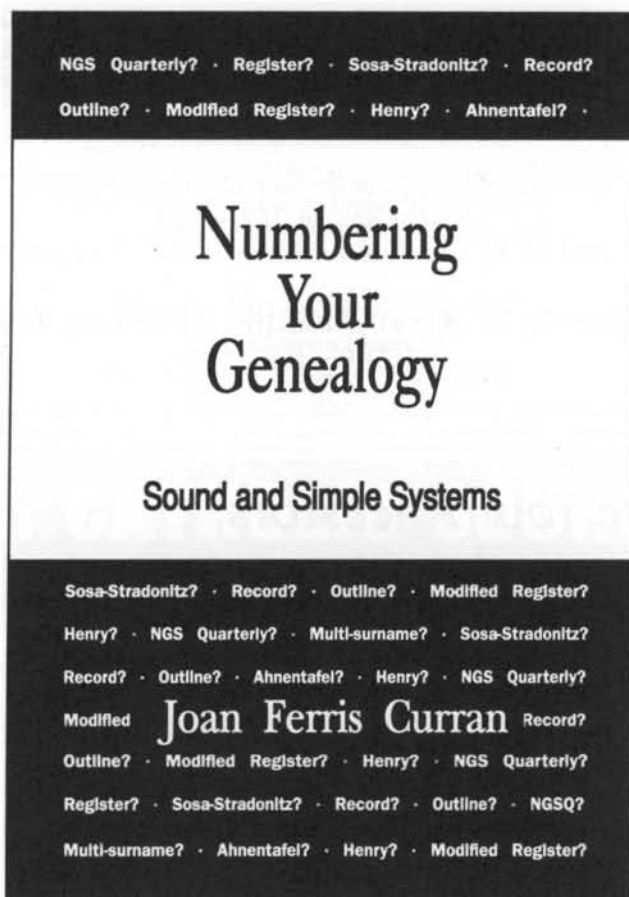


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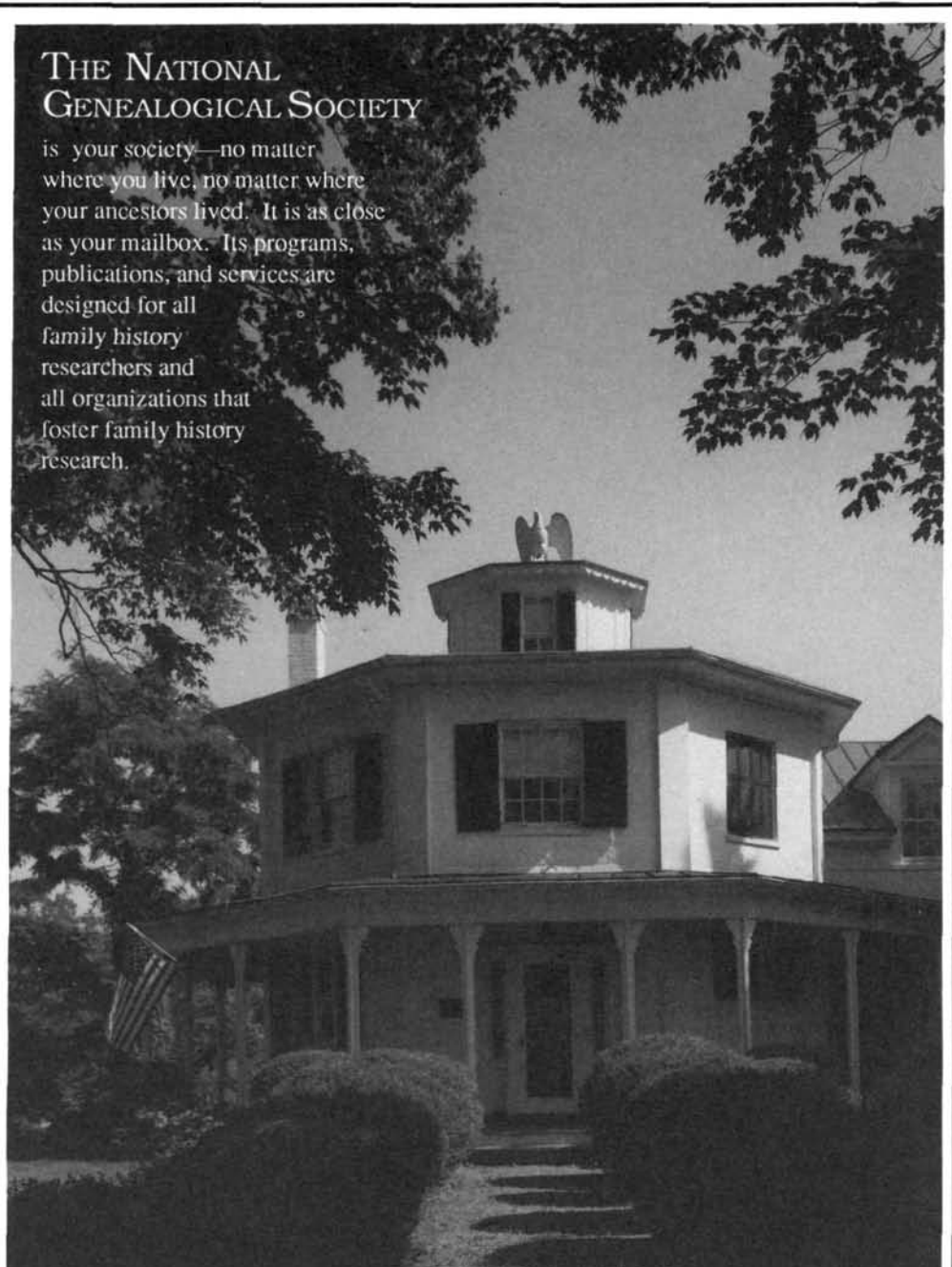
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Editors' Corner

Fun and its responsibilities

Genealogical research is fun! It's a challenging, interactive detective show in which we penetrate a time warp and pursue historical characters to discover "whodunit"—why, when, where, and with whom.

Fun notwithstanding, genealogists will find sobering thoughts scattered through the pages of this issue. Fun carries its own brand of responsibility, in all areas of life. Genealogy is no exception, despite all those lighthearted labels we apply, from "climbing trees" to "chasing ancestors" to "digging for roots."

The wrong kind of fun carries serious consequences. Whether we browse old-fashioned libraries or surf through cyberspace, there are important issues to consider:

Documentation. Accurate family reconstruction is not possible without correct and perceptive analysis of the evidence. Correct assessment of the "facts" we enter into our database is not possible without thorough documentation, so the reliability of each "fact" can be appraised and accurate choices can be made between conflicting assertions. What happens when we circulate accounts with erroneous links and mismatched spouses—and trusting geneticists use them to draw conclusions regarding trait heritability and gene mutation? The consequences can be serious.

Privacy. Curiosity does not equal the right to know. Knowledge does not always grant the right to publish what we find. Inspired as we may be by the current emphasis on compiling family medical profiles, there are grave matters involved. What happens if we discover a family propensity toward a serious disease and a relative's preventive efforts alert the insurance industry to our finding? The consequences can be serious.

Sensitivity. As genealogists, we quickly develop "open minds." We do not sit in judgment, we seek to *understand*. But many family members do not share this perspective. Subjects that fascinate us can mortify our kin, and our reports could be considered actionable in a court of law. How do we balance the researcher's obligation to record findings honestly against the respect we owe to the sensitivities of others? The consequences can be serious.

In the current issue, these questions and others are explored by writers whose diverse backgrounds range from medicine to social history to computer analysis. Their message is clear. Today's world offers more tools and resources than any researcher can use in a lifetime. We use them with fascination and delight. But we also must use them responsibly. Our "private fun" has very public consequences.

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Interconnecting Bloodlines and Genetic Inbreeding in a Colonial Puritan Community: Eastern Massachusetts, 1630–1885

Interconnections by marriage among the early rural families of one discrete area of eastern Massachusetts were numerous, and they repeatedly rejoined the families for more than two and a half centuries. Yet the total genetic inbreeding that resulted from this extensive practice was minor.

By John M. Kingsbury, Ph.D.*

The first European settlers of the rural Massachusetts Bay Colony intermarried extensively. Across more than two centuries, these stable farming families, living within courting distance of each other, became intricately intertwined as bloodlines separated among siblings and merged again with marriages in later generations. The degree of actual inbreeding in the resulting reticulum invites attention.

A typical pattern is demonstrated by analyzing the consanguinity of Frances Joanna Bullard and Willis Albert Kingsbury. When they wed at Holliston, Massachusetts, in 1885, they were only fourth cousins; but each of them was the product of five or so generations of cousin unions. The ancestries of Frances and Willis can be traced without break, in nearly all male and female lines, to the first Puritan settlers inhabiting New England between 1630 and 1640 or earlier. Their wedding represented yet another merger of many already well-entwined lines of a complex rural population.

PART ONE: THE STUDY

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The original immigrants to the Massachusetts Bay Colony arrived massively and rather suddenly. According to one study,¹ varied figures project from fourteen thousand to twenty-one thousand immigrating settlers between 1629 and 1640. Most were artisans, farmers, or yeomen (substantial independent farmers) of suffi-

*10 Snyder Heights, Ithaca, NY 14850. Dr. Kingsbury is a Professor Emeritus of Botany, Cornell University, and an author, editor, and publisher of genealogical materials. He thanks Larry Ritter of Ritter Consulting, Loveland, Colo., for repeated help in understanding, interpreting, and expressing the results obtained with the *CompuPed* software used herein to calculate coefficients of inbreeding.

1. Roger Thompson, *Mobility and Migration: East Anglian Founders of New England, 1629–1640* (Amherst: Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 14. Several persons identified in this study appear by name and occupation.

cient private, contracted, or borrowed means to finance both passage and the initial requirements for housing, land, livestock, seeds, and tools.

Most of the agricultural population considered in this study purchased land or received it by grant—settling, clearing, and making their primary living from farming an area centered some seventeen miles southwest of Boston. Although a delineation of the exact geography has not been attempted, the region appears to be roughly circumscribed today by the towns of Dedham, Holliston, Medway, Millis, Needham, Sherborn, and Walpole. It represents a radius of about six miles.

The population was clearly self-selecting in at least one major characteristic. When the farms reached a size that could not economically be subdivided, all but one sibling in each generation moved off the home farm and often out of the region. The persons considered in this study are the sons and daughters who stayed on the family farm over many generations or who married from one such farm onto another. Indeed, Frances Joanna Bullard grew up on land that has been in her family continuously from the time the Bullards first settled it (before 1658) until today.

A salient feature of this self-selected population was its stability—religious, political, economic, occupational, and, above all, geographic. Courtship was essentially limited by distance (on foot or by horse) and somewhat circumscribed by status. The social and economic motivations were bounded in a practical sense by geographic availability. While this may have promoted physically close marriages, at least two factors inhibited genetically close unions: Puritan (biblical) injunctions and custom; and the knowledge of the potentially deleterious consequences of inbreeding farm animals, which a rural population well knows.

By the mid-nineteenth century, farming the homestead property had become less attractive to the coming generation and mobility had increased tremendously. Significant intermarrying among the progeny of this population came to a close.

INTERMARRIAGE STATISTICS

The known pedigrees of Frances and Willis consist of 557 unique individuals. Excepting a single unknown person in the seventh ancestral generation from Willis, every ancestral line is complete in all branches for at least seven generations, and some extend for twelve. The maximum possible number of ancestors in seven generations is 254 persons. However, the 253 identified ancestors in these seven generations comprise however only 225 different individuals. Thus 28 ancestral positions (20 percent) represent persons already present elsewhere on the chart.

Analyzing the full twelve generations, it has been possible to identify 906 ancestral individuals from a potential field of 8,190. Of the 906, only 557 are unique individuals; 349 (39 percent) appear elsewhere on the chart. Of these, 2 persons appear eleven times each, 2 appear ten times, 7 appear eight times, 3 appear seven times, 9 appear six times, 8 appear five times, 11 appear four times, 30 appear three times, and 74 appear twice.

INBREEDING COEFFICIENTS: THE THEORY

To the genealogist, intermarriage raises a sensitive question: to what extent does inbreeding present possible deleterious genetic consequences? This paper attempts to outline the degree of interconnection in the studied family lines and to quantify the risk by examining the probable genetic duplication. The exercise also allows assessment of undesirable hereditary consequences. The genetic relationships (full known pedigrees) of the 557 ancestors were entered into a software program designed for use by animal breeders.² An “inbreeding coefficient” (IC) was computed therewith for each person in this study. All computations covered the entire population.

The IC expresses, as a percent, the probability of inheritance of identical genes from common ancestors. Table 1 provides several comparative ICs as a basis.

Table 1
Representative Unions and Their Inbreeding Coefficients

TYPE OF UNION	IC
Whole brother–whole sister unions over 20 generations	99.0000%*
Whole-brother, whole-sister union	25.0000%
First-cousin union (partners otherwise unrelated)	6.2500%
Second-cousin union (partners otherwise unrelated)	1.5625%
No relationship between partners	0.0000%
	*approximate

MAJOR VARIABLES

In any study of this nature, numerous variables can affect statistical results. The primary ones in this case have been assessed as follows:

Precolonial kinships. The dispersal of colonists—who arrived over a period of years from scattered townships in England—across similarly scattered towns in the early Massachusetts Bay Colony suggests that preexisting genetic relationships were minimal in the first American towns. No data have surfaced in this study to show any significant degree of genetic relationship among differently surnamed ancestors of the Puritans who settled the studied area. When immigrating relatives were known, the relationships were entered in the *CompuPed* program (except possibly in one or two cases of females of unknown birth surname).

2. *CompuPed*, version 3.20 (Loveland, Colo.: Ritter Consulting, n.d.)

Multiple unions. Successive marriages were common in this society, when partners died. Thus, bloodlines have been followed carefully through remarriages. However, brides frequently appear in records under previous wedded names instead of their birth surnames; and not all prior marriages have been identified. Consequently, some possible genetic relationships between persons in this study may remain undiscovered.

Similarity of names. Persons of a given surname who cannot yet be connected to others of the same surname in this population include one or more individuals named Adams, Clark, Guild, Martin/Martyn, Smith, and Stevens/Stephens. They were not treated as relatives in the *CompuPed* program. It is probable that the coefficients of inbreeding would increase slightly if all possible connections among unlinked persons of the same surname could be made.

Religious scruples. The early Puritans discouraged marriages between brother and sister, first cousins, and some other relationships. The evidence presented here suggests that intermarriage in this population usually occurred only between lines or generations distant enough that the parties might have been at best vaguely aware of any previous relationship. (Some exceptions exist and will be noted.) On the other hand, this population had no religious scruple against intermarriage between people legally related by affinity. Siblings of one surname often married siblings of another (e.g., Abigail and Mary Eaton with Robert and John Mason). The courting of one couple inevitably drew the other couple into the circle of familiarity.

Marital pools. The limited population from which a partner could be chosen in a stable rural area was such that later generations living there had to “reach out” widely within that population to avoid close genetic connections. Thus, it is no surprise that all eight of the families said to be the original settlers of the Massachusetts settlement of Bogastow Farms (west of the Charles River and north of Bogastow Brook)—Breck, Bullard, Fairbank, Hill, Holbrook, Leland, Morse, Wood³—are among the ancestors of Willis and Frances. Willis could claim all eight; Frances, five.

OVERVIEW OF RESULTS⁴

In this study, all first settlers of different surnames and all marriages involving an unknown birth surname are assumed to present an IC of zero. With that assumption, the great majority of the members of the Puritan population under consideration (538 of 557 individuals) have calculated ICs of 0.00000 percent.

3. A. H. Blanchard, “Sherborn,” in D. Hamilton Hurd, ed., *History of Middlesex County, Massachusetts, with Biographical Sketches of Many of Its Pioneers and Prominent Men*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis Co., 1890), 1: 680–706.

4. The author thanks Thomas Roderick, Ph.D., senior staff scientist at the Jackson Laboratory and staff member of the Center for Human Genetics, Bar Harbor, Me., for his constructive criticism of this section of the paper.

Table 2
Coefficients of Inbreeding Greater than Zero
(Expressed as Percent)

COEFFICIENT	INDIVIDUAL	LIFE PERIOD
1.56250	Abigail Barber	b. 1719
1.56250	Anna Bullard	1752–1842
1.56250	Hannah Bullard	1764–1842
1.22833	Joanna Phipps	1814–1887
0.96588	Frances Joanna Bullard	1853–1939
0.78125	Henry Daniels	1740–1815
0.58594	Titus Bullard	1783–1849
0.53711	Elizabeth Whiting	1798–1846
0.48828	Betsey Richardson	1773–1852
0.42648	Willis Albert Kingsbury	1848–1935
0.39063	Mercy Daniell	1755–1854
0.39063	Abijah Richardson	1752–1822
0.36163	Bethia Wheeler	1815–1890
0.21973	Henry Bullard	1815–1906
0.19531	Aaron Phipps	1761–1809
0.19531	Eli Phipps	1785–1865
0.19531	David Whiting	1752–1807
0.14648	Lewis Wheeler	1767–1842
0.09766	Jonathan Wheeler	1718–1796

Inbreeding coefficients for the 19 persons with ICs greater than zero are listed in table 2. Significantly, most of these individuals appear toward the end of the study. Since first or second cousins did not normally intermarry, several generations of inbreeding were required before the genetic consequences of distant intermarrying became manifest.

Four persons were found to possess ICs greater than 1 percent. Three—Abigail Barber, Anna Bullard, and Hannah Bullard—have uncomplicated pedigrees, with each being the product of a union between second cousins (that is, each individual's parents had one set of great-grandparents in common). For Abigail, 24 of 26 ancestors were unique. For Anna, 50 of 58. For Hannah, 61 of 68. However, the situation of Joanna Phipps was more complex. She shared the affected portion of Hannah Bullard's pedigree; but she also repeats three times another Bullard lineage that is identical in three or more generations. Additionally, seven other lines—Fisk, Hill, Metcalf, Morse, Thaxter, Thurston, and White—present two-generation segments ending with a third-generation sibling that are repeated twice each. Of

292 ancestors in her pedigree, only 211 persons appear just once. One forebear, Samuel Morse (1585–1645), appears five times.

SUMMATION

The major conclusions from this study are two. Extensively interconnected lineages characterize these stable Puritan farm families because, for two centuries, they had to choose marriage partners from within a small geographic area. Nevertheless, because they made wide choices—both genetically and generationally—within that circumscribed area, the total genetic inbreeding was minor. In the full population of this study (557 individuals), no person was inbred as much as the progeny of otherwise unrelated first cousins. Only 3 individuals (about .5 percent of the population) were inbred as much as (but not more than) the progeny of second cousins.

PART TWO:

THE STUDIED FAMILIES—AN OUTLINE OF RELATIONSHIPS

The full pedigrees of Frances and Willis, consisting of over 900 known individuals, are too lengthy to reproduce here. They are available, with documentation, from the author. This paper, instead, abstracts from their pedigrees all siblings whose progeny reconnect lines, all marriages that make the reconnections, and all lineages that connect such siblings with such marriages.

This paper also departs from the usual pattern and standards of *NGS Quarterly* essays. Its emphasis is not upon presenting new genealogical data drawn from primary sources—the families in question having already been extensively (and generally well) reconstructed in previously published literature. Rather, in keeping with the focus of the issue in which it appears, the purpose of this essay has been to derive *genetic* conclusions from the known data.

Toward this end, the present outline uses dates of births and deaths (whenever available) only to identify individuals. Every date and event cited in the pedigrees can be verified in one or, more commonly, two to five of the standard genealogical references for their geographic area. (See table 3.) Regarding these sources and their application to this paper, two factors should be considered:

- Discrepancies in dates do occur among the several published sources and the one crucial manuscript, and they are scattered about equally among them. The great majority result from the choice of old-style versus current dating methods; such dates, differing by one year, are not annotated. Other differences clearly relate to penmanship or a reversal of digits, and some have no obvious cause. All time-related variations greater than one year are footnoted, as are the very few disagreements in spouses, siblings, or parentage encountered in this study.

Table 3
Standard References for the Studied Population

- Bond, Henry. *Genealogies of the Early Settlers of Watertown, Massachusetts, Including Waltham and Weston, to which is Appended the Early History of the Town*. 2d ed. Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Soc., 1860.
- Bullard, E. J. *Other Bullards: A Genealogy*. Port Austin, Mich.: privately printed, 1928.
- Fairbanks, L. S. *Genealogy of the Fairbanks Family in America, 1633–1897*. 3d ed. 1897. Reprinted, n.p.: Fairbanks Family in America, 1991.
- Farmer, John. *A Genealogical Register of the First Settlers of New-England to Which Are Added Various Genealogical and Biographical Notes*. 1829. Revised ed., S. G. Drake, ed. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1989.
- Jameson, E. O. *The History of Medway, Mass., 1713 to 1885, Including Genealogies*. Medway: Town of Medway, 1886.
- Kingsbury, A. M. *Kingsbury Genealogy: The Genealogy of the Descendants of Joseph Kingsbury of Dedham, Massachusetts*. Minneapolis: Burgess-Beckwith, 1962.
- Lazell, T. S. *Whiting Genealogy: Nathaniel Whiting of Dedham, Mass., 1641, and Five Generations of His Descendants*. Boston: p.p., 1902.
- Morse, Abner. *Genealogical Register of the Inhabitants and History of the Towns of Sherborn and Holliston*. Boston: Damrell and Moore, 1856.
- Pope, C. H. *The Pioneers of Massachusetts*. 1900. Reprinted, Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1981.
- Temple, J. H. *History of Framingham, Massachusetts; Early Known as Danforth's Farms, 1640–1880, with a Genealogical Register*. Framingham: Town of Framingham, 1887.
- Tilden, W. S. *History of the Town of Medfield, Massachusetts, 1650–1886, with Genealogies of the Families That Held Real Estate or Made a Considerable Stay in the Town during the First Two Centuries*. 1887. Reprinted, Medfield: Town of Medfield, 1975.
- Torrey, C. A. *New England Marriages Prior to 1700*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1985. [Although published fairly recently, Torrey's material was generated between 1927 and his death in 1962; it includes every New England marriage for which he could find reasonable evidence. The original manuscript is housed at the New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, and is available from that society in a microfilm edition. The published work, unfortunately, omits the source citations found in Torrey's manuscript.]
- Weis, F. L. *The Ancestors and Descendants of John Phipps, of Sherborn, 1757–1847; Abridged from The Phipps Genealogy*. Lincoln, R. I.: p.p., 1924.
- Wight, W. W. *The Wights: A Record of Thomas Wight of Dedham and Medfield and of His Descendants, 1635–1890*. Milwaukee: Swain and Tate, 1890.

Additionally used for this study is the following unpublished manuscript:

Anonymous. "Pedigrees of the Ancestors of Frances Joanna Bullard and Willis Albert Kingsbury." MS, ca. 1930. (This work—compiled by a professional genealogist who is not named thereon—was commissioned by Frances Joanna Bullard for her children. Two manuscript "originals" are in the possession of the author.)

- The reliability of the anonymous manuscript—a family record inherited by the author—is comparable to the published works. It is the sole authority for only about 15 percent of the identifying dates in this paper (mostly dates later than the coverage of the published works).

Family groups are set forth below in alphabetical order. Beneath each couple, progeny are indented—the identified offspring being restricted to those included in this study. Incoming wives who possessed bloodlines already involved in the study are identified by boldface (directing the reader to the wife's original surname where her further pedigree is presented). Where female progeny terminated a surname by marriage out of the parental line into another line in this chart, the husband's name appears in italics. The reader will find the bloodline continued at that male's surname. Bracketed question marks indicate unknown maiden names; when a surname follows an unknown maiden name, the female was previously wed.

The significant number of interconnections existing between these families is most evident by noting the wives whose lines were already related. Sixty percent of the couples in this outline (90 of 150) are joined in this way.⁵

ADAMS

Henry Adams (1580–1646)	m. Edith Squire (1587–1763)
Henry Adams (1610 ⁶ –76)	m. Elizabeth Paine (d. 1676)
Elizabeth Adams (1649–1727)	m. <i>John Harding</i> (d. 1719)
Mary Adams (d. 1711)	m. <i>George Fairbanks</i> (1619–83)
Moses Adams (1654–1724 ⁷)	m. Lydia Whitney ⁸ (1657–1719)
Abigail Adams (1697–1729)	m. <i>Nathaniel Perry</i> (1692–1754) ⁹

ALLEN

James Allen (d. 1676)	m. Ann Guild (d. 1673)
Mary Allen (1641–1702)	m. <i>Joseph Clark</i> ¹⁰ (1642–1702)
Nathaniel Allen (1648–1718)	m. Mary Frizzell (1650–1745)
James Allen (1679–1739)	m. Rebecca Turner (b. 1682)
Abigail Allen (1716–1807)	m. <i>Moses Richardson</i> (1717–97)

5. The author thanks Robert Charles Anderson, CG, FASG, director of the New England Historic Genealogical Society's Great Migration Project and a leading authority on New England families, for his review of this section of the paper.

Editors' note: For all the following discussions of discrepancies between sources, readers should carefully examine each cited reference—using the full data supplied in table 3. They should critically appraise for themselves the nature and extent of evidence presented in each case and the soundness of each author's conclusions. While variances between these sources might affect the inbreeding coefficients presented in this paper, the results would be minuscule. From a genealogical perspective, however, a proper resolution of these discrepancies in relationships and dates is paramount.

6. Torrey and the Anonymous Manuscript give 1610 for this date. Jameson, Morse, and Tilden give 1604.

7. Moses died 1729, according to Tilden and Torrey; Morse and the Anonymous Manuscript cite 1724.

8. Tilden states that Moses Adams (1654–1724) married Mary Fairbanks, who is not listed in *Fairbanks Family*. The marriage to Lydia Whitney (1657–1719) is cited by the Anonymous Manuscript and by Jameson, Morse, and Torrey. According to the Anonymous Manuscript, Lydia died 1724.

9. Morse (p. 191) says Nathaniel Perry (1692–1754) married Abigail Mason (d. 1729), an assertion found in no other source. Elsewhere (p. 3), Morse says Nathaniel married Abigail Adams (1697–1729); this is the conclusion made by the Anonymous Manuscript and the one used here.

10. Joseph Clark (1642–1702) married Mariah Wright, according to Jameson.

BACON

- John Bacon (d. 1683) m. **Rebecca Hall** (d. 1694)
 Mary Bacon (1654–1711) m. **Nathaniel Kingsbury** (1651–94)

BARBER

- George Barber (1615–85) m. **Elizabeth Clark** (d. 1683)
 Zechariah Barber (1656–1705) m. **Abielle Ellis** (1662–1716)
 John Barber (1693–1754) m. **Mary Ellis** (1682–1747)
 Abigail Barber (b. 1719) m. **Asa Richardson** (1720–64)

BLAKE

- Andrew Blake¹¹ (1704–97) m. **Mary Rockwood** (1709–96)
 Zerviah Blake (b. 1734) m. **Nathan Kingsbury** (1730–1815)¹²

BOYDEN

- Jonathan Boyden (b. 1652) m. **Mary Clark** (b. 1649)
 Hannah Boyden (b. 1689) m. **Joshua Fisher** (1685–1749)

BRECK

- Thomas Breck (1630–1723)¹³ m. **Mary Hill** (1636–1726)
 Bethia Breck (1673–1754) m. **Joseph Daniels** (1666–1739)
 Esther Breck (1679–1774) m. **John Richardson** (1679–1759)

BULLARD

- William Bullard (b. 1562) m. **Grace Bignett**
 Robert Bullard (1599–1639) m. **Ann Martyn**¹⁴ (b. 1604)
 Benjamin Bullard (1634¹⁵–89) m. 1 **Martha Pidge** (1642–76)
 Benjamin Bullard (1670–1760)¹⁶ m. **Tabitha Bass** (b. 1672)
 Benjamin Bullard (1702–66) m. **Judith Hill** (b. 1710)
 Asa Bullard (1730–1803) m. **Hannah Cook** (1743–1809)
 Hannah Bullard (1764–1842) m. **Aaron Phipps** (1761–1809)
 Benjamin Bullard (1634–89) m. 2 **Elizabeth Thorpe**¹⁷
 John Bullard (1678–1754) m. **Abigail Leland** (1683–1761)
 Hannah Bullard (b. 1714) m. **Henry Daniels** (1708–1806)
 Comfort Bullard (1721–89) m. **Jonathan Wheeler** (1718–96)
 Henry Bullard (1723–99) m. **Jemima Pond** (1727–76)
 Henry Bullard (1749–1821) m. **Rebecca Richardson** (1751–1838)
 Titus Bullard (1783–1849) m. **Esther Whiting** (1786–1868)
 Henry Bullard (1815–1906) m. **Bethia Wheeler** (1815–90)
 FRANCES BULLARD (1853–1939) m. **WILLIS KINGSBURY** (1848–1935)

11. Wight says that Andrew Blake (1704–97) married an Alexander in New Hampshire.

12. The Anonymous Manuscript gives this date as 1755; Kingsbury gives it as 1815.

13. The Anonymous Manuscript and Torrey give this date as 1703; Morse and Tilden give 1723.

14. The surname of the wife of Robert Bullard (1594–1639) is absent from all the standard sources cited in table 3. Martyn is used here, on the basis of a study by John Plummer, "The Martyn Wives of Robert and John Bullard," *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* [hereinafter *The Register*] 146 (July 1992): 279–80.

15. This date is given as "about 1630" in several sources but is definitely stated as 1634 in Bullard.

16. Morse gives the date as 1766, perhaps confusing this Benjamin with his son of the same name.

17. Benjamin Bullard (1634–89) m. 2d, Elizabeth Ellis, according to Torrey.

Isaac Bullard (1688–1742)	m. Sarah Morse (b. 1686)
Mary Bullard (1711–96)	m. John Haven (1711–85)
Isaac Bullard (1726–1814)	m. Beulah Leland (1726–84)
Anna Bullard (1752 ¹⁸ –1842)	m. David Whiting (1752–1807)
John Bullard (1601–78 ¹⁹)	m. Magdalene Martyn ²⁰ (1608–61)
Magdalene Bullard (d. 1677)	m. John Partridge (1625–1706)
BULLEN	
Samuel Bullen (1621–91)	m. Mary Morse (d. 1690 ²¹)
Elisha Bullen (1657–1735)	m. Hannah Metcalf (1664–1719)
Hannah Bullen (1697–1743 ²²)	m. John Phipps (1696–1746)
CARTER	
Timothy Carter (b. 1653)	m. Anne Fisk (1659–1713)
Sarah Carter (b. 1681)	m. Richard Wheeler (1685–1752)
CHICKERING	
Francis Chickering	m. Ann Fisk
Mary Chickering (d. 1698)	m. John Metcalf (1622–90 ²³)
CLARK	
Rowland Clark (d. 1638)	m. Mary [—?—] (d. 1642)
Elizabeth Clark (d. 1683)	m. George Barber (1615–85)
Joseph Clark (d. 1683)	m. Alice Pepper (d. 1710)
Joseph Clark ²⁴ (1642–1702)	m. Mary Allen (1641–1702)
Esther Clark (b. 1670)	m. Thomas Thurston (1657–1704)
Benjamin Clark (1644–1724)	m. Dorcas Morse (1645–1724)
Timothy Clark (1677–1725)	m. Sarah Metcalf (1686–1762)
Mercy Clark (1722–1816)	m. Jeremiah Daniel (1720–1806)
Mary Clark (b. 1649)	m. Jonathan Boyden (b. 1652)
Rebecca Clark (1660–1738)	m. John Richardson (1650–97)
COOK	
Samuel Cook (1654–1719 ²⁵)	m. Lydia White (b. 1662)
Walter Cook (1701–94)	m. Margaret Corbet (1708–93)
Hannah Cook (1743–1809)	m. Asa Bullard (1730–1803)

18. Morse gives the date as 1747; it appears as 1752 in the Anonymous Manuscript and Lazell.

19. Morse gives John Bullard's death date as 1688; it appears as 1678 in the Anonymous Manuscript, the Bullard genealogy, Tilden, and Torrey.

20. The surname of the wife of John Bullard (1601–78) is absent from all of the standard sources cited in table 3. Martyn is used here, following a strongly supported conjecture of Plummer, "The Martyn Wives of Robert and John Bullard," 279–80.

21. Morse gives the date as 1688; the Anonymous Manuscript, Tilden, and Wight show 1690.

22. Tilden states that Hannah Bullen (b. 1697) married Joseph Fisher and died in 1765. The contrary information used here comes from the Anonymous Manuscript and Weis.

23. Torrey gives the date as 1680; the Anonymous Manuscript and Tilden give 1690.

24. Joseph Clark (1642–1702) married Mariah Wright, according to Jameson.

25. Torrey gives the date as 1752; the Anonymous Manuscript gives 1719.

CORBET

- | | | |
|---------------------------|----|---------------------------------------|
| Robert Corbet | m. | Priscilla Rockwood (b. 1665) |
| John Corbet (1683–1726) | m. | Mehitable Holbrook (1687–1747) |
| Margaret Corbet (1708–93) | m. | Walter Cook (1701–94) |

DANIEL(L)(S)

- | | | |
|---|----|--------------------------------------|
| Robert Daniels (1592–1655 ²⁶) | m. | Elizabeth Morse (1605–43) |
| Joseph Daniell (1635–1725) | m. | Mary Fairbanks (1647–82) |
| Joseph Daniels (1666–1739) | m. | Bethia Breck (1673–1754) |
| Henry Daniels (1708–1806) | m. | Hannah Bullard (b. 1714) |
| Henry Daniels (1740–1815) | m. | Elizabeth Harding (1745–1829) |
| Elizabeth Daniels (1770–1816) | m. | Zebinah Kingsbury (1769–1848) |
| Ebenezer Daniell (1677–1767) | m. | Mary Partridge (1681–1724) |
| Jeremiah Daniell (1720–1806) | m. | Mercy Clark (1722–1816) |
| Mercy Daniels (1755–1854) | m. | Abijah Richardson (1752–1822) |

EATON

- | | | |
|---------------------------|----|--------------------------|
| John Eaton (1611–58) | m. | Abigail [—?—] Eaton |
| Mary Eaton (b. 1630) | m. | John Mason (d. 1688) |
| Abigail Eaton (1640–1711) | m. | Robert Mason (1637–1700) |

ELLIS

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|----|---|
| Joseph Ellis (d. 1664) | m. | Ann [—?—] Ellis |
| John Ellis (d. 1697) | m. | Susanna Lumbard (d. 1654) |
| John Ellis (1646–1716) | m. | Mary Herring (1652–92) |
| Mary Ellis (1682–1747) | m. | John Barber (1693–1754) |
| Thomas Ellis (1629–90 ²⁷) | m. | Mary Wight (d. 1692) |
| Abialle Ellis (1662–1716) | m. | Zechariah Barber (1656–1705) |
| Joanna Ellis (b. 1677) | m. | Nathaniel Rockwood (1665–1721 ²⁸) |

FAIRBANKS

- | | | |
|----------------------------|----|-----------------------------|
| George Fairbanks (b. 1619) | m. | Mary Adams (d. 1711) |
| Mary Fairbanks (1647–82) | m. | Joseph Daniell (1635–1715) |

FISHER

- | | | |
|--|----|------------------|
| Anthony Fisher ²⁹ | m. | [—?—] Fisher |
| Anthony Fisher ³⁰ (1591–1671) | m. | Mary Fisk |

26. Dates are from Mary Lovering Holman, "Robert Daniel, Husband of Elizabeth Morse," *The Register* 88 (October 1934): 383–86.

27. Torrey gives the date as 1696; it appears as 1690 in the Anonymous Manuscript, Tilden, and Wight.

28. Tilden gives the date as 1726; it appears as 1721 in the Anonymous Manuscript, Jameson, Morse, Torrey, and others.

29. The Fishers were allied with the Fisk(e) family before the move to New England. The family outline above is reconstructed from incomplete records in the Anonymous Manuscript, Bond, Jameson, Pope, Tilden, and Torrey. Several judgments have been necessary to create the best concordance among them and to resolve one or two direct contradictions in the sources. Possible errors in these judgments favor slightly greater coefficients of inbreeding than would otherwise result.

30. All cited authorities agree that one of the Anthony Fishers had a brother, Joshua (1585–1674); but they disagree on which Anthony it is. In this paper, Anthony (1591–1671) is placed into this family unit (as brother of the Joshua who appears on the following page) on the basis of logical birth dates.

- | | | |
|--|----|--------------------------------|
| Anthony Fisher (d. 1670) | m. | Joanna Faxon (d. 1694) |
| Sarah Fisher (b. 1658) | m. | <i>John Guild</i> (1649–1722) |
| Lydia Fisher (d. 1690) | m. | <i>Daniel Morse</i> (b. 1613) |
| Joshua Fisher (1585–1674) | m. | Elizabeth [—?—] Fisher |
| Joshua Fisher (1621–74 ³¹) | m. | Mary Aldis (d. 1653) |
| John Fisher (1651–1727) | m. | Hannah Adams (1656–1746) |
| Joshua Fisher (1685–1749) | m. | Hannah Boyden (b. 1689) |
| Mary Fisher (1707–54) | m. | <i>John Metcalf</i> (1704–91) |

FISK (E)³²

- | | | |
|------------------------|----|-------------------------------------|
| William Fisk | m. | Anne [—?—] Fiske |
| Mary Fisk | m. | <i>Anthony Fisher</i> (1591–1671) |
| William Fiske | m. | [—?—] |
| Ann Fisk (d. 1649) | m. | <i>Francis Chickering</i> (d. 1658) |
| Jeffrey Fisk | m. | [—?—] Fisk |
| David Fisk (d. 1660) | m. | Sarah Smith |
| David Fisk (1624–1710) | m. | Seaborn Wilson (d. 1721) |
| Anne Fisk (1659–1713) | m. | <i>Timothy Carter</i> (b. 1653) |

GUILD

- | | | |
|------------------------|----|-------------------------------------|
| John Guild (1649–1722) | m. | Sarah Fisher (b. 1658) |
| Joanna Guild (b. 1687) | m. | <i>Samuel Kingsbury</i> (1690–1744) |

HALL

- | | | |
|-------------------------|----|----------------------------------|
| Edward Hall (d. 1670) | m. | Esther Gove (b. 1604) |
| Rebecca Hall (d. 1694) | m. | <i>John Bacon</i> (d. 1683) |
| Thomas Hall (1661–1727) | m. | Abigail Martin (b. 1659) |
| Jeremiah Hall (b. 1697) | m. | Dorothy Hill (1698–1758) |
| Elisha Hall (1722–94) | m. | Elizabeth Young (1722–87) |
| Susannah Hall (b. 1758) | m. | <i>Elias Whiting</i> (1753–1830) |

HARDING³³

- | | | |
|-------------------------------|----|---|
| Abraham Harding (d. 1655) | m. | Elizabeth [—?—] Harding (d. 1678) |
| John Harding (d. 1720) | m. | Elizabeth Adams (1649–1727) |
| Abraham Harding (1683–1741) | m. | Mary Partridge ³⁴ (1682–1748) |
| Simon Harding (1719–68) | m. | Patience Sabin (1723–51) |
| Elizabeth Harding (1745–1829) | m. | <i>Henry Daniels</i> (1740–1815) |

31. Tilden and Torrey give the date as 1672; it appears as 1674 in the Anonymous Manuscript and Pope.

32. The Fisk(e) family was allied with the Fishers before the move to New England. The outline above is reconstructed from incomplete records in the Anonymous Manuscript, Bond, Jameson, Pope, Tilden, and Torrey. Several judgments have been necessary to create the best concordance among them and to resolve one or two direct contradictions in the sources. Possible errors in these judgments favor slightly greater coefficients of inbreeding than would otherwise result.

33. Pedigrees presented by the Anonymous Manuscript and Tilden are identical. The others vary in several regards. This writer finds more convincing the record presented by these two sources, but readers are urged to review all the evidence in each.

34. The Anonymous Manuscript and Tilden state that Abraham (1683–1741) married Mary Partridge (b. 1683). Morse and Jameson say his wife was Mary Smith (d. 1749). If Partridge is an error, then the ICs of Mary's descendants could be slightly lower than those calculated for Mary Partridge's lineage.

HAVEN

- John Haven (1711–85) m. **Mary Bullard** (1711–96)
 Zerviah Haven (1736–80) m. **Aaron Phipps** (1729–92)

HILL

- John Hill (1602–64) m. **Frances Grant** (1605–76)
 Mary Hill (1636–1726) m. **Thomas Breck** (1630–1723³⁵)
 John Hill (1630–1717) m. **Hannah Martin** (d. 1690)
 Samuel Hill (1654–1723) m. **Hannah Twitchell**
 Dorothy Hill (1698–1758) m. **Jeremiah Hall** (b. 1697)
 Abigail Hill³⁶ (1657–89) m. **Hopestill Leland** (1655–1729)
 Ebenezer Hill (1664–1734) m. **Mary White** (b. 1669)
 Judith Hill (b. 1710) m. **Benjamin Bullard** (1702–66)
 Sarah Hill (b. 1670) m. **John Perry** (b. 1667)

HOLBROOK³⁷

- Thomas Holbrook (1601–75) m. **Jane** [—?—] Holbrook (d. 1676)
 William Holbrook (d. 1699) m. **Elizabeth Pitts**
 Cornelius Holbrook (b. 1662) m. **Margery Hayward** (b. 1670)
 Mehitable Holbrook (1687–1747) m. **John Corbet** (1683–1726)
 John Holbrook (d. 1699) m. **Elizabeth** [—?—] Holbrook (d. 1688)
 Margaret Holbrook (d. 1670) m. **Nicholas Rockwood** (1628–80)

KINGSBURY

- Joseph Kingsbury (1600–76) m. **Melicent Ames**
 Eleazar Kingsbury (1645–1722) m. **Esther Judson** (1654–1717)
 Samuel Kingsbury (1690–1744) m. **Joanna Guild** (b. 1687)
 Nathan Kingsbury (1730–1815³⁸) m. **Zerviah Blake** (b. 1734)
 Zebina Kingsbury (1769–1848) m. **Elizabeth Daniels** (1770–1816)
 Elijah Kingsbury (1802–88) m. **Joanna Phipps** (1814–77)
 WILLIS KINGSBURY (1848–1935) m. **FRANCES BULLARD** (1853–1939)
 Nathaniel Kingsbury (1651–94) m. **Mary Bacon** (1654–1711)
 Daniel Kingsbury (1688–1754) m. **Elizabeth Stevens** (b. 1691)
 Elizabeth Kingsbury (1718–90) m. **Joshua Partridge** (1713–95³⁹)

35. The Anonymous Manuscript and Torrey give this date as 1703; Morse and Tilden give 1723.

36. Morse states (p. 101) that Abigail Hill (1658–89) married James Adams in 1714, an obvious error. Elsewhere (p. 161), he states that this same Abigail Hill married Hopestill Layland/Leland (1655–1729) and that she died in 1689. The latter union is also put forth by the Anonymous Manuscript, Tilden, and Torrey.

37. Much confusion is reflected in Morse's account of the first generations in the Holbrook family: e.g., Morse cites the wife of Thomas Holbrook (1601–75) as *Joanna*, despite reprinting Thomas's will in which she is called *Jane*. He cites Joanna again later as the wife of Thomas of a later generation. The Anonymous Manuscript, which resolves the difficulties as well as any, is followed here—correcting *Joanna* to *Jane*, because that was Thomas's own rendition of his wife's name. (Here, it is presumed that the published version of Thomas's will does accurately transcribe the name.) Both authorities treat immigrant John and immigrant Thomas as brothers.

38. The Anonymous Manuscript gives this date as 1755; Kingsbury gives it as 1815.

39. Morse gives the date as 1799; it appears as 1795 in the Anonymous Manuscript.

LELAND (LAYLAND)

- | | | |
|------------------------------|----|---|
| Hopestill Leland (1655–1729) | m. | Abigail Hill ⁴⁰ (1657–89) |
| Henry Leland (1679–1732) | m. | Mary Morse (1685–1760) |
| Beulah Leland (1726–84) | m. | <i>Isaac Bullard</i> (1726–1814) |
| Abigail Leland (1683–1761) | m. | <i>John Bullard</i> (1678–1754) |

MARTYN (MARTIN)⁴¹

- | | | |
|----------------------------|----|-----------------------------------|
| John Martyn (1576–1629) | m. | [—?—] Martyn |
| Ann Martyn (b. 1604) | m. | <i>Robert Bullard</i> (1599–1639) |
| Magdalene Martyn (1608–61) | m. | <i>John Bullard</i> (1601–78) |

MASON

- | | | |
|---------------------------|----|-------------------------------------|
| Robert Mason (d. 1667) | m. | [—?—] Mason (d. 1665) |
| Robert Mason (1637–1700) | m. | Abigail Eaton (1640–1711) |
| Hannah Mason (1676–1750) | m. | <i>Samuel Partridge</i> (1672–1752) |
| John Mason (d. 1688) | m. | Mary Eaton (b. 1630) |
| John Mason (1657–1714) | m. | Sarah Hartshorn (1663–1714) |
| Elizabeth Mason (b. 1697) | m. | <i>Stephen Sabin</i> (1689–1737) |

METCALF

- | | | |
|--|----|-----------------------------------|
| Michael Metcalf (1568–1664) | m. | Sarah Ellwyn (1593–1644) |
| John Metcalf (1622–90 ⁴²) | m. | Mary Chickering (d. 1698) |
| Joseph Metcalf (1658–1741) | m. | Sarah Bowers (1663–1727) |
| Sarah Metcalf (1686–1762) | m. | <i>Timothy Clark</i> (1677–1725) |
| Experience Metcalf (1661–1731) | m. | <i>Isaac Wheeler</i> (b. 1661) |
| Hannah Metcalf (1664–1719) | m. | <i>Elisha Bullen</i> (1657–1735) |
| Thomas Metcalf (1629–1702) | m. | Sarah Paige (d. 1678) |
| Sarah Metcalf (1658–1701 ⁴³) | m. | <i>Samuel Whiting</i> (1649–1727) |
| John Metcalf (1675–1749) | m. | Mehitable Lavill (d. 1712) |
| John Metcalf (1704–91) | m. | Mary Fisher (1707–54) |
| Mary Metcalf (b. 1728) | m. | <i>Nathan Whiting</i> (1725–90) |

MORSE

- | | | |
|--|----|--|
| Samuel Morse (1576–1654) ⁴⁴ | m. | Elizabeth Jasper (1579–1655) |
| Elizabeth Morse (1605–43) | m. | <i>Robert Daniel</i> (1592–1655) ⁴⁵ |
| Daniel Morse (b. 1613) | m. | Lydia Fisher (d. 1690) |
| Bethia Morse (1648–1717) | m. | <i>John Perry</i> (1639–1715 ⁴⁶) |
| Joseph Morse (1615 ⁴⁷ –54) | m. | Hannah Phillips (d. 1676) |

40. See discussion at note 36.

41. None of the cited sources identify the wives of Robert and John Bullard. The identities given here are from Plummer, "The Martyn Wives of Robert and John Bullard," 279–80.

42. Torrey gives the date as 1680; the Anonymous Manuscript and Tilden give 1690.

43. The Anonymous Manuscript gives the date as 1698; it appears as 1701 in Lazell.

44. For Samuel and Elizabeth, their dates, and their marriage, see G. Andrews Moriarty, "Genealogical Research in England," *The Register* 83 (January 1929): 70–84.

45. Dates are from Holman, "Robert Daniel, Husband of Elizabeth Morse," 383–86.

46. Torrey gives the date as 1713; it appears as 1715 in the Anonymous Manuscript and Morse.

47. Torrey gives the date as 1613; it appears as 1615 in the Anonymous Manuscript, Tilden, and Wight.

Jeremiah Morse (1651–1715)	m.	Elizabeth Hamant (d. 1733)
Mary Morse (1685–1760)	m.	Henry Leland (1679–1732)
Samuel Morse (1639–1717)	m.	Sarah Thurston (1662–88)
Sarah Morse (b. 1686)	m.	Isaac Bullard (1688–1742)
Dorcas Morse (1645–1724)	m.	Benjamin Clark (1644–1724)
Mary Morse (d. 1690 ⁴⁸)	m.	Samuel Bullen (1621–91)

PARTRIDGE

John Partridge	m.	Jane Hogg
William Partridge (1622–92)	m.	Sarah Colburn (1640–1716)
Mary Partridge (1682–1748)	m.	Abraham Harding (1683–1741)
John Partridge (1625–1706)	m.	Magdalene Bullard (d. 1676)
John Partridge (1656–1743)	m.	Elizabeth Rockwood (1657–88)
Mary Partridge (1681–1724)	m.	Ebenezer Daniel (1677–1767)
Samuel Partridge (1672–1752)	m.	Hannah Mason (1676–1750)
Joshua Partridge (1713–1795 ⁴⁹)	m.	Elizabeth Kingsbury (1718–90)
Elizabeth Partridge (1747–1833)	m.	John Wheeler (1742–88 ⁵⁰)

PERRY

John Perry (1639–1715 ⁵¹)	m.	Bethia Morse (1648–1717)
John Perry (b. 1667)	m.	Sarah Hill (b. 1670)
Nathaniel Perry (1692–1754 ⁵²)	m.	Abigail Adams (1697–1729 ⁵³)
Deliverance Perry (b. 1726)	m.	Samuel Whiting (1727–1814)

PHIPPS

John Phipps ⁵⁴ (1696–1746)	m.	Hannah Bullen (1697–1743 ⁵⁵)
Aaron Phipps (1729–92)	m.	Zerviah Haven (1736–80)
Aaron Phipps (1761–1809)	m.	Hannah Bullard (1764–1842)
Eli Phipps (1785–1865)	m.	Elizabeth Whiting (1789–1846)
Joanna Phipps (1814–77)	m.	Elijah Kingsbury (1802–88)

POND

Samuel Pond (1695–1746)	m.	Mary Thurston (1702–54)
Jemima Pond (1727–76)	m.	Henry Bullard (1723–99)

48. Morse gives the date as 1688; the Anonymous Manuscript, Tilden, and Wight show 1690.

49. Morse gives the date as 1799; it appears as 1795 in the Anonymous Manuscript.

50. The Anonymous Manuscript gives the date as 1778; it appears as 1788 in Jameson.

51. Torrey gives the date as 1713; it appears as 1715 in the Anonymous Manuscript and Morse.

52. Morse (p.191) says Nathaniel Perry (1692–1754) married Abigail Mason (d. 1729)—a conclusion offered in no other source. Elsewhere (p. 3) Morse says Nathaniel Perry married Abigail Adams (1697–1729). This is also the conclusion of the Anonymous Manuscript and the one used here.

53. Morse gives the date as 1719; it appears as 1729 in the Anonymous Manuscript.

54. John Phips, the father of John Phipps (1696–1746), was the nephew of—and by adoption became the son of—Sir William Phips, quondam governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

55. Tilden states (p. 335) that Hannah Bullen (b. 1697) married Joseph Fisher and died in 1765. The contrary information used here comes from the Anonymous Manuscript and Weis.

RICHARDSON

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|----|----------------------------------|
| John Richardson (1650–97) | m. | Rebecca Clark (1660–1738) |
| John Richardson (1679–1759) | m. | Esther Breck (1679–1774) |
| Moses Richardson (1717–97) | m. | Abigail Allen (1716–1807) |
| Rebecca Richardson (1751–1838) | m. | Henry Bullard (1749–1821) |
| Asa Richardson (1720–64) | m. | Abigail Barber (b. 1719) |
| Abijah Richardson (1752–1822) | m. | Mercy Daniel (1755–1854) |
| Betsey Richardson (1773–1852) | m. | Lewis Wheeler (1767–1842) |

ROCKWOOD

- | | | |
|---|----|---|
| Richard Rockwood | m. | Agnes Lovell (d. 1639) |
| Nicholas Rockwood (1628–80) | m. | Margaret Holbrook (d. 1670) |
| Elizabeth Rockwood (1657–88) | m. | John Partridge (1656–1743) |
| Nathaniel Rockwood (1665–1721 ⁵⁶) | m. | Joanna Ellis (b. 1677) |
| Mary Rockwood (1709–96) | m. | Andrew Blake ⁵⁷ (1704–97) |
| John Rockwood (1641–1724) | m. | Johanna Ford |
| Priscilla Rockwood (b. 1665) | m. | Robert Corbet |

SABIN

- | | | |
|---------------------------|----|----------------------------------|
| Stephen Sabin (1689–1737) | m. | Elizabeth Mason (b. 1697) |
| Patience Sabin (1723–51) | m. | Simon Harding (1719–68) |

THURSTON

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|----|---------------------------------|
| Thomas Thurston (1633–1704) | m. | Sarah Thaxter (1635–78) |
| Thomas Thurston (1657–1704) | m. | Esther Clark (b. 1670) |
| Mary Thurston (1702–54) | m. | Samuel Pond (1695–1746) |
| Sarah Thurston (1662–88) | m. | Samuel Morse (1639–1717) |

WHEELER

- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|----|--|
| Isaac Wheeler (b. 1661) | m. | Experience Metcalf (1661–1731) |
| Richard Wheeler (1685–1752) | m. | Sarah Carter (b. 1681) |
| Jonathan Wheeler (1718–96) | m. | Comfort Bullard (1721–89) |
| John Wheeler (1742–88 ⁵⁸) | m. | Elizabeth Partridge (1747–1833) |
| Lewis Wheeler (1767–1842) | m. | Betsey Richardson (1773–1852) |
| Bethia Wheeler (1815–1890) | m. | Henry Bullard (1815–1906) |

WHITE

- | | | |
|--------------------------|----|---|
| Joseph White (1640–1706) | m. | Lydia Rogers (1642–1727) |
| Lydia White (b. 1662) | m. | Samuel Cook (1654–1719 ⁵⁹) |
| Mary White (b. 1669) | m. | Ebenezer Hill (1664–1734) |

56. Tilden gives the date as 1726; it appears as 1721 in the Anonymous Manuscript, Jameson, Morse, Torrey, and others.

57. Wight says that Andrew Blake (1704–97) married an Alexander in New Hampshire.

58. The Anonymous Manuscript gives the date as 1778; it appears as 1788 in Jameson.

59. Torrey gives the date as 1752; the Anonymous Manuscript gives 1719.

WHITING

Nathaniel Whiting (1617–82)	m. Hannah Dwight (1625–1714)
Samuel Whiting (1649–1727)	m. Sarah Metcalf (1658–1701 ⁶⁰)
Josiah Whiting (b. 1701)	m. Elizabeth Grant (b. 1707)
Samuel Whiting (1727–1814)	m. Deliverance Perry (b. 1726)
David Whiting (1752–1807)	m. Anna Bullard (1752 ⁶¹ –1842)
Elizabeth Whiting (1789–1846)	m. <i>Eli Phipps</i> (1785–1865)
John Whiting (1665–1732)	m. Mary Billings (d. 1727)
Nathaniel Whiting (1691–1779 ⁶²)	m. Margaret Mann (1691 ⁶³ –1775)
Nathan Whiting (1725–90)	m. Mary Metcalf (b. 1728)
Elias Whiting (1753–1830)	m. Susannah Hall (b. 1758)
<i>Esther Whiting</i> (1786–1868)	m. <i>Titus Bullard</i> (1783–1849)

Among genealogists, the discovery of “cousin marriages” in an ancestral line is sometimes a disturbing experience. It need not be—as this study demonstrates. In most societies of the past, settlements were more stable, travel more constrained, and—thus—marital partners more limited. The Bullard-Kingsbury pedigrees that have been outlined in this paper are typical of many. Interconnections by marriage among the early rural families of this one discrete area of eastern Massachusetts were numerous, and they repeatedly rejoined the families for more than two and a half centuries. Yet the total genetic inbreeding that resulted from this extensive practice was minor.

-
60. The Anonymous Manuscript gives the date as 1698; it appears as 1701 in Lazell.
 61. Morse gives the date as 1747; the Anonymous Manuscript and Lazell give 1752.
 62. According to Jameson, Nathaniel Whiting died in 1769; 1779 appears in the Anonymous Manuscript and Lazell.
 63. According to Jameson, Margaret Mann was born in 1693; 1691 appears in the Anonymous Manuscript and Lazell.

Misplaced and Unindexed Pension File

Civil War pension file 95125, for Lawrence Heenan, Company C, 15th U.S., Infantry, has been found misfiled at the National Archives (NARA)— sharing the jacket for file 95124, Josiah White, Company G, 30th Pennsylvania Infantry (aka First Reserves). NARA’s microcopy T288, *General Index to Pension Files, 1861–1934*, contains no entry for Heenan or his mother Mary, who applied for and received a pension on the basis of Lawrence’s service. NARA’s microcopy T289, *Organization Index to Pension Files of Veterans Who Served between 1861 and 1900*, also omits Heenan. The misfiling and the index omission have been called to the attention of NARA archivists.

—Contributed by Norman R. Peters, Post Office Box 2117, Washington, DC 20009–0617

Immigrant Women and Family Planning: Historical Perspectives for Genealogical Research

Abundant evidence exists that family planning was common among married women of disparate social classes in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, and especially among immigrant women. When genealogical evidence is compatible, the objective genealogist should also consider, suggest, and explain this as a possible reason for significant birth intervals.

W

By Sharon DeBartolo Carmack, CGRS*

hen writing family histories or compiling reports for clients, genealogists often make speculative statements to explain significant intervals between births: e. g., "Married women typically had children every two years. Gaps of more than a couple of years between births could indicate a miscarriage, a stillbirth, or the father's absence." Rarely considered is the issue today called "planned parenthood." Little awareness exists of the extent to which nineteenth-century American mothers of all social classes limited their family size or the extent to which women, especially during immigration's peak period, 1880–1920, resorted to induced premature deliveries. Yet studies of nineteenth-century records and literature reveal actions so common that genealogists are remiss if they neglect to consider deliberate family planning.¹

Both women and men have had to deal with unwanted offspring from time immemorial. Colonial court records in at least Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia reveal cases of infanticide, intent to self-abort, and treatment from physicians and midwives for unwanted pregnancies.² For most of the colonial period, the predominantly agricultural nature of American society made it

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1. Ellen Chesler, *Woman of Valor: Margaret Sanger and the Birth Control Movement* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992), 62–64; Harvey Green, *The Light of the Home: An Intimate View of the Lives of Women in Victorian America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 30–33; and Daniel E. Sutherland, *Expansion of Everyday Life, 1860–1876* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 125.

2. Marvin Olasky, *Abortion Rites: A Social History of Abortion in America* (Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway Books, 1992), 19–41.

a benefit to have a large family. The Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century, however, created a situation in which it was more economical to have fewer offspring.³ Toward this end, abortionists openly advertised their services as early as the 1830s; and, "by the 1850s, it was estimated that one out of every five to six pregnancies in America was willfully terminated."⁴ A Lincoln County, Maine, enumerator for the 1870 mortality schedule recorded his thoughts about the declining population in Newcastle: "[Regarding] the oldest settlers of our town, many of their names are becoming extinct. The children do not have the families of their fathers; the women, many of them avoid it."⁵ The census taker did not elaborate upon how this was accomplished.

The problem for genealogists is trying to determine whether or not a particular woman or couple practiced deliberate family limitation or whether overlong gaps in the spacing of children were actually due to the customary explanations. Court records document such private aspects of life only in extreme cases. The odds of finding letters or diaries recording a woman's attempt to terminate an unwanted pregnancy are less than slim. Typical genealogical sources such as censuses and birth records lead to the conclusion that there were significant gaps between the births of children, but these sources do not tell us the reasons for the intervals. Explanations and inferences might be found, however, by researching the social history of the people, time, and place.⁶

ATTITUDES TOWARD PREGNANCIES

Many immigrant women from southern and eastern Europe, arriving in America during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, held the European's typically fatalistic and ambivalent feelings about annual or biennial pregnancies. Commonly, they traded an agricultural homeland for urban America, where émigrés tended to settle. Here, many of them joined the work force. Large families became economically unfeasible, and frequent pregnancies interfered with the immigrant woman's new American role.

On a more-personal level, it was a physical threat to bear one child after another, and many women were simply afraid of dying. They had watched mothers, sisters, cousins, and friends endure or succumb to difficult deliveries. Of those women who did survive, many returned to work (either inside or outside the home)

3. Doris Weatherford, *Foreign and Female: Immigrant Women in America, 1840-1930* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 7.

4. Chesler, *Woman of Valor*, 63.

5. 1870 U.S. census, Lincoln Co., Me., mortality schedule, town of Newcastle, p.1, as quoted by Elizabeth Shown Mills, "Walkabouts and Chicken Men: Tales of the U.S. Federal Census Takers," luncheon address, National Institute of Genealogical Research—Alumni Association, 1993 NGS Conference in the States, Baltimore; available on cassette as BM-121, from Repeat Performance, 2911 Crabapple Lane, Hobart, IN 46342.

6. For a further discussion on the use of social history in genealogical research, see Sharon DeBartolo Carmack's "The Genealogical Use of Social History: An Italian-American Example," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 79 (December 1991): 284-88; and Carmack's "Putting the Two Together: Social History and Family History," *Ancestry* 13 (November-December 1995): 23, 27.

shortly after giving birth—not because they felt strong and healthy but because it was expected. Frequent childbearing also put a strain on marriages. Pregnancy desertion, a behavior common among some groups in Europe, was continued in America. Put bluntly, many husbands reasoned that if they left, then the wife—thrown upon her own limited means—would feel compelled to end the pregnancy.⁷

TYPICAL BIRTH-CONTROL METHODS

Women uneducated in modern scientific methods of birth control had few alternatives. New mothers prolonged the lactation period. Abstinence, coitus interruptus, and delayed marriage were the common pre-pregnancy options for limiting family size. For husband and wife, “sleeping the American way” meant separate beds, if not separate bedrooms. If living quarters were cramped, as was often the case in urban, ethnic tenements, the girls might sleep with their mother and the boys with their father to further encourage an abstinent relationship.⁸ The dilemma for the immigrant woman was clear. As one historian concluded, “The way to keep your husband, then, was to avoid pregnancy, and the way to avoid pregnancy was to avoid your husband—which was also likely to drive him out.”⁹

Historians also have concluded that abortion was simply a form of contraception for many, if not most, immigrant wives of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. For genealogists, even knowing of a stillbirth or miscarriage in their family history leaves it difficult to tell whether this resulted from accident, disease, or human interference with pregnancy. At the turn of this century, contemporaries estimated that between one and two million pregnancies were intentionally terminated every year in America. Margaret Sanger, the pioneer of the birth-control movement, recalled from the beginning of her career the formative impression she had as she “watched groups of fifty women [in New York’s lower east side], shawls over their heads, line up outside the office of a \$5.00 abortionist.” As a result, Sanger also saw many women die of septicemia, a complication developing from unsanitary conditions. New York City’s coroner records for the early 1900s show an average of three deaths a month from abortion, while other officials estimated “about 100,000 abortions performed there every year.”¹⁰

Midwives also supplied the demand. In that same city, the terms *midwife* and *abortionist* became synonymous in the minds of immigrants.¹¹ Most preferred midwives over physicians for all their health matters for several reasons: the

7. Corinne Azen Krause, *Grandmothers, Mothers, and Daughters: Oral Histories of Three Generations of Ethnic American Women* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 117; Weatherford, *Foreign and Female*, 2–3.9, 55.

8. Phyllis H. Williams, *South Italian Folkways in Europe and America* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1938), 106.

9. Weatherford, *Foreign and Female*, 6.

10. Sutherland, *Expansion of Everyday Life*, 125; F. Elizabeth Crowell, “The Midwives of New York,” *Charities and the Commons* 17 (12 January 1907): 667–77; Margaret Sanger, *Woman and the New Race* (New York: Brentano’s, 1920), 119; Chesler, *Woman of Valor*, 62–64.

11. Crowell, “The Midwives of New York,” 674.

midwife was female, she was less expensive, and most doctors refused to discuss methods of preventing pregnancies. The advice of male physicians was to avoid the husband. A pair of 1910 medical manuals on obstetrics and gynecology does not discuss contraception or abortion, except in terms of treating the ill effects of a terminated pregnancy. Thus denied information on effective contraception, the working-class women often felt they had no choice but to submit to abortion.¹²

Emma Goldman, a Jewish New York nurse-midwife and contemporary of Sanger, advocated preconception birth control instead of terminating pregnancies. Goldman described the desperation she observed among her female patients:

Most of them lived in continual dread of conception; the great mass of the married women submitted helplessly, and when they found themselves pregnant, their alarm and worry would result in the determination to get rid of their expected offspring. It was incredible what fantastic methods despair could invent; jumping off tables, rolling on the floor, massaging the stomach, drinking nauseating concoctions, and using blunt instruments.¹³

The application of goose quills and knitting needles was commonly reported in medical literature. Dr. H. S. Humphrey, in an 1882 issue of *Medical and Surgical Reporter*, wrote: "The most remarkable case I knew . . . [was] a tall, angular girl, about 20 years old, [who] remarked that 'she was in a fix, and was determined to get out or die.' Said she had got something in her womb. I asked her what it was. She doggedly replied, 'a button hook.'"¹⁴

Many proponents of birth control were women like Goldman and Sanger, who wanted to save poor immigrants from the physical toll of too-frequent births, the economic stress of too-many mouths to feed, and the life-threatening injuries of self-inflicted abortions. Settlement houses, located in the midst of ethnic enclaves, were established to ease the assimilation of new arrivals into American culture. These "offered programs . . . to help women take better care of their homes and children,"¹⁵ but some also included advice on limiting family size. In *My Fight for Birth Control*, Sanger writes of the immigrant woman's desperate need when a hundred or so women and some twenty men were at the opening of the first birth-control clinic in America on 16 October 1916, at 46 Amboy Street in Brooklyn. Handbills had been distributed to every family in the Brownsville area of the city, printed in English, Italian, and Yiddish—reading, in part:

12. Chesler, *Woman of Valor*, 62–64; Elizabeth Ewen, *Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars: Life and Culture on the Lower East Side, 1890–1925* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1985), 132. See also *The Practical Medicine Series*, Emilius C. Dudley and C. von Bachellet, eds., vol. 4, *Gynecology*, and Joseph B. DeLee, ed., vol. 5, *Obstetrics* (Chicago: Year Book Publishers, 1910).

13. Quoted in James Reed, *From Private Vice to Public Virtue: The Birth Control Movement and American Society Since 1830* (New York: Basic Books, 1978), 47.

14. H. S. Humphrey, M.D., in a letter to the editor, *Medical and Surgical Reporter* 47 (9 September 1882): 299.

15. Mary Ellen Mancina Batinich, "The Interaction between Italian Immigrant Women and the Chicago Commons Settlement House, 1909–1944," in Betty Boyd Caroli et al., eds., *The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America*, Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Conference of the American Italian Historical Association (Toronto: The Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1978), 155.

MOTHERS!

Can you afford to have a large family?

Do you want any more children?

If not, why do you have them?

DO NOT KILL, DO NOT TAKE LIFE, BUT PREVENT.

Safe, Harmless Information

can be obtained of trained Nurses.¹⁶

The clinic, located in a densely populated Jewish and Italian section, disseminated information on birth control to nearly five hundred women in just nine days. Women and men from other parts of New York—as well as Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania—came to Brooklyn to get advice. Sanger's tale of one immigrant woman is frightening: She "was the mother of seven living children and four dead ones, and had undergone twenty-eight self-induced abortions." Tragic cases like this encouraged Sanger and her staff to operate the clinic, even though they knew it was in direct violation of New York's Section 1142 of the Penal Code, which stated that *no one*, except physicians, might distribute information to *anyone* for the purposes of preventing conception.¹⁷

NATIVE-WHITE ATTITUDES

Besides humanitarian reasons for helping immigrant women control family size, ethnic prejudice played a role. With about fifty-two thousand émigrés arriving every month by the 1920s, nativists—earlier Americans prejudiced against newer arrivals—saw their fairer Anglo-Saxon types decreasing while the "swarthy papist[s]" (Roman Catholics) and Jewish Europeans arrived in mass numbers and "bred uncontrollably." Inspired by fear, native whites segregated the immigrants and "herded them into slums to become diseased, to become social burdens or to die . . . huddled . . . together like rabbits to multiply their numbers and their misery."¹⁸

Realizing that the Yankee stock might eventually be outbred—numerically and politically—nativists then decided to restrict the number of immigrants. They also illegally encouraged birth-control use for the "inferior" immigrants already here and discouraged it among themselves (the "better stock"). In a Catch-22, the Comstock Law of 1873—enacted in an attempt to preserve the native-white population from dying out—prohibited the distribution of contraceptive devices or information.¹⁹

16. Margaret Sanger, *My Fight for Birth Control* (1939; reprinted, Elmsford, N.Y.: Maxwell Reprint Co., 1969), 154–55.

17. *Ibid.*, 152–56. Italics added for emphasis.

18. Sanger, *Woman and the New Race*, 37.

19. Weatherford, *Foreign and Female*, 7; Linda Gordon, *Woman's Body, Woman's Right: Birth Control in America*, rev. ed. (N.Y.: Penguin Books, 1990), 137; Green, *The Light of the Home*, 30; Deborah Fink, *Agrarian Women: Wives and Mothers in Rural Nebraska, 1880–1940* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1992), 136.

This “race suicide” alarm peaked in the early 1900s and was sparked to a great degree by eugenicists—those who believed in genetically improving the qualities of the human race by carefully selecting parents, with an emphasis on intelligence. They lobbied for quotas on immigration and encouraged newcomers to limit their family size, in spite of the law.²⁰ One standard text on eugenics, published in 1916, warned: “From the rate at which immigrants are increasing it is obvious that our very lifeblood is at stake. For our own protection we must face the question of what types of races should be ruled out.”²¹

CONTRACEPTION AND JEWISH WOMEN

Even without strong Anglo-Saxon encouragement, urban Jewish mothers began to control their reproduction. As a result, the typical Jewish immigrant family in the first decade of the 1900s consisted of about five children. “Why do you think I had so many miscarriages? The miscarriages I didn’t have to feed,” explained one woman. Living in poverty was not a Jewish mother’s dream for her offspring. By limiting her family size, she could provide her children the qualities of a better life that she had never experienced: education and material comforts.²²

Yet there is no evidence that these women knew anything about preventing pregnancy. For most, “miscarriage” was the only method. By the time birth-control clinics opened in ethnic-oriented neighborhoods in the 1920s, half of the women who sought contraceptive advice were Jewish and had already undergone large numbers of abortions. According to one offspring of such a family:

My mother told me that she had twelve abortions! And I saw one that she herself aborted. And that’s how I learned really about how babies are born—or not born. She had done something to herself, and the baby fell out. My mother picked it up, put it into a glass of vinegar, and she said to me, “Here is the way babies look before they are born, when they are first conceived.”²³

Daughters often learned about abortion from their mothers, who learned from friends, neighbors, or midwives. By the time the second generation came of age in the twenties and thirties, these young women did not find abortion to be a satisfactory alternative—too many women had died from it. Preventing conception became more popular, even among the poorest Jewish women.²⁴

20. For further discussion of the immigrant impact on native-white society and on lobbying by eugenicists, see Margo J. Anderson, *The American Census: A Social History* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1988), chap. 6. For information on the records of one eugenics study, see Thomas H. Roderick, V. Elving Anderson, Robert Charles Anderson, Roger D. Joslyn, and Wayne T. Morris, “Files of the Eugenics Record Office: A Resource for Genealogists,” in *Your Family Health History: An Introduction*; *NGS Quarterly*, Special Issue, 82 (June 1994): 97–113.

21. Michael F. Guyer, *Being Well-Born* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1916), 297.

22. Sydney Stahl Weinberg, *The World of Our Mothers: The Lives of Jewish Immigrant Women* (N.Y.: Schocken Books, 1988), 222; quote from p. 219. Also Ewen, *Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars*, 130–35.

23. Weinberg, *The World of Our Mothers*, 220.

24. *Ibid.*, 224.

CONTRACEPTION AND ITALIAN WOMEN

Of the Catholic groups coming to America in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, Italians were more likely than others to practice birth control and pregnancy termination. Although they considered themselves Christians, most Italians—historians conclude—did not fully abide by the tenets of the Catholic Church. In Italy, peasants learned quickly that the church catered to the wealthy landowners; in America, the church was dominated by Irish immigrants. For these and other political reasons, *la famiglia* became the only institution that they felt they could depend on and trust. Family size was controlled not so much by religious doctrine as by economics. Even before they had crossed the ocean, Italians had a notable history of infant abandonment, infanticide, and abortion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Folk remedies for terminating pregnancies were widely discussed among Italian women.²⁵

Although procreation was important in Italian culture, annual pregnancies for those living in two-room tenement apartments were simply not practical. Reported interviews with Italian immigrant women revealed that “abortions were an alternative if a husband arranged or agreed to it.”²⁶ Pregnancy terminations, when not self-inflicted, were performed by an Italian midwife—Italian women being especially sensitive about seeking a man’s advice, even that of a doctor, about childbearing or contraceptive matters. In 1906, of 500 midwives practicing in New York City, 126 (25 percent) were of Italian origin, the second most-common nationality for this profession. Illustrating the growing concern for pregnancy termination rather than birth prevention among Italians, the book *L’Arte di non fare i figli* (*The Art of Not Making Babies*) was advertised in *Il Martello*, an Italian-American newspaper published in New York City between 1922 and 1946.²⁷

THE FRONTIER IMMIGRANT WOMAN

Family planning was not solely the concern of immigrant wives who settled in urban areas. Those who journeyed west and settled on the frontier in the late-nineteenth century carried the typical fears associated with childbearing. But they also faced the added burden of tending to several children while trying to adjust to the wilderness and, frequently, the fright of unattended childbirth in their isolated cabins, lean-tos, or sod houses. Maternity outside the bounds of civilization was an

25. Richard Gambino, *Blood of My Blood: The Dilemma of the Italian-Americans* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1974), 178–80; David I. Kertzer, *Sacrificed for Honor: Italian Infant Abandonment and the Politics of Reproductive Control* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993), 30, 173–74.

26. Elizabeth G. Messina, “Narratives of Nine Italian Women: Childhood, Work, and Marriage,” *Italian Americana* 10 (Spring–Summer 1992): 195.

27. Crowell, “The Midwives of New York,” 670; Gordon, *Woman’s Body, Woman’s Right*, 228; Richard W. Wertz and Dorothy C. Wertz, *Lying-In: A History of Childbirth in America*, expanded ed. (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1989), 212.

overwhelming challenge for many. Demographic studies confirm that “birth rates fell as rapidly on the frontier as they did in cities.”²⁸

Like her urban sisters, the frontier woman frequently used folk remedies to bring about a delayed menstrual period, regardless of the cause. Due to the laws against distributing contraceptive products and information, menstrual “regulators” were advertised in rural newspapers like the *Nebraska Farmer*, making abortifacients easily obtainable through the mail. Women also exchanged advice with friends and neighbors about home birth control and abortion “remedies.”²⁹ For example:

To prevent conception, [a woman should] eat the dried lining of a chicken’s gizzard [or] take gunpowder in small doses for three mornings. . . . A woman who wants to put an end to her childbearing must throw the afterbirth of her last baby down an old well or walk directly over the spot where the afterbirth was buried. [She should] drink a tea made from rusty nail water, or rub [her] navel with quinine and turpentine morning and night for several days; each of these remedies can induce abortion.³⁰

Doctors prescribed heavy doses of purgatives to cleanse the system and induce menstruation. *American Folk Medicine* lists three pages of remedies for “obstructed menses,” recommended by physicians and midwives practicing from about 1830 to the 1930s; some of these concoctions proved to be deadly to the mother herself.³¹ For example, the *Missouri Republican* of 2 August 1866 reports:

Young Girl Takes Medicine to Avoid the Troubles of Maternity and Kills Herself—On Tuesday evening an inquest was held . . . on the body of . . . [twenty-three-year-old] Mary E. Burch, [a widow], who died . . . Monday morning about 9 o’clock. From the facts developed during the inquest, it became evident that the death of the young woman resulted indirectly from her own act, it having been caused by using pernicious drugs for the purpose of procuring an abortion in order to conceal from her mother and others the shame and disgrace of her seduction. . . . The unfortunate girl, according to her own statement [to her sister], procured medicine from a doctor in the vicinity, with the hope of destroying the offspring.

What were the effects upon the unborn child when the home remedy failed and the mother carried the child to term? Congenital health problems such as kidney disorders, heart trouble, or general weakness—if the child survived the first year or two—were problems that could plague the silent victim of an attempted chemical abortion.

28. Quote from Lillian Schlissel, *Women’s Diaries of the Westward Journey* (N.Y.: Schocken Books, 1982), 109; Sanger, *Woman and the New Race*, 75.

29. Fink, *Agrarian Women*, 136–39, 146–47.

30. John Mack Faragher, *Women and Men on the Overland Trail* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1979), 123.

31. Clarence Meyer, *American Folk Medicine* (N.Y.: Signet Books, 1973), 171–73; Sanger, *Woman and the New Race*, 127; Jack Larkin, *The Reshaping of Everyday Life, 1790–1840* (N.Y.: Harper and Row, 1988), 198; Thomas J. Schlereth, *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life, 1876–1915* (N.Y.: Harper Collins, 1991), 274.

Edith Haase, a German immigrant who arrived in America about 1881–82, settled a homestead in Goodland, Kansas, with her husband. The story passed down to descendants was that she had died in childbirth. The records, however, give a different, more-startling account. At age thirty-two, Edith was the mother of five children when the local newspapers reported her suicide in May 1888. According to the *Goodland News*:

Her husband said he came in the house about 11 o'clock and his wife was preparing dinner. He went out and . . . [when] he returned about 12 o'clock . . . [he] found his wife lying on a lounge in a spasm. She then told him that she had taken strychnine [sic], but gave no reasons for it.³²

Edith's children, who were in and out of the house at the time, ranged in age from eleven months to eight years. The day after the notice appeared in the Goodland press, another newspaper reported that Edith was also "enciente" (with child).³³ At the coroner's inquest, eight witnesses stated that they had never heard Edith threaten to take her own life, despite confidences shared with neighboring women that her husband had mistreated her.³⁴ Strychnine (*nux vomica*), was used in small quantities in medicine before its deadliness was fully realized. The previously mentioned 1910 volume on obstetrics advises the following for the supportive treatment of septic abortions: give "tincture of *nux vomica*—5 minims every two hours—and quinin[e]."³⁵

History will never know what went through Edith's mind when she swallowed the poison. She apparently left no note. When her husband found her before she died, she did not explain her actions. She was, however, pregnant for at least the sixth time in eight years and had given birth just eleven months before. The circumstances point to an answer. Knowing that ingesting home remedies was a common practice for terminating pregnancies, knowing that many frontier women in particular feared childbirth—some preferring to die rather than have another baby—and knowing that many women were overwhelmed with child rearing and frontier-life responsibilities, one can reasonably speculate. Did Edith intentionally commit suicide out of desperation over a troubled marriage and another pregnancy? Or did she try to chemically induce premature labor—accidentally killing herself as a result?

By going beyond the genealogical sources to study women's attitudes about pregnancy and frontier life, the stereotypical assumptions of genealogists gain a

32. "Suicide in 9-7-38," *The Goodland [Kansas] News*, 31 May 1888.

33. "A Sad Case of Suicide by a Wife and Mother. Family Cause and Bad Treatment the Probable Cause," *Sherman Co., Kans., Republic*, 1 June 1888.

34. *Sherman Co. Coroner's Files, Inquisition and Coroner's Return of Inquest, Edith Haase, suicide, 28 May 1888, filed 29 May 1888*. During the inquest, Edith's husband testified that she had threatened to kill herself about eight years earlier. If this allegation and time frame are accurate, then it was during the time Edith was pregnant with and bore her first child and right before she emigrated from Germany.

35. Clayton L. Thomas, ed., *Taber's Cyclopedic Medical Dictionary*, 12th ed. (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Co., 1973), pp. S-116 and N-45; DeLee, *Obstetrics*, 43.

new dimension and may lead to different hypotheses. For descendants of women like Edith, discovering an unexplained suicide would be a shock—to some, a disgrace. But by researching the common experiences of women in particular ancestral societies, descendants should be less likely to stand in judgment and more likely to understand and empathize with the desperation such women felt.

THEORIZING CONTRACEPTION

Knowing that contraception and pregnancy termination were common among immigrant women, how does a genealogist take the data collected from research and conclude that family planning was probably the reason for significant birth intervals in an ancestral family? The following example illustrates:

Giuseppe,³⁶ his wife Anna, and their eldest son immigrated to America between 1882 and 1885.³⁷ There is conflicting data as to whether they came as an intact family or whether Giuseppe arrived first, with his wife and Italian-born child following not long after. Four children were born to them in America after they settled in an ethnic enclave of Manhattan.³⁸

son	born	March 1881	Italy
son	born	February 1886	New York
daughter	born	October 1890	New York
son	born	October 1893	New York
son	born	November 1898	New York

The five-year gap between births of the first two known sons may have been a result of immigration, if Giuseppe did indeed arrive first, as the majority of Italian men did. Without further analysis or study, researchers might normally speculate that the overlong intervals between the American-born children were attributable to miscarriages, stillbirths, infant mortality, paternal absence, or fertility problems. With further analysis, however, some of these explanations may not be feasible at all. Instead of stopping with a narrow and isolated look at the specific family, expanding research to include the broader picture of social history reveals a more-probable explanation.

The known records and oral tradition of this family agree that Anna had just five children during her twenty or so years of wedded, childbearing years—i.e., aged twenty-five to mid-forties. The 1900 and 1910 federal censuses are the only such schedules to ask of women the number of children borne by them and the number

36. As commonly the case with census entries for immigrant families, the surname for this family is corrupted on practically every census on which it is found. However, the identity of this family is not the focus of the present article, only the theory of family limitation. Therefore, in order to preserve the privacy of this family's descendants, the surname and children's names have been omitted.

37. 1900 U.S. cens., N.Y., population schedule, Manhattan, enumeration district 126 [specific page, family, and dwelling numbers are deleted for privacy]; 1905 N.Y. state cens., Manhattan, election dist. 12, assembly dist. 6; 1910 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Manhattan, enum. dist. 116; 1915 N.Y. state cens., N.Y. City, elect. dist. 13, ass. dist. 1; 1925 N.Y. state cens., N.Y. City, elec. dist. 29, ass. dist. 2.

38. 1900 and 1910 U.S. cens. entries and 1905 state cens. entry, as above.

of those still living. According to this family's enumeration for 1900 and 1910, Anna was the mother of five children with five living, suggesting that there had been no other full-term pregnancies.³⁹

On the other hand, one must consider the then-typical Italian distrust of anyone outside the family, especially someone representing government. If Anna did bear other children who did not survive, would this Old World woman tell a male inquisitor such personal information? If other children had been born or if unfulfilled pregnancies had existed, she might have considered them none of this enumerator's business. Or, someone else could have provided the information and knew only of the five children. Regardless, the data are consistent on both schedules: Anna bore five children, and only these children appear in other state and federal enumerations. No American birth records exist for any of the children; if created and extant, they might have revealed information on other pregnancies. There is also no evidence to suggest that her husband was temporarily absent for various periods during her reproductive years in America.

Significantly, there are three gaps of roughly five years each and one three-year gap between births, placing doubt on whether the theories about miscarriages, stillbirths, and conception difficulties are reasonable options. It can be argued that if these hypotheses are valid, the intervals might have been more sporadic and of less-uniform lengths. At the most, the theories remain *possibilities*; but are they the *most-probable causes*?

It might also be contended that circumstantial evidence points to another answer. It is well established that birth control and abortions were common among immigrant (especially Italian) women who lived in late-nineteenth-century ethnic enclaves of New York City. Given the consistent birth intervals, the fact that Anna should have borne more than five children in twenty years, and—perhaps more important—knowing the social history of the people, time, and place, the objective researcher cannot ignore the likelihood that Anna deliberately controlled the size of her family in some manner.

FINDING ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE

As illustrated in the foregoing examples, irregularities in the existing primary evidence and knowledge of the typical experience of contemporaries may suggest that a family practiced birth control. Such matters were as personal for immigrant females of the past as for American women today; it was not openly discussed outside of a few possible confidants. Some additional means, however, might be employed to ferret out more-conclusive evidence. The following suggests one feasible sequence.

Letters or diaries, if extant, might record whether birth control was practiced or mention the aborting of an unwanted pregnancy. As a whole, however, immigrant

39. 1900 and 1910 U.S. cens. entries, as above.

women tended to be uneducated and less likely to leave behind written, personal accounts of their lives.

Oral tradition, particularly mother-to-daughter and among other women, could be the only source of intimate information. Thus, researchers should not overlook interviewing older relatives or family acquaintances. Given the delicacy of the subject, questions need to be phrased in the least-intimidating manner: "What was your mother's attitude toward having babies every other year?" "How do you think your father felt about it?" "How did you feel about your mother having so many babies?" Or, "what did your mother do to prepare you for married life?" Whenever a question is phrased so that the person being interviewed can respond with feelings, the researcher will have a better chance of getting accurate information. Asking point-blank, "Did your mother ever use birth control or terminate a pregnancy?" is liable to elicit a negative response.

Letters or diaries of acquaintances and relatives might be sought next, in hopes these might reveal a confidence shared at the time. Diaries may also exist for the midwives who practiced in the neighborhood. Some midwives kept records of their activities and patients. Because these are hot items among current publishers, researchers should seek them not only in manuscript collections held by archives and libraries but also in published form.

"Official" *medical records* may or may not be reliable. If a woman died from complications of an abortion, the cause on a death record may be disguised. Uterine hemorrhaging, uterine cancer, septicemia, tetanus, or any number of related or unrelated causes might appear, as Victorian discretion often dictated a "respectable" diagnosis. Such medical sources as physician's records are likely to be the most difficult to find and access. For example, as far as can be determined, the patient records of Margaret Sanger's 1916 Brownsville clinic were confiscated by police, never returned, and not preserved.⁴⁰

Researchers should also be aware that medical references to abortions may or may not mean abortion in the modern vernacular. *Abortion* or *spontaneous abortion* is and traditionally has been the medical term for *miscarriage*. Moreover, many states have had laws requiring official death registration and burial for prematurely born, nonsurviving fetuses if the gestation lasted for a certain number of months. On many of these records, terms such as *aborted* or *spontaneous abortion* may appear. In fact, Taber's *Cyclopedic Medical Dictionary* lists definitions for at least twenty-three different types of abortions.⁴¹ Seeing this information, the genealogist cannot automatically assume that the mother intentionally terminated her pregnancy.

Unless personal papers or recollections exist to document such intimate matters as birth control and self-induced or aided abortions, they may be impossible to

40. Letter to author from Esther Katz, Ph.D., ed. and director, The Margaret Sanger Papers, New York Univ., 29 July 1993.

41. Thomas, *Taber's Cyclopedic Medical Dictionary*, A-6-7.

document—through the usual genealogical sources—the cause of significant gaps between childbearing. Putting families and women into the context of their times, through the study of social history, is critical to achieving a proper genealogical analysis. Discussing “typical” experiences can strengthen one’s case for suspected family planning and help reduce the stigma that pregnancy termination, contraceptive use, or even female “suicide” might carry in a family history.

Regardless of attitudes, one thing is certain: genealogists risk error in routinely speculating that gaps in child spacing must be the result of miscarriage, stillbirth, infant mortality, or paternal absence. Abundant evidence exists that family planning—by both birth control and abortion—was common among married women of disparate social classes in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, and especially among immigrant women. When genealogical evidence is compatible, the objective genealogist should also consider, suggest, and explain this as a possible reason for significant birth intervals.

A Complex Divorce

Frances L. Randol v Elisha Randal [sic] and Reuben T. Lockwood, Petition for Divorce
Circuit Court Case 317, Clackemas County Papers, Oregon State Archives, Portland.

On 20 July 1855, Frances L. Randol petitioned for divorce from two husbands, giving a detailed account of her predicament. In April 1850, while living with her father in Iowa, she married a man known as John Walker but later learned from others that his true name was Elisha Randol. In June 1850, she, her husband, and her father’s family left with other emigrants for Salt Lake City. Along the way, she “surprised her said husband in adultery with a woman by the name of Bigelow, whose Christian name” she did not know. After other abuses, she abandoned Randol at Fort Bridger and rejoined her father’s household. Her husband continued his affair with Bigelow, for which he was “called to account before the church of which he was a member.” In 1852, Randol went to Carson’s Valley, California, where a party of men was said to be after him with the intent to hang him for horse thievery, although he was later said to be in Sacramento.

Meanwhile, by the time she had reached Salt Lake, she suffered from a disease that revealed the “true nature” of her husband. Her father employed a physician, Reuben T. Lockwood, who “won her confidence and esteem by his professional skill and labors.” When she was well enough for her family to continue on its way to Oregon (April 1851), Lockwood accompanied the family as her physician and persuaded her to marry him—alleging that her first marriage was not legal because Randol had wed her under a false name. In Oregon, in October 1852, she was forced to leave Lockwood because he ill-treated her, refused to provide her a house, and claimed that her marriage to him was illegal also because her first was indeed valid. Twice victimized, Frances sought to rectify her tangled legal situation.

— Submitted by *H. Daraleen Wade*, 4305 Toni Avenue North, Salem, OR 97303

The Knot System: A Numeric Notation of Relationship

The Knot System is a numerical notation that defines consanguinity. It describes any kind of kinship, simple or complex, that is based on bisexual reproduction. It is exact. Thus, scientifically correct additive relationships—and, by extension, inbreeding coefficients—can be calculated directly. It offers a new, structured way of imagining and visualizing relationships in the human mind, as well as a more-precise means of documenting these on paper and in computer output.

For centuries, humans have sought methods to describe relationships. The most-

By Knud Højrup*

common practice is to assign names to the kinships, such as father, mother, sister, brother, uncle, niece, and grandfather. However, these terms do not define consanguinity precisely enough for maximum scientific use. Geneticists and genealogists need a system that permits them to comprehend more-complex relations than those traditionally possible. Sir Francis Galton (1822–1911) stated the problem over a century ago in a letter to the editor of *Nature*, concerning an “Arithmetic Notation of Kinship.” According to Galton:

Many writers have endeavoured to devise a simple method of describing the various forms of kinship, which, when expressed verbally, are cumbrous and puzzling in the highest degree. I suspect, however, that if we had always been as familiar with the binary system of arithmetic as we are with the decimal, that the facilities afforded by a numerical system of notation of kinship would have been so obvious that it would have been adopted as a matter of course.¹

Galton’s letter briefly discusses the sequential numbering scheme now known by European genealogists as the Kekule von Stradonitz System and by North American genealogists as the Stradonitz or Ahnentafel System. However, the plan was invented by neither Galton nor Kekule von Stradonitz. The latter’s name is attached to it because he was the first to describe its properties (in 1898).² The first printed

*Topperne 4, Lejl. 13; DK-2620, Albertslund, Denmark. Mr. Højrup is a computer analyst. Preliminary versions of this article were published by him in 1987 and 1988 in *Personalthistorisk Tidsskrift*, the biannual magazine of the Samfundet for Dansk Genealogi og Personalthistorie (Society for Danish Genealogy and Personal History), which was founded in 1879 as the first of its kind in Nordic countries. Mr. Højrup has been a member of this society since 1981. Figures 1–4 are copies of output from a computer program designed and copyrighted by the author in 1992.

1. Francis Galton, “Arithmetic Notation of Kinship,” *Nature* 28 (6 September 1883): 435.

2. Stephan Kekule von Stradonitz, “Über ein zweckmäßige Bezifferung der Ahnen,” *Vierteljahrsschrift für Wappen-, Siegel-, und Familienkunde* 6 (1898), 64–72.

version of this arrangement dates back to 1590, when an Austrian historian and diplomat, Michael Eyzinger, used it in his book on European princely and royal houses.³ The scheme is so simple and logical that many genealogists since then have used it without knowledge of predecessors and even without considering it in need of explanation. In this article, the method is referred to as the Sequential System.

THE SEQUENTIAL SYSTEM

Widely accepted as the preferred notation for documenting and exchanging genealogical research, its plan is simple. Consecutive integers (whole numbers) are assigned to all ancestors of a person—1 to the person, 2 to the father, 3 to the mother, 4 to the father's father, etc. Because each person has a countable number of ancestors and there exists an infinite number of integers, it is possible to assign a correct number to any ancestral position, even if other positions remain unidentified. Because of the inherent binary structure of bisexual reproduction, many properties may be derived directly from this numbering plan. Among these:

Sex: Male ancestral positions have even numbers; female ancestors have odd numbers.

Parents: The father of any ancestor (n) has the number $2n$; the mother has the number $2n + 1$.

Offspring: The offspring of any ancestor (n) can be calculated as the integer part of $n \div 2$.

Mate: A male ancestor's mate has the number $n + 1$; a female ancestor's mate has the number $n - 1$.

Relationship: The exact relationship between any ancestor (n) and the individual at position 1 is found by successively dividing n by 2, discarding fractions at each stage, until reaching the number 1. The resulting list of integers identifies the ancestral positions that form the lineage. The number of times that n is halved equals the number of generations between the individual and the ancestor at position n .

Ancestors per generation: The first ancestral number in every generation (1, 2, 4, 8, 16, etc.) corresponds to the number of ancestral positions in that generation.

Generation numbers: The above numbers are also exponentiations of 2 (i.e., 2^0 , 2^1 , 2^2 , 2^3 , 2^4 , etc.), and the exponent may be used as the generation number (i.e., 2^4 —or, 2 to the fourth power—represents the fourth ancestral generation).

Although there have been numerous attempts over the years to find an acceptable numbering method that would describe an individual's descendants as well as the Sequential System does for ancestors, no solution has achieved general acceptance. This is also true for the third and most-complex kind of relationship—namely, descendants of the ancestors.

3. Michael Eyzinger, *Thesaurus principum hac aetate in Europa viventium* (Cologne: Gottfried von Kempen, 1590).

THE KNOT SYSTEM—DEFINED

Based on the Sequential System, the Knot System recognizes the three basic ways in which individual A may be blood related to individual B:

1. A is ancestor to B.
2. A is descendant of B.
3. A and B have a common ancestor, C.

Beyond this, the Knot System is built upon the following definitions:

Proband

A proband is the individual for whom relationships are to be calculated.

Kin group

The kin group is composed of all individuals related to the proband. It may be reduced in size by specifying a maximum number of generations to ascend from the proband, plus a maximum number of generations to descend from the ancestor. Or the kin group could be confined to all relatives within a total number of generations from the proband.

Ascent list n

An ascent list identifies all individuals who link a person to his or her ancestor at position n . The person and the ancestor are included. Ascent List 1 consists only of the person.

Knot individual

A knot individual is an ancestor common to both the proband and the related person. The knot individual must be the only individual appearing on both of the ascent lists that link the three persons together.

Consanguinity element

A consanguinity element is expressed as $a.b$ —that is, a represents the ascent list that links the proband to the knot individual; and b denotes the ascent list that links the related person to the same individual.

This consanguinity element represents an exact description of any one relationship between the proband and the relative. The number of generations between the proband and the relative equals the sum of the number of generations expressed by each of the two ascent lists.

KinCode

The KinCode of a related individual contains all known consanguinity elements that link the individual to the proband. The consanguinity elements must be arranged in numerical ascending order within the KinCode, and every element must be different from all other elements.

Primary and secondary KinCode

The *primary* KinCode always contains the consanguinity element with the smallest number of generations between the proband and the related individual. In a case of more than one element with the same lowest number of generations, the numerically smaller element is selected, together with its possible mate element. (A mate element is one in which the numbers on each side of the decimal point are odd numbers, each being one number higher than the corresponding part of the basic element.) An element pair is preferred over a single element, even when the single element is numerically smaller than the first of the pair.

The remaining consanguinity elements of the relative's KinCode constitute the *secondary* KinCode.

Kin register

A kin register is a list of all individuals of a kin group. Its main sorting criterion is the individual's primary KinCode.

THE KNOT SYSTEM—APPLIED

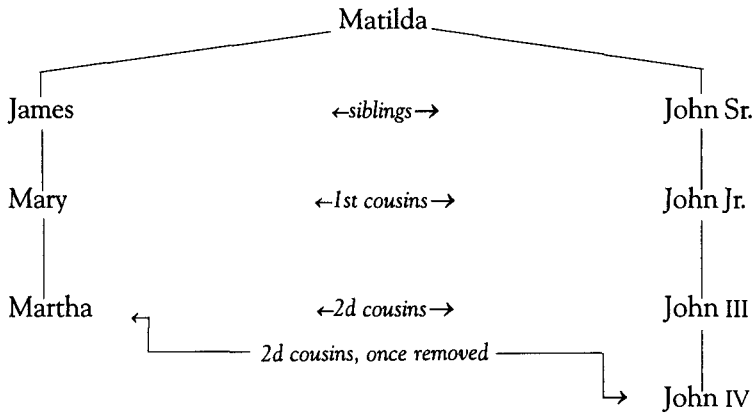
The list of individuals in Ascent List N is calculated by successively dividing n by 2 and discarding all fractions until 1 is reached. The list includes both the proband (called Person A in this example) and the ancestor (n). Thus, Person A's Ascent List 13 is composed of the following:

Ancestor 13 (whose number is halved to create 6.5; the fraction is then dropped)
 Ancestor 6 (whose number is halved to create 3)
 Ancestor 3 (whose number is halved to create 1.5; the fraction is then dropped)
 Ancestor 1

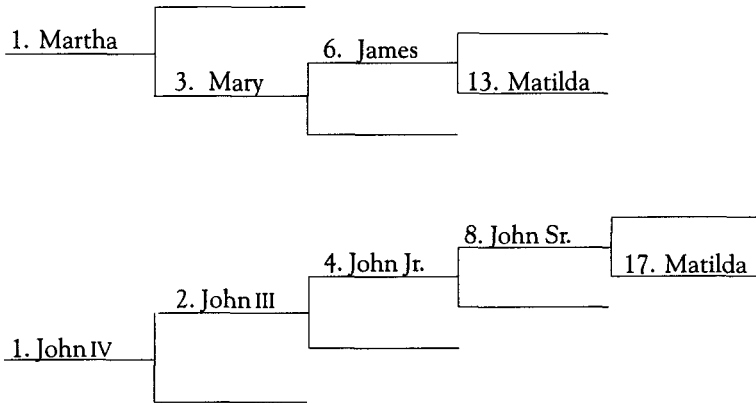
This means that A's Ascent List 13 consists of four individuals: A himself or herself ($n1$), A's mother ($n3$), the mother's father ($n6$), and the mother's father's mother ($n13$). A's gender is unspecified. For the remaining individuals on the list, the gender is defined by the ancestor's position number as previously stated: even numbers represent males; odd, females. Therefore, A's Ascent List N is an exact description of A's kinship to the ancestor at position n .

The most complex of the three basic relationships set forth on the preceding page—i.e., the relationship between A and B, who have common ancestor C—can now be simply defined. One ascent list is compiled for A, beginning with him or her and ending with C. A second ascent list is compiled for B, beginning with him or her and ending with C. The resulting list number for A is linked to the resulting list number for B, by use of a decimal point— $a.b$ being the manner of expressing this basic relationship.

To illustrate, consider the relationship that is verbally identified as *second cousins, once removed*. It is typically depicted on a drop chart in the following manner:



By comparison, separate ancestor charts for Martha and John would express the above lines as follows:



Martha and John are obviously related through Matilda, who is the knot individual because she ties a “knot” of relationship between Martha and John IV. Under the Knot System, Martha’s direct line that is depicted above would be identified as her Ascent List 13. John IV’s line would be his Ascent List 17.

These two ascent lists are combined, with a decimal point as separation, to form the consanguinity element 13.17—a combination that looks like an ordinary number (an integer + fraction) but is not. Recalling that the form for expressing the consanguinity element is $a.b$, one could verbally read this consanguinity element 13.17 as: “The ancestor of the proband, Martha, at position a (13) is the same individual as the ancestor of her relative, John IV, at position b (17).”

It is obvious that all ancestors to C are also common ancestors to A and B. However, only C needs to be considered when numerically describing the basic relationship between A and B, because C is the common ancestor closest to the proband A and the related individual B.

For all practical purposes, the consanguinity elements can be treated as real numbers capable of being compared and sorted—as long as one precaution is observed. For all consanguinity elements that have identical numbers to the left of the decimal point, the expressions to the right of the decimal point should all have the same number of digits. (Zeroes can be added to the right hand number to achieve this, but any added zero must appear immediately after the decimal point. Table 1 illustrates the point, to use KinCodes 46.068 and 46.092 as examples: zeroes were added to each so that 68 and 92 would have the same number of digits as 116.) Experience has proved it practical, always, to have at least two digits to the right of the decimal point. This permits the ascent list to span more than five generations and accommodate most known descendant relations.

Complex relationships

One consanguinity element is an exact description of a relationship when there exists only one knot individual between the proband and the relative. However, this is not always the case. For instance, full siblings of the proband will have both the father and the mother as common ancestors, two situations that fulfill the knot-individual definition. Thus, in order to describe exactly a full sibling's relationship to the proband, two consanguinity elements are needed—one with the father as the knot individual (2.02), and one with the mother as the knot individual (3.03). The second element (3.03), is considered the mate element to the first, following the definition offered on page 118.

In some instances, there may be several knot individuals linking a proband with another specific relative. A knot individual can even appear in more than one ancestral position on both the proband's pedigree chart and that of the relative. In order to describe fully the kinship in these cases, a separate consanguinity element is required for each of this ancestor's positions if, and only if, the knot-individual definition is fulfilled for the element. The related individual's KinCode will also include all known consanguinity elements.

In human genealogy, a verbal notation such as brother, sister, cousin, uncle, etc., is used to describe the closest-known relationship between two persons. The words of this notation are often accompanied by either "full" or "half," to indicate whether the common ancestry comprises a couple or a single person. This closest relationship is the one the Knot System expresses as the primary KinCode.

A complex kinship is illustrated in tables 1 through 3, which treat the connection of Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to King Harald of Norway. The queen is the proband. Her kin group is restricted to a five-generation

Table 1
KinCode for Monarchs of Great Britain and Norway

Proband: Elizabeth II, Queen of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
 Relative: Harald, King of Norway
 Scope: Ascend 5 generations; descend 6 generations

KINCODE KNOT-INDIVIDUALS

Primary:

8.10 Edward VII, King of Great Britain
 9.11 Alexandra, Queen of Great Britain

Secondary:

18.16 Christian IX, King of Denmark
 18.28 Same as 18.16
 19.17 Louise, Queen of Denmark
 19.29 Same as 19.17
 44.84 George III, King of Great Britain
 45.85 Charlotte, Queen of Great Britain
 46.068 Friedrich, Prinz von Hessen-Kassel
 46.092 Same as 46.068
 46.116 Same as 46.068
 47.069 Caroline, Prinzessin von Nassau-Usingen
 47.093 Same as 47.069
 47.117 Same as 47.069
 Total: 14 consanguinity elements

A different representation of the same relationship:

Primary KinCode	8.10	9.11				
Secondary KinCode	18.16	18.28	19.17	19.29	44.84	45.85
	46.068	46.092	46.116	47.069	47.093	47.117

Table 2
Expanded View of Consanguinity Element 46.068

Proband:

- 1 Elizabeth II, Queen of Great Britain
- 2 George VI, King of Great Britain
- 5 Mary, Queen of Great Britain
- 11 Mary Adelaide, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland
- 23 Augusta, Prinzessin von Hessen-Kassel
- Knot individual:* 46.068 Friedrich, Prinz von Hessen-Kassel
- 34 Wilhelm, Prinz von Hessen-Kassel
- 17 Louise, Queen of Denmark
- 8 Frederik VIII, King of Denmark
- 4 Haakon VII, King of Norway
- 2 Olav V, King of Norway
- 1 Harald, King of Norway

ascent and a six-generation descent. Within this scope, there are fourteen consanguinity elements that specify exactly the relationship between Elizabeth and Harald. The knot individual, Prince Friedrich von Hessen-Kassel, appears only once in Elizabeth's pedigree (at position 46), but three times in Harald's pedigree (at positions 68, 92, and 116). Thus, there are three corresponding consanguinity elements in King Harald's KinCode. Table 2 expands one of those elements, 46.068, to show all individuals constituting that basic relation between these royal monarchs.

Additive relationships

"Additive relationship" is the genetic term used to measure the fraction of "like genes" shared by two humans or animals. It suggests how reliable the records of one will be in predicting genetic matters for the other.⁴ Determining the additive relationship between any two individuals is a two-step process.

- First, determine the number of generations separating them, by using the mathematical process described on page 116 under "relationship." The resulting number is expressed as n in the formula at the bullet below.

(Alternately, one may simply count the number of generations intervening between the two individuals—ascending from Person A to the common

4. L. Dale Van Vleck, E. John Pollak, and E. A. Branford Oltenacu, *Genetics for the Animal Sciences* (New York: W. H. Freeman, 1987), 199. The *inbreeding coefficient* is one half the additive relationship between parents.

ancestor, C, and descending back down to Person B. Persons A and B, themselves, are not counted. C is counted in both the ascent and the descent. The total number of generations between A and B is the generational n.)

- Second, calculate the actual additive relationship by applying the formula $(\frac{1}{2})^n$ —meaning *one* divided by *two*, raised to the *n*th power.

To continue our example of Queen Elizabeth and King Harald, it is easy to see from table 2 that eleven generations separate them in the basic calculation. If this were their only kinship, then the additive-relationship number would be 0.000488281—or, expressed more simply, they would be 0.049% related to each other. This table is arrived at through the following calculation:

$$n = 5 + 6 = 11$$

$$(\frac{1}{2})^{11} = 0.000488281$$

Table 3
Additive Relationships between Monarchs of Great Britain and Norway

Proband: Elizabeth II, Queen of Great Britain and Northern Ireland
Relative: Harald, King of Norway
Based on: Figure 1

ADDITIVE RELATIONSHIP*	KNOT-INDIVIDUALS FROM WHOM INDIVIDUAL RELATIONSHIPS ARE CALCULATED
<i>Primary:</i>	
0.015625	Edward VII, King of Great Britain
0.015625	Alexandra, Queen of Great Britain
<i>Secondary:</i>	
0.00390625	Christian IX, King of Denmark
0.00390625	Same as above
0.00390625	Louise, Queen of Denmark
0.00390625	Same as above
0.000488281	George III, King of Great Britain
0.000488281	Charlotte, Queen of Great Britain
0.000488281	Friedrich, Prinz von Hessen-Kassel
0.000488281	Same as above
0.000488281	Same as above
0.000488281	Caroline, Prinzessin von Nassau Usingen
0.000488281	Same as above
0.000488281	Same as above
0.05078125	Total for 14 consanguinity elements

*a genetic measure of the fraction of like genes shared by Queen Elizabeth and King Harald

Table 4
Three-Generation Kin Register for Queen Elizabeth II

PRIMARY KINCODES	KINGROUP MEMBER
1	Elizabeth II, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland
1.03	Anne, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland
1.03	Charles, Prince of Wales
1.03	Andrew, Prince of Great Britain and Ireland
1.03	Edward, Prince of Great Britain and Ireland
1.05	William, Prince of Great Britain and Ireland
1.05	Harry, Prince of Great Britain and Ireland
1.05	Beatrice Mountbatten-Windsor
1.05	Eugenie Mountbatten-Windsor
1.07	Peter Mark Andrew Phillips
1.07	Zara Anne Elizabeth Phillips
2	George VI, King of Great Britain and Ireland
2.02	3.03 Margaret Rose, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland
2.06	3.07 David Armstrong-Jones, Viscount Linley
2.06	3.07 Sarah Frances Elizabeth Armstrong-Jones, Lady
3	Elizabeth, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland
4	George V, King of Great Britain and Ireland
4.02	5.03 Edward VIII, King of Great Britain and Ireland
4.02	5.03 Mary, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland
4.02	5.03 Henry, Prince of Great Britain and Ireland
4.02	5.03 George, Prince of Great Britain and Ireland
4.02	5.03 John, Prince of Great Britain and Ireland
5	Mary, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland
6	Claude George, 14th Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne
6.02	7.03 Violet Hyacinth Bowes-Lyon, Lady
6.02	7.03 Mary Frances Bowes-Lyon, Lady
6.02	7.03 Patrick, 15th Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne
6.02	7.03 John Herbert Bowes-Lyon, Honorable
6.02	7.03 Alexander Francis Bowes-Lyon, Honorable
6.02	7.03 Fergus Bowes-Lyon, Honorable
6.02	7.03 Rose Constance Bowes-Lyon, Lady
6.02	7.03 Michael Claude Hamilton Bowes-Lyon, Honorable
6.02	7.03 David Bowes-Lyon, Honorable Sir
7	Nina Cecilia, Lady of Strathmore and Kinghorne
8	Edward VII, King of Great Britain and Ireland
9	Alexandra, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland
10	Franz, Prince of Württemberg
11	Mary Adelaide, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland
12	Claude, 13th Earl of Strathmore
13	Frances Dora Smith of Blendon Hall
14	Charles William Francis Cavendish-Bentinck
15	Caroline Louise Cavendish-Bentinck

In a complex kinship, the total additive relationship is calculated by adding together the individual additive relationships already determined for each consanguinity element. Table 3 lists the additive number for each relationship shown for Elizabeth and Harald and then calculates the total additive relationship—i.e., 0.05078125, which makes them 5.08% related to each other.

Kin register

If the members of a kin group are sorted in ascending numerical order on their primary KinCode, the resulting sequence shows an interesting pattern. The first individual will be the proband (primary KinCode = 1), followed by the proband's own descendants, generation by generation (see table 4). The descendants are followed by the proband's father and his descendants, one generation after the other. This set is followed by the mother and any descendants she may have by a mate other than the proband's father. This pattern continues through the generations of ancestors and their descendants for all members of the kin.

This sequence of individuals resembles very much the relationship patterns expressed in ancient laws for inheriting property and titles. When an individual (the proband) dies, the children are the prime heirs. If those children are dead, their descendants, one generation after the other, will inherit. If all descendants of the proband are extinct, the proband's parents and their descendants are next in the line of inheritance. If they are deceased too, the proband's grandparents and their descendants come next in the line—and so on until a proper heir is found.

USES FOR THE KNOT SYSTEM

A scientifically correct notation for all kinds of bisexual relationships has not existed before, to this writer's knowledge. It is therefore difficult to predict all the applications the Knot System may have, but some are already obvious. The system

- offers a modular way to document every known biological relation between two individuals, thereby making it easy to verify that new-found relations are not already known.
- facilitates an exchange of research results. It is now possible to describe exactly the relationship between two individuals without the need to carry information on the individuals constituting the relationship.
- can be used to make consanguinity registers, in which individuals within a kin group are organized by their primary relationship to the proband.
- exploits computer capabilities more fully. Because computers can process very large kin groups, it is now possible to have them calculate and present very complex relationships in a humanly comprehensible form.
- is a valuable genetic research tool. If several individuals in a kin group show any interesting trait or disease, visual analysis of their KinCodes might reveal the ancestors from whom the phenomenon could have been inherited.

- is very suitable for teaching simple and complex relationships, because of its clear definitions and its structured, modular design.

CONCLUSION

The Knot System is a numerical notation that defines consanguinity. It describes any kind of kinship, simple or complex, that is based on bisexual reproduction. It is exact. Thus, scientifically correct additive relationships—and, by extension, inbreeding coefficients—can be calculated directly from the KinCode. It offers a new, structured way of imagining and visualizing relationships in the human mind, as well as a more-precise means of documenting these on paper and in computer output.

The Knot System does not seek to replace the established genealogical schemes. Rather, it is an extension of the internationally used, almost natural notation for human ancestors—the Stradonitz or Ahnentafel System. It is language independent, offering a common-relationship terminology and notation that works for animals, fish, humans, insects, plants, any other organisms that procreate bisexually. It should enable geneticists and genealogists to comprehend and document more-complex relations than ever before, which could have a major impact on research in both fields.

Epidemics: Year after Year

Kanesville, Iowa, *Frontier Guardian*, 20 May 1849

“THE STEAMER MONROE.—A letter from Jefferson city [Missouri], dated on the 11th, [encloses a clipping from the *St. Louis Republican*, which] gives the following particulars in regard to the mortality of this ill-fated boat:

“The steamer Monroe has stopped about a mile below town. Three persons have been buried from her, who died of cholera—the pilot, engineer, and a Dr. Stephenson, of Jeffersonville, Indiana. The bar keeper and a passenger are lying dead in town—five are dead on the boat. The watchman and steward are on the boat dying. Some eight or ten others are very ill in the town, and all dangerous. no medicine seems to have any effect upon them. The cases are very sudden, and nearly all fatal. It is remarkable, that not a death occurred on the deck of this ill-fated boat. All the sickness, so far, has been confined to the cabin passengers, and some Mormons who occupied the boiler deck.”

Kanesville, Iowa, *Frontier Guardian*, 3 April 1850

“CHOLERA.—We learn from some of our exchanges that this dreadful disease is again making its appearance in New York, and Alabama, and that several cases have lately occurred on the steamboats running from new Orleans to St. Louis.”

—Submitted by Myrtle Stevens Hyde; 3628 Iowa Avenue; Ogden, UT 84403–2132

Viewpoint

Heredity and Health: Basic Issues for the Genealogist

By William B. Saxbe Jr., M.D., M.P.H., CG*

If everyone in your ancestry lived to be ninety years old, it is unlikely that a study of your family's health history will add much to your family's longevity pattern. If your forebears all smoked and died from emphysema or lung cancer by the age of sixty, you already know how to avoid their fate. You cannot improve on excellence, and no amount of "good genes" can overcome foolish behavior. If your experience is the same as that of most people, a study of your family's health will yield no useful information beyond the basics you learned in secondary school. You might, at best, receive some "words to the wise" or be nudged toward a more-prudent lifestyle.

For a small number of people, however, their family's history can provide a clear warning of lurking danger. For them, proper attention to the family's health can prevent unnecessary disease and untimely death. These are the people in whose family lines such killers as cancer, heart disease, severe high blood pressure, and diabetes show up unusually early. For them, steps taken to prevent disease, to look systematically for its early symptoms, and to treat it when it first appears can add years of healthy and productive life. Unfortunately, by the time many people start worrying about their health, it is going or gone; and irreversible damage has been done already. This confirms the general observation about human beings: too soon old, too late smart!

THE BASIC RELATIONSHIP

The words *genealogy* and *genetics* obviously spring from the same linguistic root, seen earlier in the Latin words *genus* (meaning birth or descent) and *gens* (meaning clan or race). There are many parallels in the work of the genealogist and the geneticist. There is a skill a successful geneticist (or epidemiologist, or detective)

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must have, and it is one at which the successful genealogist is already adept: pattern recognition. Both look forward to the future and reach backward to the past. In a sense, they tie the past to the present and to posterity. The genealogist is concerned with the social and cultural context of inheritance; the geneticist is concerned with its physical mechanics. Both deal with the transmission of *information*; one treats that information in writing, the other in a biochemical code. Both help us understand how we became who we are and who we can become as individuals, families, and a species.

GENETIC DISCOVERIES AND COMMON SENSE

Human genetics is undergoing an incredible explosion in knowledge. Just as the Portuguese, Spanish, and Italians redrew the map of the world in a few decades of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, just as Russian and American space exploration in the 1950s and 1960s redefined scholarship on the solar system, so are comparable leaps now being made in our understanding of the processes of life. The present is a truly historic time in biology, and especially in genetics.

The largest undertaking thus far, the biological equivalent of the Apollo Program for exploration of the moon, is the massive and ambitious Human Genome Project. This ten-year, ten-billion-dollar endeavor, coordinated by the National Institutes of Health (NIH), is using computerized and automated gene-mapping techniques to decipher the entire human genetic code (an undertaking similar to that which fictional scientists did with dinosaur genes in Michael Crichton's *Jurassic Park*). The potential benefits of the NIH discoveries are incalculable. The testing for and the treatment of inherited disease lag far behind, but in a few years these discoveries will lead to solid practical advances.

It is important to keep the genetic component of health in context. The three major determinants of health are good genes, good sense, and good luck. Good luck may be the most important, good sense next, and good genes least. Compare health to driving: your genes can stand for your car and its construction. Good sense represents how well you drive. Good luck represents how well *everyone else* is driving, the quality of the highway, and the road conditions. In real terms, good genes can mean being born without a predisposition to such diseases as diabetes or cancer. Good sense includes avoiding such things as cigarettes, motorcycles, fat, and careless love. Good luck can involve anything from getting just lukewarm coffee at a fast-food chain to such crucial matters as being born where there is enough food to go around, where there is no gunfire, and where seeing a doctor does not depend on how much money your parents make.

In a sense, receiving good genes is also a matter of luck: you do not get to pick your parents. It therefore appears that most of the determinants of your health are out of your control. Do you agree? You should: control is a dangerous illusion where your health is concerned. Neither you nor anyone else will ever have complete command of your medical destiny. Some diseases can be foreseen, some prevented,

some cured, some controlled: some cannot even be diagnosed. Good sense, however, can make up for quite a bit of bad luck.

It has been said that modern Americans are the first people to believe that death is an option—a philosophy that has given birth to four common beliefs about disease; i.e., it is the result of

- defective attitudes (feeble spirit, lack of faith, etc.)
- defective stewardship (foolish habits, lack of exercise, etc.)
- defective doctors and nurses (“somebody else’s fault”)
- defective environment (bad parents, unhealthy society, uncaring God, etc.).

Any of these can contribute to poor health; but none are dominant factors. By contrast, here are four important truths about disease. It is

- usually multifactorial
- frequently random and unpredictable
- inevitably a consequence of aging
- sometimes difficult or impossible to predict, diagnose, and treat.

Here is another, more-important truth: there is more to life than good health. Descendants may be proud of our living to be ninety years old, but it is of far greater importance that life be happy and productive. We all participate eventually in those melancholy vital statistics “d.” and “bur.” No cure for death is on the horizon; even if we dodge cancer, stroke, heart disease, and all their ilk, we still wear out about the age of one hundred fifteen.

GENES AND GENETIC DISEASES

Human beings have in each body cell over one hundred thousand genes, each of which is a blueprint for the production of a particular protein.¹ These proteins give our cells and bodies both structure and function. *Genes* are found in specific locations on specific intranuclear structures called *chromosomes*, of which each cell has twenty-three pairs. Under certain conditions, the chromosomes can be seen under the microscope; the genes are too small to be seen. We get twenty-three chromosomes from each of our parents: one of each numbered pair. The genes are made of *DNA* (*deoxyribonucleic acid*). When the body needs protein for either structural or functional purposes, the DNA responsible for that particular protein transfers the assembly instructions to a strand of *RNA* (*ribonucleic acid*), which serves as a template for the manufacture of the protein. The building blocks from which proteins are constructed are *amino acids*.

1. An occasionally cited discussion of classical human genetics, from the viewpoint of a genealogist, is William B. Saxbe, “Genetics for Genealogists,” *The American Genealogist* 47 (October 1981): 219–24. However, it is outdated, because it does not deal with such recent advances as “jumping genes.” For a simple and brilliant explanation of the present understanding of transposition in human genes, see Robert S. Schwartz, “Jumping Genes,” *New England Journal of Medicine* 332 (April 1995): 941–44.

Many genes are invariable; everyone has the same blueprint. Most variants—produced by alterations in the genetic code—are harmful, but many cause no particular problem: green eyes instead of brown, an alternative biochemical way of handling nutrients, etc. If there is more than one version of a gene, each differing version is called an *allele*. An example is the major blood groups, A, B, and O, which represent proteins on the surface of the red blood cells. In classical genetics, it was believed that genes stayed permanently on their chromosomes of origin. We now know that they are much more dynamic, actually jumping around on and between chromosomes.

Most of the time, this genetic system works perfectly; but with trillions of cellular reproductions in the life of an individual, mistakes can be made at any and all stages. Errors in the copying of DNA (*mutations*) can be caused by radiation, toxins, viruses, aging, and similar factors that can introduce changes in the genetic code. In an individual body cell, this may not mean much; but if the error is in an egg or a sperm cell, all cells of the resultant developing embryo will be affected. An error on a larger scale can involve a whole chromosome. Before a cell divides, it doubles its chromosomes so that each of the so-called daughter cells will receive a set. The dividing chromosomes can stick together, so that a daughter cell gets too many or too few of one of the copies. Examples of genetic disease are

- *Cancers*, which commonly arise after dividing cells have undergone several mutations—one of which disables the body's normal system for detecting and repairing genetic damage; another of which bypasses the built-in mechanism that sets a limit to the number of times a cell can divide.
- *Cystic fibrosis*, caused when defective instructions produce an ineffective protein.
- *Down's syndrome*, which results when the individual inherits three copies of Chromosome 21.
- *Huntington's chorea*, which occurs when a gene "stutters" in transcription, similar to a phonograph needle stuck in a groove, and the message is garbled.

Still, not all family-related diseases operate through genes. If your traditions include cooking with lots of cream, meat, and salt, there may be a disproportionate number of heart and blood-pressure problems, independent of hereditary factors. Inheritance is cultural as well as biological. There are other factors, too: recent research on birth defects implicates environmental conditions as important causes.

CONSTRUCTING A FAMILY-HEALTH HISTORY

If you believe that members of your family are carrying an unusual burden of disease, or that they are experiencing an uncommon condition too frequently or too

2. *Your Family's Health History: An Introduction*, special issue of the *NGS Quarterly* 82 (June 1994), offers an excellent overview of the language and techniques of this sphere of genealogy. Allison Adato, "Living Legacy," *Life* (April 1995): 60–69, is a good popular account of the importance of knowing your family medical patterns. The latter is adapted from Carol Krause, *How Healthy is Your Family Tree?* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995).

young, you should begin data collection for a family-health history.² Unfortunately, as in other genealogical endeavors, this task is fraught with potential frustration. Often, the data you want will be missing, incorrect, or uninterpretable. Many genetic diseases may soon be detectable through medical tests or observations, even without evidence provided by a family-health history. Still, it is expensive to run these tests indiscriminately; and the costs of surveillance can be prohibitive, unless the group studied is known already to have a high frequency of the disease.

As with any genealogy, you should begin collection with your nearest relatives.³ But remember that typical family-health histories have more width than depth. Do not limit your data gathering to direct lines; you will need to find living collateral relatives, even third and fourth cousins. If you seek information only on direct ancestors, your database will probably be too small to interpret. Reliable information about causes of death and disease goes back only one hundred to one hundred fifty years.⁴

Data collection for a family-health history has challenges other than record limitations. Many people are loath to part with personal information. For countless others, there is a stigma to ill health, particularly for certain diseases or conditions. Questioning requires the greatest discretion and tact. The advantages of knowing about the family's health may be obvious to you; but it may be far from evident to a relative stranger, and you have no moral or legal right to demand it from them. You must also pledge confidentiality to those you question. To disclose data about someone else's medical history, without consent, is unethical—indeed, legally actionable. Circulating information, even within the extended family, may be threatening to some family members. And it is unlikely that you would ever be able to publish data on your family's health without so cloaking identities that the results would be genealogically useless.

3. Anita Anderson Lustenberger, who is both a Certified Genealogist and a Certified Genetics Counselor, provides an excellent guide to eliciting family medical information in the lead article to the 1994 special NGS *Quarterly* issue on health and genetics; see "How to Be a Family Health Historian," 85–96.

4. Some families, such as the royal houses of Europe, have preserved an exceptional amount of medical information. The recent movie *The Madness of King George* deals with the consequences of an inherited metabolic defect called porphyria, which can produce insanity. In the Houses of Stuart and Hanover, it can be traced as far back as Mary, Queen of Scots. For a medical account, including discussion of the problem in some living descendants, see Martin Ware, ed., *Porphyria: A Royal Malady* (London: British Medical Assn., 1968).

Queen Anne of England died in 1713 with no living children, despite seventeen pregnancies; this ended the reign of the House of Stuart, with many implications for American as well as British history. Anne had no known genetic disease but may have been a carrier of infectious listeriosis, which produces miscarriages. See William B. Saxbe, "Listeria monocytogenes and Queen Anne," *Pediatrics* 49 (January 1972): 97–101.

Hemophilia among Queen Victoria's descendants in the royal families of Russia and Spain had profound consequences for those countries; see Victor A. McKusick, "The Royal Hemophilia," *Scientific American* 213 (August 1964): 88–95

The Tennyson family that produced literary genius had an incredible concentration of manic-depressives. See Kay Redfield Jamison, "Manic-Depressive Illness and Creativity," *Scientific American* 272 (February 1995): 64

For another valid reason, people are reluctant to disclose health problems or look too closely at their genetic heritage. Our present health-insurance system makes it increasingly difficult for people with prior medical problems or a strong family history of inherited disease to obtain coverage. As a result, we sometimes skate around the edges of a “don’t ask, don’t tell” situation, in which our knowledge of relatives with specific conditions can render us uninsurable. Considering these problems, it is best that you first study your family tree conventionally and establish comfortable relationships with each relative before you broach sensitive medical questions.

What if it appears that a medical problem is too frequent in your family? Many conditions, such as heart disease and cancer, are so common that they occur sooner or later in everyone’s family tree. However, several clues can suggest that you may be dealing with a hereditary condition: for example, an unusually early onset of the disease; bilaterality or multiple primary tumors; and involvement of the same organ, or more than one organ, in many family members. These situations warrant professional help. Many physicians are interested in and competent at the diagnosis and management of inherited diseases; but, for some conditions, you may need the advice of a medical geneticist. The latter, still in short supply, are commonly connected to medical schools. Your family physician or surgeon may be able to refer you to one; but the more data you have in hand before your consultation, the more all of you will derive from the encounter.

You will hear the word *surveillance* used repeatedly by medical personnel when hereditary diseases are discussed. This means watching for the disease’s earliest manifestations. For breast cancer, it involves self-examinations, physician examinations, and mammograms. For bowel cancer, it means tests for blood in the stool, sigmoidoscopies or colonoscopies, and Xrays. Diabetes, high cholesterol, and kidney and liver diseases can be diagnosed by blood tests. However, the costs of surveillance will be considered prohibitive, in many cases, unless the group studied is known already to have a high frequency of the disease.

YOUR DILEMMA

The propriety of screening for some conditions is problematical, even when done for prognostic purposes. Without treatment, the knowledge of a disease or potential disease is a burden. To illustrate: there is now a test for Huntington’s chorea, a terrible, inherited disease that may leave its victims demented and paralyzed, but which is frequently manifested only after the carriers already have had children. The fact that the disease is presently untreatable presents a real dilemma: should children at risk be tested or not?

Genealogists who launch a quest for family medical data can find that the answers raise other painful, philosophical issues. What should you, as a moral person, do if you discover that you carry a serious genetic defect? What are your

obligations to your spouse, your offspring, and your society? Should you decide against reproducing? Adopt children? Acknowledge the risk and accept it?

SUMMARY

For most people, there is little to be gained by gathering an extensive family-health history. Their conclusions are obvious: we should all develop good habits of diet and exercise; avoid such bad habits as smoking, eating or drinking to excess, and other risky behavior; pay heed to the symptoms of disease; and seek treatment promptly.

For people with familial-based diseases, however, attention to the medical history of the family can prevent disease and avoid premature death. For them, knowledge of the family's health reveals where the dragons are hiding. They must know the facts, interpret them properly, and act on the implications. Steps taken to prevent disease, to look systematically for its early symptoms, and to treat it when it first appears can add years of healthy and productive life.

A Consequence of Mixed Marriages

Ben F. Curry, Agent, to Lieutenant Van Horne, Disbursing Agent
Letter Book 2 (1832–35), p. 319
Agency Letter Books, Dec. 30, 1822–Dec. 27, 1827; Feb. 26, 1832–Dec. 2, 1835
Records of the Cherokee Agency in Tennessee, 1801–1835
Microcopy M208, Roll 10, National Archives

Re: James B. Henson

“His wife was represented to me to be of Cherokee blood but resided for many years among the whites and returned with Henson,^[1] a white man,^[1] into the Cherokee country after the extension of the laws of Georgia. After he came into the country, he was a candidate for the Legislature and was defeated on the score of his having an Indian-blooded woman for a wife. This fact I was well satisfied of from my own knowledge, but having doubts of hir [*sic*] being really of Indian blood I inquired of several persons of credibility who gave a statement which removed my doubts and the family were consequently enrolled under the provision of the Treaty of May 6, 1828 as members of the Tribe.”

—Contributed by the editors

Review Essay: *The Melungeons*

By Virginia Easley DeMarce, Ph.D.*

The Melungeons: The Resurrection of a Proud People. An Untold Story of Ethnic Cleansing in America. By N. Brent Kennedy, with Robyn Vaughan Kennedy. Published by Mercer University Press; Macon, GA 31210; 1994. xviii, 156 pp. Appendix, illustrations, index. Softback, \$16.95.

Mercer University Press has placed its imprimatur on a book that attempts to cross the disciplines of anthropology, genealogy, and history—with genetics as a periodic refrain. However, the author does not apply the standard methodology of any of these disciplines. Racial prejudice and persecution, as the title implies, are the themes that meld all this together. A chronological leap over several centuries enables the author to propose an exotic ancestry for “200,000 individuals, perhaps far more” (p. xv)—an ancestry that sweeps in virtually every olive, ruddy, and brown-tinged ethnicity known or alleged to have appeared anywhere in the pre-Civil War Southeastern United States.

Beginning with an account of his diagnosis with erythema nodosum sarcoidosis—a rare, serious medical problem to which certain ethnic groups are prone—Kennedy presents a deeply felt account of his immediate family. However, nothing indicates that he investigated whether this medical problem has appeared elsewhere in the extended families who descend from his ancestors or, if it does occur in a pattern, in which line(s).¹

Any study centered upon genetics and ethnicity should solidly document all genealogical data and links. Yet Kennedy offers no evidence—not even census records. He outlines an ancestry that centers in the Virginia counties of Wise, Russell, and Scott, and the Kentucky counties of Floyd and Pike. Beyond that, he implies that his forebears are traceable only to the mid-to-late eighteenth century, at which time they were primarily in northwestern North Carolina (particularly

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1. This omission contrasts strikingly with R. Tipton Biggs, *Knowing Mama: The Discovery of a Family* (Omaha, Nebr.: privately printed, ca. 1980), which painstakingly tracks the progress of Huntington's disease through an extended family from the 1820s until the present.

modern Ashe and Yancey Counties) and the region that became Greenbrier and Franklin Counties, Virginia. He arranges his pedigree in a series of "family lines," including (pp. 137–38) one claimed ascent to Pocahontas (which, if accurate, certainly would not have been a basis for social persecution).²

The failure to provide documentation makes it difficult to retrace the path by which the author determined his generational links and sorted forebears from others of the same name. This difficulty will deter many readers from the fact checking that good genealogists always perform. Those who do seek actual evidence and those who already have conducted solid research on these lines will be dismayed at the extent of the genealogical errors set forth in so few pages. Similarly, a great deal of unearned trust is expected of students and scholars in other disciplines. This review essay covers four major areas of concern: ethnic identification, prejudice, genealogy, and historical origins.³

ETHNIC IDENTIFICATION

Kennedy does not use the term *Melungeon* in its anthropological sense—that is, the interlocking families who moved into, existed in, and dispersed from Hawkins and Hancock Counties, Tennessee. Rather, he coins a very loose definition, expanding it to cover essentially all colonial-era Virginians and Carolinians who (in whatever records he consulted) are not clearly stated to be European American or African American. *Melungeon* thus becomes a catchall description for dark-skinned individuals whose ancestry does not seem to be sub-Saharan African—as well as their lighter-skinned relatives and descendants, whom he presents as subjects of racial prejudice.

The manner in which numerous individuals are "deduced" to be Melungeon is troubling. By surmising a connection when he cannot show it, he makes "Melungeons" of numerous frontier families whose ancestry appears to be wholly northern

2. The claimed line from Pocahontas is said to have come through Benjamin Bowling (born 1734) and wife Martha "Patsy" Phelps. This couple (although Kennedy does not state so) married 1751–53 in Albemarle Co., Va. See *Families of Yancey County, North Carolina* 5 (March 1988): 5; and "Osborne and Related Families," *Pike County, Kentucky, 1821–1983*; Historical Papers, no. 5 (Pikeville: Pike Co. Hist. Soc., 1983), 61.

Kennedy's connection depends on an assumption that the Benjamin who married Martha is the same one who later wed Charity Larrimore. This assertion was published in 1985 by W. W. Lake, "The Pocahontas Connection," *The Mountain Empire Genealogical Quarterly* 4 (Winter 1985): 214–17; but it has been challenged by David Risner, "Bolling Family Information," *The Mountain Empire Genealogical Quarterly* 7 (Winter 1988): 273–74, who presents contrary evidence.

Kennedy points out that the ascending line of the Benjamin who married Martha Phelps is itself unproved, although often claimed—as in R. Marshall Shepherd, "John Rolfe Lineage," *The East Kentuckian: A Journal of Genealogy and History* 25 (September 1989): 34–35. For a general pro-and-con discussion of the limited evidence available, see Alexander R. Bolling Jr., *The Bolling Family: Eight Centuries of Growth* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1990), 114–17.

3. Because this essay is a book review rather than a full-fledged genealogical study, all of the author's families have not been comprehensively reconstructed. The present analysis is designed to indicate the direction that future research should take.

European, including those whose known origin is Scotch-Irish or German. Typical cases are the Ritchies (pp. 23–24), Hutchinsons (p. 27), Kennedys and Hornes (pp. 66–68), Powerses and Alleys (pp. 69–70), and Counts, Jessees, and Kisers (pp. 77–79). In discussing an unproved line of descent from Edward “Ned” Sizemore, a central figure in the famous attempt to cash in on early-twentieth-century Eastern Cherokee claims awards (p. 56), Kennedy ignores extensive testimony indicating that Sizemore descendants were, for social and legal purposes, a white family claiming Indian ancestry—not Melungeons or free nonwhites.⁴

Illustrative of the problem is Kennedy’s analysis of William Roberson’s ethnicity, which strongly suggests inexperience in genealogical and historical research. Because this Revolutionary War veteran supposedly said he was Scotch-Irish and from London, and because his name is variously spelled as *Robertson*, *Robinson*, and *Robeson*, Kennedy concludes the man was a Melungeon who purposefully obscured his true origins. “Surely, if William . . . really did come from England, Scotland, or Ireland, he would have known how to spell his last name. . . . [His] early meanderings in [the Carolinas] undoubtedly plac[ed] him within the geographical region . . . known as ‘Robeson’ county. Could William I have ‘borrowed’ his surname from the name of the county?” (pp. 25–26). Coincidentally, Kennedy proceeds to state that Roberson’s son married the first cousin of President Andrew Jackson. Obviously, in his historical studies, Kennedy has not encountered Jackson’s declaration that he “could never respect a man who knew only one way to spell a word.”⁵

Kennedy often refers to the labels *fpc* (free person of color) and *fc* (free colored)—informing readers that these were maliciously applied by the Scotch-Irish to their Melungeon neighbors in order to “strip the Melungeons of their lands” (p. 12), and

4. For a synopsis of this rich body of Sizemore oral history, see Jerry Wright Jordan, comp., *Cherokee by Blood: Records of Eastern Cherokee Ancestry in the U.S. Court of Claims, 1906–1910*, vol. 1, *Applications 1 to 1550* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1987), 126–81.

Kennedy (p. 24) cites 1725 as the date of Sizemore’s birth. This is incompatible with the claims-case testimony, which holds that Ned’s father fought in the Revolution and that two of his brothers were in the War of 1812. The oral histories may have been confused, but Kennedy does not cite corrective evidence or address the conflict. The testimony also does not document Kennedy’s stated Sizemore connection to his Phipps family. Jeffrey C. Weaver, “Eastern Cherokee Applications,” *Southwest Virginia Ancestors* 4 (Winter 1990): 33, indicates that Edward (“Old Ned”) Sizemore was a Loyalist, “hung by Col. Ben Cleveland on the Tory Oak in Wilkesboro NC.” This must be a different generation from the “Old Ned” in the Sizemore testimony, who died in the 1850s.

Regarding the ethnicity of this family and their census labels, consider, for example, George and Owen Sizemore and their household members who are all considered white on the 1800 Ashe Co., N. C., cens. See Eleanor Baker Reeves, *A Factual History of Early Ashe County, North Carolina: Its People, Places and Events* (Dallas, Tex.: Taylor Publishing Co., 1986), 67. The 1820 cens. of Ashe Co. similarly cites the households of George (Sr. and Jr.), Edward, and Owen as white. See Dorothy Williams Potter, *1820 Federal Census of North Carolina*, vol. 2, *Ashe County* (Tullahoma, Tenn.: privately printed, 1970), 13.

5. Quoted by David Hackett Fischer, *Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (N.Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1989), 718.

Kennedy (p. 67) also proposes a deliberate fabrication of origins to explain another common type of genealogical carelessness—an alleged birthdate of 1781 for Pleasant Horne, said to be the son of Jesse Horne, born 1777.

that “American antebellum census records *consistently* described those with Indian blood” as fpc (p. 89, italics added). Placing his family into this context, he says “they and we were ‘free persons of color’” (p. 5).

In checking Kennedy’s family lines, this reviewer *consistently* found the opposite—not a single instance in which his named ancestors, from 1790 through 1900, appear in public documents as anything but white. The legal acceptance of these lines as white by local officials contrasts curiously with the author’s repeated statements that they were routinely labeled fpc.⁶ As frontiersmen and mountaineers, his named ancestors repeatedly appear as white on federal censuses. Their marriages, where separate books were maintained for “white” and “colored,” are entered in “white” books.⁷ In one case, when identifying the father of an out-of-wedlock child as “Melungeon” and “free person of color” (pp. 70–71), Kennedy does refer to a source—but misquotes the work he cites. The book is subtitled *Free Black Population of Amherst County, Virginia*, and it does mention (in other contexts) Kennedy’s claimed ancestor, David S. Garland; but it does not identify Garland as either Melungeon or fpc. In fact, it specifically indicates that he was white.⁸

PREJUDICE

Kennedy alleges, but does not document, systematic, population-wide, race-based persecution of his ancestral families. His introductory assertion that Melungeons were “a people ravaged, and nearly destroyed, by the senseless excesses of racism and genocide” (p. xiii) begs for supporting evidence—as does his contention that Melungeon families were originally large landowners, deprived and marginalized by Scotch-Irish and other northern-European settlers (p. 4).

Similarly, the author offers no evidence for his statement that “being legally declared a ‘Melungeon’ meant losing one’s land” (p. 125). He does not present one

6. As previously noted, this reviewer has not retraced the author’s lines through every available record. However, for all sources consulted and all lines traced, results were consistent. As representative examples: (1) The author repeatedly applies the term fpc to ancestral lines in Ashe Co., N.C. (pp. 46, 55–56, 69–70). While antebellum Ashe certainly had free persons of color, Kennedy’s named ancestors were not among them. The 1820 census of Ashe (as a specific) lists six fpc households—but Kennedy’s Phipps, Swindle, White, Tolliver, and Osborn families were all classed thereon as white. See Potter, *1820 Federal Census of North Carolina . . . Ashe County*, 6, 11–12, 14–16, 18–19. (2) As late as 1860, Kennedy’s Swindle line was classified as white in Western Virginia; see 1860 U.S. cens., Wise Co., Va., pp. 280–81, dwelling 110, family 110. (3) For 1870, Kennedy’s lines of Kennedy, Kiser, Mullins, Nash, Powers, and Swindle (Russell and Wise Cos., Va.), were all considered white; the Hopkinses (found by the reviewer in Pike Co., Ky.), were deemed white there also.

7. For example, see Larry and Pat Taylor, eds., *Wise County, Virginia, Marriage Register, 1887–1900* (Clintwood, Va.: Southwest Va. Ancestors, 1994); and Dorcas McDaniel Hobbs and John Walter Picklesheimer Sr., comps., *Pike County, Kentucky, Death Records, 1849–1909* (n.p.: p.p., ca. 1990).

8. Sherrie S. McLeRoy and William R. McLeRoy, *Strangers in their Midst: The Free Black Population of Amherst County, Virginia* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1993), 194, 218, 299. Garland is mentioned herein as administrator of the estate of John Redcross in 1802 and as the 1840 head of a white household that also contained 8 fpc and 40 slaves.

land grant, deed, or court case to show that his claimed Melungeon ancestral lines ever held large tracts of land or that they were deprived of them by whiter settlers. William Roberson is said to have “left Greenbriar County [Virginia] at the same time the Melungeons were being ‘evicted’” (p. 25). No evidence of any Melungeon eviction is offered. In Wise County, Virginia, supposedly, “undesirable land [was] ceded to the Melungeons in exchange for the prime property they had originally held. The . . . land where the town of Wise now sits [and] the beautiful farm country of the Powell Valley were territories well worth stealing” (p. 39). Yet no court suits, deeds, tax rolls, or land grants are cited. In repeating the family legend that “William Nash III had once owned some 6,000 acres of land, but . . . ‘gambled it away,’” Kennedy opines that it was, instead, “probably taken [from him]. . . . But to cover the truth [of their persecution] the family had to turn William III into an irresponsible reprobate” (pp. 39–40).⁹ Again, the author offers none of the court or land records or newspaper notices of public sales that genealogists routinely cite in cases such as this.

Echoing a theme popular with some writers on Southern minorities, Kennedy contends (p. 14 and elsewhere) that records are scarce because persecution caused Melungeon families to “avoid” census takers and other public officials.¹⁰ That assertion is difficult to support in this instance, because many records concerning his ancestral families are readily available. Genealogists of all families suffer lacunae in the records, but most failures to find evidence can be overcome by applying improved research skills.

Kennedy is not precise in his discussion of public laws. For example, he states that “by 1834 Melungeons had been stripped of most rights of citizenship in both Tennessee and North Carolina” (p. 15) and that “Sarah [Adkins] and husband John Bennett left North Carolina with their children in the late 1830s, *about the time that North Carolina declared Melungeons to be ‘free persons of color’*” (p. 46, italics added). North Carolina never “declared Melungeons” to be free persons of color; nor did a Tennessee statute single out Melungeons for persecution. Statutes did restrict the rights of persons who were *legally* classed as free persons of color; but the 1830s definition of that class, in both states, was the same definition established in the 1700s. In Tennessee, state law limited the term to those whose parent or grandparent was a full-blooded Indian or Negro (i.e., descent to the third degree). North

9. Nash’s wealth extended considerably beyond land. The 1840 cens. credits him with 17 slaves. He is enumerated as a white male, aged 30–40, sharing his home with a white female, aged 20–30, and a white male, aged 15–20. See Elizabeth M. Carpenter, ed., *1840 Census, Russell County, Virginia* (n.p.: p.p., ca. 1991), 16.

10. The assertions of nineteenth-century legal persecution in the adjacent counties of Wise, Russell, and Buchanan are also difficult to accept when one reads the 1880 cens. entry for Kennedy’s claimed great-great-grandparents, James Colley and Emma Farrel (whom he describes, p. 77, as “one of the ‘Black Jacksons’”). Not only did the census taker label the family *white*, but he identified their son William as the county sheriff. See 1880 U.S. cens., Buchanan Co., Va., Sand Lake Magisterial Dist., enum. dist. 16, sheet 45, dwell. 35, fam. 35.

Carolina's law extended it to "all negroes, Indians, and mulattoes . . . to the fourth generation, inclusive" (i.e., individuals with one-eighth-degree Negro or Indian ancestry). The laws of the 1830s did not affect families who were legally white, they did not change anyone's classification, and they did not mandate anyone to be legally nonwhite once they passed the point that had been defined in the 1700s.¹¹

Similarly, Kennedy reinterprets voting laws. "By a sweep of the judicial pen," readers are told, census takers arbitrarily ruled Melungeons to be free "and, presto! [they] became legally disenfranchised" (p. 12).¹² Returning later to that theme, Kennedy states that his ancestor Alexander Hall, son of Isham, rose to the rank of captain in the Confederate army but was not permitted to vote because of his status as a "free person of color" (p. 33). Yet the 1830 census of Russell County, Virginia, labels Isham Hall *white*.¹³ By the 1850 enumeration, Alexander had become a head of household—white, as were his wife, children, father, and father's family.¹⁴ Alexander's future son-in-law, Wickliffe Hendricks Nash, who also saw Confederate service (p. 33), was similarly counted as white, both in his father's household in 1860 and in his own household in 1880.¹⁵ Kennedy provides no documentation for his statement that "well into the 1900s, the Nashes and Halls were not permitted to

11. For N.C., see *Revised Statutes of the State of North Carolina, Passed by the General Assembly, 1836–37*, 2 vols. (Raleigh: Turner and Hughes, 1837), chap. 111, "An Act Concerning Slaves and Free persons of color." This source recapitulates prior laws.

For Tenn., see Return J. Meigs and William F. Cooper, eds., *Code of Tennessee Enacted by the General Assembly of 1857–'8* (Nashville: E. G. Eastman and Co., 1858), 41, 687, which recounts prior acts; Joshua W. Caldwell, *Studies in the Constitutional History of Tennessee*, 2d ed. (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke Co., 1907), 202–03; Robert T. Shannon, ed., *The Constitution of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville: Law Book Publ. Co., 1915), 374–76; and Thos. H. Coldwell, *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Tennessee during the Years 1868–9* (Louisville, Ky.: Fetter Law Book Co., 1902), 231–67.

12. Census takers, of course, did not wield a judicial pen. Their returns had no judicial authority. Again the author appears unfamiliar with record sources.

Kennedy's theme of political discrimination against his ancestors is clearly at odds here with various evidences—as, for example, the subsequently discussed election of his ancestor to the Va. state legislature (as a Democrat) in 1879. If one cannot vote, one cannot hold office.

13. Elizabeth M. Carpenter, ed., *1830 Census of Russell County, Virginia* (Clintwood, Va.: Mullins Printing Royalty, ca. 1991), 11.

14. 1850 U.S. cens., Russell Co., Va., pp. 323b–324, dwells. 1438–1439, fams. 1438–1439.

15. 1860 U.S. cens., Scott Co., Va., pp. 354–55, dwell. 816, fam. 815. 1880 U.S. cens., Wise Co., Va., enum. dist. 101, sheet 24, dwell. 249, fam. 249. Kennedy does not address the genealogical significance of the 1860 cens., which shows Wickliff Nash in the home of his father, William Nash, age 59. At that time, William apparently had a much-younger wife, Virginia, age 29. The wife and mother cited by Kennedy, Margaret Ramey, was still alive that year, because she later appears as "mother" and "white" in her son's household; see 1880 U.S. cens., Wise Co., Va., enum. dist. 101, sheet 24, dwell. 249, fam. 249. Other Rameys repeatedly appear as white on southwest Va. and eastern Ky. returns.

The following 1850 enumeration entry also should be examined carefully for relevance: 1850 U.S. cens., Scott Co., Va., pop. sch., p. 422, dwell./fam. 967: Margaret Ramey, 28, female; Louisa J., 10, female; Wickliffe, 8, male; Sally, 60, female; and Worthington Brooks, 20, male, born in N.C. All the Rameys were said to have been born in Va. Presumably all were considered white, because they, like others on the page, have no entry to the contrary in the column for race.

vote" (p. 40). If this was the case, the cause needs to be documented, because it does not appear to have been based on their racial classification in the census.¹⁶

GENEALOGY

Two sections, headed "No Place to Hide," briefly sketch Kennedy's maternal and paternal lines. Some genealogical problems are obvious, even without documentation. Other links, relationships, and conclusions do not withstand fact checking. The following illustrates the types of concerns that genealogists must address before deciding whether to add the author's conclusions to their family records.

Mullins

While writing of his multiple "shot[s] of Old Booker Mullins' genes" (p. 73), Kennedy says next to nothing about the man—only that he was born 1762, died 1864, and was "apparently from Franklin County, Virginia" (p. 47),¹⁷ a county created in 1785. A variety of records actually exists to track this man and to sort him from numerous other contemporaries of the same name. Tax records that have been conveniently published since 1972 show this Booker to be a 1789 settler of Burks Fork and Greasy Creek of Indian Ridge, in Montgomery County, Virginia¹⁸ (now the county-boundary area between Floyd and Carroll Counties, slightly above the North Carolina line). From here, Booker apparently moved south, as a subsequent census attributes to his son David a circa 1800 birth in North Carolina.¹⁹ From there, they trekked westward into Floyd County, Kentucky, where Booker's household is enumerated—as white—in 1810.²⁰ Other early-nineteenth-century censuses and land records (not discussed by Kennedy) place Booker and his grown

16. For the turn-of-the-century racial status of this family, whose "darkness" is heavily treated by Kennedy, see 1900 U.S. cens., Wise Co., Va., enum. dist. 123, sheet 3, fam. 4, dwell. 42, citing the widowed Louisa (Hall) Nash and her children as white.

17. This assumption may have been made on the basis of a birthplace provided for 67-year-old James Mullins on an 1857 marriage record. See John C. Mullins, *Wise County, Virginia, Marriage Register, 1856–1886* (n.p.: p.p., 1981), 9, no. 97.

Franklin Co. was created from Henry and Bedford Cos. Prior to that, in the 1770s, family names associated with this Mullins line appear in Henry Co. See Lela C. Adams, *Henry County, Virginia, Deed Book I and II* (Bassett, Va.: p.p., 1975), 30, 44, 82, 91; and Lela C. Adams, *1778–1780 Tax Lists of Henry County, Virginia* (Bassett, Va.: p.p., 1973), 16, 27–28, 41.

18. Nettie Schreiner-Yantis, ed., *Montgomery County, Virginia, Circa 1790: A Comprehensive Study—Including the 1789 Tax Lists, Abstracts of Over 800 Land Surveys & Data Concerning Migration* (Springfield, Va.: p.p., 1972), 98.

19. 1860 U.S. cens., Wise Co., Va., p. 325, dwell. 400, fam. 400.

A Mullins line that went from Pittsylvania Co., Va., into Burke Co., N.C., and from there into Russell Co., Va., has been put into print also. See Gary M. Mullins, "The Ancestral Lineage of Ollie Cox Mullins," *The Mountain Empire Genealogical Quarterly* 7 (Winter 1988): 218–38. This article is most helpful in distinguishing the various Mullins lines that came into Russell Co. by different routes than the one taken by Booker Mullins.

20. 1810 U.S. cens., Floyd Co., Ky., p. 105. See also 1820 U.S. cens., Floyd Co., Ky., p. 37.

children in both Floyd and its offshoot counties, Pike and Lawrence.²¹ By 1830, this Mullins family had backwashed from eastern Kentucky into southwestern Virginia's Russell County, where Booker is recorded as a free white male, aged sixty to seventy.²² He last appears, 1860, in Wise County—aged ninety-six, of Virginia birth, and still white.²³

A more-serious genealogical problem, for which the evidence apparently confused Kennedy, is the identification of Booker's wife. She is said by Kennedy (without documentation) to be "Nancy (Judith) Stanley" in each of the four tables presented on pages 48, 49, 50, and 51. However, the text at page 48 discusses her as "Booker's wife, Nancy Stanley." At page 49, the text comments: "Old Booker may have had a previous marriage, possibly before his marriage to Nancy Stanley. The name Judith Bunch, or Bench, has occasionally been tied to Booker."

Virginia's eighteenth- and nineteenth-century marriage records are highly incomplete.²⁴ Surviving records show that a Judith Stanley married one of the several contemporary Booker Mullinses during 1803 in Franklin County, Virginia. However, this is not Kennedy's ancestral couple, because this Booker Mullins is shown consistently on the Franklin County censuses from 1810 through 1860.²⁵ Meanwhile, the Booker Mullins from whom Kennedy descends obviously had married by 1790 or so, because he had a son (James) who wed in 1812 and another (Sherwood) who married in 1813.²⁶ The only evidence this reviewer has found of a Booker

21. In 1823, Booker Mullins was in the part of Floyd that had just been cut away to create Lawrence; see Clayton R. Cox, "Pike County, Ky., Deed Book A, 1820–1828," *The East Kentuckian* 22 (March 1986): 16. Joe R. Skeens, comp., *Floyd County, Kentucky, Consent and Marriage Book, 1808–1851* (Prestonsburg, Ky.: p.p., 1987), 21, shows the marriages of several Mullins men, including that of Kennedy's traced ancestor, David Mullins, to Jenny Short on 3 February 1820.

Pike Co. was created from Floyd in 1822. For more on the family's activities there, see Dorcas Hobbs, "First Tax List of 1823," in Leonard Roberts, Frank Forsyth, and Claire Kelly, eds., *Pike County, Kentucky, 1822–1967*, Historical Papers, no. 2 (Pikeville: Pike Co. Hist. Soc., 1976), 4–12 (which includes Booker Mullins, John Booker Mullins, and ten other Mullins landowners on Shelby Creek).

22. Carpenter, *1830 Census of Russell County*, 17–18.

23. 1860 U.S. cens., Wise Co., Va., p. 325, dwell. 401, fam. 401.

24. See the 1844 affidavit on this point that was published by Mary McCampbell Bell as "Who Is to Blame?" *NGS Quarterly* 75 (September 1987): 193.

25. Marshall Wingfield, *Marriage Bonds of Franklin County, Virginia, 1786–1858; Transcribed from the Original Records, Annotated and Alphabetically Arranged* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1973), 166. According to the 1850 enumeration (dwell. 1496, fam. 1490), this Booker was aged 71; his wife Judith, 67. In 1860 (dwell. 335, fam. 331), Booker was 80 and Judith was 75. See Karen Mann Robuck, comp., *Franklin County, Virginia, 1850 & 1860 Censuses* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1990), 131.

A married Judy Mullins, aged 63 and born in Va., died in August 1849 in Pike Co., Ky.; see Dorcas McDaniel Hobbs and John Walter Picklesheimer Sr., *Pike County, Kentucky, Death Records, 1849–1909* (n.p.: p.p., ca. 1990). She could not have been Judith Stanley, who married in 1803. If the death record's age is correct, it is doubtful that she bore the older children of Kennedy's Booker.

26. James Mullins married Agnes Little in 1812; see Julius Little, "Isaac Little and his Descendants," *The East Kentuckian* 21 (June 1985): 4. The actual marriage record does not list James's father. However, Sherwood Mullins was named as son of Booker Mullins when he wed Mary Roberts in 1813; see Skeens, *Floyd County, Kentucky, Consent and Marriage Book*, 21.

Mullins to Nancy [—] marriage is the 1835 union of Booker Mullins, son of Sherwood and grandson of “Old Booker,” to Nancy Potter in Pike County, Kentucky.²⁷ Chronology suggests that Kennedy attributed to “Old Booker” (born circa 1764) some of the post-1835 children of this younger Booker and Nancy Mullins.²⁸ There were also at least two, possibly three, other men named Booker Mullins in the area of eastern Kentucky and southwestern Virginia between 1790 and 1860—all classed as white.²⁹

Yet another problem relating to the author’s genealogical reconstruction of the Mullins family is his statement that the famed Mahala “Big Haley” (Collins) Mullins, of the Hancock County, Tennessee, Melungeons, “married into” the family of his own ancestor’s son, Wilson Mullins; and he cites Wilson’s birth in 1824 (p. 48). Mahala herself was born in 1824; and the 1880 census shows that her husband, John Mullins (whose identity Kennedy appears not to know), was born about 1815.³⁰ Kennedy does not show a relationship between her husband and his own family line. In any case, John was too old to have been a son of Wilson.

Mullins-Adkins-Hall

Pursuing the Mullinses through the federal censuses also yields evidence that Kennedy did not fully exploit the available sources. His genealogical table for the Hall family (p. 36) cites two consecutive Hall-Mullins marriages: Isham Hall I (dates unknown) to Mary Mullins and Isham Hall II (1785–1856) to Jane Mullins. His only statement regarding the origins of either Isham is that the one born 1785 “claimed to be from Greenbriar County, Virginia” (p. 30). For ancestor Henry

27. Clyde Runyon, comp., *Marriage Bonds of Pike County, Kentucky, 1822–1865* (Belfry, Ky.: p.p., 1984), 78, citing file no. 431.

28. Kennedy apparently confused the 26-year-old Sherrard [Sherwood] Mullins (wife Anna—i.e., Nancy—aged 22), in Booker’s 1860 household, with the much-older Sherwood who was Booker’s son. Certainly Sherrard and Anna cannot have been the parents of Andrew Jackson “Brandy Jack” Mullins, who was born in 1834 (Kennedy, p. 50).

29. Two were heads of households on the 1840 cens. of Pike Co., Ky.: one, age 40–50; another, 20–30. See Jesse Stewart and Leah Stewart, comps., *1840 Federal Census of Pike County, Kentucky* (n.p.: n.p., ca. 1990), 3. The 1850 cens. more fully identifies them as Booker Mullins (age 55, wife Mary; Floyd Co.) and Booker Mullens (age 31, wife Nancey; adjacent Pike Co.). See Barbara, Byron, and Samuel Sistler, *1850 Census, Eastern Kentucky: Counties of Breathitt, Carter, Floyd, Greenup, Johnson, Lawrence, Letcher, Morgan, Perry, and Pike* (Nashville: Byron Sistler and Associates, 1994), 68, 301.

One Booker Mullins married Polly Johnson, daughter of William Johnson, 16 April 1821; see Skeens, *Floyd County, Kentucky, Consent and Marriage Book*, p. 136. A second Booker wed Polly Newsom, daughter of Harrison Newsom, 5 December 1829; see Runyon, *Marriage Bonds of Pike County*, 43, file no. 235. Subsequently, there appears Booker Mullins Sr., age 68, b. Va., with wife Polly, age 60, b. N.C., on the 1870 U.S. cens., Pike Co., Ky., dist. 9, Robinson Creek, dwell. 26, fam. 26; and Booker Mullins, age 70, with wife Polly, 65, both born in Va., on the 1880 U.S. cens., Pike Co., Ky., 9th precinct, Upper Elkhorn Creek, dwell. 16, fam. 16. All listings identify them as white.

30. Gowen Research Foundation, Electronic Library, file GOWENMS.002, closed stacks, printout dated 30 March 1996, unpaginated. Available to foundation members via sysop, 806-796-0456. For the foundation, contact Arlee Gowen, 5708 Gary Ave., Lubbock, TX 79413. Mahala Collins was the daughter of Solomon and Virginia Jane “Gincie” (Goins) Collins.

Adkins, whose granddaughter married in 1851, the only stated origin is “1700s, North Carolina” (p. 70). Yet the 1850 census of Russell County, Virginia, is more explicit. It is one of the serendipitous enumerations on which the marshal recorded the county of birth for all persons born within the Commonwealth. Both Isham Hall and Henry Adkins are assigned a birth in Franklin County, Virginia—the place Kennedy speculates for Booker Mullins.³¹

The Adkins family sketches, brief as they are, have several other problems. Census records state that Stacy was the *given* name of Wilson Adkins’s wife,³² not the *surname*, as Kennedy gives it (p. 45). Those census records also place Stacy’s and Wilson’s births at circa 1817. Thus, it seems highly questionable that they were the *grandparents* of John Bennett Jr., who Kennedy says (without documentation) was born in 1836. Likewise, Sarah Jane Adkins, born about 1851, was probably not the great-granddaughter of “Henry Adkins and Sally Bowman” (p. 70), because the sixty-five-year-old Henry did not marry Sally (Bowman) Vance until 1857.³³ The fact that Sarah Jane was in their household in 1860 does not make her Sally’s progeny.³⁴ If the author concludes that the relationship of Henry and Sally predated their marriage, this must be documented.

Colley

There are major problems in Kennedy’s presentation of this line. Reconciling them would not only add another generation but might also alter the direction of the line. Kennedy states that his grandmother, Tessie Colley, was born in 1899 as the daughter of Major Pelham Colley (no dates) and Hester Kiser, and granddaughter of James and Emma (Farrell) Colley (p. 77). Beyond this, he provides an 1815 birth year for Emma Farrell—a point that, if correct, would require Major Colley to be born no later than 1860–65 and easily before then. But Major does not look that old in the 1902 photograph Kennedy includes (p. 80). A published study of the family reveals that in 1884 James Colley resided in Buchanan County, Virginia, which had been taken from Wise in 1858.³⁵ The 1880 census of Buchanan identifies “Magor P.”

31. 1850 U.S. cens., Russell Co., Va., p. 250, dwell. 230, fam. 230, and pp. 323b–324, dwell. 1438, fam. 1438.

32. 1850 U.S. cens., Russell Co., Va., p. 247b, dwell. 393, fam. 393; 1860 U.S. cens., Wise Co., Va., p. 311, dwell. 304, fam. 304; also 1880 U.S. cens., Wise Co., Va., enum. dist. 101, sheet 18, dwell. 187, fam. 187, for Wilson and Stacy.

33. John C. Mullins, comp., *Wise County, Virginia, Marriage Register, 1856–1886* (n.p.: p.p., 1981), 4. The adult woman listed in the Adkins household on the 1850 cens. is also identified as Sarah, age 46, born in Tenn; see 1850 U.S. cens., Russell Co., Va., p. 250, dwell. 230, fam. 230. In 1860, the Sarah in his household is listed as age 52, born in Tenn; see 1860 U.S. cens., Wise Co., Va., p. 296, dwell. 216, fam. 216. Possibly Sarah (Bowman) Vance was living with Henry, out of wedlock, in 1850; but it was not uncommon for men in this era to marry consecutive women of the same given name.

34. 1860 U.S. cens., Wise Co., Va., p. 296, dwell. 216, fam. 216.

35. Hetty S. Sutherland, “Colley Family Information,” *Mountain Empire Genealogical Quarterly* 6 (Spring 1987): 27, based on contemporary manuscripts in the Lyman C. Draper Manuscripts, State Historical Society of Wis., at Madison.

Colley as the seven-year-old son of *Jasper and Margaret Colley*, not James and Emma.³⁶ Kennedy's claimed James and Emma Colley were in the same magisterial district,³⁷ but in no census year does their household include a Jasper.³⁸

The marriage record of "M. P. Colley and E. H. Kiser" confirms that Major's parents were indeed "J. S. and Margaret."³⁹ In turn, the marriage record for Jasper Colley and Margaret Sutherland, dated 1866, identifies Jasper as a son of *John and Anna Colley*—not James and Emma.⁴⁰ Extensive interviews with Margaret (Sutherland) Colley were published in Sutherland's *Pioneer Recollections of Southern Virginia*. They, and other interviews in the same collection, indicate that in 1879 Jasper S. Colley was elected a delegate to the Virginia state legislature, as a Democrat.⁴¹ That fact stands in marked contrast to Kennedy's statements regarding ethnic prejudice against his forebears.

Jasper's birth occurred, apparently, in 1841⁴²—making his father, John, too old to have been a son of James and Emma (Farrell) Colley, whose births are placed at circa 1826 by the previously cited censuses. Thus, the issue raised by Kennedy as to

36. 1880 U.S. cens., Buchanan Co., Va., enum. dist. 16, sheet 16, dwell. 131, fam. 131, which lists Jasper S. Colley, male, 37, farmer; with Margaret, female, 34, wife, keeping house; Sumpter, 12, son; Flora M., 10, daughter; Magor P., 7, son; Rose B., 5, daughter; James L. C., 2, son; Margarate V., 1/12, b. in May, daughter. All were born in Va. of Va.—born parents. All family members were white.

37. 1880 U.S. cens., Buchanan Co., Va., Sand Lake Magisterial Dist., enum. dist. 16, sheet 45, dwell./fam. 35, shows James Colley, male, 64, farmer; Emma, female, 64, wife; William P., male, 21, son, sheriff; Mary Church, female, 15, servant. All the Colleys were born in Va. of Va. parentage—and all were white.

38. 1850 U.S. cens., Russell Co., Va., p. 252b, dwell. 426, fam. 462, lists James Colley, 34, male, farmer, \$2,000 real estate; Emma, 34, female; Orpha, 11; Martha, 9; Josephine, 7; Richard, 5; Jane, 4; and Lucretia, 2. All were born in Russell Co., Va.—and all were white. 1860 U.S. cens., Buchanan Co., Va., pop. sch., Grundy Dist., pp. 792–93, dwell. 233, fam. 233, shows James Colley, 45, male, farmer; with Emma, 45, Richard, 16; Jane, 14; Barbary, 10; Cosby, 7; Unicy, 4; and William B., 2—again, all white.

See also Jesse Stewart and Leah Stewart, comps., *1860 Census, Buchanan County, Virginia* (Clintwood, Va.: John C. Mullins Royalty, 1984), 29, and *1870 Census, Buchanan County, Virginia* (Clintwood, Va.: John C. Mullins, ca. 1986), 42.

The Josephine of the 1850 James Colley household was roughly the same age as Jasper. However, "Josephine" was not the enumerator's misrendering of "Jasper." This Josephine married at "age 16," on 11 March 1858, to Jonathan Sifers. As Josephine "Scyphers," she was interviewed by local historians in 1921, 1922, and 1931. For the marriage record, see Rhonda S. Roberson, *Marriage Register 2 of Russell County, Virginia: 1853–1870* (Clintwood, Va.: Mullins Printing, ca. 1991), 19. For the interviews, see Elihu Jasper Sutherland and Hetty Swindall Sutherland, *Pioneer Recollections of Southwest Virginia* (Clintwood, Va.: Mullins Printing, 1984), 326–28.

39. Nancy Clark Baker, *Dickenson County, Virginia, Marriage Register, 1, 1880–1900* (Wise, Va.: *The Southwest Virginian*, ca. 1986), 83.

40. On 22 December 1866, Jasper Colley, age 26, single, son of John and Anna, married Margaret Sutherland, 20, single, daughter of James and Nancy. See Otis R. Yates and Linda R. Yates, comps., *Some Marriages Recorded in Buchanan Co., Virginia, 1858–1884; Some Deaths* (n.p.: p.p., ca. 1990), 17.

41. Sutherland and Sutherland, *Pioneer Recollections*, 62–64, 67.

42. Jasper S. Colley, wife Margaret, and their younger children are on the 1900 cens. of Dickenson Co., Va., whereon he is said to have been born in Va. during December 1841, to be age 58, and to have been married 33 years. Both of his parents are said to have been Va. natives also. See Joan (Short) Vanover, Barbara (Kendrick) Vanover, and Gregory Lynn Vanover, *Dickenson County, Virginia, 1900 Census* (Pound, Va.: p.p., 1984), 22.

whether Emma Farrell's mother was "one of the 'Black Jacksons'" (p. 77) is irrelevant to his lineage. It would appear from the oral histories presented by Southerland that John Colley was a brother of James.

Hopkins

The Hopkins line is shown with no dates—just question marks—for the three generations outlined prior to the birth of the 1899 ancestor (p. 54). Yet there is no apparent reason for the omission. The author knew the residential location. A ten-minute check of the 1880 Soundex for Kentucky would have located the family households under consideration and provided at least an approximation of the needed data.⁴³

Horne

Various inconsistencies appear in this family line. Kennedy states that Jesse Horne supposedly was born in 1777 and Pleasant Horne in 1781, "which would have made him fourteen [sic] at his son's birth" (p. 67). Since Kennedy provides no citation to the source of the information on Pleasant Horne's supposed parentage and Jesse Horne's supposed age, the reader cannot decide whether the author's math is wrong or whether one of the dates is merely mistyped. However, there is no reason to assume that it represents deliberately "fabricated roots" to hide Melungeon origins (p. 67). Pleasant Horne is counted as white on the Russell County censuses of at least 1830, 1850, and 1860, as are all other Horne family members in those counties.⁴⁴

Kiser

In the Kiser family, both generational confusion and incomplete research appear again. Kennedy shows the Reverend Elihu Kiser as a son of Joseph Kiser and Susannah Stacey, for whom he has no dates (p. 79). Other, more explicit, family accounts place Elihu Kiser as a son of Abednego and Mary (Jessee) Kiser, and a grandson of Joseph Kiser and Susannah Stacey.⁴⁵ For the Reverend Abednego Kiser and his wife Margaret Jessee (p. 79), another direct ancestral couple, Kennedy's

43. U.S. cens., Floyd Co., Ky., enum. dist. 35, sheet 24, dwells. 190–191, fams. 191–192.

44. Carpenter, *1830 Census of Russell*, 12. 1850 U.S. cens., Russell Co., Va., p. 257, dwell. 520, fam. 520. 1860 U.S. cens., Russell Co., p. 216, dwell. 1457, fam. 1457.

There are three incompletely documented but nonetheless useful articles recently published on the Hornes: Emory L. Hamilton, "The Horne Family of Southwest Virginia," *Mountain Empire Genealogical Quarterly* 4 (Summer 1985): 115–24; Robert D. Plumlee, "The Horn Family," *Mountain Empire Genealogical Quarterly* 7 (Spring 1988): 2–5; and Helen Peoples, "Horne Family Information," *Mountain Empire Genealogical Quarterly* 7 (Summer 1988): 123–31. Plumlee and Peoples trace this Horne line to Goochland Co., Va. From there, it passed through Louisa Co., Va., and Surry Co., N.C. Jesse Horn is a head of household in Stokes Co., N.C., on the 1790 cens.; so he was almost certainly older than thirteen at that date. He had settled in Scott Co., Va., by 1820.

45. Vivian Dickison Bales, "Keyser/Kiser," *The East Kentuckian* 28 (December 1992): 4.

table shows only question marks for years of birth and death—although the couple appears regularly in the census records.⁴⁶

Miscellaneous Problems

Other statements indicate that the author is unaware of common genealogical factors. In addition to the suppositions of racial cover-up because of spelling variations in surnames, Kennedy asserts that Virginia residents marrying in contiguous Kentucky counties in the second half of the nineteenth century did so to avoid Virginia's supposedly more-restrictive miscegenation laws (pp. 36–37). However, the published Wise County, Virginia, marriages reveal that the practice of marrying across the state line went both ways;⁴⁷ and Pike County, Kentucky, marriage bonds indicate that the practice there was shared by many families Kennedy does not classify as “Melungeon.”⁴⁸ Cross-border marriages are commonly found in the course of genealogical research and often stem from such geographic factors as flooded streams, washed-out bridges, and impassable roads—or the ordinary convenience of an individual family's access to one courthouse over another.

Other errors should have been caught by more-thoughtful proofreading. Dick Colley's wife is said to be *Christina* (Crissa) Counts in one place and *Lucretia* “Crissa” Counts just eleven lines later (p. 77).⁴⁹ After two listings of “‘Preacher’ John Hopkins + [wed] Hannah Osborne,” a third shows “‘Preacher’ John Osborne + Hannah Osborne” (pp. 54–55). Kennedy states that Ida M. (Powers) Kennedy “died in childbirth bringing [his] tenacious grandfather into the world.” Yet the same page offers a formal family photograph that, the caption says, shows Ida holding this same child—a large baby, already sitting erect (p. 72). Kennedy comments that the photograph “shows the tired, battered face of a much older woman” than the nineteen-year-old Ida supposedly was, and he attributes this to the difficulties of Melungeon existence. It would seem more logical that the woman was someone else—perhaps a grandmother who helped to rear the children after the young mother's death.

46. Margaret L. Jessee appears with her parents in 1850. See 1850 U.S. cens., Russell Co., Va., pp. 221b-222, dwell. 55, fam. 55. Abednego is also listed in his parents' household: p. 254b, dwell. 488, fam. 488. In 1860, they appear as a married couple; see 1860 U.S. cens., Russell Co., p. 51, dwell. 328, fam. 328. They are also listed for 1880 and 1900. In all years they are identified as white.

47. Mullins, *Wise County, Virginia, Marriage Register, 1856–1886*, passim.

48. Runyon, *Marriage Bonds of Pike County, Kentucky*, passim.

49. The 1850 cens. entry for Richard Colley names the adult woman in his household, probably his wife, as *Lucretia*; see 1850 U.S. cens., Russell Co., Va., pp. 252b–253, dwell. 463, fam. 563. The context of the household raises the possibility that *Lucretia* was a second wife.

Kennedy perhaps drew the name *Christina* from Mary D. Fugate, comp., *Implied Marriages of Russell County, Virginia: Maiden names of wives mentioned in the wills and deeds of Russell County prior to 1860, and in the earliest records of Lee and Scott counties, formed from Russell in 1793 and 1814 respectively* (Athens, Ga.: Iberian Publishing Co., 1991), 14. There, Richard Colley is said to be married to *Christina* or *Christiner*, daughter of John and *Margaret* Counts. However, Kennedy gives the name of John Counts's wife and *Chrissa* Counts's mother as *Mary Magdaline* (p. 77).

The index is seriously incomplete, particularly as to personal names of Kennedy's ancestors. In the sixty pages that comprise the two "genealogy" chapters, the indexing covers only people who are *not* ancestors—with just four exceptions: two Colleys who were said to have had military experience earned an index entry, as did two Mullenses, to whose name the word *gene* is attached. It is inconceivable that the author considers all his forebears less worthy than the pirate Redbeard or El Cid (both of whom merited an entry).

The appendix offers several lists of surnames associated with seven well-known triracial groups of the South. The source of the data is not referenced. Some were apparently taken from Gilbert's 1948 *Surviving Indian Groups*, but a number of other names are added without distinguishing them from those Gilbert documented.⁵⁰

HISTORICAL ORIGINS

Kennedy introduces his thesis (p. xiii) with an identification of Melungeons as "a people of apparent Mediterranean descent who may have settled the Appalachian wilderness as early as 1567—some forty years before Jamestown" (p. xiii). In support, he refers to a post-Revolutionary report by John Sevier of a Tennessee settlement of Indians with unusual skin color—although his source for Sevier's account (the first of his often-irrelevant or unreliable footnotes to general history) is a 1963 newspaper write-up. Apparently, he did not consult a dependable version of Sevier's observations.

His final two chapters—titled "Genesis: From Whence We Come" and "Putting it All Together"—survey six prevailing theories about Melungeon origins and add more of his own. They also demonstrate a lack of understanding of various cultures about which he writes. From the late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth centuries, to which he traces his family lines (however sloppy the presentation), Kennedy plummets back through time to the eighth century to discuss Spanish Moors, the Ottoman Empire, Turkish naval heroes, and early Portuguese explorers. To bolster the credibility of his proposed connections, he converts the given name of a well-known Melungeon, "Vardy" Collins, to the Arabic *Navarrh* (p. 18), rather than to the solid pioneer *Vardeman* that the man actually was.⁵¹ Common British American surnames such as Bell, Collier, Collins, Moore, Osborne, Perry, and Rivers become Spanish and Portuguese. Common Southern given names such as Sylvester, Louisa, and—yes, even Elvis—are offered as evidence of Mediterranean ancestry.

50. William Harlen Gilbert Jr., *Surviving Indian Groups of the Eastern United States: From the Smithsonian Report for 1948, Pages 407–438* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949). The Melungeon surnames listed by Gilbert are Bolen, Collins, Denham, Fields, Freeman, Gann, Gibson, Goins, Gorbens, Graham, Lawson, Maloney, Mullins, Noel, Piniore, Sexton, and Wright.

51. For an introduction to the Vardeman family of Baptist ministers who left so many namesakes on the frontier, see J. H. Spencer, *A History of Kentucky Baptists, from 1769 to 1885, Including More Than 800 Biographical Sketches*, 2 vols. (Cincinnati: J. R. Baumes, 1885), 1: 232–33. See also Gowen Research Foundation, Electronic Manuscript, 15 November 1994, p. 8.

Pursuing this theme, Kennedy contends that Melungeons were named for historic sites in Spain and quotes another confused writer's statement that Spanish and Portuguese settlers in America named children for cities or regions back home (p. 107). To the contrary, Catholic churches and settlements in Catholic countries traditionally have been named for saints, and Catholic canons historically have required that children be given saints' names at baptism. And among early Catholic immigrants to the New World, children commonly were named by and for their godparents, not by parents nostalgic over their own birthplaces.

Amid these theories, Kennedy leaps around from Moorish pirates to Sir Walter Raleigh's "lost colony," to "Moorish French Huguenots," to Berber captives in Brazil—with an excursus to New Amsterdam. Historical accuracy continues to suffer from careless interpretations of events unfamiliar to the author—for example, the assertion that "in the late 1780s [*sic*] a group of French Acadians escaped from their English captors in South Carolina and disappeared into the Appalachians" (p. 44). That date is three decades *after* the Acadians were shipped from Nova Scotia and were detained briefly on the beaches of South Carolina. From there, two small bands did escape, during winter, and struck out overland for French settlements in Ohio; only two individuals are known to have survived the hard trek. To assume that the majority simply abandoned their relatives along the way, to stay with the Indians, is to misunderstand gravely the piously Catholic, tightly intermarried Acadian families. In any event, white Acadians would not add swarthinness to Appalachia.⁵²

In sum, Kennedy seems to conclude that Iberian settlers mingled with the "Powhatan-Pamunkey-Moorish [*sic*] population" of pre-colonial Virginia, then with other racial groups, to create the "Melungeon characteristics of olive, ruddy, and copper-colored skins . . . blue and brown eyes . . . and wavy and straight black, as well as reddish-tinted, hair" (p. 124). Phoenician seamen, shipwrecked Portuguese, Spanish soldiers, Arabic galley slaves of Sir Francis Drake, and a host of Indian tribes are added to the array of potential—although undocumented—"Melungeon" ancestors.

Kennedy also concludes that "tracking the movements of Melungeon families is not easy . . . we [*sic*] moved from region to region and intermarried with so many diverse cultures" (p. 142). In no way could his family's frequent migrations be considered out of the ordinary in comparison to other Southern frontier families—and his ancestors were definitely not from obscure or nearly invisible families. Many were prominent early pioneers of Appalachia. Some held public office. And skilled

52. For a better understanding of the Acadians, see the various studies published by the leading Acadian scholar, Carl A. Brasseaux—particularly "*Scattered to the Wind*": *Dispersion and Wanderings of the Acadians, 1755–1809* (Lafayette, La.: Univ. of Southwestern Louisiana, 1991), and *The Founding of New Acadia* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1987).

genealogists are demonstrating that the origins of these pioneers are traceable. Several lines have been published in local histories and historical periodicals.⁵³ The sheer size of the families means that properly documented genealogies will be challenging undertakings. However, their region has experienced comparatively little record loss. Sound studies can be accomplished—if one focuses upon actual evidence, rather than exotic, far-flung myths.

The author's theme of ancestral persecution by other community settlers is difficult to uphold. The early families of which he writes were large ones, moving in groups to areas they thickly settled; their numerous children married into other pioneer families of Appalachia. After eliminating the collateral relatives, who was left to oppress them? Kennedy's own accounts of twentieth-century oppressions and slights reveal that members of these families who had risen in social rank were among those who discriminated against those of lesser social rank. The question arises whether the issue of prejudice was one of ethnicity or socioeconomics.

If the motto of Romantic literature was "any time but now, and any place but here," then Kennedy's motto appears to be, "any ancestry is preferable to northern European." This leads to serious disconnects among his themes of one specific family, general Melungeon origins, and U.S. attitudes on ethnicity. While pushing extreme political correctness in lamenting how whites oppressed the Melungeons because of their dark skin,⁵⁴ he has—through his redefinition of the word *Melungeon*—essentially invented a "new race" (p. xiii), a new and historically non-existent oppressed minority that belies his own ancestry.

53. In addition to those previously cited, see *The Heritage of Wise County and the City of Norton, 1856–1993*, vol. 1 (n.p.: Wise Co. Hist. Soc., ca. 1993), 368–72; Ginger Rose Senter, "The Kennedys of Dickenson County, Virginia," *The Mountain Empire Genealogical Quarterly* 3 (Winter 1984): 253–54; John C. Mullins, "Ancestry Chart," *Southwest Virginia Ancestors* 2 (Winter 1988): 6–10; and Geneva Stamper, "Stamper Family," *Southwest Virginia Ancestors* 3 (Summer 1989): 33–38.

54. On this theme, Kennedy makes much (pp. 86–89) of a list of mixed-race names circulated in 1943 by W. A. Plecker, M.D., State Registrar of Vital Statistics for the Commonwealth of Virginia—decrying that "this twisted human being" should not have been allowed such "brutal and punitive control" over Kennedy's people. Curiously, the Plecker list includes only one of the southwestern Virginia surnames that appear on Kennedy's family tree (Mullins); and in that case, Plecker specified that it referred to "chiefly *Tennessee Melungeons*" (italics added), not to Va. Mullinses. (A copy of this document is in the files of the reviewer.) To quote the common genealogical caution, "the name's the same" does not mean the *family* is.

On the theme of ethnic persecution, readers should be aware that Plecker's attempt to identify light-skinned Va. families with African ancestry was not a rare incident directed at Melungeons or the Va. Indians whom Kennedy embraces. Similar efforts were conducted by various state registrars who certainly had no known Melungeons in their midst. The trend was an ill-designed and ill-fated offshoot of the eugenics movement that flourished in the early-twentieth century but died out in the wake of World War II, as the public became aware of excesses such as those attempted by Plecker. For more on the subject, see Thomas H. Roderick et al., "Files of the Eugenics Record Office: A Resource for Genealogists," *NGS Quarterly* 82 (June 1994): 97–113.

Book and Media Reviews

GENETIC GUIDES

Genetic Connections: A Guide to Documenting Your Individual and Family Health History. By Danette L. Nelson-Anderson and Cynthia V. Waters. Published by Sonters Publishing, Post Office Box 109-100; Washington, MO 63090; 1995. 301 pp. Appendixes, charts, glossary, index. Softback, \$34.95; hardback, \$39.95; concealed Wire-O Bound hardback, \$44.95. Accompanying Completer Set that includes forms and materials: softback, \$20.00. (Shipping: \$5.50 each book; \$7.50 for book and Completer Set).

Like most works by serious researchers, this award-winning guide underwent extensive peer review before it went to press. Its twenty-one prepublication critics include medical doctors in the fields of cardiology, endocrinology, family practice, gastroenterology, medical genetics, neonatology, neurology, obstetrics and gynecology, ophthalmology, pediatrics, psychiatry, and urology; two registered nurses with education specialties; and other health-care professionals with doctorates in molecular genetics and dental science, and master's degrees in genetic counseling and occupational therapy. To say that this text was well previewed is an understatement, attesting the thoroughness the authors put forth in presenting a correct and concise approach to learning about the human body.

As the book's content unfolds, readers are guided into a systematic method of recording and maintaining a family health history. The foreword by Carol Isaacson Barash, Ph.D., a genetics, ethics, and policy consultant, discusses confidentiality of genetic and medical information and explains the difference between the two—both of which are needed for a family health project. Three subsequent units, comprising the bulk of the book, well prepare genealogists who seek an understanding of their genetic heritage.

"Your Unique Health History," unit 1, covers human genetics and such individualized personal health information as birth history and life style—with instructions for collecting basic genealogical information.

"Your Body Systems," unit 2, comprises a series of chapters with brief but clear treatments of the anatomy and physiology of ten body systems—blood and immune, cardiovascular, endocrine, gastrointestinal, integumentary, musculoskeletal, nervous, reproductive, respiratory, and urinary—as well as sections on eyes, ears, and mental illness. Included are explanations of dysfunctional conditions resulting from birth and structural defects and discussions of diseases and disorders of each particular system, with inherited disorders noted in particular. Each chapter ends with a set of instructions to follow and a series of questions to be answered—and therein lies the beauty of this book. Serious readers who have completed the required activities for each chapter will be, upon reaching chapter 18, ready to initiate their family's health-history pedigree.

"Your Health Pedigree," unit 3, offers worksheets, graph paper, diagrams, charts, symbols, and sample instruction for the development and maintenance of a linear health pedigree. Although the format of the worksheet is not one genealogists usually employ, it is a different means to the same end—and it works. The completed family-health pedigree denotes clinical conditions and presents the generations vertically and horizontally. Six appendixes, the bibliography, a glossary of medical terms, and a serious index add to the value of the work.

Denton A. Cooley, M.D., surgeon-in-chief at the Texas Heart Institute in Houston and one of the manuscript reviewers, has stated, "Everyone who reads this book will learn more about how the human body should function and what can cause it to dysfunction. Included are instructions for creating a family health history and determining individual health risk. In 1992, medical genetics was officially recognized as a bona fide specialty in clinical medicine. Maybe it's now time for each of us to examine our own genetic health history." To that statement this reviewer can only add, "Amen." The text is extremely well done, the information is correct and necessary, and the approach is direct and inclusive. As a family historian and a teacher of genetics and human biology for over thirty years, I recommend without reservation this text and its methodology to everyone interested in establishing their family's health history.

University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa

Joan Kirchman Mitchell, Ph.D.

How Healthy Is Your Family Tree? By Carol Krause. Published by Simon and Schuster; New York; 1995; purchase through bookstores. 167 pp. Diagrams. Softback, \$12.00.

Published as "a complete guide to tracing your family's medical and behavioral history," this easy-to-read, easy-to-understand book has many assets. Krause writes smoothly, and the engaging sections about her family's medical history create interest in compiling one's own family medical profile.

Krause's very basic chapters on information sources do not pretend to be a complete genealogical guide. There is a resource section of death certificates (addresses of vital-records bureaus in each state), sample letters for requesting various documents (usually from the National Archives), and some examples of information analysis. The problems of obtaining hospital files are stated honestly. The final third of the book, the behavioral history, is quite unusual in that it discusses genograms, in which psychological information and social relationships are superimposed on a genetic pedigree.

This guide could easily have been better than it is. A few of the medical details are erroneous, but the real disappointments are the diagrams and illustrations. An inheritance diagram is wrong, and family-tree diagrams have inconsistencies that are confusing or misleading. There are genetic diagrams with siblings connected from the top, from the bottom, and from the side as though they had married each other. In spots, the text says one thing, while accompanying diagrams show another. Visual aids should clarify the wording, not obscure it.

The importance of collateral relatives is stressed. The author survives today because she requested medical tests after learning of her sisters' and her cousins' medical problems. Nevertheless, the genetic diagrams focus on direct-line relatives. Cousins are rarely shown in the diagrams; even siblings are omitted in generations. Yes, genes come from the vertical relatives (parents), but they often manifest themselves earlier in the horizontal relatives—as they did in the author's sisters and cousins.

Well organized, the book uses a minimum of technical vocabulary and approaches the topics with enthusiasm and a lot of good sense. It inspires readers to construct a medical family tree and makes them believe it is doable. As a certified genetics counselor as well as a certified genealogist, I find regrettable the inaccuracies in text and art but would still recommend this book for its strengths and its very friendly price.

Irvington, New York

Anita Anderson Lustenberger, CG

PUBLICATION BRIEFS

The Cartoon Guide to Genetics. By Larry Gonick and Mark Wheelis. Published by HarperPerennial; New York; 1992; updated edition; purchase through bookstores. 215 pp. Softback, \$13.00 (U.S.); \$18.00 (Canada).

HarperPerennial advertises this work as a humorous educational tool “to explain the important concepts of classical and modern genetics.” It succeeds—for adults and for mature children. Gonick and Wheelis begin with a witty romp through history, showing how a scientific understanding of genetics eventually developed from primitive superstitions and suppositions. Moving into the present, highly technical concepts are presented in memorable caricature. If the typical biology text or genetics handbook leaves you boggled with alleles, genotypes, phenotypes, heterozygotes, and Mendelian concepts, Gonick and Wheelis's imaginative approach will have you drawing your own cartoon character saying, “Holy mitosis! This makes sense!”

Hannah's Heirs: The Quest for the Genetic Origins of Alzheimer's Disease. By Daniel A. Pollen. Published by Oxford University Press; New York; 1993; purchase through bookstores. xvi, 296 pp. Photographs. Hardback, \$25.00.

Alzheimer's disease, the most-common cause of dementia in persons over age sixty-five, currently affects three to four million patients in the United States. The author, a neurologist, frequently encountered the familial form of Alzheimer's; but his research was hampered by a lack of family knowledge. As he explains, “a patient or spouse often reported that one of the patient's parents or grandparents had also had the disease, but that they were no longer living. Rarely did our patients know the medical histories of their first cousins and virtually never of second and third cousins. . . . It could easily take five to ten years to document a useful pedigree thoroughly.” This gripping medical detective story illustrates how pedigree studies of families were combined with modern scientific techniques to locate one of the genes that causes an inherited form of Alzheimer's.

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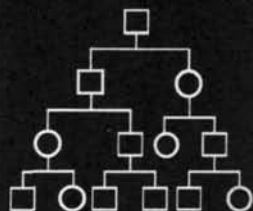
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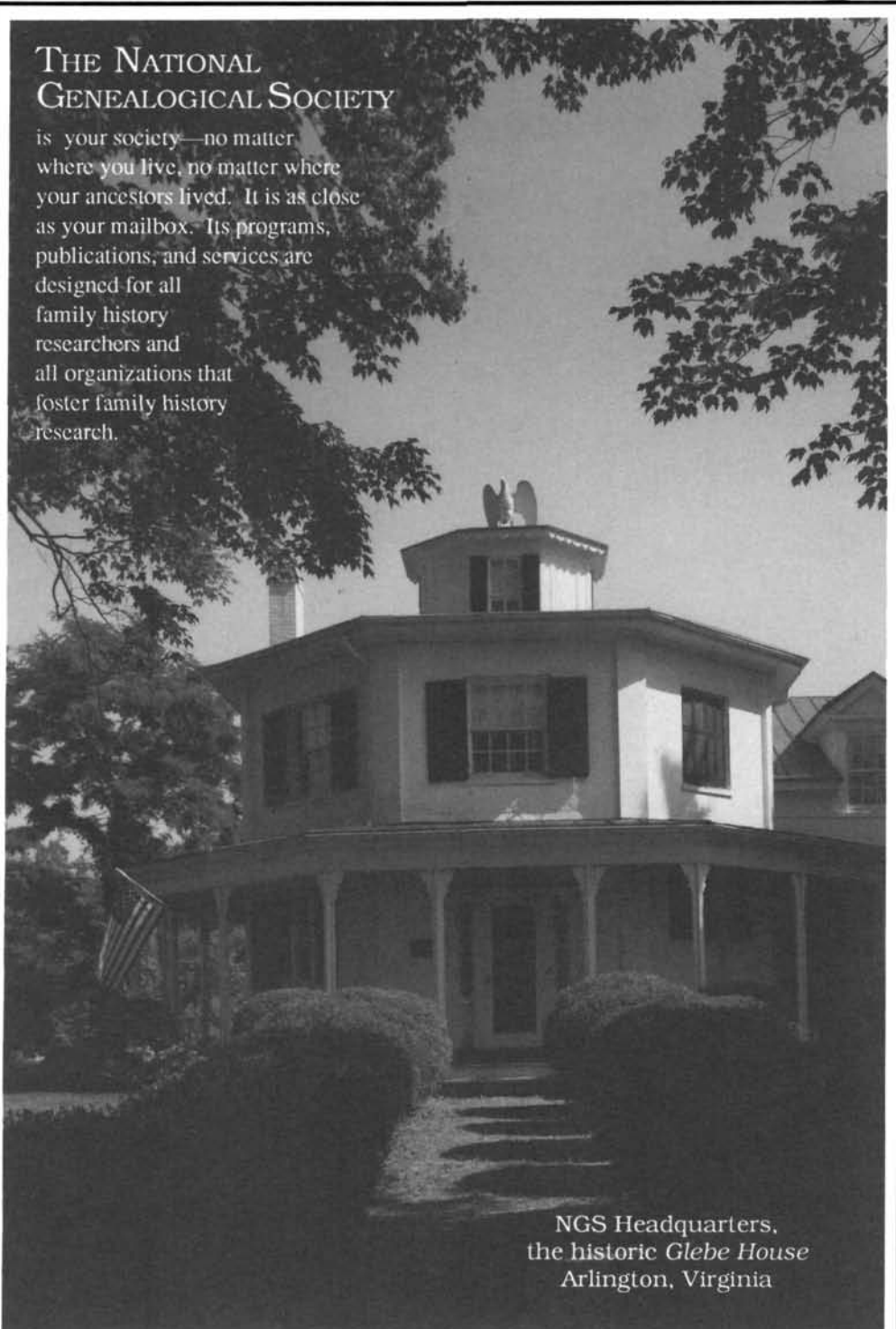


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Editors' Corner

Manners or scholarship: must we make a choice?

Our editorial mail has been mixed. A recent review essay in the *Quarterly* has prompted a number of readers to praise us for “insisting upon standards of accuracy in research.” It also prompted some others (nonmembers, with one exception) to chastise us for “poor manners.”

The matter is worth debating. Where is the line drawn between scholarship and “old-fashioned courtesy”? Is politeness more important than truth? Is accuracy more important than “family pride”?

Truth is: intellectual inquiry poses a definite conflict between *manners* and *scholarship*. We genealogists cannot plead to be excused if we expect the world to take our research seriously. Manners hold that it is discourteous to correct someone publicly (or to question someone’s ancestry, for that matter). Scholarship requires that facts be examined objectively and that published errors be corrected in print—with documentation—so other researchers can benefit from those corrections.

Throughout the ages, genealogy has been an exercise in ego and political correctness. Upwardly mobile people once picked “ancestors” of their choice and commissioned books to put their claims into print, realizing the “credibility” of the published word. Throughout the ages, genealogy also has been an instrument of ethnic persecution. The result has been errors in documentary evidence—created both by and against the persecuted—as well as errors in family tradition, as “memories” were manufactured to cast physical evidence in a more-acceptable light.

Modern genealogists face a tremendous challenge in attempting to sort fact from fiction. That effort demands thorough research, careful analysis and evaluation of all evidence, and a commitment to accuracy in our reconstructions. It also places a burden of honesty upon those who write reviews, no matter how uncomfortable that burden may be.

NGS has been classed a “learned society” for nearly a century, and its journal conforms to the standards expected of all such societies. The *Quarterly* is peer reviewed. No essay is accepted for publication unless it has passed critical scrutiny by leading scholars in its subject area. Nothing is published in *NGSQ* that exceeds the bounds of legitimate scholarly inquiry. A conscious effort is made by both writers and editors to ensure that corrections are couched as objectively as possible. But legitimate scholarship does not permit any genealogical journal to gloss over or perpetuate errors of genealogical fact in the name of “politeness.”

The noted writer Edna St. Vincent Millay once said that to write something is to appear in public with one’s pants down. It’s a point worth remembering. Writing and publishing are acts of self-exposure. When authors publish their views and conclusions, they invite scrutiny. If they err, they earn correction. Freedom and democracy, as well as historical truth, are based upon that principle.

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Common-Law Concepts for the Genealogist: Real-Property Transactions

An understanding of common law's basic concepts can enable family historians to use real-property documents with confidence and to follow effectively the legal proceedings involved. It also can point to relationships not otherwise documented and imbue a better sense of the society in which individual ancestors lived and labored.

By George R. Ryskamp, J.D., AG*

As colonial Americans conquered and organized the continent into farms and city lots, they built a legal edifice that was uniquely American. Original settlers in the French and Spanish parts of North America brought with them the civil codes of continental Europe, but the more-dominant British colonists imported and adapted England's traditions of common law. Upon the latter's foundation, real property—its acquisition and its inheritance—fueled American enterprise. As one legal scholar has observed:

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was a fundamental colonial interest in the widespread distribution of land and it seems fair to conclude . . . that “political democracy came to the United States as a result of economic democracy.”¹

An American who helped to shape its early laws wrote even more fervently:

The principles of a fee simple estate, the power of making a disposition of it . . . and the distribution of intestate real estates among all the children or relations of the last proprietor, are powerful objections to all tyranny. These principles, planted in the soil, are the seeds of genuine liberty.²

An understanding of the common-law, real-property concepts that those seekers of liberty applied and modified will give fuller meaning to details in land transactions

*332 KMB, Brigham Young University; Provo, UT 84057. Formerly a practicing attorney, Dr. Ryskamp is an assistant professor of history at BYU. He holds a doctorate in jurisprudence and is an Accredited Genealogist. Specializing in Spanish-language research and U.S. probate and legal systems, he is the author of *Tracing Your Hispanic Heritage*. The present paper is a sequel to his “Common-Law Concepts for the Genealogist: Marriage, Divorce, and Coverture,” appearing in the *NGS Quarterly* 83 (September 1995): 165–79.

1. Richard S. Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law* (New York: Octagon Books, 1974), 75, citing J. F. Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1926), 52–53.

2. James Sullivan, *History of Land Titles in Massachusetts* (Boston: I. Thomas and E. T. Andrews, 1801), 53.

that researchers might dismiss as “legal gibberish.” In addition to research clues, understanding also imparts a greater knowledge of the lives of our ancestors and the democratic society that they, consciously or not, were creating.

Extant land records tell much of the story in themselves. In language laced with feudalistic terms, Charles II of England gave Lord Baltimore a charter to Maryland in 1632, declaring the land within the new colony to be “in free and common socage.”³ Under this document, Baltimore was empowered to

assign, alien, grant, demise, or enfeoff so many, such, and proportionate Parts and Parcels of the Premises, to any Person or Persons willing to purchase the same, as they shall think convenient, to have and to hold . . . in Fee-simple, or Fee-tail, or for Term of Life or Lives, or Years; to hold of the aforesaid . . . Baltimore, his Heirs and Assigns, by . . . such Services, customs and Rents of this kind as to . . . Baltimore, his Heirs and Assigns shall seem fit and agreeable.

Grants in other colonies from New England to Virginia established English common-law patterns for holding and transferring real property in the United States. The resulting system has preserved feudalistic language but omits many of the more-archaic forms of landholding found in England. Two centuries after Maryland’s charter, an 1848 New Jersey deed still echoed that same common-law language:

the parties of the first part by these presents grant, bargain, sell, alien, enfeoff, release, convey and confirm in fee simple absolute to the party of the second part the following described lot. . . .⁴

What does this arcane language actually mean? What rights or restrictions did such terms place upon our ancestors? How might clues to relationships be eked from a better understanding of the legal system applied to property transfers?

These are questions this paper introduces. It cannot answer them all within its limited space, but the fundamentals herein covered point to a variety of expanded texts. Using them, genealogists can build a knowledge of law, in their own areas of research, that will lead them to solutions for seemingly muddled family situations.

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

Common law is the collection of English court cases that, taken together as precedent, define the rules upon which English society functioned.⁵ Most American

3. Socage was a medieval English system of land tenure, in which a tenant held land in return for a monetary payment or certain nonmilitary services to his lord. For specifics of the Charter of Maryland, see Clarence P. Gould, *The Land System in Maryland, 1720–1765* (1913; reprinted, New York: Arno Press, 1979), 9.

4. Deeds, Book Q-4: 370, Burlington Co., N.J. See also Sullivan, *History of Land Titles*, 33–47; William Waller Hening, *Statutes at Large, Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*, 13 vols. (Richmond: Samuel Pleasants, 1809–13), 1: 57–66, 88–110; and *Charters of the Province of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: B. Franklin, 1742), 3–4.

5. To summarize one 1828 legal definition: common law was “those principles, usages, and rules of action, applicable to the government and security of person and property, which do not rest their authority upon any

legislators and scholars include in the definition not only case law but also statutes and even royal decrees and charters (such as the Magna Charta) adopted by the English Parliament and kings.

Yet America's application of English common law is filled with quirks and snares. Often, a state or colonial legislature adopted common law *as it existed on a specific date*. For example, in 1822 Florida adopted "the common law of England and statutes of the realm *down to 1606*," the date of the first Virginia Charter. Other states were less specific. The Missouri Territory in 1816 adopted common law *as it then existed in Illinois Territory*; the latter had, in turn, adopted it from the Northwest Territory, which appears to have derived its concepts from Pennsylvania.⁶ California was even more vague, adopting in 1872 "[t]he common law of England" without reference to any effective date or source.⁷ Colonial legislators actually drew from a variety of legal concepts, including such alternative sources as English county law and equity law.⁸ Tempered by frontier necessities, these choices created not simply a unique American legal tradition but a singular legal system in each colony and state.⁹

Realty versus Personalty

The English jurist William Blackstone codified common law in 1766 and began his discussion of property with the following key distinctions:

The objects of dominion or property are *things*, as contradistinguished from *persons*: and things are by the law of England distributed into two kinds; things *real*, and things *personal*. Things real are . . . permanent, fixed, and immoveable, which cannot be carried out of their place; as lands and tenements: things personal are goods, money, and all other moveables; which may attend the owner's person wherever he thinks proper to go.¹⁰

To elaborate upon Blackstone: real property, or *realty*, is land and all things permanently affixed to it. All other property—cattle, furniture, money, slaves, clothing, etc.—is *personalty*. In many ways, the terms used in Latin texts better express these concepts: for realty, *immovables*; and for personalty, *movables*.

. . . declaration of the legislature. . . . It was the application of the dictates of natural justice, and cultivated reason, to particular cases." See James Kent, *Commentaries on American Law*, 4 vols. (New York: O. Halstead, 1828), 1: 439.

6. Rufford G. and Carroll G. Patton, *Patton on Titles*, 2d ed. (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1957), 13.

7. *California Civil Code* (San Francisco: Matthew Bender, 1993), sec. 22.2.

8. This diversity is discussed in Marylynn Salmon, *Women and The Law of Property in Colonial America* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of N.C. Press, 1986), xi–xvii, 1–13.

9. For a discussion of the impact of frontier life and necessities on American law, see Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law*, 17–21, 46–62, 69–102.

10. William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Law of England*, 4 vols. (1765–69; reprinted, Birmingham, Ala.: Legal Classics Library, 1983), 2: 16. Blackstone's citations are omitted from the above quote.

The distinction between realty and personalty is encountered in many records that family historians use. For example, the 1860 and 1870 federal censuses ask the values of real and personal property in two separate columns. In every American jurisdiction since early-colonial times, land records have existed to prove ownership of realty. Systems to show ownership of personalty date from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries but treat only such limited types as automobiles and corporate stock. Historically, few records exist concerning transfers of cattle, furniture, slaves, and other personal belongings.¹¹ Inheritance laws of descent (for real property) and distribution (for personal property) are treated differently in America, both in substance and procedure.¹²

The term *real* comes not from any idea that it is more tangible than personal property, but from the linguistic roots of the word *real*—i.e., *regal* or *royal*. Under feudal legal theory, the crown owned all land; and modern America is heir to that system, literally and theoretically. Nearly all its titles to real property can be traced to original grants from either the French, Spanish, Dutch, Swedish, or English sovereigns.¹³

A perpetual struggle between the crown and individual landholders over rights to use and transfer land shaped the historical development of English real-property law. Royal attempts at control throughout the late Middle Ages even mandated, for a time, the return of land to the crown upon the death of its owner.¹⁴ Modern government's ability to regulate land use; to tax landholdings; and to seize land desired for roads, parks, or other public improvements (a process called *eminent domain*) is a vestige of the total authority of the sovereign over real property.

Tenures

The concept that realty could not be owned outright by anyone but the king meant that all subjects held the land in *tenure*. That is, they received from the crown a grant to use the property in return for a duty owed him. Lords who received tenure from their sovereign then granted tenure to others in return for duties owed by those underlings. The types of tenure defined the types of service: *knighthood* was repaid with military obligations; *sergeanty* with personal service; *frankalmoign* with

11. For a practical family-history application of this distinction, consider slaves: as personalty they were frequently given to daughters, while male heirs more commonly received land. See Curtis Brasfield, "'To My Daughter and the Heirs of Her Body': Slave Passages as Illustrated by the Latham-Smithwick Family," *NGS Quarterly* 81 (December 1994): 270–82. For further examples of the legal treatment of slaves as personalty and/or realty, see Jacob D. Wheeler, *A Practical Treatise on the Laws of Slavery* (New York: Allan Polluck Jr., 1837), 36–41; and Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property*, 4–5. For an example of a law requiring the recording of all bills of sale for slaves, see John Haywood, *A Manual of the Laws of North Carolina*, 2 vols. (Raleigh: J. Gales, 1814), 1: 377 (Acts of 1787).

12. Carole Shammas, Marylynn Salmon, and Michel Dahlin, *Inheritance in America: From Colonial Times to the Present* (New Brunswick: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1987), 32–33, 64–65, 223–58.

13. For a summary of major works treating titles derived from royal land grants, see the appendix.

14. Frederick Pollock and Henry Maitland, *History of the Laws of England*, 2 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1899), 2: 1–14.

ecclesiastical services, such as saying mass; and *socage* with agricultural service or a fixed payment of money or rent.¹⁵

Of these types, only *socage* crossed the Atlantic to the new colonies.¹⁶ The duty or service required of the *socage* tenant was evident in the *quitrents* of colonial landholders, initially paid with tobacco to colonial proprietors from whom tenure of the land was received. But the concept created contention throughout the colonial period. Connecticut, by 1650, had declared its land free from all such feudal burdens. In Maryland, the imposition of higher quitrent rates from 1660 onward has been viewed as a positive good. Based on acreage purchased annually, quitrents kept down the size of parcels and produced many planters of moderate means instead of only a few very wealthy ones.¹⁷

Associated with tenure is a variety of terms that genealogists regularly encounter in American colonial and English records—particularly

Fee

The term *fee*, used in land titles, should not be confused with the general definition, *a charge for services*. *Fee*, in realty concepts, derived from the medieval word *fief*—or land held in return for service. Estates held in *fee* are also called *freeholds*.

Seisin

Seisin or *seizin* is the possession of an estate—either possession for life or an inheritable possession. *Livery of seisin* (i.e., delivery of possession), was originally the customary means of transferring tenure under common law. During a ceremony held at the property being conveyed, and in the presence of neighborhood witnesses, the grantor handed the grantee a clod of earth or a twig and stated the nature and terms of the interest or estate being transferred. While a written deed often memorialized the transaction, a record was not required. *Seisin* of the land was accomplished by the ceremonial act, not by the written deed.¹⁸

The concept of *seisin* came to the American colonies before England's 1677 adoption of the Statute of Frauds, which required that real-property agreements be in writing.¹⁹ Some conservative American lawyers argued as late as the eighteenth

15. Kent, *Commentaries*, 3: 389–413; Cornelius J. Moynihan, *Introduction to the Law of Real Property* (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1962), 10–15; Sullivan, *History of Land Titles*, 33–34.

All of the above types are *free tenures*, and all free tenures became *socage tenures* under England's 1660 Statute of Tenures. See 12 Charles II, c. 24.

There also existed in England *unfree tenures* granted to peasants called *villeins*, who lived and worked the land of a manor at the will of the lord of the manor and for his profit. Systems developed for the transfer of *unfree tenure*, called *copyhold tenure*, were not abolished until 1922, at which time all converted to *socage tenure*.

16. Moynihan, *Introduction to the Law*, 25; Sullivan, *History of Land Titles*, 65–68.

17. For Connecticut, see *The Code of 1650, Being a Compilation of the Earliest Laws and Orders of the General Court of Connecticut* (Hartford: S. Andrus and Son, 1822), 62. For Maryland, see Gould, *Land System in Maryland*, 28–59.

18. Moynihan, *Introduction to the Law*, 87–90; Sullivan, *History of Land Titles*, 62–63.

19. 29 Charles II, c. 3.

century that livery of seisin should continue to be a valid means of transfer. However, the extent of the lands to be distributed and the greater mobility of America's population required a secure system not dependent on neighborhood witnesses and the presence of both grantor and grantee at the sale. The favored method (and after the Revolution the only valid method for recording transfers in most states) was by a written deed, usually acknowledged by a public official or notary.²⁰

Incidents of tenure

Intangible rights, known as *incidents of tenure*, are retained by the grantors under common law. In medieval times, these included, but were not limited to, the right to *fealty* (allegiance), *wardship and marriage* (the right to appoint the guardian of heirs to a deceased grantee and choose whom they will marry), *relief* or *primer seisin* (payment of fees to the grantor, upon the death of the grantee, by the heirs who assumed the tenancy), *escheat* (the reversal of the land to the granting lord or sovereign if a tenant died without blood heirs), and fines for *alienation* (the transfer of the property to yet another individual). Most of these feudal burdens of tenancy were abolished by England in 1660. In America, a few colonial proprietors charged fees for alienation, as well as annual quitrents.²¹ Escheat still persists; even today the estate of a decedent without heirs reverts to the state.

Appurtenants

Other intangible rights, known as appurtenants, are associated with tenure. These often relate to the use of lands other than those being physically conveyed—such as the right to graze cattle on common pasturelands, the right to cross a neighbor's property (i.e., an *easement*) to get from the road to land held in fee, or the right to access water from a spring or stream. Once created, an appurtenant right is transferred without any more-specific reference than use of the word *appurtenances* in the transfer of the property.²²

TYPES OF ESTATES

The word *estate* comes from the Latin word *status*. In a legal sense, it signifies “the degree, quantity, nature, and extent of interest which a person has in real and

20. Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law*, 69–73. Moynihan, *Introduction to the Law*, 229–235; Sullivan, *History of Land Titles*, 13–19, 83; J. H. Beale Jr., “The Origin of the Systems of Recording Deeds in America,” *Green Bag* 19 (1907): 335 ff.; *Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts* (1848; reprinted, Birmingham, Ala.: Legal Classics Library, 1982), 13–14; *Patton on Titles*, 31–32. Mass., Conn. and Vt. discouraged livery of seisin by making it a lesser grade of tenancy. Pennsylvania, by contrast, made any deed valid, even without livery of seisin. See Thomas, *Perpetual Laws of Massachusetts*, 47; *Laws of the State of Vermont* (Randolph, Vt.: Sereno Wright, 1808), 188, passed 1797; and *A Collection of the Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania Now in Force* (Philadelphia: B. Franklin, 1742), 53, citing 4 Anne, c. 125.

21. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 2: 287–383; Moynihan, *Introduction to the Law*, 18–24; 12 Charles II, c. 24. After the Statute of Tenures, the only burdens that remained were the annual rent payment and the relief payment made when the property transferred to the heir upon death of the tenant.

22. Kent, *Commentaries*, 3: 322–85.

personal property.²³ According to Blackstone, “An estate in lands signifies such interest as the tenant hath therein; so that if a man grants all *his estate* to another, everything that he could possibly grant shall pass thereby.”²⁴ Blackstone also discusses three factors that define the nature and extent of the estate an individual owner (a *tenant* in real-property law) can possess in the land:

- the *quantity* of interest that the tenant has in the land (a *tenement* under real-property law),
- the *time* at which the quantity of the interest is to be enjoyed, and
- the *number of tenants* and the legal (not blood) relationships between them.

Fee Simple Absolute

The most-extensive interest that the socage tenant might hold has been a tenure in *fee simple*, sometimes called *fee simple absolute*.²⁵ These terms regularly appear in deeds of conveyance and other land records, usually with words of transfer such as “John Smith hereby grants the hereinafter described land in fee simple to James Jones and to his heirs and assigns forever.”

To understand the concept and the various interests it denotes, it helps to understand just how extensive fee-simple ownership is, in physical and temporal terms. Physically, the piece of land purchased by John Smith—called Blackacre in this example—can be identified on the surface of the earth. In addition to his rights to that surface, he can dig downward for a cellar or a mine, thereby utilizing the subsurface of the land. He can also build upward and utilize the air space above the land. Temporally, Smith also holds the property at this time and forever. His ownership is not stopped by his death. He has the right to bequeath or leave his fee-simple ownership to his heirs who survive him.

Family historians regularly find these physical and temporal interests expressed in various ways. A colonial deed may state that the property was conveyed to “John Smith and to his heirs,” by which it is indirectly stated that a fee-simple ownership is involved. Or a deed may state more explicitly that the property was transferred “to John Smith and to his heirs in fee.” Those words express *how much ownership* was transferred (i.e., a full fee-simple interest). They were not meant to express *to whom it was transferred*. Although heirs are coupled with the grantee in the document, they were not partners to the transaction. So long as Smith lived, those heirs had no interest in the property.

Upon John Smith’s death, if Blackacre had not been transferred to another person or given away under the terms of a will, his heirs were those individuals designated by law to receive the property of a deceased person. Defining heirs at

23. Henry Campbell Black, *Black’s Law Dictionary*, 5th ed., Joseph R. Nolan and M. J. Connolly, contributors (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1979).

24. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 2: 103.

25. Moynihan, *Introduction to the Law*, 29–32; Sullivan, *History of Land Titles*, 65–71.

common law involves a complex series of canons.²⁶ After England's adoption of the Statute of Wills in 1540, heirship was broadened to include whomever testate decedents chose as beneficiaries.²⁷ In the American colonies, if John Smith left no will naming beneficiaries, his heirs generally were defined by statute as his eldest son, all sons, and/or all children, and (if he had no sons or children) his relatives, as determined by the law. Not until the nineteenth century, generally, would his heirs have included his wife; before that, her claim was limited at most to a life estate in one-third the realty.²⁸

Finally, fee-simple ownership means that Smith had the ability to sell, give away, or otherwise transfer his property while he yet lived; any such recipient was his *assignee*. The legal language of land records will show that the property has been transferred "in fee simple (absolute) to John Smith, his heirs and *assigns* forever." Thus, the quantity of ownership in property held in fee simple includes its physical extent, its temporal extent (including postmortem distribution), and the ability to sell or otherwise transfer it at any time.

With fee-simple ownership, John also could sell limited parts of Blackacre. He might sell the mineral rights underground or divide the land into two parts on the surface and sell one to another party. He could erect a four-story building and sell a fourth-floor flat—which included, in effect, occupancy of a portion of the air thirty feet above the surface of his land. Each of these transfers could be made to the new owner in fee simple, to him and any eventual heirs, or to any assignee whom he chose before he died.

Limited fees

An estate in lands can be of lesser quantity than fee simple. John Smith's ownership of Blackacre could have been restricted to a specific period of time. Upon termination of that period, the remainder of the fee simple returned to the individual who had granted it or, if he had died, to his heirs then living. There is a maxim in the law that holds "The fee-simple tenure is always vested in someone." This means that, while lesser estates may be created—such as one for a limited time—there is always someone to whom the ownership in fee simple will revert when the time elapses. Those persons to whom property reverts are called *remaindermen*, and the remaining fee-simple interest they hold is called the *reversionary interest*.²⁹

Among the principal types of limited fees encountered in genealogical research are the following five:

26. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 2: 200–40; Charles S. Cutting, "Law of Descent and Distribution," *Modern American Law*, 15 vols. (Chicago: Blackstone Institute, 1914), 6: 5–12.

27. 32 Henry VIII, c. 1.

28. For charts setting forth the intestate inheritance laws in 1720, 1790, and 1890, see Shammass, *Inheritance in America*, 32–33, 64–65, and 223–58. For a detailed discussion of the impact of inheritance laws on women and their property rights, see Salmon, *Women and the Law of Property*, 141–84.

29. Sullivan, *History of Land Titles*, 78. For a more-detailed discussion of remainders and reversionary interests, see Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 2: 163–78, and Moynihan, *Introduction to the Law*, 110–37.

Estate for years

An *estate for years* is one in which landlords transfer use of property to tenants for a fixed period.³⁰ In the transfer agreement (lease), Smith, as lessor, might have allowed Jones, as lessee, to use Blackacre from 1 May until the next 30 April. During this time, Jones had the right to occupy or possess the property. Depending upon limiting terms in the lease, Jones might have had a right to dig minerals out of the ground or erect a dwelling or other structure. If the property was farmland, then Jones probably had the right to plant and harvest crops. At the end of the lease term—that is, on 30 April of the following year—Jones would have returned the property to Smith.

The agreement constituted an estate in that property for the term of one year. The common-law lawyer would have said that the lessee, Jones, had *possession*—i.e., a *portion* of the temporal extension of the property had been given him. But Smith continued to be seised in the fee-simple interest in the property.

Estate from year to year

A temporal estate also is delimited by a fixed term that is automatically renewable. John Smith might have allowed James Jones to occupy Blackwater for a year, with the understanding that Jones's estate in the property would automatically renew for an additional period upon payment of the rent. If the rent was not paid, Blackacre would have reverted back to Smith. Smith, as owner in fee simple absolute, also had the right at the end of the term to request a return of the property and refuse to take more rent. Under these conditions, Jones held an *estate from year to year*.³¹

In certain eras and locales, a majority of Americans held such interests for years. For example, in Maryland during most of the eighteenth century, over 50 percent of the people did not own land. Most were farmers who leased their tracts from large landowners—in many cases even directly from Lord Baltimore, the proprietor. While the Statute of Frauds in each state generally required that such leases be in writing if for a term of one year or more, there was no requirement that they be recorded. Hence, few have survived. Of those that did, most are found in the private family archival collections of the landlords or else they involve lists of leaseholders made under the quasi-governmental functions of the proprietor. When documents of this type are found, family historians will want to follow through to determine the circumstances of the property's return—bearing in mind that the reversion might have taken place many years after the death of the original lessor.³²

Estate at will

An *estate at will* is a verbal rental agreement without a fixed term, ending whenever one of the parties chooses to cancel it. In most states, modern statutes require a

30. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 2: 140–43; Moynihan, *Introduction to the Law*, 63–79.

31. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 2: 140–43; Moynihan, *Introduction to the Law*, 79–83.

32. Gregory Stiverson, "Landless Husbandmen: Proprietary Tenants in Maryland in the Late Colonial Period," in Aubrey C. Land et al., *Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1977), 197–211.

thirty-day notice to end an estate at will; however, only “reasonable notice” was required under the common law. Upon termination of an estate at will, the property—along with any changes or improvements made by the tenant—returns to the holder of the fee simple.³³

Life estate

A *life estate* is the most common and important limited estate that the genealogist will encounter while using land and probate records. As with estates in fee, a life estate is considered a *freehold* granted to an individual for a period defined by the life of that individual or the life of another—the latter being known as a life estate *per autre vie*. In colonial and nineteenth-century America, husbands often bequeathed to their wives life estates in all their property, to be delimited by the span of her life. Upon the death of that wife (or another individual whose life defined the life estate), the remainder of the fee simple returned to the individual who had granted it; if he had died, it reverted to his heirs then living. If the life estate had been created by a will, it returned to the heirs as defined by the will.³⁴

Two special life estates arose from laws associated with coverture and marital rights.³⁵

CURTESY. When a wife bore her husband a child, that husband received a *tenancy by curtesy* in all property his wife owned. This was called an *estate by the curtesy initiate* and became an *estate by the curtesy consummate* when she died. It was a life estate defined by the life of the husband, but it was one he could assign and was even subject to his debts.³⁶

DOWER. Upon the death of a husband, his widow was entitled to an *estate of dower*—that is, a life estate (for her life) in one third of all of the lands in which her husband had been seised in fee during the marriage.³⁷ Because most assignees wanted assurance that widows would not claim parts of land purchased from their late husbands, American common law has required the wife to sanction the transaction by signing the deed.³⁸ Statutory law often mandated that this be done in the form of a private examination before a judge or court clerk. This procedure

33. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 2: 145–47; Kent, *Commentaries*, 4: 109–13; Moynihan, *Introduction to the Law*, 83–85.

34. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 2: 120–26; Kent, *Commentaries*, 4: 21–27, 71–83; Moynihan, *Introduction to the Law*, 48–62.

35. For more on the genealogical implications of coverture (the concept that marriage suspends a woman’s legal existence and subsumes her into the identity of her husband), see Ryskamp, “Common-Law Concepts for the Genealogist: Marriage, Divorce, and Coverture,” 175–76.

36. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 2: 126–28; Kent, *Commentaries*, 4: 27–35; Moynihan, *Introduction to the Law*, 52–55.

37. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 2: 129–39; Kent, *Commentaries*, 4: 35–71; Moynihan, *Introduction to the Law*, 52–58; T. E. Tomlins and Giles Jacob, *The Law Dictionary Explaining the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the English Law* (N.Y. City: I. Riley, 1811), 310; Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law*, 155–56. For statutory examples, see Hening, *Statutes at Large, Virginia*, 1: 405; Thomas, *Perpetual Laws of Massachusetts*, 47; and Shammas, *Inheritance in America*, 32–33, 64–65, 223–58.

38. Kent, *Commentaries*, 4: 58; Haywood, *Laws of North Carolina*, 161; Marylynn Salmon, *Women and the Law*, 145–46.

was adopted by courts in most Southern states in the seventeenth century, but not until 1723 in Connecticut, the 1770s in Pennsylvania and New York, and the mid-nineteenth century in Massachusetts.³⁹

A life estate could be created without expressly using the term “life estate.” More often, the owner executed a deed of grant or gift to a wife, daughter, or other female relative “for her life.” Some jurisdictions (Virginia, for example) followed the traditional common-law approach, contending that a general grant lacking the specific term “to his heirs” was not a fee-simple transfer but a life estate that would revert to the grantor at the grantee’s death.⁴⁰ By following the property and identifying the remaindermen, a researcher often can identify the other heirs of the original grantor. Details as to the means by which the life estate was created, the rights of the tenant, and the definition of and distribution to the remaindermen—especially those created by curtesy or dower—varied dramatically from state to state and time to time. Researchers should check the specifics of the law then and there in force, to draw appropriate conclusions about a particular landholding.

Entailment

Estates also could be transmitted in *fee tail*—that is, a freehold estate in which inheritance rights are conditional or restricted. Generally, an *estate in tail* could descend only to a specified group of heirs; for example, “to John Smith and the male heirs of his body.” During the colonial and early-national periods, entailments usually required that there be male heirs and prohibited the gifting of the estate to other parties. However, an *estate in tail female* could have been created.⁴¹ Vestiges of the restrictive social concepts underlying entailments are more evident in the doctrines of primogeniture and other special inheritance rights in which the eldest son, or the male heirs, received larger shares than the other children.⁴²

In the late-colonial and early-national periods, most doctrines by which certain classes of heirs received preferential treatment gave way to democratic concepts of equal distribution of estates among children. However, entailed estates existed as a legal alternative in many states into the twentieth century.⁴³ Regarding the popularity of entailment, one legal historian writes:

39. For example, see *Laws of Vermont*, 195; James Bisset, *Abridgement and Collection of the Acts of the Province of Maryland at Present in Force* (Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1759), 292; Haywood, *Laws of North Carolina*, 151–53; *New York Revised Statutes*, vol. i, 742, sec. 16, as cited in Kent, *Commentaries*, 50, 58; and Hening, *Statutes at Large, Virginia*, 1: 405. See also Salmon, *Women and the Law*, 17–30.

40. Hening, *Statutes at Large, Virginia*, 1: 405; Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 2: 21.

41. Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 2: 110–19. Technically, this was not one of the original common-law estates in land; it was created in 1285 by the Statute de Donis Conditionalibus (13 Edward I, c. 1) as a replacement for the traditional estate in fee simple conditional. See Moynihan, *Introduction to the Law*, 37–40; and Sullivan, *History of Land Titles*, 73–79.

42. See Shammas, *Inheritance in America*, 32–33, for further detail on colonial inheritance laws.

43. Moynihan, *Introduction to the Law*, 41–43, gives a state-by-state analysis of the statutes eliminating estates in fee tail. See also Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law*, 76–103; and Shammas, *Inheritance in America*, 64–65, 223–58.

From Maine to Georgia the practice of entailing estates was extensive in the colonial era. An analysis of wills probated in York County, Maine, 1640 to 1760, reveals that the use of the entail steadily increased and became by no means uncommon in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. In the other New England colonies the practice of entails appears at the very beginning of settlement. The manorial and plantation systems of the middle and southern colonies were more naturally adapted for the fee tail, which was in very extensive use in those regions. It is estimated that the act of 1776 destroying entails in Virginia released from entail at least half and possibly three quarters of the entire "seated" area of the state. The confiscation of the great Loyalist estates carried out by state legislatures brought about the subdivision of vast entails, among which may be mentioned . . . the estate of the Penn family, proprietaries of Pennsylvania.⁴⁴

Other conditional or qualified estates were also possible. A grantor might entail an estate by requiring that the grantee or legatee and his heirs live on the land.⁴⁵ Or a grant to a municipality might require that the property be used for a library. Such conditional terms as a transfer "to the heirs of my body" were common, because grantors sought to restrict non-natural heirs from inheriting. If the required condition was violated or could not be met, the estate would revert to the last holder of the fee simple or (if deceased) to that person's legal heirs.

LEGAL RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MULTIPLE TENANTS

Blackstone's final concept for defining the nature and extent of an estate in land considers the number of tenants holding an interest and the legal relationships between them. Two or more individuals could together be seised of undivided interests in a fee simple. In such instances, the relationships between the multiple owners has taken one of the following forms:⁴⁶

Tenants in common

Each *tenant in common* owns an undivided interest in the whole fee, is responsible for his proportionate share of expenses and taxes, and has a coequal right to possession and use of the entire estate. Upon the death of a tenant in common, the undivided share of the deceased goes to his heirs. They receive a fee-simple inheritance, but they do so as tenants in common.

44. Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law*, 82.

45. An excellent example of how familiarity with estates in tail can solve seemingly unresolvable genealogical problems is provided by Margaret Hickerson Emory, "The Adeustone-Rogers Families of Virginia: Tracing a Colonial Lineage through Entailment and Naming Patterns," *NGS Quarterly* 77 (June 1989): 89-108.

46. The discussion that follows is drawn from Blackstone, *Commentaries*, 2: 179-99; and Moynihan, *Introduction to the Law of Real Property*, 216-36. The specific concepts varied over time and jurisdiction. For example, North Carolina in 1784 legislated that all joint tenancies should be treated as tenancies in common. See Haywood, *Laws of North Carolina*, 1: 206.

Joint tenants with rights of survivorship

Under *joint tenancy*, the rights to and responsibilities for the entire estate are the same as with tenants in common. The distinction is this: when a joint tenant dies, the property transfers by law to the surviving joint tenant(s) and not to the heirs or legatees of the deceased.

Tenants by the entirety

This shared tenancy between husband and wife results from the unity-of-person rule that created coverture. While tenants in common and joint tenants own a *share* of the whole, each tenant by entirety owns the whole. Upon death of either tenant by the entirety, the property falls to the survivor, as with joint tenants. Furthermore, neither tenant by the entirety can transfer a fee-simple interest in the property without the consent of the other. A transfer without such consent would create a life estate, good for the life of the transferring spouse, with the nontransferring spouse as the remainderman.⁴⁷ Again, researchers should watch for the practical result—i.e., the spouse should have signed off on these transfers, except in a few states that allowed a husband to convey a fee-simple estate without the wife's consent.

SYSTEMS FOR RECORDING REAL-PROPERTY TRANSACTIONS

The creativity that early Americans showed in their adaption of common law is notably evident in their system for recording real-property transactions. In the colonies, where landowners proliferated and the population was mobile, the verification of land ownership needed a process far more secure than common law's livery by seisin.⁴⁸ The essential features of the system that developed in America are as follows:

- The document of record is a *deed*—an operative instrument of transfer, not a mere memorandum.
- The deed takes effect without recording.
- The record is not merely a preservation of evidence; it actually gives the grantee precedence over other claimants to the property who record after he does.⁴⁹

As early as 1634 in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, registration of land began. In 1640 the colony's general court adopted the concept of giving priority to recorded grantees; those who failed to record their purchases could lose their titles to any later purchaser of the same property, if the later purchaser filed his instrument first and did not know of the earlier sale. Soon thereafter, Massachusetts added another requirement: the grantor's signature must be witnessed and acknowledged by a government official or notary public.⁵⁰ These Massachusetts precedents became law

47. Moynihan, *Introduction to the Law of Real Property*, 229–35.

48. Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law*, 69–73; Sullivan, *History of Land Titles*, 13–19.

49. Beale, "Origin of the Systems of Recording Deeds in America," 335 ff.

50. *Laws and Liberties of Massachusetts*, 13–14; Patton on Titles, 31–32; Sullivan, *History of Land Titles*, 83.

throughout British America in the seventeenth century, with one notable exception. The Southern colonies did not follow the Massachusetts concept of priority to the recorded grantee. Virginia in 1639 set the Southern precedent before the Massachusetts action of 1640. If a Southern grantor conveyed property to a grantee who left the deed unrecorded and if the grantor later conveyed the property to a second grantee who did record his instrument, the first purchaser still had the stronger title.⁵¹

Researchers should understand that a property could be transferred legally without recording a deed or even without a written deed. If a transfer took place by oral agreement (with or without livery of seisin) and if it went uncontested, the transaction became a part of the *chain of title* (the recital of transfers dating back to the original acquisition from the sovereign). Reference to this unrecorded transaction can sometimes be found in the property's subsequently executed deeds—a situation that underscores the importance of tracing ancestral property forward in time as well as backward.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION

In working with legal records, especially land conveyances, genealogists will want to read thoroughly the language of each document. They will make careful distinctions between fee-simple transfers and such limited titles as life estates, estates for years, and estates in tail or on condition. If a legal situation in a document is unclear, they will consult *Black's Law Dictionary* for the meaning of specific terms appearing in the record.⁵² If the transaction is still not clear, they will read pertinent chapters or articles in Blackstone's or Kent's *Commentaries*, in legal treatises such as Moynihan's *Introduction to the Law of Real Property*,⁵³ or in legal encyclopedias published in the late-nineteenth or early-twentieth century.⁵⁴

Genealogists also should check the early statutes for the state of interest, to determine the law applicable at the time the relevant documents were prepared. Understanding the legal concepts that produced the documents can help family historians know what transpired, how the parties were related, and where to look for other records. The law behind those documents can point to blood or marital

51. Hening, *Statutes at Large, Virginia*, 1: 227; *Laws of Vermont*, 189–90; *Connecticut Code of 1650*, 86–87; Thomas Herty, *Digest of the Laws of Maryland* (Baltimore: Warner and Hanna, 1799), 159–60; Haywood, *Laws of North Carolina*, 100–3; *Collection of Laws of Pennsylvania*, 147–49.

52. *Black's Law Dictionary*, 4th ed. rev. (St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1968), is recommended. While later editions are currently being published and sold, the 4th ed. is the most valuable for historical research. It can still be found in most libraries and some used bookstores.

53. This writer is grateful to the anonymous reviewer of an early draft of this article, who called attention to this small but excellent volume. The 1962 edition of Moynihan is cited here because it is most likely to be found in most law libraries. A 1987 revised edition can still be purchased from the publisher.

54. An excellent example is *Modern American Law* (Chicago: Blackstone Institute, 1914). Its 15 volumes contain articles covering all areas of the law, with extensive commentaries on traditional common-law approaches and examples from early-twentieth-century statutory and constitutional law. It heavily emphasizes the midwestern states.

relationships that the creators of the document did not feel a need to state explicitly.

Numerous legal publications chronicle the laws of each jurisdiction. A large law-school library offers the most options for exploring these. However, many counties maintain law libraries for use by attorneys and the public, usually housed in or near the county courthouse. Here, researchers might find one or more of the following types of resources:

Legal treatises

Relevant volumes are found most easily by doing a keyword search in the computerized card catalog under "law," "real property law," or "compiled laws" and the name of the state. Many of these for the colonial and early-national periods are widely available on microfiche in the collections known as *Evans' Early American Imprints (before 1801)* and *Shaw and Shoemaker's American Imprints, 1801–1829*.⁵⁵

Annotated codes

Legal codes have been compiled periodically in every state. Each edition presents the laws current at that time, with an annotation attached to each law to chronicle its adoption and adaptations. Researchers may consult either a code published in the era of their interest or a modern code (if the law in question is still in effect) and work backward through the changes to the needed point in time.

General-session laws

As the legislatures of each state created or changed laws, they were numbered and published in the order of adoption. The original editions of the session laws are available in many law libraries. Other facilities offer a more-recent series known as *Session Laws of American States Prior to 1900*.⁵⁶ Using these to determine the law at a particular time, researchers begin at the date of the document of interest and work back in time, combing the index or table of contents for statutes that antedate the document and are applicable to the questions raised.

When working with recorded documents, researchers also should consider more fully the property's chain of title. A person usually appears at least twice therein, first as grantee and then as grantor. Careful genealogists attempt to document both

55. Beginning in 1954, Readex Microprint Corporation and the American Antiquarian Society published a microprint set reprinting all nonserial publications printed in the United States before 1801. Called *Early American Imprints*, this set (available in large public and university libraries) is indexed by specific titles on library computer catalogs and by a printed index, Clifford K. Shipton and James E. Moore, *National Index of American Imprints through 1800*, 2 vols. (Boston: American Antiquarian Soc., 1969). *The Early America Imprints*, Second Series, covers the years 1801–19, with indexes for each year by Ralph R. Shaw and Richard H. Shoemaker, *American Bibliography: A Preliminary Checklist* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1958–66), and a comprehensive index covering all volumes, by Frances P. Newton and Ralph R. Shaw, *American Bibliography: A Preliminary Checklist, 1801–1819* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1983).

56. *The Session Laws of American States and Territories Prior to 1900* (Westport, Conn.: Redgrave Information Resources, [various dates]). For a list of such printed laws available, see Arlene Eakle and Johni Cerny, eds., *The Source* (Salt Lake City: Ancestry, 1984), 182.

ends of the ownership period and any intervening actions, because one record may give more or different information than another. Researchers also check to be certain that the entire property which came into ancestral possession had been transferred out at the apparent end of the ownership period. In many cases, only a part of the property was conveyed and the other part was not relinquished until years later—often after the owner’s death or migration to a different state.

Because transfers sometimes took place without recording, one should also trace the origin of all the various interests in a piece of land. Often, the existence of an unrecorded transaction, or even an oral transfer, becomes obvious in the process of tracking ownership of the larger parcel and its parts. The search may reveal previously unknown family relationships, such as father-in-law to son-in-law, that were the basis of the trust in an unrecorded transfer.

Identifying the specific property being transferred is essential to tracing the pertinent portions of the chain of title, as well as to knowing whether to look for other recorded documents. To do this effectively, researchers must be able to find, understand, and even map each property’s unique legal description.⁵⁷ That description will be composed in one of three ways:

Metes and bounds

This is the common form of real property description used in records of the original thirteen colonies, as well as Hawaii, Kentucky, Maine, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, West Virginia, and parts of Ohio. Metes-and-bounds descriptions combine degree references with physical landmarks and measurements. This format also appears in other states, in conjunction with the two concepts below, to describe divisions of parts of a lot. A typical description reads: “beginning at a stone in the middle of the public road, corner to a lot of land late of Peter Price, running thence by Henry Games’ parcel, S 52° W 18 chains to a cypress. . . .”

Rectangular government surveys

All states other than those above (parts of Ohio included) use a rectangular survey system created by the fledgling U.S. government to map its public domain. At intervals across the country, surveyors created axis points by laying out baselines that crossed existing meridians—locating these near key towns whose names were then given to the meridians. Beginning at each axis point, surveyors charted six-mile strips, running east and west, parallel to the baselines; these *township* rows were consecutively numbered from the axis point, both above and below the baseline. Similarly, beginning at the same axis point, they surveyed six-mile strips running north and south parallel to and on either side of the meridian, calling these rows *ranges*. The resulting checkerboard created square units six miles by six miles that are individually termed *townships* also. Each square township was divided into thirty-six

57. For information on how to use and understand these legal descriptions and, where necessary, draw out the boundaries of each, see William Thorndale, “Land and Tax Records,” in Eakle and Cerny’s *The Source*, 219–29.

sections, one mile square (640 acres), called *sections*. Each section was then subdivided into half sections, quarter sections, or quarter sections of quarter sections. Thus, a parcel of land can be uniquely described in such a formula as *southwest quarter of the northwest quarter of Section 12, Township 5 North, Range 3 East, San Bernardino (California) Meridian*.

Lot or block descriptions

This is the system used in most urban areas. Developers submit to the county or city a map showing lot or block divisions of property previously identified by metes-and-bounds or rectangular-survey descriptions. Those maps, known as plat or tract maps, become the permanent reference point for future transactions of property in the affected area. A typical description reads: "Lot Six (6) of the Nogales Tract, as shown on file in Book 9, page 7 of Maps, Records of Riverside County, California."

CONCLUSION

America's system of property transactions carries visible traces of feudal law throughout all its parts. Its language is technical, even arcane. The 1828 observation of Justice James Kent still holds:

The law concerning real property forms a technical and very artificial system; and though it has felt the influence of the free and commercial spirit of modern ages, it is still very much under the control of principles derived from feudal policy. We have either never introduced . . . or we have, in the course of improvements upon our . . . law, abolished all the essential badges of the law of the feuds; but the deep traces of that policy are visible in every part of the doctrine of real estates, and the technical language, and many of the technical rules of that system are still retained.⁵⁸

Nevertheless, an understanding of common law's basic concepts can enable family historians to use real-property documents with confidence and to follow effectively the legal proceedings involved. It also can point to relationships not otherwise documented and imbue a better sense of the society in which individual ancestors lived and labored.

58. Kent, *Commentaries*, 3: 305.

Resolving Conflict between Records: A Spurious Moseley Bible

Well-founded suspicions may arise concerning any type of record, even public documents, but some classes of material bear a greater risk and a higher burden of proof. A prime suspect is a privately created document, generated by someone who has something to gain—including such documents submitted in support of lineage-society applications during past eras when standards were more lenient.

By Warren L. Forsythe, Ph. D.*

Questionable family Bibles are a common problem. Studying those about which controversy has raged through generations of off-and-on investigation can be particularly instructive. In retrospect, having established that a fraud occurred, one can re-create not only the circumstances under which the deception originated but also those under which it was previously accepted. Through hindsight, the student of genealogical methodology can identify once-common principles that obviously failed, then apply this knowledge to new controversies as they arise.

THE PROBLEM

One Edward Moseley died in Charlotte County, Virginia, in 1808, leaving a will that names the following heirs:¹

Sons

Edward Moseley
Hillery Moseley
William Moseley
Arthur Moseley, deceased
(but left children)

Daughters

Mary Goode
Rebecah Johnston
Martha Bouldin
Amey Collier
Elizabeth Bouldin
Letty Herndon
Sally Patrick

The will names no wife. The children listed above represent all the Moseley brides and grooms in the extant marriage records of Charlotte County that date prior to

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1. Will Book 3: 95-96, Charlotte Co., Va.

1790;² and all the children mentioned in the will appear in those marriage records as a bride or groom, except for Elizabeth and William.

Many genealogical publications treat this family unit, yet the specific data attributed to them vary so improbably that two families would seem to be involved. To summarize:

Theory One:

Edward Moseley, son of Edward and Jennett [—?—] Moseley, married Amey Moseley, daughter of Hillery and Susannah [—?—] Moseley of the Norfolk, Virginia, area.

Edward and Amey's son William was born 6 November 1762 and married Martha Bouldin.

Comment: Proponents of this theory commonly cite a "bible record" attributed to Edward, appearing in a collection of genealogical materials compiled in 1929 by the Arkansas Society, Daughters of the American Revolution.³

Theory Two:

Edward Moseley, son of Arthur and Martha (Cocke) Moseley, married Amey Green, daughter of William and Amey (Clay) Green of Amelia County, Virginia. These families originated in the Henrico–James City Counties area.

Edward and Amey's son William was born 3 June 1776 in Charlotte County and married (1) Ann Williams; (2) Temperance Vaughan.

Comment: Proponents of this theory commonly cite a Ligon family genealogy and a bible record attributed to William, published in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* in 1940.⁴

Extracts from the two "bible records" appear as figures 1 and 2. The first (hereinafter called the Benagh Bible) focuses upon Edward, Amey, and their children. The second (hereinafter called the Henry Bible) focuses upon Edward and Amey's grandchildren by their son William. The duplication in family names between one

2. Convenient but not complete extracts of Charlotte marriages are provided by Catherine L. Knorr, *Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns, Charlotte County, Virginia, 1764–1815* (1951; reprinted, Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1982). See also Elizabeth Petty Bentley, *Virginia Marriage Records* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1982), 152. All published marriage records for this family have been closely confirmed by the microfilmed originals at the Library of Virginia, Richmond—a caution urged by Margaret T. Macdonald, "Beware of the Charlotte County, Virginia, Marriage Bonds," *The Virginia Genealogist* 23 (January 1979): 3–7.

3. Stella Pickett Hardy, contributor, "Mosley," in "Arkansas D.A.R. Genealogical Records Committee Report: Book of Records," series 1, vol. 3 (typescript, 1929; copy at Daughters of the American Revolution Library, Washington, D.C.), 39–40. Hardy is best known as comp. of *Colonial Families of the Southern States of America* (1911; reprinted, rev. ed. [same pagination with annotation], Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1958).

4. William D. Ligon Jr., *The Ligon Family and Connections*, 2 vols. (vol. 1, Hartford, Conn.: Bond Press, 1947; vol. 2, Shipman, Va.: Pp., 1957), 2: 562; and Carr Henry, contributor, "Moseley Bible Record," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 48 (October 1940): 353–55.

Figure 1

THE BENAGH BIBLE

*Author's note: Only selected entries are reproduced here.
Boldface flags names for comparison with details in figure 2.*

"Copied from Bouldin-Collier papers, collected by Mary Collier Benugh [Benagh], of Alabama, now owned by her daughter Lizzie Benugh [Benagh]."

Marriages

April 6, 1746	Edward Moseley and Amey Moseley
Jan. 12, 1768	Thomas Bouldin Jr. and Martha Moseley
Dec. 12, 1770	Mark Goode and Mary Moseley
April 3, 1771	Arthur Moseley and Sarah Watkins
Dec. 15, 1772	Joseph Collier and Amy Moseley
Dec. 12, 1779	Richard Bouldin and Betsey Moseley
June 19, 1787	John Patrick and Sallie Moseley
May 29, 1788	Charles Johnston and Rebecca Moseley
Jan. 10, 1795	Hillery Moseley and Lankstone Finch
Jan. 12, 1809	William Moseley and Martha Bouldin

Births

May 4, 1718	Edward Moseley, son of Edward and Jennett Moseley
Feb. 29, 1728	Amey Moseley dau. of Hillery and Susannah Moseley
Mar. 10, 1747	Edward son of Edward and Amey Moseley
Jan. 13, 1749	Arthur son of Edward and Amey Moseley
Jan. 1, 1751	Martha , dau. of Edward and Amey Moseley
Dec. 26, 1752	dau. of Edward and Amey Moseley
Sept. 15, 1754	Tully son of Edward and Amey Moseley
Apr. 13, 1757	Amey dau. of Edward and Amey Moseley
June 4, 1759	Elizabeth dau. of Edward and Amey Moseley
Jan. 31, 1761	Hillery son of Edward and Amey Moseley
Nov. 6, 1762	William son of Edward and Amey Moseley
July 12, 1764	Rebecca dau. of Edward and Amey Moseley
Jan 4, 1766	Salley dau. of Edward and Amey Moseley
Sept. 24, 1767	Letitia, dau. of Edward and Amey Moseley

Stella Pickett Hardy, contributor, "Mosley," in "Arkansas D.A.R. Genealogical Records Committee Report: Book of Records," series 1, vol. 3 (typescript, 1929; copy at Daughters of the American Revolution Library, Washington, D.C.), 39-40. Additional Bouldin material appears in the typescript but is omitted above.

Figure 2

THE HENRY BIBLE

*Author's note: Only selected entries are reproduced here.
Boldface flags names for comparison with details in figure 1.*

"The Bible from which this record was taken was in 1938 in the possession of William Moseley of Decatur, Alabama, son of William Moseley [b. 1810] and Martha Adelia Pryor (Kimball) Moseley. It was published by H. C. Carey and I. Lea, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, 1825. The record was copied by Theo Davis Hill (Mrs. Walton Hill) of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, who is a great-granddaughter of John Patrick Moseley and Frances Ann (Kimball) Moseley. A few minor changes have been made in spelling and punctuation to facilitate printing. Matter shown in parentheses is not in the Bible but was furnished by William Moseley and Miss Druella Moseley, daughter of Drury Vaughan Moseley who married Mary Ann Minor."

Marriages

Wm. Moseley and Ann Williams[†] married August 22, 1797.

Wm. Moseley and Temperance Vaughan[‡] married March 25, 1808.

Births

(William Moseley, youngest son of Edward Moseley and Amy [Green] Moseley, was born **June 3, 1776, in Charlotte County, Virginia**).

Isabella Camp Moseley^o was born October 3, 1798 (she married Frederick Hood and moved to Arkansas).

Diana Amy Elizabeth Frances Moseley^o was born September 11, 1800 (she married Edmund Patrick and Horace Green; all died in Alabama).

Nancy Moseley^o was born January 30, 1803 (she married Robert Moore and moved to Texas).

Martha Cocke Moseley^o was born November 12, 1805 (she married Nat. Pride).

William Moseley^s was born August 24, 1810 (in Bedford County, Tennessee).

Edward Moseley^s was born August 19, 1812 (in Bedford County, Tennessee; died young).

Hillery Moseley^s was born February 16, 1815 (in Bedford County, Tennessee).

John Patrick Moseley^s was born October 13, 1816 (in Madison County, Alabama; married Frances Ann Kimball and Marian Hutchins).

Drury Moseley^s was born July 18, 1820 (in Morgan County, Alabama); married Mary Ann Minor).

Eliz. Ann Moseley^s was born December 18, 1822 (married Henry High).

Sally Moseley^s was born August 30, 1825 (married Charles Lane).

Mrs. Temperance Moseley[‡] was born August 9, 1783 (in Mecklenburg County, Virginia).

Deaths

Ann Moseley[†] died September 11, 1807.

Temperance Moseley[‡] died June 11, 1864.

† first wife of William Moseley. They were married in Halifax County, Virginia.

‡ second wife of William Moseley . . . records [of] Halifax . . . married 15 April 1809.

o child of William Moseley and Ann (Williams) Moseley.

s child of William Moseley and Temperance (Vaughan) Moseley.

and the other (marked with boldface) is striking, but the differences are equally blatant: different birthdates and wives for William, and different parents for Edward and Amey.

Could there be two similar Moseley families? Citing these bibles, descendants have claimed both theorized lineages through the Edward of the 1808 Charlotte will—an impossible situation if both Bibles are correct and authentic. Is one record or the other flawed, or perhaps both of them?

ANALYZING THE EVIDENCE

Like most Southern colonies, Virginia has few surviving vital records for its early settlers. Commonly, events must be estimated or bracketed within a span of years, using indirect documentary evidence.⁵ For example, if a court record shows that a male orphan chose his guardian, that orphan was almost certainly then over fourteen but under twenty-one years of age.⁶ Because even this type of information is rarely available in official records of the Southern colonies, genealogists do value private papers that list *exact dates* for vital events.

Well-founded suspicions may arise concerning any type of record, even public documents, but some classes of material bear a greater risk and a higher burden of proof. A prime suspect is a privately created document, generated by someone who has something to gain—including such documents submitted in support of lineage-society applications during past eras when standards were more lenient.⁷

Following the advice of a well-known genealogical scholar to “use a measure of intelligence with every source,”⁸ the following procedure was implemented in order to confirm or reject these particular Moseley “records”:

1. Investigate the origins of the records, bearing in mind that deceivers often “cover their tracks.”
2. Establish the identity of at least some cited family members through the use of authentic documents.

5. For an overview of direct, indirect, and circumstantial evidence, see Elizabeth Shown Mills, “Evaluating Evidence: Advice from Lawrence of Arabia,” *NGS 1995 Conference in the States: Syllabus*, 2 vols. (Arlington: NGS, 1995), 1: 299–302; the audiotaped lecture is available as SD-85, from Repeat Performance, 2911 Crabapple Lane, Hobart, IN 46342.

6. For further clues to estimating vital dates, see Edgar MacDonald, “Estimating Ages of Colonial Virginia Ancestors,” *NGS 1987 Conference in the States: Syllabus* (Arlington: NGS, 1987), 153–56, which reproduces useful extracts from Tapping Reeve, *The Law of Baron and Femme, of Parent and Child, Guardian and Ward . . .* (1862; reprinted, N.Y. City: Source Book Press, 1970); and N. J. Bailes et al., *The Layman’s Guide to Virginia Law* (Charlottesville: Univ. of Va., 1977).

7. For more on lineage applications and other perpetrators and victims of genealogical fraud, see Neil D. Thompson, “Unmasking Genealogical Fraud,” audiotaped lecture, NGS 1995 Conference in the States, available as SD-40 from Repeat Performance; see also accompanying material in the *NGS 1995 . . . Syllabus*, 1: 140–42.

8. Thompson, “Unmasking Genealogical Fraud.”

3. Re-create the information that a correct Bible record *should* provide for the ancestors, using authentic documents that can confirm or reject suspicious assertions.
4. Analyze the questionable record against the documented facts.

Other recent publications emphasize the need for a careful study of these transcripts—particularly that of the Benagh Bible. The Virginia Genealogical Society reported in 1991 its acquisition of “a transcript of five family Bible records” on the Moseley-Collier Family.⁹ Much of the material, however, is just a 1943 retyping of the 1929 Benagh information. Also, otherwise well-documented Moseley compilations are infused, perhaps unconsciously, with Benagh Bible data.¹⁰ The situation underscores an important maxim for genealogists: when separate sources give the same information, it is important that the origins of each be traced to discover whether each was created independently of the others. Otherwise, false confirmations result.

INVESTIGATING RECORD ORIGINS

The late Noel Stevenson, J.D., FASG, left a perceptive discussion of criteria by which bible records should be judged. Details critical to authenticity and credibility include identities of (a) the bible, by published name and publication place and year; (b) the original owner of the bible; (c) the creators of the bible entries; (d) the transcribers of the data; and (e) the current owner of the bible, as well as a chain of provenance by which it passed from the original to the present owners.¹¹ Applying these standards to the Benagh and Henry bibles yields significant results.

Benagh Bible

Moseley descendants sought to verify this alleged transcript almost as soon as it was made public, but its trail already was quite cold. Judge Redmond Cole (1881–1959) of Tulsa suspected fraud almost immediately, for two reasons. First, the public documents he studied seemed to tell a very different story on the individuals named in the Benagh material. Second, as he later reported, only two years after its 1929 release: “No one could be found to tell me what became of the [papers asserted to be the source], or anything concerning the time when the original MS. had been prepared or by whom prepared, or who filed it with the Arkansas society [Daughters

9. “Moseley-Collier Family,” *Virginia Genealogical Society Newsletter* 17 (May 1991): 6, citing material submitted by Virginia L. Thurmond of Augusta, Ga.

10. For example, see Ligon, *The Ligon Family and Connections*, 2: 562–66, which includes details found nowhere but Benagh, although that source is not specifically cited; and Alice Granberry Walter, *Moseley Family of Lower Norfolk County and Henrico County, Virginia, 1600–1800s* (n.d.; reprinted, Baltimore: Clearfield, 1994), chart 3, col. 2.

11. Noel C. Stevenson, *Genealogical Evidence: A Guide to the Standard of Proof Relating to Pedigrees, Ancestry, Heirship, and Family History* (1979; rev. ed., Laguna Hills, Calif.: Aegean Park Press, 1989), 162–69.

of the American Revolution].” He and his collaborators struggled to interpret the evidence throughout the 1930s.¹²

In 1939, Stella Pickett Hardy, the genealogist who contributed the Benagh information to the Arkansas collection, informed her cousins, the Coles, that she had personally copied the material from “papers in 1915, in Nashville, Tenn.” She also implied that the Benagh transcript might be connected to a lineage application. “Personally,” she stated, “I believe the records correct and would not hesitate to fill out papers on Edward Moseley b. 5/4/1718 [using the Benagh Bible as evidence].” Cole queried Henry Benagh of Nashville (born 1853 to Mary Collier Benagh, the alleged “collector” of the records) and reported that Henry “knew nothing of it.”¹³ Mrs. Benagh’s own genealogical correspondence of the 1880s partially survives elsewhere. It identifies her as Mrs. George W. Benagh, née Mary Williams Collier, born in Alabama on 21 September 1830, as daughter of that state’s future governor Henry W. Collier. Her letters depict her as a correspondent and a compiler, not a public records searcher; and her interest in the Moseleys apparently arose from her Bouldin cousin—a Mrs. Hundley, who descended from the Elizabeth (Moseley) Bouldin cited in the “Bible transcript.”¹⁴

As shown in figure 1, Hardy’s Benagh Bible lacks most of the crucial detail that lends authenticity and credibility to that type of record. A “collector” of the information is identified, but there is no indication whether that person actually transcribed the data herself. There is no identification of the bible itself, its publication data, its provenance, its ownership at the time the entries allegedly were copied from it, or its whereabouts when the material therefrom was contributed to the DAR. Worse, genealogist John Frederick Dorman, CG, FASG, has investigated another of Hardy’s “Bible transcripts” in the same Arkansas compilation (pages 10–11) and reports that Hardy includes, for various events, days of the week that *never* correspond to the accompanying date for those events.¹⁵

Henry Bible

Carr Henry, contributor of the material abstracted in figure 2, presented a set of facts that, on the surface, appear much more reliable. He provided specific publication data for the original bible. He cited a chain of descent through which it appears to have passed. He identified the transcriber of the data, as well as the owner of the original bible at the time the information was copied.

12. Redmond S. Cole, “Moseley Report,” 28 January 1940, 16 pp., photocopy in possession of present writer. Particularly see Stella Pickett Hardy, Washington, D.C., to Alyce Jones Cole, Wilson, Ark., 14 July 1939. Similar reports appear in the Tulsa Library’s Cole Collection, available as microcopy 1598165, item 8, LDS Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

13. Cole, “Moseley Report.”

14. Benagh to George Brown Goode, letters of 13 April 1886 and 17 May 1886, also undated letter probably from 1885 or 1886; Collier file, Goode Papers, accession no. 24813, Library of Va.

15. Dorman, *Ancestors and Descendants of Francis Epes I of Virginia (Epes–Eppes–Epps)*, vol. 1 (n.p.: Society of the Descendants of Francis Epes I of Va., 1992), 202–3.

However, Henry's transcript presents its own cause for worry—not so much over authenticity as over the correctness of the family's origins. The marriage data for William Moseley and his two wives are facts that should be verifiable in public records. But several crucial genealogical statements appear only in the *parenthetical data that Henry added*: William's date of birth, the identity of William's father Edward, and the identity of William's mother Amey (including maiden name).

Which bible's set of facts—or how many of either set—can be upheld by surviving public records?

ESTABLISHING IDENTITY

Elements of both bible records are supported by documentary evidence. The family head in Charlotte County had an uncommon name; the tax rolls of his era show no other Edward Moseley.¹⁶ An overview of local records yields the following comparison to the cited bibles.

HENRY BIBLE

The one child attributed to Edward is cited in Edward's will of 1808. However, his name (William) is an extremely common one. No conflicts are evident.

BENAGH BIBLE

All eleven children cited in the 1808 will appear in the Benagh Bible. The ordering of the children is nearly identical, given that this will followed the common practice of listing sons and daughters separately, and usually in birth order. However, some notable variances appear between the bible data and the extant marriage records for those children in Charlotte County—particularly the following:

		<i>Benagh Bible</i>	<i>Charlotte records</i>
Mary	wed	Mark Goode 12 December 1770	Mackerness Goode Jr. 15 December 1770 ¹⁷
Sally (Sallie)	wed	19 June 1787	13 November 1788 ¹⁸
Rebecah	wed	Charles Johnston 29 May 1788	William Johnston 22 December 1788 ¹⁹
Elizabeth (Betsey?)	wed	Richard Bouldin	[no direct record] ²⁰
Letitia "Letty"	wed	[no record]	Edmund Herndon 4 January 1785 ²¹

16. *Virginia in 1760: A Reconstructed Census* (Miami Beach, Fla.: T.L.C. Genealogy, 1996), 283.

17. Marr. Bonds, Charlotte Co., Library of Va. reel 42, frame 64.

18. Marr. Bonds, Charlotte Co., Library of Va. reel 44, frame 25 (bond only, 3 November 1788); Knorr, *Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns, Charlotte Co.*, 64 (minister's return, 13 November 1788).

19. Marr. Bonds, Charlotte Co., Library of Va. reel 42, frame 170.

20. Will Book 3: 96, Charlotte Co., shows Richard Bouldin contesting the will of Elizabeth's father; page 159, same volume, shows Elizabeth as executrix of Richard Bouldin's probate.

21. Marr. Bonds, Charlotte Co., Library of Va. reel 43, frame 56 (bond only, December 1784); Knorr, *Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns, Charlotte Co.*, 40 (minister's return, 4 January 1785).

Beyond this—and especially for the male children named in Edward's will—a plethora of problems exists between the Benagh Bible's data and the public records.

Colonial relationships are so easy to assert but so hard to verify or reject, in regions where few records survive. Reconstructing a family tree that has already been contorted is an even greater challenge: not only must evidence be found but confusion cured.

For the place and time of the present problem, few materials exist to document birthdates. Marriage bonds might, if one party is under age. Virtually all censuses prior to 1810 have been destroyed, and even the 1810 census cites ages in broad sweeps. For the children named in Edward's will, that enumeration states only whether they were over or under forty-five. Personal tax rolls suggest when a male reached tithable age, and statute books reveal the age at which tithes were assessed in any period. However, white females of Virginia were never subject to that tax. Moreover, if the Benagh Bible is correct, Edward's sons would have come of age before 1782, a period for which the commonwealth has few surviving rolls.

Yet thorough research often can compensate for the nonexistence of those records genealogists prefer. By following each individual through the full course of life, one may be rewarded by a death record or obituary that cites a birthdate or an age at death. By following collateral relatives, rather than focusing upon the direct ancestral line, one may find auxiliary materials created by other family branches. Such was the case with several children of Edward Moseley, for whom serious discrepancies are outlined below.

Edward Moseley Jr.

Hardy's Benagh Bible cites the birth of an Edward Jr., on 10 March 1747, but attributes no marriage or further data to him. This son did marry, at least once, with a record still extant in Charlotte for his 1790 union with Martha Dyson. He can be tracked through numerous county records until his death on 21 March 1831. The age categories shown for him on the federal censuses are compatible with the obituary information that places his birth as 1756–57.²²

Arthur Moseley

According to the Benagh Bible, Arthur was born 13 January 1749 and married Sarah Watkins on 3 April 1771, aged twenty-two. However, he first appears on the tax rolls in 1786, with Edward Moseley responsible for his tithes. He was again a tithable minor in 1787 (over sixteen but under twenty-one) and appears as an independent adult in 1788.²³ The birth year suggested by the tax rolls, 1767, is

22. Personal Property Tax Rolls, 1782–1831, Charlotte Co., Library of Va. reel 158, frames 1–700; 1830 U.S. census, Charlotte Co., p. 203; *Richmond Enquirer*, 2 April 1831, p. 3; Will Book 7: 28 and Order Book 4: 213, Charlotte Co.; Knorr, *Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns*, Charlotte Co., 58–59, 73.

23. Personal Property Tax Rolls, 1786–88, Charlotte Co., Library of Va. reel 158, frames 83, 97, 163.

compatible with the only Arthur Moseley marriage on record in Charlotte County—that of 6 August 1788 to Ann “Nancy” Bibb.²⁴ At his death in 1804, all four of his children were minors,²⁵ a situation unlikely for a man past the age of fifty, as the Benagh Bible contends.

Hillery Moseley

Hardy’s Benagh material states that Hillery was born on 31 January 1761 and married Lankstone Finch on 10 January 1795. Again, the date suggests an overaged groom. Public records contradict the alleged date of his birth, placing it between 16 October 1759 and 1 June 1760.²⁶ As for his marriage, no official record is extant for a Hillery Moseley and a Lankstone Finch, in 1796 or any other year. Rather, Hillery Moseley married Ann “Nancy” Bedford on 11 October 1785; and she was still his wife in 1826.²⁷

The Hillery problem yields special insight into the creation of the Benagh Bible. In 1911, eighteen years before Hardy submitted the alleged bible transcript to the Arkansas DAR, she published a collection of genealogical accounts that treat this family. Page 280 ambiguously refers to Walter Scott Moseley as “gr.-son of Hillary Moseley and Lankstone Finch.”²⁸ More correctly, Walter’s *two grandfathers* were Hillary Moseley and Lankstone Finch.²⁹ That 1911 ambiguity spawned the erroneous entry that surfaced in Hardy’s 1929 offering.³⁰

The Henry Bible, meanwhile, does not treat this Hillery, son of Edward, at all. Beginning with a William, whom it presents as Edward’s son (and thus, brother of this Hillery), the Henry Bible does show that William gave the name *Hillery* to one of his own children. The repetition of this uncommon given name thus reinforces the conclusion that both bibles relate to the same family.

24. Marr. Bonds, Charlotte Co., Library of Va. reel 44, frames 77–80 (bond date: 15–16 July 1788); Knorr, *Marriage Bonds and Ministers’ Returns, Charlotte Co.*, 58 (minister’s return, 6 August 1788).

25. Will Book 3: 89–96, 174, 177, Charlotte Co.

26. 1830 U.S. cens., Charlotte Co., Va., p. 202; *Religious Herald*, Richmond, Va., 30 October 1835.

27. Marr. Bonds, Charlotte Co., reel 43, frame 223, Library of Va. (bond date: 5 September 1785); Knorr, *Marriage Bonds and Ministers’ Returns, Charlotte Co.* (minister’s return, 11 October 1785); *Richmond Enquirer*, 18 August 1826.

28. Hardy, *Colonial Families of the Southern States*, 280. Hardy’s phrase may predate the 1911 publication. In her 1939 letter to Alice Jones Cole, she implies that the Benagh Bible transcript existed before that time.

29. When Henrietta Clement applied to DAR in 1955, she corrected the confusion by identifying Lankstone Finch as Walter’s maternal grandfather. See Edward Moseley file, DAR Library, Washington, D.C. For evidence, Clement cites Will Book 4: 97, Charlotte Co., and many other documents.

30. Curiously, in 1927—sixteen years after Hardy’s 1911 book and two years before she sent the Benagh material to Arkansas—Landon Bell published a Hardy family account in which he wrote, “Marian Lee Hardy (b. July 19, 1863) . . . married Feb. 20, 1884, Walter Scott Moseley (b. Nov. 23, 1853) son of Robert and Eliza (Finch) Moseley and grandson of Hillary Moseley and Lankston Finch.” Bell, who was presumably in contact with Stella Hardy in compiling the Hardy genealogy, cites no source for his suggestion of Lankston Finch as the maternal grandfather rather than paternal grandmother. See Bell, *The Old Free State* (2 vols., 1927; reprinted, 2 vols. in 1, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1974), 2: 240.

William Moseley

The Benagh Bible cites William Moseley, son of Edward, as born on 6 November 1762. His only marriage is said to be that of 12 January 1809 to Martha Bouldin. A first marriage at the age of forty-seven years is not unheard of, but such a contention is highly suspect in and of itself. Even superficial analysis suggests that a generation may have been skipped—and it was indeed. The extant bond for the William Moseley Jr. who married Martha Bouldin in 1809 cites his father as Edward. However, that father/bondsman had to be Edward Jr., not Edward Sr., who had died in 1808.³¹

The Henry Bible, by contrast, dates the birth of William, son of Edward Sr., at 3 June 1776; and it cites his marriages in Halifax County to Ann Williams (1797) and Temperance Vaughan (1808). Both of those marriages are found in Halifax's extant papers; in the first case, the date is exactly that reported by Henry. In the second case, Henry is correct on month and day but not on year.³² William's age at first marriage (twenty) is compatible with the society in which he lived; and the birthdate Henry attributes to William supports his position as the last-named (i.e., youngest) son whom Edward references in his will. Meanwhile, abundant evidence—tax, tombstone, and census, all created independently—exists to support the birth year given for William in the Henry Bible (1776) and to contradict the one put forth in Benagh (1762).³³

Mary (Moseley) Goode

Hardy's Benagh information states that Mary Moseley married Mark Goode on 12 December 1770. Its birth section contains no reference to Mary but omits the name of a daughter said to have been born 26 December 1752. By elimination, that baby should be Mary; and the assigned marriage date implies that she wed at eighteen. However, Goode descendants preserved a family bible as late as 1893, at which time entries were copied therefrom by a descendant. That record, whose credibility is enhanced by its detail about when, where, and by whom the copying was done, gives Mary's birthdate as 14 October 1753. Similarly, it verifies the identity of Mary's husband as Mackerness Goode and her marriage date as 15 (not 12) December.³⁴

31. Marr. Bonds, Charlotte Co., reel 49, frame 209 [for William Mosely Jr. and Martha Bouldin]; Knorr, *Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns, Charlotte Co.*, 59. See also Will Book 7: 28, Charlotte Co., for Edward Jr.

32. Wirt J. Carrington, *History of Halifax County (Virginia)* (1924; reprinted, Baltimore: Clearfield, 1991), 350–51, 396, 470. Marriage Bond Reg., 1753–1889: 71, and Marr. Reg. No. 1, 1782–1842: 207, Halifax Co., both give the date as 15 April 1809. The bride signs the bond herself, as "Thimpey Vaughan." The minister's return cites the bride as "Tempey."

33. Marilyn S. S. Marine and Ivydene Simpson Walls, *Morgan County, Alabama, Cemeteries*, 2 vols. (Hartselle, Ala.: Marine-Walls Historical Publications, 1982), 2: 438; 1830 U.S. cens., Morgan Co., Ala., p. 185; Personal Property Tax Roll, 1798, Charlotte Co., Library of Va. reel 158, frame 403; Deed Book 16: 206, Charlotte Co.

34. Walter Miller Billups Sr., "Goode Bible, handwritten copy," transcribed 4 July 1893; in possession of the late Constance Rogers, Springfield, Mo., 1994. Her papers are now with the Ozarks Genealogical Soc., Springfield.

Letitia "Letty" (Moseley) Herndon

Edward's will cites one daughter as Letty Herndon. The Benagh record offers no marriage for this child but does cite the birth of a Letitia on 24 September 1767. Charlotte County's public records attest Letty's marriage on 4 January 1785 to Edmund Herndon. She died in adjacent Campbell County on 14 June 1859.³⁵ If her obituary is correct, her birth occurred in 1764 or 1765, rather than 1767.³⁶

Tully Moseley

In addition to the eleven children named in Edward's will, Hardy's Benagh Bible assigns him another: Tully, supposedly born 15 September 1754. No evidence has been found of this child's existence.

The Parents: Edward and Amey Moseley

This Charlotte County couple is treated in a multivolume Ligon genealogy completed in 1957. The book is slightly marred by the author's inclusion of some assertions from the Benagh Bible (without actually citing that source), although the study is generally well documented. Regarding Edward of the 1808 will, Ligon states: "Edward Moseley, son of Arthur and Martha (Cocke) Moseley . . . married Amey Green, daughter of William Green of Amelia County, Va." Assuming that there was only one early Edward Moseley in the area, Ligon made this man responsible for all his cited Charlotte County documents. Hence, Edward was a justice of the peace, a vestryman, a Revolutionary War captain, and a testator. Ligon reports that Edward's Charlotte County land lay originally in Lunenburg, from which Charlotte was cut in 1765; and that Edward was "of Chesterfield" at the time he bought this land. Finding only one older Moseley in Chesterfield (originally Henrico), who left a will naming a son Edward—i.e., Arthur Moseley—Ligon concluded that Edward of Charlotte was by default the son of Arthur of Chesterfield and Henrico. However, Ligon does not document his assertion that Edward's wife was named Amey Green.³⁷

Are those assumptions and conclusions reasonable?

Public records show that an Edward Moseley of Chesterfield County in 1761 purchased land from one Andrew Wade—land that subsequently fell into Charlotte. They also clearly show there was no other Edward Moseley family in Charlotte for the next forty-seven years. Annual tax rolls from 1782 onward³⁸ (not apparently used by Ligon) show the gradual enlargement of the family as sons matured and

35. Knorr, *Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns, Charlotte Co.*, 40; Will Book 9: 37, 46, Campbell Co.; *Lynchburg Virginian Tri-Weekly*, 4 July 1859, p. 3, col. 1.

36. This writer's efforts to locate Letitia "Letty" Herndon on the 1850 census, which might confirm her death age, have proved fruitless.

37. Ligon, *Ligon Family and Connections*, 2: 562–66.

38. Deed Book 6: 357, Lunenburg Co., Va. See also Order Books 1: 10, 14, 107, and 4: 153; Deed Book 3: 163, Charlotte Co.; and Personal Property Tax Rolls, Charlotte Co., Library of Va. reel 158, frames 1–700.

began families of their own. Especially valuable to the identity issue is the 1787 deed by which Edward conveyed to his son Hillery three hundred acres “of the tract which the said Edward purchased of Wade.”³⁹ That land lies at the confluence of Buffalo Creek with Roanoke (Staunton) River, near the southern tip of Charlotte.⁴⁰

Ligon’s conclusion about the parentage of Edward Moseley is a reasonable assumption that has been confirmed by subsequent family research.⁴¹ Specifically, in the same year that Edward Moseley first bought the four hundred acres of Wade land now in Charlotte County, an Edward Moseley sold four hundred acres in Cumberland County (formerly Henrico) that he had acquired from his father, Arthur.⁴² The appearance of Edward’s name in area deeds, as a witness and an adjacent landowner, began in 1750.⁴³ This fact, given his position as next-to-last child cited in his father’s will, places Edward’s birth about 1730.⁴⁴ That estimation clashes sharply with the Benagh statement that Edward was born in 1718.

Ligon asserts, without suggesting a source, that Edward married one Amey Green. His conclusion is not difficult to document elsewhere. The union is cited in a Green genealogy published in 1924 and in two Clay family compilations, created in 1820 and 1899. The Amey Green who is therein married to Edward Moseley “of Roanok” is said to be the daughter of one William and Amey (Clay) Green. Mrs. Green is further identified as the sister of Henry and John Clay of Chesterfield.⁴⁵

Public documents verify these connections. When Edward Moseley first appears on record in Chesterfield in 1750, he witnessed a deed by Henry Clay.⁴⁶ That same

39. Deed Book 5: 190, Charlotte Co.

40. U.S. Dept. of the Interior, Geological Survey Topographical Map: Virginia 1° block no. 36078; SW/4 Clover 15' Quadrangle, 7.5' Series (Topographic) N3645-W7837.5/7.5 (Reston, Va.: U. S. Geological Survey, 1968; photorevised, 1981).

41. John Hale Stutesman, “Arthur Moseley (—1736),” MS, accession no. 1155, Chesterfield Historical Soc., Chesterfield, Va., n.d., unpaginated; Christine Rose, “The Turpin Notebook,” *Virginia Genealogist* 31 (January 1987): 5.

42. Deed Book 6: 357, Lunenburg Co.; Deed Book 3: 227 [November 1761], Cumberland Co., cited by Katherine B. Elliott, Cypress, Tex., to author, 1992. See also Edythe Maxey Clark, “Maxey Patent Lands in Powhatan Co., 1725–32 Map,” *The Maxeys of Virginia* (Baltimore: Gateway, 1980), flyleaf. Note that Cumberland was not created until 1749. Previously it was Goochland, cut from Henrico in 1727.

43. Deed Book 1: 169, as cited in Benjamin B. Weisiger III, *Chesterfield County, Virginia, Deeds, 1749–1756* (1986; reprinted, Athens, Ga.: Iberian Pub. Co., 1991), 16. Also Deed Book 1: 327, as cited in *Cumberland County, Virginia, Deeds, 1749–1752* (Miami Beach: T.L.C. Genealogy, 1990), 29.

44. Wills & Deeds, Book 1725–1737: 599–600, Henrico Co. The father’s will specifies that the sons were to receive their inheritances (including land) at age eighteen and be subject to guardianship until they were twenty.

45. Clay Family Genealogical Notes, Library of Va. accession no. 32301, fifth of nine unnumbered pages; Robert Young Clay, Library of Va., to author, 29 November 1994. Mary Rogers Clay, “The Genealogy of the Clays,” *Filson Club Publications* 14, pt. 2 (Louisville: John P. Morton, 1899), 72, 75, 220, 225. S. O. Southall, “Green Family,” *Tyler’s Quarterly* 6 (July 1924): 42.

Regarding the possibility that a different Moseley family was involved, one from Roanoke city or county, rather than Roanoke River: the political jurisdictions of Roanoke city and county did not exist in the colonial era. There also have existed at least two Virginia townships called Roanoke, including one in Charlotte Co.; see L. de Colange, *The National Gazetteer: A Geographical Dictionary of the United States* (Cincinnati: J. C. Yorston & Co., 1884), 854.

46. Deed Book 1: 169, Chesterfield Co.

year, Henry sold a tract in which Edward Moseley is named as adjoining landowner.⁴⁷ The adjacent tract is the same that Edward sold to one John Moseley in November 1761, citing it as part of twelve hundred acres granted in June 1730 to Arthur Moseley, subsequently deceased.⁴⁸ Again in 1759, Edward Moseley and “Amy” Moseley (along with a Mary Bass) were witnesses when John Clay gave land to one Jeremiah Bass.⁴⁹

Many genealogical problems involve geographic boundaries—as does this one. In the Clay and Moseley deeds of the 1750–61 period, the only “overlapping” name within the neighbors cited in their land descriptions is the surname *Maxey*. A published genealogy of that area family provides a patent map placing the land in modern Powhatan County, about six miles northwest of a three-county junction (Amelia, Chesterfield, and Powhatan) and one mile from the Amelia line on Appomattox River.⁵⁰ The location suggests that Amelia’s records should be included in the Moseley research.

Amelia County’s public documents provide further links. In June 1750, William Green’s daughter Amey, an unmarried minor orphan, chose as her guardian John Moseley.⁵¹ An extant tax roll of 1754 places Edward Moseley in Amelia’s Raleigh Parish, near the Green home.⁵² By 1755, Edward had become coexecutor of the William Green estate.⁵³ For 1757, the county order books directly state that Edward was husband of Amey Green;⁵⁴ and in 1759, both Edward and Amey witnessed that deed of gift by Amey’s uncle, John Clay. Clearly, Amey Green married the same Edward Moseley of Chesterfield County who conveyed to John Moseley of Cumberland his share of his father Arthur’s estate (adjacent to Amey’s uncle, Henry Clay) and in that same year (1761) purchased the same number of acres in present-day Charlotte.

Again, the Benagh Bible has failed crucial tests. It errs in asserting that Edward of Charlotte was married to Amey Moseley, “daughter of Hillery and Susannah Moseley.”⁵⁵ By contrast, the editorial data added to the Henry Bible are supported by documentary evidence. The latter also identifies Amey as the mother of Edward’s youngest son (William, born 1776 in Charlotte County). Yet during Edward’s forty-

47. Deed Book 1: 327, Cumberland Co. The land is described as being formerly John Maxey’s land, on both sides of Buckingham Road, adjacent to Edward Moseley.

48. Deed Book 3: 227, Cumberland Co.

49. Deed Book 2: 345, Chesterfield Co. This deed is studied in another carefully documented work, which concludes that Jeremiah was at the time a baby and the son of John Clay’s soon-to-be bride, Mary Bass. See John Hale Stutesman, *Some Watkins Families of Virginia and Their Kin* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1989), 144–47.

50. Clark, *Maxeys of Virginia*, flyleaf.

51. Order Book 2: 245, Amelia Co.

52. Tithables, 1736–1771, Amelia Co., Library of Va. reel 55, frames 131, 360, 369.

53. Order Book 4: 2, Amelia Co.

54. Order Book 4: 119, Amelia Co.

55. Also supporting the evidence that Amy was a Green rather than a Moseley is the fact that she had two grandsons (by separate children) who carried down the name Green; see Will Book 7: 201, Charlotte Co., and Will Book 3: 178, Henry Co.

seven years in present-day Charlotte, no document apparently was created that names his wife.

Hardy's Benagh Bible also errs in citing for Amey a 29 February 1728 birthdate. The 1750 document in which Amey Green, as an unmarried minor orphan, chose her own guardian places her birth between 1729 and 1738—that is, she had to be over the age of twelve in order to be allowed her choice in colonial Virginia,⁵⁶ but she was yet under the age of twenty-one. Minors of that era who had reached the statutory age could have been called upon to make their choice of guardian; and there is no other record on file in which Amey took that action. Supporting a birth in the 1736–38 period is the fact that all records in the William Green probate process place her name immediately after that of her sister Martha—while a baptismal record exists for Martha, citing her birth on 8 May 1734.⁵⁷

The Spurious Parents

The names that the Benagh Bible assign as parents and grandparents of the Moseley children were not fabricated. Colonial Virginians by those names did exist, although there is no known close relationship to the Charlotte County family.⁵⁸ A detailed study of the Norfolk Moseleys is beyond the scope of the present paper, but contemporary documents do suggest why the creator of the Benagh material may have been attracted to the wrong lines. In brief:

- An Edward and Jenett (Cocke) Moseley married on 25 March 1797 in Norfolk County.⁵⁹ Some copyists, even modern ones, have erroneously transcribed that date as 1717.⁶⁰ To the creator of the Benagh paper, the 1717 date may have seemed an appropriate “fit.”
- A Hillary and Hannah (*cf.* Susannah in the Benagh Bible) Moseley lived in Princess Anne County, adjacent to Norfolk. The will that Hillary drafted in 1727 was probated in 1730. The resulting documents list only a son, Edward Hack Moseley, born 1717.⁶¹ The Benagh Bible conveniently sandwiches the birth of a purported daughter, Amey, between those 1727 and 1730 events. The father of this Hillary was a Colonel *Edward* Moseley,⁶² introducing a pair of names tantalizingly similar to the Charlotte County family. The presence of a Tully

56. Reeve, *Law of Baron and Femme*, 240, 321, points out that fourteen was the age for males but, under Virginia statute, twelve was the age at which female children might select their guardian.

57. Churchill G. Chamberlayne, *Births from the Bristol Parish Register* (1898; reprinted, Baltimore: Clearfield, 1990), 35, citing “Martha D: of William & Amey Green.”

58. Walter, *Moseley Family of Lower Norfolk*, chart 2, bottom of cols. 3 and 4.

59. Edward W. James, ed., “Abstracts from Norfolk Marriage Bonds,” *Lower Norfolk, Virginia, Antiquary* 2 (1897): 40.

60. For example, International Genealogical Index, Batch 862890899, FHL microcopy 1396264, states “25 Mar. 1717,” even though its cited source has the correct date “25 Mar. 1797.”

61. See “4 f 300 Princess Anne Co.,” in Walter, *Moseley Family of Lower Norfolk*, chart 1. A better work is Julia Moseley Combs, *The Moseleys of Dobbs and Lenoir Counties (N.C.)* (Hampstead, N.C.: n.p., 1990), 1–26.

62. Walter, *Moseley Family of Lower Norfolk*, chart 1; Combs, *The Moseleys of Dobbs and Lenoir*, 16–18.

Moseley in this Princess Anne family further suggests an origin for the name of the child that the Benagh Bible gratuitously attributes to Edward and Amy.⁶³

RE-CREATING THE ACTUAL FAMILY UNIT

Edward Moseley, son of Arthur and Martha (Cocke) Moseley, was born about 1730, near the Henrico-Goochland county line.⁶⁴ Between 1750 and 1755, he married **Ameiy Green** of Amelia County,⁶⁵ who had been born about 1736–38,⁶⁶ as daughter of William and Ameiy (Clay) Green.⁶⁷ Edward died in Charlotte County in 1808, leaving a will that names eleven children and no wife.⁶⁸

Identifiable children of Edward and Ameiy are as follows.⁶⁹

- a. **MARTHA**, born about 1752, probably within seven miles of the Amelia-Chesterfield-Powhatan Counties junction; probably died in Henry County, Virginia, before 1825.⁷⁰ Married, 1768, Thomas Bouldin Jr.⁷¹
- b. **MARY**, born 14 October 1753; died 15 February 1815. Married 15 December 1770, Mackerness Goode Jr., son of William Goode.⁷²
- c. **AMEY**, born about 1755; died 1819, South Carolina.⁷³ Married 15 December 1772, Joseph Collier.⁷⁴
- d. **EDWARD**, born 1756 or 1757; died 21 March 1831.⁷⁵ Married (1) about 1777⁷⁶ an

63. Wills of Edward Moseley and Tully Emperour, filed in Deed Book 3: 478–79, Princess Anne Co.

64. Rose, "Turpin Notebook," cites Edward's parentage, as verified by Deed Book 5: 139, Goochland Co., and Will Book 2: 59, Albemarle Co., where Martha Moseley's mother and brother name some of Martha's children. Edward's birthplace is presumed from his father's will; see Deeds and Wills (1725–1737): 599–600, Henrico Co.

65. Date of marriage based upon probate events covered by Order Book 2: 245 and 4: 2, Amelia Co.

66. Age extrapolated from data in Order Book 2: 245, Amelia Co.

67. Order Books 2: 122–23, 245, and 4: 2, 119, Amelia Co.; Will Books 1: 544, and 2: 244, Chesterfield Co.; Clay, "Genealogy of the Clays," 72, 75, 220, 225; Southall, "Green Family," 40–42.

68. Will Book 3: 95–96, Charlotte Co.

69. In the list of children above, the following general guidelines apply:

- Birthplace is based upon known place of parental residence.
- When a daughter's year of birth is unknown but marriage date is known, the bride is assumed to be about the age at marriage that is known for her sister Mary (i.e., seventeen).

70. Martha is not named in the 1825 will of her husband, probated in 1827. See Will Book 3: 178, Henry Co. Also see obituary of Capt. Green Bouldin, Huntsville, Ala., *Southern Advocate*, 16 October 1830, p. 3.

71. Bentley, *Virginia Marriage Records*, 152; "Marriage Bonds in Charlotte County," *Tylers Quarterly* 5 (July 1923): 69; Lavitor Alex Gilliam Jr., *The Bouldin Family* (Clarksdale, Miss.: Rp., n.d. [after 1873]), 9, 19.

72. Billups, "Goode Bible," Will Book 3: 95–96, 247, Charlotte Co.; Knorr, *Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns, Charlotte Co.*, 32; Marr. Bonds, Charlotte Co., Library of Va. reel 42, frame 64. Mary's husband is called Mack Goode Jr. in the marriage record; but his father appears as William Goode in Deed Book 2: 149, Charlotte Co.

73. Ameiy is named in the 1818 will of her husband, probated 1819; see Will Book C: 24, Edgefield Dist., S.C.

74. Knorr, *Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns, Charlotte Co.*, 17; Marr. Bonds, Charlotte Co., Library of Va. reel 42, frame 115.

75. *Richmond Enquirer*, 2 April 1831, p. 3; Will Book 7: 28, Charlotte Co.

76. A wife and children prior to his 1790 marriage to Martha Dyson is implied for Edward by the 1782 Virginia state-census data; see *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790; Records of the State Enumerations: 1782 to 1785, Virginia* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 15.

- unidentified woman; married (2) 1790, Martha Dyson.⁷⁷
- e. HILLERY, born between 16 October 1759 and 1 June 1760; died 16 October 1835.⁷⁸ Married (1) 11 October 1785, Ann "Nancy" Bedford, daughter of Thomas Bedford; married (2) 24 January 1827, Sarah (Williams) Hutcherson.⁷⁹
 - f. ELIZABETH, born about 1763, probably in Cornwall Parish, Lunenburg County; died before 4 October 1813, Charlotte County. Married Richard Bouldin.⁸⁰
 - g. REBECAH, born about 1764; died after 1834. Married (1) 22 December 1788, William Johnston; married (2) 30 October 1811, Richard Davenport.⁸¹
 - h. LETITIA, born between 1764 and 1766, probably on Buffalo Creek, Charlotte County; died August 1859, Pigeon Run, Campbell County. Married 4 January 1785, Edmund Herndon.⁸²
 - i. ARTHUR, born about 1767; died 1804, Charlotte County. Married 6 August 1788, Ann "Nancy" Bibb, daughter of John Bibb.⁸³
 - j. SALLY, born about 1771; married 13 November 1788, John Patrick.⁸⁴
 - k. WILLIAM, born 3 January 1776; died 12 December 1830, Morgan County, Alabama. Married (1) August 1797, Halifax County, Ann "Nancy" Williams, daughter of John and Diana (Coleman) Williams; married (2) 25 March 1808 or 1809, in Halifax County, Temperance Vaughan.⁸⁵

ANALYZING THE QUESTIONABLE RECORD

Researchers frequently find conflicts between records relating to identical people and events. Resolution is usually possible through systematic and thorough research and analysis. The process presented in this paper is especially effective when questionable "bible records" are involved.

77. Knorr, *Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns, Charlotte Co.*, 58–59, 73. The Rebecca Finch entry refers to his son, Edward III.

78. *Richmond Religious Herald*, 30 October 1835; 1830 U.S. cens., Charlotte Co., p. 202.

79. Knorr, *Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns, Charlotte Co.*, 59; Joanne Lovelace Nance, *Charlotte County, Va., Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns, 1816–1850* (Charlottesville, Va.: Lapin Press, 1987), 77; Will Book 7: 201, Charlotte Co., for Hillery; obituary of Ann, *Richmond Enquirer*, 18 August 1826, p. 3.

80. Will Book 3 (1805–1814): 96, Charlotte Co. (legal suit), 159–62, 259; Order Book 19: 144, 156, 159, Charlotte Co.; 1810 U.S. cens., Charlotte Co., p. 1023, shows female aged forty-five or older.

81. Will Book 7: 109 and Deed Book 21: 50, Charlotte Co.; Knorr, *Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns, Charlotte Co.*, 21, 47; Charlotte Co. Marr. Bonds, Library of Va. reel 42, frame 170.

82. Will Book 9: 37, 46, Campbell Co.; *Lynchburg Virginian Tri-Weekly*, 4 July 1859, p. 3, col. 1.; Knorr, *Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns, Charlotte Co.*, 40.

83. Year of birth is approximated from Personal Property Tax Rolls, 1786–88, Charlotte Co., Library of Va. reel 158, frames 83, 97, 163. See also Will Book 3: 89–96, 174, 177, Charlotte Co., for probate of his estate. For marriage, see Marr. Bonds, Charlotte Co., Library of Va. reel 44, frames 77–80; and Knorr, *Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns, Charlotte Co.*, 7, 58.

84. Marr. Bonds, Charlotte Co., Library of Va. reel 44, frame 25; Knorr, *Marriage Bonds and Ministers' Returns, Charlotte Co.*, 64; 1810 U.S. cens., Charlotte Co., p. 986.

85. Marine and Walls, *Morgan Co., Ala., Cemeteries*, 438; Carrington, *History of Halifax Co.*, 350–51, 396, 470; Deed Book 16: 206, Charlotte Co.; Henry, "Moseley Bible Record," 353–55.

In retrospect, it is clear that the Moseley section of Hardy's "transcribed Benagh Bible" is fabricated—contrived almost exclusively from the will of Edward and some marriage bonds of Charlotte County for people named Moseley. Following a practice common among less-skilled genealogists of yesteryear—i.e., the name's the same; thus, the people must be—"parents" were grafted onto the family tree, using convenient scraps of evidence relating to widely scattered individuals. The resulting mishmash was apparently prepared in the late-nineteenth or early-twentieth centuries to satisfy a lineage society, whose registrars were perhaps naively comfortable with anything labeled "bible record." As is often the case, it is difficult to identify, beyond a scintilla of doubt, the actual perpetrator of what was probably considered a "harmless" hoax. Yet Hardy's role as a popularizer of the material might prompt genealogists to take her own book "with a grain of salt."⁸⁶

A stronger sense of skepticism or a lower threshold of trust can prevent the modern genealogist from creating further generations of confusion. Spurious records often do embody their own warning signs—an attachment to illustrious lines; the introduction of the document to support a desired benefit, such as membership in lineage organizations; the absence of data identifying the provenance of the record; and (especially) missing or vague information about the copyist and the present whereabouts of the original. Privately created papers such as the Benagh "transcript" can be valuable resources, especially in areas where few records were maintained or few have survived. But they are acceptable only when they have been successfully subjected to verification through other materials that have been independently created.

86. An extremely careful analysis and documentation of Hardy's book was published by William P. Stanard, ed., "Book Review: *Colonial Families of the Southern States of America*," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 19 (October 1911): 442–48.

Attention: Revolutionary War Researchers

Reference: M804, *Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files, 1800–1900* (2,670 rolls), and M805, *Selected Records [from the foregoing]* (898 rolls).

Experienced users of National Archives microfilm know that a printed descriptive pamphlet (DP) should be available for most M-designated series. These DPs explain the contents of the series and are usually reproduced on the first roll of film. Researchers who rely upon the M804 series should be aware that the microfilmed DP omits an important section. Filmed amid these pension files are sixty-seven "Journals, Diaries and Other Contemporary Record Books" that were filed by claimants (example: Account Book of Ephraim Lyon, April 21, 1775–May 2, 1782, Canterbury, Connecticut, with lists of names, financial records relating to soldiers in his company, and more). The printed DP to M804 contains this appendix, but the microfilmed DP omits the appendix entirely. The appendix does not appear in either the printed or microfilmed DP for M805. For maximum benefit from these files, one should consult the printed M804 DP instead of the filmed one.

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Raising Heretical Questions about Accepted “Facts”: Altmans of Colonial Pennsylvania

Researchers should be careful about putting speculations into print without compelling circumstantial evidence. Conversely, before accepting undocumented conclusions as fact, genealogists should ask whether the evidence could support other explanations.

By Christine Crawford-Oppenheimer*

Good researchers are those who are willing to challenge accepted facts and opinions, and genealogists encounter many opportunities to exercise this trait. Beginners may consider themselves fortunate to discover an ancestral family that has been assembled already, in print or online. Impressed with the obvious years of work that a predecessor has put into the effort, one can be easily lulled into assuming that the assemblage is correct. When multiple publications are found for a lineage, all reporting the same family groupings, potential doubts are easily appeased. But good researchers *are* those who are willing to challenge accepted “facts,” especially when those “facts” rest upon deductions rather than solid evidence.

A group of German Altmans who arrived at Philadelphia in 1749, settling subsequently in Northampton and Westmoreland Counties, offers a case in point. Three separate compilations in the 1930s and 1940s identify them as immigrant forebears of a modern Altman family and assign them family relationships.¹ The published conclusions appear to have remained unchallenged until the 1980s, when nagging doubts compelled the present writer to raise questions then considered heretical. The ensuing unease prompted more-thorough research by several family members. The result: drastic alterations of the previously accepted family construction that clearly show the folly of trying to speculate from insufficient evidence.

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1. Lida B. Earhart, *Earhart, Boyd and Allied Families* (New York: American Historical Society, 1935), preceded Beulah Altman's *Altman, Say, Cribbs, and Fair Genealogies* (No place stated: privately printed, 1946). Both acknowledged the assistance and prior research of one Joseph Kellogg, whose work on this family apparently exists only in manuscript form. The Family History Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, possesses two versions of Kellogg's "The Altman Family," the first undated (microfilm 858662), the second dated 1943 (microfilm 441492). This paper uses the revised and enlarged 1943 version.

KNOWN FACTS

Beginning in 1727, the colony of Pennsylvania passed a pair of acts that are a godsend to colonial German-American research. From 18 September 1727 forward, all non-British immigrants, aged sixteen or older, were to sign an oath of allegiance to the king of England. On 19 August 1729, that requirement was extended to an oath of abjuration, which included renunciation of allegiance to other foreign rulers and various expressions of loyalty to the British crown. Thus, for any ship that arrived at the Philadelphia port after 1729, three lists of passengers might be extant: the captain's roll and the lists of signatures to the two required oaths. Captains' rolls (which often list only heads of families) and oath-of-allegiance lists are not extant for all ships; but the oaths of abjuration were kept in bound volumes and, theoretically, all survive.

On 15 September 1749, male passengers from the ship *Phoenix*, aged sixteen and over, signed the oath of abjuration in Philadelphia. Among these passengers were four men named Altman: Georg, Anthon, Jacob, and Wilhelm.² In addition to these four, three other men of that surname appear in later records—including baptismal entries, tax rolls, and deeds. Prior researchers have assumed that they, too, sailed on the *Phoenix* but were under age to sign the oath—i.e., Johann Casper and two men named Johann Peter. These two Peters are distinguished in some records by the sobriquets “Hans Peter” and “Black Peter”³ and by the names of their wives.

Modern genealogists tracing colonial German families have to contend with two customs that complicate identification; both relate to names. First, German names were commonly Anglicized. Second, both in Europe and Pennsylvania, Germans usually gave their children two Christian names but often called them by the second, rather than the first. Thus, some researchers call the first the *throwaway* name. Many families gave all sons the throwaway first name of *Johann* or its variants *Johannes* and *Hans*. Similarly, all daughters in a family often had the same first name of *Maria* or *Anna*; and sometimes these two names were used interchangeably in the same woman's records, so that she might be “Maria Catharina” in one document,

2. List 133C, in Ralph Beaver Strassburger and William John Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers, Signature Volume* (1934; reprinted, Springfield, Va.: Genealogical Books in Print, 1992), 452. The only surviving list for this voyage of the *Phoenix* is the group of signatures to the oath of abjuration. It offers just the names of males sixteen and older who were on the ship; but one can assume that their wives, daughters, and sons under sixteen who came to America traveled with them.

3. The basis for Black Peter's nickname is unknown; but it was commonly given by Europeans of that era to those of dark complexion and/or hair, as well as to blacksmiths. One transcription of the 1783 tax list for Westmoreland Co. includes a mistake in identifying “Black Peter” as “Peter Altman, a negro”; see Shirley G. McQuillis, comp., *Westmoreland County in 1783* (Laughlintown, Penn.: Southwest Penn. Genealogical Services, 1983), 1. Another transcription lists them as “Altman, Peter, white” and “Altman, Peter, black,” conforming to the manner in which descriptive sobriquets were appended to names on tax lists (wherein “red” did not mean Indian and “dark” or “black” did not mean Negro); see “Transcript of Property with Number of Inhabitants in the County of Westmoreland, 1783,” William Henry Egle, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, 3d ser. (Harrisburg: Wm. Stanley Ray, State Printer, 1898), 22:402. The interactions of Black Peter Altman with the German community in Westmoreland Co. (e.g., the service of both Peter Altman's on a jury in 1782) leave little doubt that he was a Caucasian; see “Civil Court Docket,” *Old Westmoreland* 5 (May 1985): 30.

and “Anna Catharina” in another. To complicate research further, a Pennsylvania German with a first name other than one of these common throwaway names might be ambivalent about which name (first or middle) she or he used.

PAST ASSUMPTIONS

For years, Altman researchers have faithfully copied onto their family-group sheets the parent-child groupings put forth by Kellogg. On the whole, his research on the New World Altmans is of good quality; and he often cites primary sources for American relationships. However, he bases his suppositions about kinships among the immigrants *only* on circumstantial evidence.

Had it not been for the two men named Peter, researchers probably would have assumed that all these Altman men belonged to the same nuclear family—i.e., a father and his sons. But the existence of the second Peter implies more than one set of siblings. Kellogg made the following deductions:⁴

- The three younger men, Casper, Hans Peter, and Black Peter, were too young to be a father in one of the proposed family groups.
- Three of those who abjured—Georg, Anthon, and Wilhelm—married after arriving in Pennsylvania; so Kellogg assumed they were young men.
- Only Jacob Altman remains to be a father of the six other identified Altmans.
- Jacob’s wife likely was the Anna Maria Altman whose tombstone in the graveyard of Saint Paul’s Union (“Indianland”) Church in Lehigh Township, Northampton County, shows a death date of 1775.⁵
- Anthon Altman (Kellogg’s ancestor) was executor of the estate left by Georg Altman of Northampton County in 1761.⁶ Therefore, Kellogg assumed that Anthon and Georg were brothers.
- Anthon, Hans Peter, and Wilhelm Altman moved to Hempfield Township, Westmoreland County, in western Pennsylvania, between 1769 and 1773, where they settled on adjoining tracts of land. Subsequently, Casper and Black Peter moved to the same township but settled in a different area.⁷ To Kellogg, the circumstances suggested two family clusters.

4. Kellogg’s hypotheses and his reasons for them are found in his “Altman Family,” 6–8, 32–33, 110, 116.

5. Translated, the stone’s inscription reads, “Here rests in the Lord Anna Maria Altman, born in the year of Christ 1701 and died the 20th of March in the year of Christ 1775. I die gladly because I will someday rise from the dead. I will go out of the gloomy earth and my grave glorified in the greatest brightness and light. I will then see God’s face in the greater joy.” Translation by the author, from the tombstone as seen in 1990. The red sandstone marker is of normal size, its front covered by the lengthy engraving. The reverse displays an intricate carving of a tuliplike flower growing from a pot, with curled leaves. The graveyard is on a slope; portions of the left side of the last three lines are buried, including parts of two words and all of the last two words. The author has filled these in from the transcriptions of the tombstone given in Altman, Earhart, and Kellogg, who agree on those words, although Kellogg may be the source for all. Earhart and Kellogg include identical errors in their transcriptions of the tombstone: *aufferstehen* appears in both as *aveerstehen*, and *erd[e]* appears in both as *ei.d.*

6. Estate file 269, Northampton Co., Penn.

7. Kellogg, “Altman Family,” 32, states that Casper and Black Peter moved to Westmoreland much later

- In 1758, the widow Magdalena Aldmann married Mathias Sommer at Saint Michael's Evangelical Church of Germantown, suburb of Philadelphia, implying that she might be connected with the Altmans of the *Phoenix*.⁸

From the foregoing facts and assumptions, Kellogg's final division of the family included two sibling groups:

Family 1

JACOB AND ANNA MARIA [—?—] ALTMAN, parents of

- a. Anthon [Anthony]
- b. Georg [George]
- c. Hans Peter
- d. Wilhelm [William]

Family 2

[—?—] AND (POSSIBLY) MAGDALENA [—?—] ALTMAN, parents of

- a. Casper
- b. Black Peter

QUESTIONS

Several alternative hypotheses seem to be equally viable explanations for relationships between these individuals, and none of these propositions are contradicted by any facts previously known to Altman researchers.

- Casper Altman died 28 December 1818 "in the 78th year of his age,"⁹ making his birth year 1741. As Anna Maria of the tombstone was forty-two at that time, Casper could have been her grandson.

than Anthon, Hans Peter, and Wilhelm. Actually, Black Peter arrived in Westmoreland soon after the first three (between 1773 and 1774); see Kellogg, "Altman Family," 57, offering a copy of signatures from a petition of 1774 ("Fort Allen Petition") found in "Provincial Papers, vol. 54, folio 108," Penn. State Archives [Bureau of Archives and History], Harrisburg. Casper was still in Northampton Co. in 1777, and his first documented appearance in Westmoreland Co. is dated 1780; see Patent Book P19:181, Penn. State Archives; and Paul Miller Ruff, *German Church Records of Western Pennsylvania*, 3d ed. (n.p.: privately printed, 1981), 18M319, for baptism of Casper Altman's daughter, Catharina Margaretha Altman, on 12 October 1780 in Westmoreland Co. Individual baptismal records in Ruff are identified by one or two letters, designating the pastor or church, and a number that indicates the sequence in that set of baptisms.

Ruff's above-cited work is vol. 1 of a 4-vol. series in which vols. 2–4 are differently titled—i.e., *German Church Records of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania*. The various volumes are available in different editions. This paper uses the following: vol. 1, 3d ed. (1984); vol. 2, 2d ed. (1981); vols. 3–4, 1st ed. (1982 and 1989, respectively). The series is usually cited collectively by the title of vols. 2–4 and will be hereinafter cited as Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*.

8. "Records of St. Michael's Evangelical Church [Germantown]" (undated ms. copy of original, Penn. Historical Society Library, Philadelphia), 496. The present researcher has not yet found a connection between this widow and the Altmans under study.

9. Tombstone of Casper Altman, Brush Creek Lutheran Church Cemetery, Westmoreland Co. A reading of this tombstone in Della Reagan Fischer's "Brush Creek Churches Cemetery, Hempfield Twp., Westmoreland Co., Pa." (1972 typescript, Westmoreland Co. Historical Society, Greensburg, Penn.), 2, confounds the issue of Casper's paternity still further, by placing a note ("of Sam'l") after Casper's name. However, this is a misplaced carryover of Fischer's reading for the entry above Casper's, wherein one Elizabeth Altman is identified as the "consort of Sam'l." Fischer's space permitted placing only the word "consort" in her note column for Elizabeth's entry; the remaining words, "of Sam'l," ran over onto the line for Casper's entry.

- Casper might have been, instead, the youngest son of Anna Maria—theoretically by Jacob.

This theory could logically explain why Casper did not migrate west as early as the other Altman men. In Pennsylvania German families of this period, the youngest son commonly stayed at home and looked after his parents, receiving the family homestead as his compensation.

No known researcher has found a death date or tombstone for Jacob Altman. His last known record is that of a 1772 tax list,¹⁰ at which time he would have been seventy-two years old. Anna Maria was buried in Northampton in 1775; and on 17 March 1777, Casper Altman deeded his Northampton land to Christian Hummel.¹¹ After the death of Jacob and Anna Maria, Casper would have needed time to put his affairs in order but would have moved eventually to western Pennsylvania, where his brothers and his wife's siblings were. He made his first documented appearance in Westmoreland in 1780.¹²

- Jacob could be the father of all the other Altman men, including both Peters. Men have been known to sire two children of the same name, usually by two different wives. Hans Peter provided an example in the Altman family, when he named daughters by his second marriage *Catharina* and *Christina*, even while daughters of these names by his first wife were still living.¹³
- (A clue overlooked by Kellogg.) The abjuration list groups Georg and Anthon together—but separates them from Jacob and Wilhelm by a large number of others (sixteen, to be exact). The divided groupings suggest separate family clusters. The only relationship in Kellogg's groupings that the oath list supports at all is Kellogg's proposed father-son relationship for Jacob and Wilhelm.
- Anna Maria of Saint Paul's Cemetery is not proved, by any previously known evidence, to be the wife of Jacob. Thus, other relationships have to be considered. Possibly she was an unmarried sister of Jacob Altman or the mother of the proposed second group of siblings.

ANSWERS

Once questions were raised, answers evolved from a combination of persistence, perception, and fate. Family tradition had placed the origin of the Altman family in Alsace-Lorraine. Put into perspective, the tradition is of limited value. That region of the French-German border spanned over five thousand square miles; and all guidebooks to German research stress the necessity of pinpointing ancestral origins

10. "Proprietary Tax for the County of Northampton for the Year 1772," in William Henry Egle, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, 3d ser. (Harrisburg: Wm. Stanley Ray, State Printer, 1897), 19:58.

11. Patent Book P19:181, Penn. State Archives, Harrisburg.

12. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:18 M319, for baptism of Casper Altman's daughter, Catharina Margaretha Altman, on 12 October 1780.

13. Will Book 1:161, Westmoreland Co.

to a town, village, or parish *before* attempting to conduct research abroad. Yet American records seemed to offer no more-specific clues, other than the identities of the individuals who sailed with the Altmans aboard the *Phoenix*.

With this meager data, an Altman descendant sought the assistance of a German researcher well versed in the Alsace-Lorraine region, Dr. Bernd Gölzer.¹⁴ First, Gölzer identified a cluster of towns in Nassau-Saarwerden, Alsace (now Bas-Rhin, France), in which there appear not only Altmans but also individuals with other surnames found on the *Phoenix* roll. Particularly in the villages of Herbitzheim, Keskastel, and Örmingen [Oermingen, Ehrmingen], Gölzer located many sacramental entries, some property records, and a census for most Altman immigrants in Kellogg's genealogy. The findings paint a quite-different family portrait from the one long accepted by Altman researchers—including the following:

- Jacob and Georg were brothers, not father and son.
- Casper was Jacob's son, not the offspring of some other, unidentified immigrant.
- Anthon was the son of Georg, not Jacob.
- Georg's children were born of a wife previously unknown (although Anna Maria was confirmed as Jacob's wife).
- One other sibling of Jacob and Georg did emigrate; but it was a previously unknown sister, who brought a different surname to America.

RECONFIGURATION OF THE ALTMAN IMMIGRANTS

1. **Johann (es)^A "Hans" Altman**, born before 1661 (possibly before 1645);¹⁵ died 21 June 1721 at Örmingen, county of Nassau-Saarwerden in Alsace, Germany (modern Bas-Rhin, France).¹⁶ Gölzer proposes him as the Hans Altmann, son of Hans Wilhelm Altmann of Weitersweiler (a village on the western rim of the Rhine Valley about forty miles northwest of Strasbourg), who married there 29 July 1670, **Margaretha Keufer (or Reufer)**, daughter of Valentin of Herbitzheim (about fifty-five miles northwest of Strasbourg). Prior to 1686, apparently, Johann wed, second, **Eva [—?—]**, about whom nothing is known.¹⁷

14. Altman researchers are indebted to Phyllis Miller of Delaware, Ohio, for commissioning the research.

15. Date is based on an assumption that he was at least twenty-five years old when the first known daughter was born, or at least twenty-five in 1670, if he is the Johann "Hans" Altmann who married that year.

16. Gerhard Hein, "Herbitzheim" (typescript, n.d., Cologne[?]), 139, citing "Die Bearbeitung des Lutherischen Kirchenbücher von Herbitzheim nach den Originalen, aufbewahrt in Archives Départementales Bas Rhin, Strasbourg, unter 3 E 190, Bände 7 und 8" [Compilation of the Lutheran Church Books of Herbitzheim from the originals, preserved in the Departmental Archives, Bas Rhin, Strasbourg, under 3 E 190, volumes 7 and 8]; photocopy in possession of author.

Dr. Hein's work, cited frequently in this paper, is a series of several dozen privately distributed mimeographs, available primarily in libraries and archives of Germany and the Alsace-Lorraine area of France; random copies are found in a small number of American repositories with German interests. The last available address for Professor Hein (1986) is Leopold Gmelinstrasse 56, D-51061, Köln [Cologne], Germany.

17. Dr. Bernd Gölzer (24, rue des Vergers, F-57350 Stiring-Wendel, France) to Phyllis Miller, report dated 7 December 1991, p. 1, citing Hein's transcriptions from Weitersweiler and Herbitzheim. Copy in possession of this writer. This source is hereinafter cited as Gölzer Report.

A clear reconstruction of this Altman family is hampered by the political and religious conflicts of the era. According to Gölzer, "Herbitzheim church records have a large gap before 1690. . . . The county was then occupied by France, the Lutheran religion forbidden and the Catholic church the official church. . . . In 1698 the county fell back to the counts of Nassau and the Lutheran religion was once again installed; after this time the records for Herbitzheim are complete and have no more gaps. The family and kids of Johannes Altmann appear in three different church records: Pisdorf, Keskastel and . . . Herbitzheim."¹⁸

Children of Johannes^A Altman and wife Eva are believed to be as follows:

- 2 i. GERDRUT¹ ALTMAN, probably born before 1686 in Herbitzheim, died after 1709, possibly in Pennsylvania. She married 31 August 1706 at Zollingen, Marcel Weidmann, son of Johann Peter Weidmann. A notation in Pisdorf's Lutheran *Kirchenbuch* (church book) for 1707 is said to state, "Moved to India [America], to the Island Pennsylvania." Gölzer reports finding no evidence of the family in the Zollingen-Pisdorf region after 1709.¹⁹
- 3 ii. JOHANN GEORG ALTMAN, baptized 11 February 1691 at Herbitzheim; buried 8 September 1691.²⁰
- + 4 iii. JOHANN GEORG ALTMAN, born about 1692 at Herbitzheim;²¹ died, probably in early 1761, Northampton County, Pennsylvania.²² George married first, on 29 November 1715 at Örmingen, Johanna Sophia Nehling;²³ and second, on 25 June 1751 at Philadelphia, Maria Elisabeth Rohtin [Roth].²⁴
- + 5 iv. JACOB ALTMAN, born 9 February 1700 at Örmingen or Keskastel;²⁵ died in

18. Gölzer Report, 2.

19. *Ibid.*, 1–2, citing Hein's transcriptions for Pisdorf Lutheran Church. Annette Kunselman Burgert, *Eighteenth Century Emigrants from the Northern Alsace to America* (Rockport, Me.: Picton Press, 1992), 576–77, notes that Hein has issued two editions of the Pisdorf records: "The first one dated 1977 and a new edition of 1981. The 1977 edition mentions [the above annotation regarding Penn.]. The 1981 edition does not mention this." Whether the omission from Hein's revision represents a mistake or an intended correction is yet unknown.

20. Gölzer Report, 1.

21. Gölzer Report, 2, states that Hans Georg is cited as fifty-four on the 1742 census of Örmingen, suggesting a birth year of 1688. Two scenarios might be proposed from these facts. (1) A Johann "Hans" Georg was born about 1688, and survived; his parents then named a second son Hans Georg in 1691, and the second one died. Or (2) A Johann "Hans" Georg was born in 1691 and died that year, after which his parents gave the name to the next son, who was likely born within a year (i.e., 1692). The second scenario seems more probable. Gölzer's Report does not discuss the seeming incompatibility of dates and name duplication.

Supporting the hypothesis that the Örmingen census errs on ages is the fact that Johann Georg's brother Jacob (no. 5, above) is said to be forty-four on the 1742 census (i.e., born 1698), even though his baptismal record gives his date of birth as 9 February 1700.

22. Estate file 269 (inventory dated 21 February 1761), Northampton Co.

23. Gölzer Report, 2, citing Hein's compilation of Örmingen Lutheran Church records, page unspecified.

24. "Record of the Marriages in the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in Philadelphia, Commenced Anno 1745," in *Pennsylvania German Church Records of Births, Baptisms, Marriages, Burials, Etc. from the Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings and Addresses*, 3 vols. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983), 1:602.

25. Hein, "Keskastel," 255, citing "Die Bearbeitung des Lutherischen Kirchenbuches von Keskastel 1698–1793: Original aufbewahrt in Archives Départementales, Bas Rhin, Strasbourg, Akt 3 e 434, 1–4. Die Filialen bis 1726[:] Altweiler, Harskirchen, Herbitzheim, Hisingen und Örmingen; Filiale bis 1793: Schopperten" [Compilation

1772 or later,²⁶ Northampton County, Pennsylvania. Married 22 February 1724 at Herbitzheim, Anna Maria Eisenmann.²⁷

- 6 v. ANNA ELISABETHA ALTMAN, probably born before 1703; is said to have married 26 January 1723 (place unnamed), Martin Quiron [Quirin], son of [—?—] Quirin and Margaretha Fuchs.²⁸

4. Johann “Hans” Georg¹ Altman (Johannes^A), born about 1692,²⁹ in Alsace; probably died shortly before the 21 February 1761 inventory of his estate in Northampton County, Pennsylvania.³⁰ He married first on 29 November 1715 at Örmingen, Johanna Sophia Nehling, daughter of Mathias Nehling, a tenant farmer of Dehlingen.³¹ Georg married second, on 25 June 1751 at Saint Michael’s and Zion Church, Philadelphia, Maria Elisabeth Rohtin [Roth].³²

As with many German families of their era, Georg and Johanna Sophia are found in the registers of several adjacent villages. Children born between 1715 and 1720 were registered in the village of Keskastel, even though the family seems to have resided in nearby Herbitzheim. Once Herbitzheim was declared a Lutheran parish in its own right (1721), the baptisms of this couple’s children appear in the new registers, through 1725. After a cameo appearance for a child’s baptism in nearby Lorentzen in 1739 (at which time Georg was said to be a cowherd of Domfessel), no further activities of the family are known until their appearance on the 1742 census of Örmingen. That last record describes “Hans Georg” as a day laborer, aged fifty-four, and a Lutheran with eight children.³³

In Pennsylvania, Georg appears in only a few records. A petition dated 5 October 1757 at the Forks of the Delaware, pleading for protection from the Indians, bears the name *Georg Altman*. On 20 March 1761, in Lehigh Township of Northampton, the administration of his estate was given to his widow and to Jacob Altman, Georg Meyer, and Jacob Roth.³⁴

of the Lutheran Church Book of Keskastel, 1698–1793: Original preserved in the Departmental Archives, Bas Rhin, Strasbourg, Akt 3 e 434, 1–4. Branch from 1726: Altweiler, Harskirchen, Herbitzheim, Hinsingen and Örmingen; branch from 1793: Schopperten]. Photocopy in possession of this writer.

26. “Proprietary Tax for the County of Northampton for the Year 1772,” *Pennsylvania Archives*, 3d ser., 19:58.

27. Gölzer Report, Jacob Altmann family-group sheet, citing Hein, “Herbitzheim,” 139.

28. Birth year is calculated upon presumption that she was at least twenty at time of marriage. The marriage data above have not been verified by the present author and are offered here only as a clue. It is cited by John Reeb, San Francisco, Calif., E-mail to author, 18 February 1993, wherein Reeb states, “I have a page from Dr. Hein’s records which reflects that Anna Elisabetha, daughter of Johannes Altmann, was married to Johann Martin Quiron (I believe this is supposed to be Quirin, since that is a large family in that region) on 26 Jan. 1723.” Reeb does not indicate which Hein volume or page contains this data, nor does he identify the marriage site.

29. See discussion of birth year, provided at n. 21 herein.

30. Estate file 269, Northampton Co.

31. Hein, “Keskastel,” 255.

32. *Pennsylvania German Church Records*, 1:602.

33. Gölzer Report, 1–2.

34. “Petition of Inhabitants of Northampton County, 1757,” in Samuel Hazard, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser. (Philadelphia: Joseph Severns, 1853), 3: 284–86. For Georg Altman’s estate administration, see estate file 269, Northampton Co.

Known children of Johann "Hans" Georg¹ Altman and Johanna Sophia Nehling are cited below. No children have been identified for his second marriage.

- 7 i. MARIA CATHARINA² ALTMAN, baptized 6 September 1716, Keskastel.³⁵ On 8 January 1747, there died at Örmingen a young Johann Georg Altman, said to be the illegitimate child of Maria Catharina.³⁶
- 8 ii. PHILIPP PETER ALTMAN, baptized 14 August 1718, Keskastel.³⁷ (See subsequent discussion of Hans Peter and Black Peter.)
- 9 iii. JOHANN NICOLAUS "HANS NICKEL" ALTMAN, baptized 14 April 1720, Keskastel.³⁸ With Eva Weinstein of Dehlingen, he had an out-of-wedlock child in 1743.³⁹
- 10 iv. MARIA ELISABETHA ALTMAN, born 3 June 1722, Herbitzheim.⁴⁰
- 11 v. EVA CATHARINA ALTMAN, born 20 August 1724, Herbitzheim;⁴¹ died 26 May 1745, Herbitzheim.⁴² In 1741, she had an out-of-wedlock child with Caspar Hallauer, an unmarried butcher's apprentice from Saint Johann.⁴³ She is said to have married 19 January 1745, Lorentz Schneider.⁴⁴
- 12 vi. JOHANNES ALTMAN, born 21 July 1727, Herbitzheim; died 30 August 1728, Herbitzheim.⁴⁵
- 13 vii. JOHANN ANTON [ANTHON, ANTHONY] ALTMAN, born 7 August 1729, Herbitzheim;⁴⁶ died between 3 February 1809, when he wrote his will, and 25 February 1809, when the will was filed for probate in Hempfield Township, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania.⁴⁷ He married, probably in Northampton County, Maria Anna (Joghs), widow of David Tetoit (variously *DeToit*, *DeTarre*, and *DeTar*; descendants use *Detar*). Maria Anna signed her name as "Marianne joghs tetoit" to the administration bond of David's estate in Northampton County on 19 June 1754.⁴⁸

35. Hein, "Keskastel," 255.

36. Hein, "Herbitzheim," 139. The birth of children prior to marriage was common in this period of Germany's history, due to a variety of economic factors and social customs. Researchers should routinely include this possibility when conducting a search of parish registers—extending the search, under the female's maiden name, for several years prior to marriage.

37. Hein, "Keskastel," 255.

38. *Ibid.*

39. Hein, "Herbitzheim," 139.

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.*

42. John Reeb to author, 10 August 1993, citing Hein, "Herbitzheim," page not specified (entries are recorded in, and located by, chronological order).

43. Hein, "Herbitzheim," 139, identifies the mother as Eva Catharina. Burgert, *Eighteenth Century Emigrants from the Northern Alsace*, 26, identifies the mother as Maria Catharina.

44. John Reeb to author, 10 August 1993, citing Hein, "Herbitzheim," page not specified.

45. Hein, "Herbitzheim," 139.

46. *Ibid.*

47. Will Book 1:135, Westmoreland Co.

48. The Tetoit (Detar) couple and their descendants are treated in Ruth G. Hall and Lucille O'Brien, *De Tar and Allied Families* (Kerrville, Tex.: Ruth G. Hall, 1982), 17; see also Kellogg, "Altman Family," 40.

- 14 viii. CATHARINA MAGDALENA ALTMAN, born 25 April 1732, Herbitzheim.⁴⁹
 15 ix. MARIA SALOME ALTMAN, born 5 November 1735, Herbitzheim.⁵⁰
 16 x. JOHANN PETER ALTMAN, born 27 February 1739, Lorentzen.⁵¹ (See subsequent discussion of Hans Peter and Black Peter.)

5. **Jacob¹ Altman** (Johannes^A), born and baptized 9 February 1700 at Örmingen, Germany;⁵² died 1772 or later in Pennsylvania.⁵³ Jacob married 22 February 1724 at Herbitzheim,⁵⁴ **Anna Maria Eisenmann**, daughter of Christian and Anna Catharina (Breitenstein) Eisenmann. Anna Maria, who had been born 17 February 1701 at Herbitzheim,⁵⁵ died 20 March 1775 and lies buried in Saint Paul's Union ("Indianland") Church Cemetery, Lehigh Township, Northampton County.⁵⁶

A farmer, Jacob appears on the 1742 census of Herbitzheim, as does his brother Johann Georg. Jacob is said to be forty-four years old (an incorrect age when compared to his baptismal record) and a Lutheran. He is credited with five children, a house, "acreage elsewhere," three oxen, two head of cattle, three hundred *guldens* of debt, and "middling fortune."⁵⁷ Amid the few records extant for him in Pennsylvania is the petition from the Forks of the Delaware, praying for "protection from the Indians," which Jacob and Georg signed on 5 October 1757.⁵⁸

Multiple links exist between this Jacob Altman and the one who arrived in Pennsylvania aboard the *Phoenix*. A signature of the Herbitzheim Jacob appears on the 4 May 1749 deed in which he states that he and wife Anna Maria were donating to their brother-in-law, Caspar Bachmann, the remaining property they could not sell at auction. That signature matches the September 1749 abjuration signature of

Anthon (Anthony, Anthoni, Andoni, etc.) Altman had a child in 1755 whose mother's name is not known and another child whose estimated birthdate was around 1756–57. There was then an eight-year gap before the birth of his next known child in 1766; the gap suggests that Maria Anna might have been a second wife. For the 1755 and 1766 children, see Burgert, *Eighteenth Century Emigrants from the Northern Alsace*, 26. For the 1756–57 child, see Anthony Altman's will, Will Book 1: 236, Westmoreland Co., which names "daughter Barbara intermarried with John Harrold." Barbara was single on 16 January 1775, when she and John Harrold stood as godparents to Johannes Watterson (Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:5 M72). Their first known child, Jacob, was born 29 January 1776 (Ruff, *ibid.*, 7 M112). The 1756–57 birthdate is estimated on the basis that she married at about the age of twenty.

49. Hein, "Herbitzheim," 139.

50. *Ibid.*

51. Hein, *Dorf Lorentzen*, 45, citing "Die Aufschlüsselung des Evang.-Lutherischen Kirchenbuches von Lorentzen, 1698–1792/4" [Information from the Evangelical Lutheran Church Book of Lorentzen]. This information was not part of Gölzer's original report but came from later research by Altman descendant Margaret Schroeder of Bardstown, Ky.

52. Hein, "Keskastel," 255.

53. *Pennsylvania Archives*, 3d ser., 19:58.

54. Hein, "Herbitzheim," 139.

55. Gölzer Report, Jacob Altmann family-group sheet and Christian Eisenmann family-group sheet, citing Hein, "Keskastel," 255. Hein actually gives Anna Maria's maiden name as "Hammann" in his Keskastel vol.

56. Tombstone of Anna Maria Altman, previously cited.

57. Gölzer Report, Jacob Altmann family-group sheet, citing Hein, "Herbitzheim," 5.

58. *Pennsylvania Archives*, 1st ser., 3:284–85.

Jacob Altman at Philadelphia.⁵⁹ Three fellow passengers from the *Phoenix*, Hans Georg Isseman and his sons "Jo. Nicklas Isseman" and "Petder Eisenmann" (who seems to have signed his name twice), also appear in the Herbitzheim records, where Hans Georg is identified as a cousin of Anna Maria's father.⁶⁰

Known children of Jacob¹ Altman and Anna Maria Eisenmann were

- 17 i. JOHANN WILHELM² ALTMAN, born 14 November 1724 at Herbitzheim;⁶¹ died between 5 April 1798, when he was a sponsor in baptism,⁶² and 19 June 1798, when letters of administration were issued for his estate in Westmoreland County.⁶³ He is said to have married Maria Barbara Scholl [Stahl?] around 1760.⁶⁴ Kellogg gives Wilhelm's wife's maiden name as Scholl and suggests that she is the daughter of Carl Jacob Scholl (another hypothesis that many Altman descendants have confidently copied onto their family-group sheets). The Ohio line of the family gives her maiden name as Stahl.⁶⁵ No contemporary evidence is known to prove either of these surnames.
- 18 ii. ANNA MARGARETHA ALTMAN, born 8 June 1727 at Herbitzheim. She married there, on 13 February 1748, Georg Ecker, a tinsmith of Saltzbrunnen.⁶⁶ Her husband (and presumably she and any children born before October 1749) sailed on the *Phoenix* with her parents and siblings.⁶⁷
- 19 iii. CATHARINA ELISABETHA ALTMAN, born 23 June 1729; died 1 April 1730 at Herbitzheim.⁶⁸
- 20 iv. SOPHIA ELISABETHA ALTMAN, born 20 March 1731 at Herbitzheim.⁶⁹
- 21 v. JOHANN PETER ALTMAN, born 27 June 1735.⁷⁰ (See subsequent discussion of Hans Peter and Black Peter.)

59. Gölzer Report, undated copy in possession of author, citing deed in "6 E 35, vol. 69, records of the county office for Herbitzheim 1740-1750."

60. Ibid.; and Gölzer Report, Christian Eisenmann family-group sheet, citing Hein, "Bockenheim," 114; Hein, "Keskastel," 282; Hein, "Herbitzheim," 144, 164-65; and Hein, "Lorentzen," n.p.

61. Hein, "Herbitzheim," 139.

62. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 2:102 HA166. Kellogg, "Altmann Family," 93-94, gives this date as 25 April 1798.

63. Estate of William Altman, Will Book 1:57, Westmoreland Co., Penn.

64. *The Centennial History of Kutztown, Pennsylvania* (Kutztown: Kutztown Publ. Co., 1915), 38, offers a 1759 tax list for Berks Co., Penn., that includes "William Aldeman" on the list of single men. Anthon (Anthony) Altman is also enumerated. One descendant has tried to draw sinister conclusions from Wilhelm's appearance under an "incorrect" name; but the tax collector (probably English) simply wrote Wilhelm's name phoenetically.

65. John N. Boucher, *Old and New Westmoreland* (New York: American Historical Society, 1918), 935, also gives Maria Barbara's maiden name as Scholl. However, Harry C. Logsdon, *The Silent Streams* (Millersburg, Ohio: p.p., 1950), 47, gives her name as Barbara Stahl.

66. Hein, "Herbitzheim," 139. Also Burgert, *Eighteenth Century Emigrants from the Northern Alsace*, 27, 135.

67. Strassburger and Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers*, 1:405.

68. Hein, "Herbitzheim," 139.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid. gives the date as 25 June 1735. A photocopy from the Herbitzheim Lutheran registers, supplied by John Reeb, bears the date 27 June 1735; see microfilm 0765401, Family History Library, Salt Lake City.

- 22 vi. MARIA CATHARINA ALTMAN, born 14 August 1738.⁷¹ She appears variously as Anna Catharina in Pennsylvania records, where she stood as godmother to at least two children of her sister, Anna Margaretha (Altman) Ecker.⁷² Maria Catherine Altman was possibly the wife of Jacob Stroh. Several of her siblings sponsored children of Jacob and Anna/Maria Catherine Stroh, while Maria Catherine and Jacob Stroh similarly served a child of Black Peter Altman.⁷³
- 23 vii. JOHANN CASPER ALTMAN, born 15 April 1741 at Herbitzheim;⁷⁴ died 28 December 1818 in Hempfield Township, Westmoreland County.⁷⁵ He married before 1766, Susanna Beck,⁷⁶ born 15 May 1749 in Northampton County; daughter of John William and Anna Eva (Eschbach?) Beck.⁷⁷
- 24 viii. JOHANN JACOB ALTMAN, born 25 April 1744 at Herbitzheim; baptized at home in danger of death; died young.⁷⁸
- 25 ix. CATHARINA MARGARETHA ALTMAN, born 17 April 1747 at Herbitzheim.⁷⁹ She was a baptismal sponsor in Pennsylvania in 1762 for George Peter Altman, son of "Hans Peter."⁸⁰
- ? 26 x. CHRISTINA ALTMAN. No baptism or birth record has yet been found for her, but "Christina Altman (single)" is associated (as a baptismal sponsor) with other children of Jacob in Pennsylvania.⁸¹ Her birth likely occurred during or immediately after the family's emigration.

71. Hein, "Herbitzheim," 139.

72. Charles R. Roberts, transl., "Records of Egypt Reformed Church, Lehigh County, 1734–1834," Thomas Lynch Montgomery, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, 6th ser. (Harrisburg: Harrisburg Publ. Co., 1907), 6:10–11.

73. Children of Jacob and Maria Catherine (Altman?) Stroh, sponsored by Altman's, were as follows:

27 February 1762	Johann Peter Stroh	John Casper Altman and Christina Altman (single), with Peter Anthony and Anna Eva Küster
02 August 1772	Susanna Elisabeth Stroh	Susanna Elisabeth Altman (single), with Frederick Reisz
04 May 1774	Maria Barbara Stroh	William Altman and Maria Barbara (Scholl?) Altman

Child of Black Peter and Catherina [—?—] Altman, sponsored by Strohs:

01 July 1781	Hanna Altman	Jacob and Maria Catherine (Altman?) Stroh
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Child of Hans Peter and Christina [—?—] Altman, sponsored by Strohs:

13 October 1793	Sabina Altman	Johann Jacob Stroh "and Sarah"
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See Daniel Schumacher, *The Record Book of Daniel Schumacher, 1754–1773* (Rockport, Me.: Picton Press, 1993), 105; and Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:1 M2, 3 M40, and 20 M369.

74. Hein, "Herbitzheim," 139.

75. Tombstone of Casper Altman, as previously noted.

76. Orphans Court Book D:303, Northampton Co., 24 June 1779: "Petition of Frederick Beck, eldest son and heir at law of William Beck," lists among William Beck's children "Susanna, wife of Casper Altman."

77. Many individuals researching the line of William and Anna Eva Beck "know" that Anna Eva's maiden name was Eschbach. After extensive research, this author has not been able to find any documentation of this "fact" or to fit Anna Eva into any Eschbach family. The use of this name as her maiden name may result from confusion with her daughter, Eva Elizabeth (Beck) Eschbach, wife of Martin Eschbach.

78. Hein, "Herbitzheim," 139.

79. *Ibid.*

80. Burgert, *Eighteenth Century Emigrants from the Northern Alsace*, 27.

81. See, for example, baptism of Johann Peter Stroh, described in n. 73.

HANS PETER AND BLACK PETER: WHICH WAS WHICH?

Alsatian records do not resolve the confused identities of the Hans Peter and the Black Peter Altman of Westmoreland County. As the foregoing reconstruction shows, three Peters were born prior to the family's emigration from Germany: Philip Peter (born 1718, son of Georg); Johann Peter (born 1739, son of Georg); and Johann Peter (born 1735, son of Jacob). By contrast, the Pennsylvania records of this family sketch the following outline of two Peters:

Hans Peter

Johann Peter² Altman, birthdate and birth village uncertain, probably died very early in 1801 in Hempfield Township of Westmoreland County; his will, dated 1 December 1799, was registered there on 16 March 1801.⁸² He married first, before 1762 and probably in Northampton County, **Christina** [—?—], who died between 1784 and 1791.⁸³ Hans Peter married second, between 1786 and 1791 in Westmoreland County, **Anna Barbara (Fast) Shaffer**, daughter of Nicholas Fast.⁸⁴ Hans Peter's move from Northampton to Westmoreland, in western Pennsylvania, was made before the August 1772 baptism of his son Johan Michael and probably before that child's 11 May 1772 birth.⁸⁵ In Westmoreland, Hans Peter purchased land adjacent to that of Anthon Altman (son of Georg) and Wilhelm Altman (son of Jacob).⁸⁶

Known children of Johann Peter Altman and Christina (birth order uncertain) include the following:

- i. **GEORGE [JÜRG] PETER³ ALTMAN**, baptized 7 November 1762 in Northampton County; sponsors: George [Jürg] Eckert and wife Anna Margaretha, with J. Peter Ruch and Catharine Margaretha Altmann (daughter of Jacob).⁸⁷ He married Anna Maria [—?—] before 1792.⁸⁸
- ii. **ANDREW ALTMAN**, born about 1764, probably in Northampton County. He apparently married before the 1790 census,⁸⁹ Anna Elisabeth [—?—].⁹⁰

82. Will of Johann Peter Altman, Will Book 1:161, estate file 238, Westmoreland Co.

83. No record has been found for this marriage, but Christina is named as the mother of Hans Peter's children in the baptismal records for children i through xi.

84. Will of Nicholas Fast, Will Book 1:2, 600, Fayette Co., Penn., naming daughter Barbara Altman.

85. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:1 M3.

86. Kellogg, "Altman Family," 71, presents a map locating the adjacent lands of these three men.

87. Burgert, *Eighteenth Century Emigrants from the Northern Alsace*, 27.

88. Marriage date is calculated from birth of first known child, John Michael Altman, 30 January 1792; see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 2:93 HA6.

89. Bureau of the Census, *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Pennsylvania* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), 263, Westmoreland Co.

90. Marriage date is calculated from birth of first known child, John Ludwig Altman, born 19 March 1793; see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 2:94 HA19; and upon the assumption that the 1790 census entry does represent a marriage for Andrew.

- iii. SUSANNAH ALTMAN, born about 1766, probably in Northampton. She married, 1791 or before, Christian Eisenman,⁹¹ who had been born 24 May 1761 in Northampton County, as son of Hans Peter and Maria Catherine [—?—] Eisenman.⁹²
- iv. GEORGE [JÜRIG] JACOB, baptized 5 May 1768 “across the Lehigh” (apparently in Northampton); sponsors: Jürg Eisemann and Catharina Ecker.⁹³ He married before 1792, Catherine [—?—].⁹⁴
- v. CATHARINA ALTMAN, born May 1770, apparently in Northampton; died 11 November 1834.⁹⁵ She married before 1791, Philip Miller,⁹⁶ son of Nicholas and Anna Catherine [—?—] Miller.⁹⁷
- vi. JOHANN MICHAEL ALTMAN, born 11 May 1772 and baptized 2 August 1772, Westmoreland; sponsors: Michael Gonckel and wife Margaretha.⁹⁸ He married about 1795–96, Elizabeth Schwab [Swope],⁹⁹ daughter of Nicholas and Anna Maria (Hage) Schwab.¹⁰⁰
- vii. CHRISTINA ALTMAN, born 13 January 1774 and baptized 22 May 1774, Westmoreland; sponsors: Christoph Ührig and Christina Ruch.¹⁰¹ She married before 1793 Peter Miller,¹⁰² a brother of the Philip Miller who married her sister Catherine.¹⁰³
- viii. MARIA BARBARA ALTMAN, born about 1776, probably in Westmoreland; confirmed 6 May 1792 at age sixteen.¹⁰⁴ She married before 1796, Joseph Gongaware.¹⁰⁵
- ix. JOHN WILLIAM ALTMAN, born 7 October 1778 and baptized 21 March 1779 in

91. Christian and Susannah (Altman) Eisenmann were baptismal sponsors for a daughter of Philip and Catherine (Altman) Miller on 18 June 1792; see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:139 WB1051.

92. Boucher, *Old and New Westmoreland*, 3:617.

93. *Record Book of Daniel Schumacher*, 195, cites this date as a baptismal date; Burgert, *Eighteenth Century Emigrants from the Northern Alsace*, 27, gives this as a birthdate.

94. Marriage date is calculated from birthdate of first known child, Johannes Altman, 26 September 1792; see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 2:94 HA26.

95. Kellogg, “Altman Family,” 204.

96. Marriage date is calculated from birthdate of first known child, Susanna Miller, 18 June 1791; see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:139 WB1051.

97. Kellogg, “Altman Family,” 121–24.

98. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:1 M03.

99. Kellogg, “Altman Family,” 207.

100. Marriage date is calculated from birthdate of first known child, Samuel Altman, 16 December 1796; see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 2:157 ZE119.

101. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:3 M44.

102. Marriage date is calculated from birthdate of first known child, Charlotte Miller, 13 March 1793; see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 2:121 MP49. Kellogg, “Altman Family,” 208, erroneously attributes to this family a son John Philip, born 20 June 1794; Ruff (2:48 GR69) shows this was actually a son of Peter and Anna Margaretha Miller. Peter and Christina (Altman) Miller could not be the parents of John Philip because they had a child Susanna, born 12 June 1794, according to Ruff (2:96 HA65).

103. Kellogg, “Altman Family,” 121–24.

104. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 2:116.

105. Marriage date is calculated from birthdate of first known child, Susanna Gongaware, 9 March 1796; see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 2:100 HA 129.

Westmoreland; sponsors: Wilhelm Altman (son of Jacob) and "wife Barbara."¹⁰⁶ John William died in 1850, Tate Township, Clermont County, Ohio.¹⁰⁷ He married before 1800, Barbara Ann Swope.¹⁰⁸

- x. ANNA MARIA ALTMAN, born 30 March 1781 and baptized 6 May 1781, Westmoreland; sponsors Peter Wannemacher "and Christina."¹⁰⁹ She married about 1799, Philip Ream [Riehm].¹¹⁰ (Kellogg incorrectly renders this name as Beam.)¹¹¹
- xi. MARIA MARGRETHA ALTMAN, born 3 August 1783 and baptized 17 September 1783, Westmoreland; sponsors: "Joh. Peter Ruch and Maria Margretha."¹¹² She apparently died before her father wrote his will in 1799.

Known children of Johann Peter "Hans Peter" Altman and Anna Barbara Fast were

- xii. SOLOMON³ ALTMAN, born 29 June 1792 and baptized 28 October 1792, Westmoreland; sponsors: Gerhard Kempf "and Regina."¹¹³ He married Elizabeth [—?—].¹¹⁴
- xiii. SABINA ALTMAN, born 13 October 1793 and baptized 8 December 1793, Westmoreland; sponsors: "Joh. Jacob Stroh and Sara."¹¹⁵ She married Daniel Troxel, son of Jacob and Elizabeth Troxel, in a union established by 1810.¹¹⁶
- xiv. CHRISTINA ALTMAN (referred to in her father's will as "Christina Altman Junr."), born 9 August 1795 and baptized 13 September 1795, Westmoreland; sponsors: Christoph Schneider "and Elisabetha."¹¹⁷ She married before 1812, Jacob Heinbach or Heimbach.¹¹⁸

106. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:14 M252.

107. *History of Clermont County, Ohio, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts, 1880), 316, provides full name of William's wife and date of William's death.

108. Marriage date is calculated from birthdate of first known child, Christina, born 17 March 1800; see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 2:160 ZE170.

109. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:19 M344.

110. Marriage date is calculated from birthdate of first known child, Johannes Riehm, 12 February 1800; see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 2:213 WB1867.

111. Kellogg, "Altman Family," 109.

112. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:89 WB146.

113. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 2:93 HA13.

114. Kellogg, "Altman Family," 109.

115. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 2:47 GR37.

116. Marriage date is calculated from birthdate of first known child, William Draxel, 5 June 1811 (baptized 14 July 1811), with sponsors being Jacob Draxel and Elizabeth, grandparents; see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 3:177 WB3320.

117. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 2:186 WB 1383.

118. Kellogg, "Altman Family," 109, gives the name of Catharina's husband as Jacob *Huibach*; and this is what the name appears to be in Deed Book 13:153, Westmoreland Co. However, the name *Huibach* is not found elsewhere in the county. Baptismal records document three children born to Jacob and Christina *Heimbach*:

- Daniel *Heimbach*, born 2 August 1812 and baptized 4 October 1812, with sponsors being Daniel and Sabina (Altman) Draxel (Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 3:190 WB 3565).
- Salomon *Heimbach*, born 22 October 1813, baptized 1 May 1814, with sponsors being Jacob Tetthar (Detar) and Anna Mackrethy (Ruff, 4:35 GR1340).
- Maria *Heimbach*, born 11 October 1814, baptized 2 April 1815, with sponsors being Peter and Margaretha Stroh (Ruff, 4:40 GR 1464).

- xv. CATHARINA MARGARETHA ALTMAN (referred to in her father's will as "Catharina Altman Junr."), born 18 December 1796 and baptized 14 May 1797, Westmoreland; sponsors: Johannes Scheurer "and Margretha."¹¹⁹ She married John Bowman.¹²⁰

Black Peter

Johann Peter² Altman, birth period uncertain; died after 1796, Hempfield Township, Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania.¹²¹ He married, probably before 1764 and in Northampton County, **Catherine** [—?—].¹²² About 1773–74, they migrated to Westmoreland, although the land they purchased did not adjoin the tracts already settled by the sons of Jacob and Georg. When, circa 1777–80, Casper Altman (son of Jacob) migrated to Westmoreland, he settled near Black Peter.¹²³

Known children of Johann Peter "Black Peter" Altman and Catherine [—?—] (birth order uncertain) are as follows:¹²⁴

- i. JOHN PETER³ ALTMAN, born about 1764, probably in Northampton County. He married, before 1789, Sophia [—?—].¹²⁵
- ii. ANNA MARIA ALTMAN, born 1766, probably in Northampton County; died 10 March 1811. She married 4 February 1782, Michael Mechling, son of Dewalt and Sybilla [—?—] Mechling.¹²⁶

Christina's husband may be the Johann Jacob *Heimbach*, son of Conrad and Maria Catharina *Heimbach*, baptized 10 January 1790, with sponsors being Johann Jacob Stroh and Margaretha Scheuer (Ruff 1:129 WB865).

119. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 2:195 WB1539.

120. Deed Book 13:152–54, Westmoreland Co.

121. Kellogg, "Altman Family," 114, says that Black Peter Altman "disappears from the tax lists of Hempfield Township in 1798." Actually, Peter's last known appearance is the sale of his land to his son Thomas on 16 May 1796; see Deed Book 8-1:180, Westmoreland Co.

122. No record of this marriage has been found. However, Catharina is named as the mother of Black Peter's children in the baptismal records for children *iv* through *viii* and *x*.

123. Patent Book P19:181, Penn. State Archives, dates Casper's sale of land in Northampton; Deed Book 1:382, Westmoreland Co., documents his land acquisition in Westmoreland.

124. Information on children is from Kellogg, "Altman Family," 115, unless other records and facts are cited to correct him. Note, however, that children *i*, *ii*, *iii*, and *ix* are attached to Black Peter only through circumstantial—or negative—evidence, as follows:

- Wilhelm Altman's heirs are named in Deed Book 6:45–46, Westmoreland Co.
- The wills of Hans Peter and Anthon Altman name their heirs; see Will Book 1: 161, 236, Westmoreland Co.
- Eleven children can be identified for Casper Altman through baptismal records (either of the children themselves or of their offspring, identifying Casper and Susanna as grandparents). Those eleven children include three—John Peter, Anna Maria, and John—who are known to have lived to adulthood see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:25 M449; 3:152 WB2848; 1:58 L285, respectively.
- Because no other Altman heads-of-household can be documented in the county and because children *i*, *ii*, and *iii* do not belong to any of the other Altman's in Black Peter's generation, they are herein attributed to Black Peter. Child *ix* apparently belongs to Black Peter, because he is not listed in the deeds or wills documenting children of Wilhelm, Hans Peter, and Anthon, and because Casper Altman had children born in 1782 and 1784.

125. Date of marriage is calculated from birthdate of first known child, Anna Maria Altman, 29 January 1789; see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:64 L404.

126. Dorothy Hallarn Mercy, *Mechling/Mechlin/Macklin: Descendants of Dewalt Mechling, Eldest Son of Theobald Mechling, 1728–1982* (Falls Church, Va.: D. H. Mercy, 1982), 6–7. First known child, Simon Mechling, was born 15 May 1783. Baptismal sponsors were "Dewald Mechlin and Sybilla (grandparents)." See Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:83 WB47.

- iii. JOHN ALTMAN, born about 1768, probably in Northampton County. He married about 1794, Margaret [—?—].¹²⁷
- iv. THOMAS ALTMAN, born 29 August 1770 and baptized 16 September 1770 at Saint Michael's Church, Germantown, Philadelphia County, at which time his father was recorded only as *Peter*; sponsors: "Martin Hausen, sen. and Catherine, his wife." Died 4 July 1850.¹²⁸ He married before 1813, Margaret [—?—].¹²⁹
- v. MARIA CATHERINA ALTMAN, born 2 February 1773 and baptized 28 March 1773 at Saint Peter's Church, Barren Hill, in Philadelphia County (present Montgomery County), which adjoins Northampton on the south;¹³⁰ died 27 September 1853 in Armstrong County, Pennsylvania.¹³¹ She married, before 1791 in Westmoreland County, John Nicholas Eisenman,¹³² who had been born 20 February 1764 as son of Hans Peter Eisenman and Maria Catherine [—?—].¹³³
- vi. JOHN ANTHONY ALTMAN, born 18 August and baptized 15 October 1775, Westmoreland County, at which time his father was recorded only as *Peter*; sponsors: "Joh. Anthony Altman and Maria."¹³⁴ He married before 25 November 1804, Elizabeth [—?—].¹³⁵
- vii. ADAM ALTMAN, born 10 October 1778 and baptized 1 January 1779, Westmoreland County, at which time his father was recorded only as *Peter*; sponsors: Adam Schäffer and Magdalena Bender.¹³⁶ He married about 1799–1800, Eva [—?—],¹³⁷ and second, before 1804, Hannah [—?—].¹³⁸
- viii. HANNA ALTMAN, born 28 April and baptized 1 July 1781, Westmoreland, at which time her father was cited as *Peter*; sponsors: Jacob Stroh "and Maria Catharina."¹³⁹
- ix. JOSEPH ALTMAN, born about 1783, Westmoreland; died 15 August 1823, "aged 40 years," according to his gravestone.¹⁴⁰

127. Date of marriage is calculated from birthdate of first known child, David Altman, 14 May 1795; see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 2:50, GR110.

128. "Records of St. Michael's Evangelical Church," 496. See also Kellogg, "Altman Family," 324.

129. Date of marriage is calculated from birthdate of only known child, Joseph Altman, 2 April 1813; see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 4:85 HA495.

130. John T. Humphrey, *Pennsylvania Births, Montgomery County, 1682–1800* (Washington, D.C.: Humphrey Publications, 1993), 5.

131. Death certificate of Catherine A. Iseman, Death Book 1:11, Armstrong Co, citing Catherine's birthplace as Westmoreland Co. Her birth family is not found in Westmoreland records until 1773. If they were there earlier, it is unlikely they would have carried an infant on a trip of several days across Penn., in the cold of March, for baptism in Montgomery Co. The certificate names Catherine's father as *Peter Altman*; mother's name not given.

132. Date of marriage is calculated from birthdate of first known child, Michael Eisenman, born 7 October 1791; see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:142 WB1099.

133. Boucher, *Old and New Westmoreland*, 3:617.

134. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:6 M95.

135. John Anthony and Elizabeth were sponsors of Anthony Ross on 25 November 1804; see *ibid.*, 2: 78 GR622.

136. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:13 M235.

137. Date of marriage is calculated from birthdate of first known child, Nicholas Altman, 3 November 1800; see *ibid.*, 2:162 ZE200.

138. Date of marriage is calculated from birthdate of first known child, Maria Altman, 5 August 1804; see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 2:77 GR611.

139. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:20 M369.

140. Kellogg, "Altman Family," 115.

- x. JACOB ALTMAN, born 6 May 1784 and baptized 6 June 1784, Westmoreland, at which time his father was recorded as *Johann Peter*; sponsors: Conrath Beyer “and Margaretha.”¹⁴¹ Died 10 December 1864.¹⁴² He married first, before 1807, Catherine [—?—];¹⁴³ married second, before 1812, Elizabeth [—?—].¹⁴⁴

Given the fact that only these two Peters—Hans Peter and Black Peter—appear among this family’s immigrant generation and the fact that *three* Peters were born to the family in Germany, two issues exist: First, the field of three candidate infants must be narrowed to two. Second, the adults known as Hans Peter and Black Peter need to be assigned to the proper parental household.

Narrowing the Field

It seems unlikely that Philipp Peter (born 1718, son of Georg) was one of the Peters who settled in Westmoreland County. Had he come to Pennsylvania in 1749 with his father and siblings, he would have been thirty-one years old and should have signed the oath of abjuration. He does not appear on any lists of passengers or signatures to the oaths in Philadelphia, so apparently he did not come separately. Therefore, it seems probable that either Philipp Peter had died before the family came to Pennsylvania or he remained in Europe, and that he was not either Hans Peter or Black Peter.

More likely, the two Peter Altmans in Pennsylvania were Johann Peter (born 1735, son of Jacob) and Johann Peter (born 1739, son of Georg). Both Peters of Westmoreland County are referred to, at one time or another, as *Johann Peter*. Had one of the Peters been Philipp Peter, it seems logical that he would have used his distinctive first name to differentiate himself from his brother and cousin, rather than using a distinguishing adjective.

Assigning Hans Peter and Black Peter to Parental Households

Evidence still is inadequate as to which Johann Peter is the son of Jacob and which belongs to Georg. Kellogg presents Hans Peter as Jacob’s son and assigns Black Peter to Georg—pointing out that Hans Peter had children slightly before Black Peter and that Jacob’s Peter was four years older than Georg’s. Additional evidence uncovered in this research does little to resolve the issue. For example:

Associations for Hans Peter

He sponsored a child, Christina, born to Casper Altman (of Jacob).¹⁴⁵

141. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:97 WB295.

142. Tombstone in Brush Creek Lutheran Church, Hempfield Twp., Westmoreland Co.

143. Date of marriage is calculated from birthdate of first known child, Elizabeth Altman, 4 November 1806; see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 3:117 MP502.

144. Date of marriage is calculated from birthdate of first known child, Daniel Altman, 18 October 1812; see Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 4:30 GR 1185.

145. W. J. Hinke, transl. “Church Records of the Emmanuel Petersville Church, Moore Township Congregation, 1763–1839” (typescript, June 1934, Easton Area Public Library, Easton, Penn.), 5.

His son John William was sponsored by William Altman (of Jacob).¹⁴⁶

His son George Peter was sponsored by Anna Margaretha (of Jacob).¹⁴⁷

His daughter Sabina was sponsored by Jacob Stroh, apparent husband of Maria Catharina (of Jacob).¹⁴⁸

His Westmoreland farm adjoined both Anthon (of George) and Wilhelm (of Jacob).¹⁴⁹

Associations for Black Peter

His child John Anthony was sponsored by Anthon Altman (of Georg).¹⁵⁰

His child Hanna was sponsored by Maria Catharina Stroh (likely of Jacob).¹⁵¹

His Westmoreland farm adjoined Casper (of Jacob).

Comparative cross-family association

Anthon Altman (of Georg) sponsored Maria, born to Wilhelm (of Jacob).¹⁵²

In light of the inconclusive nature of the baptismal sponsorships, final assignment of parentage for the two Peters must await new information.

CONCLUSION

Joseph Kellogg and his contemporary researchers diligently collected information about the Altman family. Descendants owe them much—especially Kellogg for his arrangement and documentation of most of the data that have circulated for the past half-century. However, his hypotheses about the immigrants contain serious errors. He erroneously identified the brothers Jacob and Georg as father and son and assigned Anton, son of Georg, to Jacob. He mistakenly suggested that the widow Magdalena Aldmann, who married Matthias Sommer, was the mother of some of the immigrants, when no evidence can be found to support any relationship between her and the family under study. Georg's first wife, Johanna Sophia Nehling, went unidentified. And sixteen children of the two immigrant households were entirely unknown.

The degree of error that has been revealed in this case highlights an important fact. Researchers should be careful about putting speculations into print without compelling circumstantial evidence. Conversely, before accepting undocumented conclusions as fact, genealogists should ask whether the evidence could support other explanations. The fate of the family-group sheets filled out by genealogists who diligently copied Kellogg's misinformation over the past fifty years serves as one more reminder that just because something is in print, it is not necessarily true.

146. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:14 M252.

147. Burgert, *Eighteenth Century Emigrants from the Northern Alsace*, 27.

148. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 2:47 GR37.

149. Kellogg, "Altman Family," 71.

150. Ruff, *German Church Records of Westmoreland County*, 1:6 M95.

151. *Ibid.*, 1:20 M369.

152. *Ibid.*, 1:4 M69.

Notes and Documents

Some North Americans in the Old Parochial Registers of Scotland

By Kip Sperry, CG, AG, FASG, FNGS*

The following extracts are a continuation of an earlier series the contributor has published in the present journal. Their purpose is to identify Americans and Canadians found in the Old Parochial Registers of the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian).¹

Since the appearance of the earlier materials, the Family History Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) has produced two significant publications.

- *Old Parochial Registers (OPR) Index for Scotland*, a microfiche index to about ten million names.² It consists of 1,147 microfiche and includes references dating from the late 1500s through 31 December 1854. (Most of the registers began in the early 1700s; a few records date to 1900.) The OPR Index is arranged by county, thereunder alphabetically by surname, then by given name(s). Data include the names of parents or spouse; gender; type of entry (birth, christening, or marriage—but not death); event date and place (town or parish and county); batch number (information source); and, sometimes, the frame number where the entry appears on the microfilm of the parish registers that has been produced by the Family History Library (FHL), Salt Lake City. The microfiche *OPR Index* is available at FHL and at most of the 2,835 family history centers (LDS branch genealogical libraries) around the world.
- *Scottish Church Records*, an index to about ten million names found in the OPRs of the Church of Scotland (Presbyterian). This index is part of the FHL database

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1. Kip Sperry, "Some North Americans in the Old Parochial Registers of Scotland," *NGS Quarterly* 69 (December 1981): 261–68; 72 (September 1984): 191–92; and 75 (March 1987): 55–58.

2. For further information, see the FHL's *Resource Guide, Old Parochial Registers (OPR) Index for Scotland* (Salt Lake City: Family History Dept., 1994).

FamilySearch®. Entries date from the late 1500s through 1854 (a few records date to 1900) and serve as an index to records of some other denominations in Scotland. Three searches are available: Individual Search (birth or christening), Marriage Search, and Parent Search. The parent search lists personal names alphabetically by parents' names and shows possible children of that couple. The index provides the FHL microfilm number and sometimes the frame number.³ *Scottish Church Records* is also available on compact disc (CD) at many LDS family history centers; it is on computer network at FHL and the FamilySearch Center (Joseph Smith Memorial Building) in Salt Lake City, as well as at Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

The following extracts copy the data precisely as they appear. They are arranged here in alphabetical order, by the name of the parish in which the American or Canadian connection was found. The parenthetical reference at the end of each entry cites the FHL microfilm number. Researchers should note: these entries appear in the OPR indexes *as though the events occurred in Scotland*. For example, if the entry in the original parish register states that the person was born or married in North America, that event is indexed in the *OPR Index* under the parish in which the event is recorded.

ABBEY, RENFREW⁴

(OPR Reg. 9:392. Section: Parish Register of Proclamations and Marriages)

10 July 1854: John Smith, Coal Miner, Residing at Thornhill, and Fanny McKay, Residing in William Street, Johnstone, both in this Parish, have been Regularly proclaimed [banns announced] in order to Marriage and no objection made. Booked 24th[;] proclaimed 25th June, 3 days. Married at Johnstone, 14th [July 1854] by Edward Martin, Lat[t]erday Saints Preacher [living at] Johnstone. (FHL 1041091)

Note: Martin, as an LDS elder in this period, almost certainly was sent from America.

ANSTRUTHER-WESTER, FIFE⁵

(OPR Reg. 5:73. Section: Register of Deaths)

1842: Alexander Dishington, [a] Carpenter, died 5th Sept. [1842], County Cornwall [sic; probably meant to be Caldwell County], Kentucky, U.S., age 40. (FHL 1040147)

(OPR Reg. 5:73. Section: Register of Deaths)

Register of Deaths, 1843: Catherine, daughter of the late George Dishington, died at Eddyville, County of Caldwell, Kentucky, U.S., on the 26th September [1843], age 49. (FHL 1040147)

3. *Scottish Church Records [User Guide]* (Salt Lake City: Family History Dept., 1995).

4. Abbey: a parish in northeast Renfrewshire, including (a) part of the town of Paisley, sometimes called Abbey Paisley, and (b) the town of Johnstone. See Francis H. Groome, ed., *Ordnance Gazetteer of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Thomas C. Jack, Grange Publishing Works, 1884), 1:1.

5. Anstruther: a fishing and seaport town in southeastern Fife, comprising the royal and parliamentary burghs of Anstruther-Easter and Anstruther-Wester; see Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer*, 1:53.

ARDROSSAN, AYR⁶

(OPR Reg. 2:54. Section: Register of Marriages)

1842: Thomas Love and Agnes Hamilton, both in this parish gave in their names for proclamation of banns of marriage (prior to their going to America) this 26th day of March 1842, were regularly proclaimed & married by [name blank]. (FHL 1041327)

CARMUNNOCK, LANARK⁷

(OPR Reg. 2:47. Section: Marriages)

1847: Archibald Campbell in the town of Colchester, County of Delaware, State of New York, America, and Janet Edmiston, in this parish, gave in their names to be proclaimed in order to marriage upon the third & were married upon the 5th July 1847. (FHL 1042970)

GIRVAN, AYR⁸

(OPR Reg. 3:560. Section: Register of Births & Baptisms)

Thos. natural son of Thos. Stratton, now in America, and Janet McBroom, was born about three years ago and baptized 26th Decr. 1847. (FHL 1041380)

(Ibid., 632)

Mary, lawful daughter of John McLauchlan, weaver presently residing in America & Easter Tait born 28th June 1849, and baptized 25 February 1850. (FHL 1041380)

GLASGOW (GLASGOW PARISH), LANARK⁹

(OPR Reg. 17:8. Section: Blotter Register of Marriages, City Parish Blotter)

Glasgow, 8 July 1852. We, the Subscribers, Householders in Glasgow, do hereby certify, that Edward Augustus Blair, merchant, St. Louis, United States of America & Marion Morrison Harvey res^t [resident] in Glasgow are reputed unmarried persons—that they are not related or connected within any of the forbidden degrees, and that they have resided, as above stated, for at least six weeks immediately preceding this date 1.2.3, [sic; meaning of numbers unclear]. Tho. Harrass, Jas. Campbell. At Glasgow the 13th day of July [1852]. The above parties married by Dr. John Robson, U.P.M. [United Presbyterian Minister]. (FHL 1042962)

OLD KILPATRICK, DUMBARTON¹⁰

(OPR Reg. 3:282. Section: Births)

James Hendlen McLearn, son lawful of Archibald McLearn & Sara Hendlen, Born at Georgetown, South Carolina, North America, 30th August 1806. (FHL 1041001)

6. Ardrossan: a seaport town and watering place of Cunninghame, North Ayrshire, one mile west-northwest of Saltcoats; see Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer*, 1:67.

7. Carmunnock: a village and a parish on the Renfrewshire border of Lanarkshire; see Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer*, 1:238.

8. Girvan: a town and a parish in Carrick District, Ayrshire, on the coast at the mouth of the Water of Girvan; see Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer*, 3:88.

9. Glasgow: commercial and manufacturing capital of Scotland, situated for the most part in the lower ward of Lanarkshire; see Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer*, 3:92.

10. Old Kilpatrick: a village and a parish in southeastern Dumbartonshire; see Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer*, 4:383.

PAISLEY (LOW CHURCH PARISH), RENFREW¹¹

(OPR Reg. 5:117. Section: Marriages)

1844: Matthew Allan [from] Rhode Island, United States, and Jean Dabsiell in this Parish, Married by the Rev^d. Alexander Rennison, 1st Aprill 1844. (FHL 1041322)

RICCARTON, AYR¹²

(OPR Reg. 2:100. Section: Births & Baptisms)

1854: Boyd, son of Boyd Gilmour & Jean Dunsmuir, was born 11 Jan 1849, and baptized by Mr. Jeffrey.

Allan Columbia [Gilmour], son of Boyd Gilmour & Jean Dunsmuir, was born on [the] Columbia River, America, Orrigon [Oregon] Territory, on the 20th June 1851.

John, son of Boyd Gilmour & Jean Dunsmuir, was born at Victoria, Vancouver Island, America, on the 24th December 1854. (FHL 1041404)

SORN, AYR¹³

(OPR Reg. 3:220. Section: Births)

1851: William, lawful son of Daniel Buchanan, Wheel Wright, belonging to [resident of] Catrine, and Elizabeth Thomson, his spouse, was born 16th November 1851 at New York, U.S., N. America. (FHL 1041468)

11. Paisley: a large parliamentary burgh in the Upper Ward of Renfrewshire and in the northeastern part of the county, seat of important manufactures and a river port; see Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer*, 5:147.

12. Riccarton: a parish on the northern border of Kyle District, Ayrshire, including the southern suburb of Kilmarnock; see Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer*, 6:253.

13. Sorn: a village and a parish in the northeastern part of Kyle District, Ayrshire, on the right bank of the river Ayr, about 2.5 miles east-northeast of Catrine; see Groome, *Ordnance Gazetteer*, 6:367.

McQueen of the Creeks

Reference:

Return J. Meigs, Cherokee Agent, to Secretary of War, 9 August 1815; Correspondence and Miscellaneous Records, 1813–1815, roll 6, M208, *Records of the Cherokee Indian Agency in Tennessee, 1801–1835*, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

In years past [time unspecified], a council of Creek chiefs had debated the proper location of the boundary line that should divide the lands of the Cherokee and Creeks. One James Moore, present at the council, later reported [date not given] that the oldest man in the village was called to make the decision: James McQueen. Meigs adds that McQueen was a soldier under General Oglethorpe in 1732, that he deserted from his regiment while the general was making a military establishment on Savannah River, that he lived to a very great age before dying in the Creek nation, and that he was “a highland Scotchman, a man of strong mind and of great Physical power.” Meigs then proceeds to say, “The Indians boast of their retentitive memories; but I consider their tradionary records of very great uncertainty. Their credibility lessens in proportion to their antiquity.”

—Contributed by the editors

Updates

Reference:

Gordon L. Remington, "Lost Boys and Imprudent Young Men: Using U.S. Consular Despatches from Hawaii to Track Nineteenth-Century Prodigals," *NGSQ* 84 (March 1996): 38.

Note 36 should read simply "Ibid." Strike "N.Y. Co., Letters of Administration, 76: 150." Your editors apologize for this typesetting error.

Reference:

Virginia Easley DeMarce, "Review Essay: *The Melungeons: The Resurrection of a Proud People. An Untold Story of Ethnic Cleansing in America.* By N. Brent Kennedy," *NGSQ* 84 (June 1996): 134–49.

(p. 146, par. 3)

Kennedy reports that the photograph questioned by DeMarce is indeed that of Ida Powers Kennedy, although its accompanying legend is in error. He states (letter to editor, 7 August 1996): "As my editor . . . will confirm, a line was inadvertently left out under the photograph of Ida Powers Kennedy. She died in childbirth with her third child, not my grandfather which she is obviously holding. The mistake was caught immediately after publication and with the reprint it will be obvious how the deletion both occurred and was missed."

(p. 148, par. 3)

Regarding the various ethnic origins proposed for the Melungeons in his publication, Kennedy feels that the review's inclusion of the reference to Phoenician seamen is misleading. While his book discusses the Phoenician theory (pp. 82–83, 124), his purpose is to discount it. Kennedy states (letter to editor, 7 August 1996): "I do not believe ancient Phoenicians are part of the Melungeon ancestral fabric, other than through the genes passed on to all Mediterranean populations. . . . I am convinced that the Melungeons are indeed tri-racial and are descended from Native Americans and *sixteenth-century* [emphasis by Kennedy] European, Mediterranean, Middle Eastern, and African settlers."

Kennedy also states: "[The review] misses the point of the book. It is a book of speculation begging for more inquiry. . . . I am not a . . . historian, anthropologist, physician, or genealogist. . . . My book is an up-front call for help from qualified scholars. . . . I know there are errors in my work—please help solve this mystery."

Book Reviews

ETHNIC REFERENCES

A Student's Guide to African American Genealogy. By Anne E. Johnson and Adam Merton Cooper. Published by Oryx Press; 4041 North Central Avenue, Suite 700; Phoenix, AZ 85012-3397; 1996. 170 pp. Glossary, illustrations, index, photographs. Hardback. \$24.95 (shipping: \$2.50).

This volume is one of a new series by Oryx Press, designed as a text for high-school students tracing their ancestry. The authors focus on specific background information and resources needed to guide youth through the challenges they face in researching African American family history.

The book is arranged in nine chapters, each providing the reader with a brief discussion of some aspect of African American history and culture, with bits of genealogy. At the end of each chapter, the authors provide an excellent annotated list of resources that offer a better understanding of historical events in Africa and black family life in America. Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 9 provide basic genealogical information on getting started, using the census, tracing slaves, and preserving family history. In chapter 5, the author states, "It has been estimated that 95 percent of those four million slaves freed after the Civil War chose names other than [that of] their former owners" (p. 117). If this estimate is accurate, it spotlights a major problem for African Americans searching for slave or freedman ancestry prior to the 1870 census.

Johnson and Cooper have put together a practical and useful guide for educators and students.

Curtis Brasfield, CGRS, Chicago, Illinois

Catawba Indian Genealogy. By Ian Watson. Published by the Geneseo Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, State University of New York at Geneseo; Geneseo, NY 14454; 1995. xii, 113 pp. Softback. \$20.00.

Each time a field of material is gleaned, the yield is refined and the storehouse of knowledge is enlarged. While this author's work was limited to one summer's research on the Catawba and he admits to not covering a number of important records, he presents extracts from previously unpublished primary sources significant to Catawba research. Using earlier studies of such ethnologists and anthropologists as James Mooney, Albert Gatschet, Raven McDavid, and Frank Speck as a springboard, the author has compiled genealogies of about twenty-five families.

The Catawba are an amalgamation of South Carolina tribes that merged during the early-to mid-1700s. For this period, Catawba genealogy is virtually untraceable; extant records generally name only headmen or other males. The year 1810, however, marks a turning point in Catawba research. A plat book kept by Commissioner Hugh White between 1810 and 1827 (with references to at least one earlier book, whereabouts now unknown) records the rents owed by whites to specific Catawba for leasing their land. As the first large-scale roll of Catawba of both sexes, this register helps modern genealogists document relationships and genealogical links. Past this point in time, other records open up: Revolutionary War pension files, relocation and reservation records, censuses, church lists, and allotment rolls provide materials with which to build genealogies.

Summarizing Catawba history, Watson details events and records for each recognizable period. He also identifies several specific bodies of material that were not combed for his family sketches: records of York and Lancaster Counties, South Carolina (including land and court files); membership records of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints; and documents treating Catawba migrations to Oklahoma and North Carolina.

Meticulous care is shown in presenting facts. However, it is very distracting, when reading family sketches, to find text data with parenthetical citations containing several sources. Such references would better serve if they were presented as footnotes or endnotes. The bibliography is a rich reference to material from which genealogical data have been extracted. A table of contents locates general subjects, but researchers will wish for the addition of a personal-name index.

Considering that the *Guide to American Indian Documents in the Congressional Serial Set: 1817–1899* contains only one entry under "Catawba," Watson's publication will prove valuable.

Virginia R. Lyle, CG, Nashville, Tennessee

Collins Encyclopaedia of Scotland. Edited by John Keay and Julia Keay. Published by Harper Collins; London; 1994. 1046 pp. Appendixes, illustrations, index, maps. Hardback, £40.00; \$60.00.

The 1790 *Statistical Account of Scotland* was the first-ever parish-by-parish account of a country and its people. Scots also developed the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The Keays' work stands up well in comparison to these classics. Over 125 authorities have contributed some four thousand separate entries on Scottish history, geography, culture, industry, and persons of note.

Is the work potentially useful to American genealogists with Scottish roots? If they are serious, studious, and already know their Scottish ancestors, then the answer is yes.

Genealogists will find excellent discussions of every traditional Scottish county and detailed information on principal towns and cities. They will not find every parish. This reviewer, checking for sixteen mostly rural parishes of interest to her, found eleven. Discussions of the rise and fall of principal industries are also useful. Consulting the index for occupational listings sometimes leads to a parish entry that details why practitioners of that occupation emigrated.

Most Americans do not descend from the famous Scots in the biographical sketches. Yet the decisions made by these individuals and the actions they took did influence those who emigrated. Thorough genealogists will want to know the important events in the lives of their ancestors' clergymen, employers, landlords, and military and political leaders.

Genealogists interested in clans should take special note. Entries for the main clans sometime contain discussions that differ from those in popular compilations of clans and tartans. Members of "clan societies" for which there was never an original clan may be disappointed to find no entry for their society.

The Keays have produced a worthy addition to any library with a Scottish collection.

Helen Hinchliff, Ph.D., Salt Spring Island
British Columbia

FAMILY HISTORIES

The Allen Family of England, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi, Texas, and Illinois, 1600–1995: The Descendants of Captain William Allen and Wives Hannah Watson and Mary Hunt Minge. By Richard Fenton Wicker Jr. Published by Wicker Publishing; 5136 Violet Bank Drive; Virginia Beach, VA 23464-5643; 1995. x, 325 pp. Appendixes, index, maps. Hardback. \$30.00.

Virginia's genealogists welcome every new family study that appears, because each helps to sort the intricate and ancient interconnections of lineages that have been obscured by

extensive record loss. A book that expands knowledge of a common surname is even more appreciated. Wicker's *Allen Family* falls into both levels of usefulness. His introduction acknowledges the difficulties and the assistance of others in helping bridge gaps in the official record. The author points to parts of the Allen family story that are incomplete or unfinished and attempts to sort many of the Allens of Virginia and several other states—thereby providing others with a framework for their own research.

Yet the book suffers from structural difficulties that detract from its general usefulness. Some researchers may be thrown off course temporarily by the author's numbering system. Although it *can* be followed (unlike some), the incorporation of parentheses or underlining with the same person's number at different parts of the text causes a visual distraction. Consistent use of symbols in a genealogy is a basic standard that assists the reader.

Similarly, the lack of standard bibliographic citation for the sources used may prove problematic for anyone pursuing further research. Abbreviated references abound. Researchers who seek a fuller title will have to read backward in the text for the first reference to that particular source. Had a bibliography been added, the deciphering of the author's shortened references would not have been left to the reader's research skills. Whatever sources are cited appear in a consolidated note at the end of each family grouping. The reader, consequently, has no idea as to which fact can be found in which source.

The author's introduction states: "Detailed sourcing was not a valid option in a history this size although all source documents are listed. It is available to those who wish it through the Wicker Publishing Company files and records." One wonders where this material will be in forty years, when future genealogists wish to consult an unclear source cited in *The Allen Family*. Will the author's materials go the way of so many research notes? Looking forward is as important as looking backward, and research should stand up to future scrutiny.

Further questions regarding proper source citations center on the two maps on pages ix and x. The reference for the first map of central Virginia is only an International Standard Book Number (ISBN), while that for the second map is "Courtesy of Historic Buckingham." Efforts to identify the source of the first map have failed. The second map looked extremely familiar to this reviewer—because he drew it himself and published it under copyright in 1983, in a book on Buckingham County surveyor records.

Author Wicker was most chagrined when this infringement was brought to his attention. He vowed to send correction notices to all who have purchased the book and to make appropriate changes in unsold copies. The historical society credited with providing the map stated that it was not responsible for the information. The matter is settled; but genealogists, like other authors, must be extremely careful with citations and with the use of materials published by others. Attention to detail is an important part of reliable genealogical research.

It is well known that genealogists start reading a book with the index. This reviewer was no exception. The index listings include several individuals of interest, surnamed Glover. Closer examination revealed further problems. Pages 21 and 22 treat a Mary Allen as wife of a Samuel Glover, whose dates match those in an early-nineteenth-century family Bible in this reviewer's possession—that of a Samuel Glover who married Mary Tindall. The author states in one sentence that Mary (Allen) "Glover" died in 1803 and in the next that she appears in land-tax lists of 1838. He then notes that she "purchased her dower rights in her husbands [sic] estate" in 1821 and asserts that her supposed son "Benjamin Clopton Glover is mentioned in William Hunt Allen's will." An appendix offers the text of this will but mentions a Benjamin Clopton—not Benjamin Clopton Glover. There are either typographic errors or errors of fact. The listed sources are of no help in clarifying such problems.

Genealogists of the Allen families of Virginia and vicinity will surely find this book useful as a guide to large and far-flung clans. They would be wise to view its information carefully and to document their own studies. "Burned county" research is full of pitfalls, and no one can find every piece of information on any family. Part of the reason for putting a genealogy together is to get the material one has collected into print for others to examine. Wicker has performed this service, and he welcomes correspondence to help clarify the Allen family history.

Eric G. Grundset, Fairfax, Virginia

The Caseys of the Strande, County Westmeath, Ireland, Canada, and the United States: 1780 to the Present. By Cecelia E. Thomas. Published by the author; 4110 Pleasant Meadow; Chantilly, VA 22021; 1995. xv, 148 pp. Appendixes, illustrations, index, maps, photographs. Hardback. \$22.95.

Set in the heart of Ireland, this work shows a warmth and love of family that reminds this reviewer why he was magnetically pulled into genealogy. While not a genealogist, Thomas has compiled a wonderful story of her ancestors and their descendants. In the process, her love and knowledge of Irish history have expanded to weave her family through its richly illustrated fabric.

Technically, the book is well supported by a wide variety of historical literature. References for each chapter are footnoted and also compiled by chapter in a section following the appendixes. An overall bibliography at this point might have been more helpful. The most notable lack of information is documentation of the few original sources examined. Page 2, for example, refers to the Mullingar parish registers (presumably Catholic) but offers no citation. Page 23 refers to the existence of a "family bible in the United States," without information as to who has possession or where it is located. An enclosed errata sheet with thirty-two corrections suggests an author's worst nightmare—finding the errors after the book has gone to print.

The numbering system is a bit peculiar, but not unmanageable. The initial chapters start with the common ancestors, Patrick Casey and Honore Murry, and follow the Register format. However, married female descendants are not treated in the traditional manner. Data on their marriages and descendants are presented separately in part 2 of the book. Inconsistencies also appear, as with page 11's reference to "Christy Gavagan," who is called "Christopher Gavigan" on page 64.

Some tantalizing clues suggest additional data to be discovered on the Irish Caseys. One refers to Reginald Talbot as landowner for the Casey family in the 1833 tithe-applotment record. This clue could be pursued to identify the existence of any possible Talbot estate records—these being the next-best source for tracing Irish Catholic families prior to the existence of parish registers. Because the Church of Ireland was the designated state church and law required the burial of Catholics in that church, a search of the transcribed tombstone inscriptions for Mullingar Church of Ireland at the Heritage Centre in Moate, county Westmeath, might also prove useful. Similarly, the author's hypothesis that Thomas Casey and Mabel Cormick were parents of a son Patrick Casey might be proved or disproved through use of the Upton Papers. This collection at the Royal Irish Academy holds a significant amount of information on county Westmeath families, transcribed from original records before the destruction of the Public Record Office in 1922. The Genealogical Society of Utah microfilmed the Upton Papers many years ago (Family History Library no. 101011–101015).

Although Caseys were prominent and numerous in Ireland, this is the first published history of any Casey family the reviewer has seen. Researchers who descend from the Caseys of Mullingar, Westmeath, will be delighted with the great amount of effort that has been made to compile a record of those families and their descendants.

David E. Rencher, AG, Riverton, Utah

Claiborne of Virginia: Descendants of Colonel William Claiborne, the First Eight Generations. Compiled by John Frederick Dorman, CG, FASG, with Claiborne T. Smith Jr. Published by Gateway Press, Baltimore, MD. Order from Claiborne T. Smith Jr., M.D.; E3N Saint George's Apartments; 119 Mill Creek Road; Ardmore, PA 19003-1535. xvii, 836 pp. Appendixes, index, maps, photographs. Hardback, \$70.00.

First impressions are important. Opening this hefty and attractively bound book, one is immediately struck by the meticulous documentation. It cries out: this book was carefully researched.

Each generation or section has its own set of footnotes—no leafing to the end of a chapter for a reference that amplifies the text; instead, a quick downward glance easily locates the explanation, clarification, expansion, or reference. The notes often contain extensive abstracts, not just citations, of such important documents as wills and deeds. These original records yield small glimpses into the lives, times, and relationships of the people chronicled.

William Claiborne, the progenitor, was baptized in 1600 as the second son of Thomas and Sara (née Smyth) (James) Claiborne of county Kent, England. Sailing for Jamestown in 1621, he served in several important capacities—including surveyor, secretary, and treasurer of the colony. The authors track all his descendants in the first eight generations: not only male branches but also the female ones, which are often more difficult because of the numerous surnames to be searched.

Several Claiborne publications have appeared over the past century. Dorman and Smith review and update them, noting prior errors or interpretational differences. They also point out (p. xiv) that no genealogy is ever complete. As a case at point, one of their subjects, Elizabeth Claiborne West and her first husband Josiah Clay, had an additional daughter not mentioned in the Dorman-Smith treatment of this couple (pp. 86–87). Halifax County, Virginia, Pleas (30:401 and 31:332)

identify her as Philadelphia “Delphia” Claiborne, wife of Joseph Wilkes. Marian Dodson Chiarito and James Hadley Prendergast (*Marriages of Halifax County, Virginia, 1801–1831* [Nathalie, Va.: Clarkton Press, 1985], 148) report Delphia’s marriage bond of 27 September 1813. For this same family, a correction needs to be made to the marriage of Josiah Clay and Elizabeth Claiborne West; that marriage took place in Halifax County, now Powhatan. Apparently, footnote 109 was duplicated for 113, which should have referred to Catherine Lindsay Knorr’s *Marriage Bonds and Ministers’ Returns of Halifax County, Virginia, 1753–1800* (1957; reprinted Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1982), 20.

The text’s organization is easy to follow. Each of the first four generations has its own section, similar to a chapter. For the fifth through eighth generations, wherein descendants are more numerous, the arrangement is by the descendants of each fourth-generation person. Some unidentified Claibornes are found in the appendixes, and an extensive index—personal names only—completes the text. Maps, photos, and illustrations of descendants and buildings of importance augment the study.

The numbering system (Henry) is not easily followed, and it detracts from the rest of this scholarly presentation. There are advantages to using this system when material is in the research stages, because each individual’s number indicates the generation and birth order. As the number of generations increases, however, the numerals become long and cumbersome—especially when the existence of more than nine children in a family requires that letters be used in the identifier (e.g., 151x2.a34). Another disadvantage to this numbering system is that a couple’s list of children does not indicate which children are carried forward in the authors’ treatment of subsequent generations.

Serious family historians use compiled genealogies as tools that point the way for additional study. This volume is one of that breed of carefully documented compilations that

researchers can go to in confidence—knowing that, as questions arise, the research and documentation can be retraced. Those with Claiborne connections will certainly appreciate the extensive work on this family.

Shirley Langdon Wilcox, CG, Arlington, Virginia

Pelot Family Genealogy: Including Appendices and Allied Families. By Meredith B. Colket Jr., FASG (1912–85), Julia Pelot Colket, and William Currie Colket. Published by the authors; 9906 Dale Ridge Court; Vienna, VA 22181; 1995. xix, 479 pp. Appendixes, charts, documents, illustrations, index, photographs. Hardback. Price not available.

Jonas Pelot, master shoemaker, was born about 1687 in a French-speaking area of north-west Switzerland—La Neuveville in Canton Bern—and died in Purrysburg, South Carolina, 14 May 1754. In Switzerland, about 1716, he wed Susanne Marie Jacquet, who bore all of his eight children and died about two years after their emigration. In South Carolina, he wed Jane [—?—], widow of Elias Bournant.

Pelot arrived in South Carolina on 28 October 1734, probably with Jean Pierre Purry, who had gone back to Switzerland to distribute propaganda leaflets promoting immigration to his settlement. As an American, Jonas left a paper trail that richly enhances the Colket's well-documented genealogy and contributes to the historical background of colonial South Carolina and Georgia.

A part of the present manuscript was published originally in *The Genealogist* (vol. 1, fall 1980, "The Swiss Ancestry of Jonas Pelot") and is included in the present manuscript with that journal's permission. The line of Jonas Pelot continues in America, using a variation of the Register System of numbering, in which each Pelot descendant, male or female, receives a number whether he or she died young or lived to produce a family. Only children of the male line are carried forward. Each lineage is presented in its historical and geographic

context, footnoted with primary and (acceptable) secondary documentation.

Engraved with a properly used Pelot coat of arms, this handsome book is well arranged. Its table of contents serves as an explicit "navigator" through the text. Additional sketches cover the allied or related families of Bessant, Chisholm, Colket, Cooper, Gates, Gignilliat, Johnson, Lofton, Marion, Sealy, and Vaughan.

On a scale of one to ten, *Pelot Family Genealogy* is a ten for format, content, presentation, and documentation.

*GeLee C. Hendrix, CG, FASG
Greenville, South Carolina*

The Early Rolfe Settlers of New England, volume 1. By Frederick G. Rolfe. Printed by Gateway Press, Baltimore, MD; available from the author; 91 Lawson Road; Scituate, MA 02066; 1995. 579 pp. Indexes, maps. Hardback. \$47.50.

Many people bearing the surname Rolfe, and many others who married Rolfes, have been gathered into this two-part book. The first section, called Book I, includes the descendants of Henry and Honour (Rolfe) Rolfe to the fifteenth generation. Book II deals with the descendants of Ezra and Hester (Fowler) Rolfe through fourteen generations.

Unfortunately, the author elected to use the d'Aboville numbering system—a variant of the Henry System—which places a digit between each generational birth-order number. Pagination similarly deviates from accepted norms; for example, "Page I-11.3" translates to "Book I, page 3, of the eleventh generation."

A listing of 303 references appears at the front of the book. Not one of these is fully cited, and at least one quarterly is misnamed. A letter tipped in by the author informs readers that four of the references are not to be found elsewhere, so they are included in their entirety—i.e., a cemetery listing, a "granddaughter's story," and two family "Birthday Handbooks."

This genealogy contains no imbedded citations, no footnotes, and no endnotes. In order to determine whether or not there is a reference supporting any statement of fact, one must first go to the index for that "book" and hope to find the individual of interest. Then, if there is an "r number" on the line for that person, one would proceed to the list at the front of the book and look up that number. Readers should note that descendant indexes and spouse indexes appear at the end of each "book."

Seldom does the author provide much information about the people named, beyond dates and places, leaving the reader with no feeling for the humanness of the individuals or for the times in which they lived.

Clearly, much time and effort has been devoted to collecting all those of the surname Rolfe, Rolph, or Roff. Anyone who has, or believes they have, a connection will consult this work.

Ann Theopold Chaplin, CG
Center Barnstead, New Hampshire

Varner, Verner, Werner Families of America. By Janice B. Palmer. Published by Kissing Cousins; 6302 Fairview Drive; Pensacola, FL 32505-2057; 1995. ix, 714 pp. Index, photographs. Hardback. \$59.50 (shipping \$3.50). Index, 67 pp. \$8.00.

This compendious volume draws freely on research by a number of individual family genealogists; the common thread is the Varner surname, with all its variant spellings. The author has thus acted mainly as an editor and publisher of genealogies of widely separated families who happen to have similar surnames.

In the first three chapters, Palmer chronicles her own line: the descendants of a Samuel Vernor, who apparently was born in the mid-1600s and died in Chester County, Pennsylvania, before 1725. Samuel is said to be either (a) from Ireland, but originally German; (b) a religious refugee from France, who spent some time in England; or (c) a native of county Armagh, Ulster, Ireland.

The author notes that "a combination of these theories" may be correct, but she leans to the view that Samuel Vernor came to America in the early 1720s with other Scotch-Irish families. Meanwhile, in chapter 21—in connection with Christian Verner (Warner) from the Rhine Palatinate—readers learn that because "the name Werner is definitely German," all Verners or Varners originated in Germany. Some, it is said, came directly to America from Germany, while others stayed for a generation or two in Ireland or England before crossing the ocean.

In addition to David Vernor, attested as Samuel's son in a land-grant hearing record, Palmer connects five more children to him by the fact that in subsequent years a total of six individuals bearing the Vernor (or Verner) surname made requests for land grants in the same county. Similarly tenuous connections are posited in many chapters.

Chapter 4 chronicles the descendants of Samuel C. Varner of Tennessee ("according to oral tradition, this fine old Varner family has French-German roots"). Chapter 5 introduces the descendants of William Varner, whose earliest records date to the South Carolina census of 1790. In later chapters, one meets "Jack" Warner (Hall County, Georgia, early 1800s), James Varner and Jane Sutton (also of South Carolina before 1800), Joseph Mack Varner (of Texas in the 1840s), and Hans Adam Werner (Rhine Palatinate origins, in Philadelphia by 1732). Subsequent chapters chronicle, some in great detail, further "fine, old Varner families"—as well as a few that are not so characterized.

Source citations are uneven, with different amounts of detail from chapter to chapter. As editor, Palmer apparently set no guidelines for the many contributors. Volume and page citations for vital and other records are infrequent. However, researchers' addresses are supplied.

The work is nicely typeset and bound and is printed on acid-free paper. While there are no charts, the organization is a standard outline arrangement. The first generation of each

chapter begins with Roman numeral *I*. Subsequent generations are indented and assigned *A*, *I*, *(I)*, *(a)*, etc. Many readers would have preferred the standard NGSQ System or Register System. More-detailed biographical information about individuals would have been welcome. There are many exact dates and places of vital events, including divorces, but one rarely sees so much as a profession mentioned. The compilers' attention to correct spelling is appreciated.

Varner (Werner, etc.) descendants interested in this work should examine a copy before purchasing. There are many such families in the United States. This book's value lies almost entirely in the detail about each family and the addresses of the compilers.

Duncan Gardiner, Ph.D., CG, Lakewood, Ohio

METHODOLOGICAL MANUALS

A Student's Guide to British American Genealogy. By Anne E. Johnson. Published by Oryx Press; 4041 North Central Avenue, Suite 700; Phoenix, AZ 85012-3397; 1996. 168 pp. Glossary, illustrations, index, photographs. Hardback. \$24.95 (shipping: \$2.50).

The burgeoning national interest in genealogical research is marked by several trends, among which is the planned teaching of genealogy in schools today. This book by Johnson, the first in a series on genealogical study of different nationality groups in America, provides a guide appropriate for many secondary-school students.

Johnson's rapid review of British and American history embraces England, Scotland, and Wales—leaving the reader to wonder: "What happened to Ireland?" The author answers that question by saying that Irish genealogy is a special case, deserving separate treatment.

Apart from those chapters specific to British heritage, the book contains useful segments on the rationale for carrying out genealogical research on any group in America: how to start; search strategies and recordkeeping;

types of libraries and local resources useful to genealogists; explanations of the concepts of lineage and heraldry; and techniques for preserving the results of one's investigations—including reporting for others to enjoy. Each chapter also provides an extensive and annotated bibliography related to its topic.

The reading level of this volume is appropriate for most secondary-school students. Explanations of terms that are likely to be new to the reader are provided in the text and, in some cases, in the glossary. Ideally, such terms within the text should have been placed in boldface, to provide emphasis for memory retention and teaching.

Several student projects (aside from tracing one's own family history) are suggested by the usefully annotated chapter references. A second edition of the book could be even more helpful to educators if explicit project ideas were appended for each chapter. Another enhancement would be the inclusion of actual case studies of puzzling family-history situations, along with their resolution, as exemplars for the students to use in designing their own strategies.

Several specific points in the book need attention in a subsequent edition. Discussing the various societies that require genealogical documentation for membership, the author refers to "patriotic societies" (p. 9); a more-accurate term would be "lineage societies," because not all such organizations have a patriotic bent. The assertion that "the majority of Americans" can trace at least one British line in their families (p. 45) is one that should be made cautiously, in view of America's increasingly diverse population. While the interweaving of British history in the text is generally accurate, a well-recognized misunderstanding is perpetuated (p. 46) with the statement that the Pilgrims were Puritans. To the contrary, those Pilgrims who espoused a religious cause were Separatists; and they represented only a minority of the Pilgrims.

Discussing the importance of recording dates and events in some consistent manner, a laudable recommendation, the author em-

phasizes the need for parental marriage dates (p. 88). Not only might that "need" be impossible to fill historically, but the variety of individual family lifestyles today makes this suggestion seem somewhat narrow. Among preservation techniques, the author recommends gravestone-rubbing, although current thinking discourages this practice as a means of preventing further deterioration of valuable stones. An entire chapter is devoted to options available to an adopted person interested in genealogy—including the tracing of one's birth parents or adoptive parents. This potentially sensitive area is handled frankly and smoothly.

If the remainder of the series retains the positive qualities demonstrated in this first volume and takes advantage of opportunities for improvement that various reviewers will undoubtedly call to their attention, students of many ages (including adults) will benefit.

David S. Martin, Washington, D.C.

Genealogy: Helps, Hints, & Hope. By John W. Heisey. Published by Masthof Press; Route 1, Box 20; Morgantown, PA 19543-9701; 1995. 147 pp. Softback. \$8.50 (shipping: \$3.00).

The title is a seductive one. Every genealogist, no matter how experienced, needs help, is receptive to hints, and never gives up hope. It is human nature to yearn for a "silver bullet," a trick that will somehow solve problems, untangle knots, or promote breakthroughs. This is the yearning to which Heisey's work appeals. Sadly, it does not deliver on its promise, particularly for the genealogical researcher who has moved beyond the novice stage. For the newcomer, it does offer an introduction to an interesting array of genealogical resources, research activities, and networking strategies.

Genealogy: Helps, Hints, & Hope originated as a collection of seventy-four articles written for the "Genealogy Week" column in the *Antique Week/Tri-State Trader* of Knightstown, Indiana. The original collection was published in 1980 and the present edition is a

revision. The column genre is an attractive one in many ways. It is timely, it fosters informality, it delivers information in small packages, and it does not demand continuity. Taken in isolation, the pieces of this book are fine to read in odd moments. For the beginning genealogist, not ready for the classic genealogical tomes, Heisey's columns may be just the format needed to nurture interest.

However, when a series of columns is collected as a book, the original advantages can easily become liabilities. Originally timely material becomes dated. Informality can seem hokey, introductory material superficial. A successful transition from collection to book places a large burden upon the editing—to avoid the pitfalls while maintaining the charm and easy accessibility that made the original columns popular.

Amid this dissonance, some columns are very successful, others less so. Heisey's thoughts on correspondence ought to be required reading for every novice. Another fine piece addresses anxieties about "black sheep," reminding family historians not to judge people of the past by the standards of the present. However, the chapter on the National Archives is particularly dated. While the provision of very detailed information is intended to allay anxiety for the first-time visitor, the current incorrectness of many of the details may have the opposite effect.

Some columns have significant omissions. A piece on "renting" genealogy books names neither the National Genealogical Society nor the New England Historic Genealogical Society, the two organizations with the largest circulating collections. Another, dealing with Revolutionary War pension files, gives preeminence to the National Genealogical Society publication *Index of Revolutionary War Pension Applications*, but it fails to mention Virgil D. White's more-recent and important series, *Genealogical Abstracts of Revolutionary War Pension Files*.

For a book that is labeled a *revision*, it is regrettable that a stronger editorial hand did not smooth more rough edges. Yet most people

will read this book in pieces, as it was originally written; and those pieces may serve as stepping stones to a more in-depth approach. Heisey's easygoing style will be refreshing for people who are interested in their ancestral origins but have not yet developed the desire to tackle the classic methodologies.

Dereka Smith, Arlington, Virginia

Producing a Quality Family History. By Patricia Law Hatcher, CG. Published by Ancestry, Inc.; Post Office Box 476; Salt Lake City, UT 84110-0476; 1996. 278 pp. Index. Softback. \$15.95 (shipping: \$4.00).

Other books exist on this subject—some good, some not so good. Many do not remain long on library shelves when space becomes a premium. Now a new book has been added to this reviewer's shelf—residing right alongside the *Chicago Manual of Style*, *Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*, *Black's Law Dictionary*, and Richard Lackey's *Cite Your Sources*.

That is high praise, which the author earns in a number of ways. Beginning with a credo outlining the characteristics of a quality family history, Hatcher proceeds to demonstrate the value of each point and ways to accomplish those points. She follows the life cycle of a book from beginning to end, providing information that demonstrates the benefit of her recommendations.

Hatcher defines a quality family history by emphasizing several important points: heavy reliance upon primary records; the use of a standard numbering system to create a well-organized and understandable presentation; full documentation of each fact; conclusions that are accurate and logical; the placement of people into context; the addition of maps, charts, and photographs; and the provision of a thorough and well-thought-out index.

The author generally follows her own advice, although she offers a manual rather than a genealogy. An accurate table of contents and a model index allow easy access to her information. Each chapter provides a section

on obtaining additional help and a checklist that will be an aid to readers as they begin to apply what they are being taught. Although the sequence of the chapters is not consistent with the life cycle of a publication, all the material is eventually covered or else there is offered a reference as to where further information can be gleaned.

This reviewer recommends an initial reading of the whole—from cover to cover as one would a novel—for a more-complete understanding of the material that it presents. Subsequently consulted as a reference work, Hatcher's tips will reduce significantly anyone's stress over publishing a family history.

If there are flaws in this book, they are difficult to identify. Style and preference are issues over which there will never be universal accord, but it is not necessary to agree with every point in order to benefit from the whole. Hatcher recommends that publishers learn the tax laws concerning the sales of their materials—good advice, since there are many individual laws beyond the scope of this volume (for example, in some states, packing material for shipping may be exempt from sales tax at the time of purchase). Specific references to prices that appear in this work will have to be updated periodically in order to keep it current. Consulted with proper frequency, the work will become tattered and frayed; many purchasers will wish it had been published in hardback.

Producing a Quality Family History will be the benchmark by which future family-history compilation guides are measured. Both hobbyists and professionals will find its benefits tremendous, if they are considering the preparation or publishing of a family history.

Craig R. Scott, CGRS, Lovettsville, Virginia

Writing Family Histories and Memoirs. By Kirk Polking. Published by Betterway Books; 1507 Dana Avenue; Cincinnati, OH 45207; 1995. vi, 250 pp. Illustrations, index. Softback. \$14.99.

For genealogists eager to add writing skills to their research expertise, this is a book to read. Polking, former editor of *Writer's Digest*, provides highly useful tips on grabbing and holding a reader's attention and offers a generous supply of good writing samples.

This manual is *not* a step-by-step guide to compiling and publishing a family history, as the title might suggest. It is, instead, a book for genealogists who want to become better writers, as well as for writers who want to turn their talents to genealogy. An odd combination? Perhaps, but both can benefit from it as they attempt to breathe life into ancestors and other family members.

Experienced genealogists will benefit most from the sections on writing skills and self-editing. Years of immersion in the eccentric prose of past cultures make most researchers appreciate reminders to use simple declarative sentences, to choose active rather than passive verbs, and to avoid the clutter caused by those nonessential words and phrases that easily sneak into both speech and writing. The self-editing chapter covers word usage and punctuation problems to be avoided and supplies sample text for readers to practice editing (a useful exercise for this reader, who missed several errors she should have caught).

Polking also offers help on the common problem of writer's block. Instead of struggling to craft that perfect opening sentence, the author suggests dashing off a rough draft of the paper, then tackling that vital opener. Good advice is provided on assembling a book for press. For marketing and publication help, however, the family historian will find more-practical guidance in Carl Boyer's *How to Publish and Market Your Family History* (4th ed., Santa Clarita, Calif.: Boyer, 1993).

While Polking does not pretend to cover all aspects of writing a family history, the reader who remembers that *writing* is the most important word in the title and then heeds the author's advice can be assured of a far-more-readable finished work.

Joan Ferris Curran, CG, Kansas City, Missouri

REGIONAL WORKS

Settlers of the Beekman Patent, Dutchess County, New York, volume 3, *Burtis to Dakin*. By Frank J. Doherty. Published by the author; 181 Freedom Road; Pleasant Valley, NY 12569; 1995. 1129 pp. Index. \$85.00.

The Beekman Patent lands were settled by westward-moving migrants from Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts and by people from other parts of New York, moving upstate. Research in the area is challenging, because the settlers were rent-paying tenants rather than landowners. The Beekman family, holders of the royal patent, did not sell its lands until well after the Revolutionary War. Until that time, deeds—with all their genealogical clues—were not created.

Volume 1 of this series, published in 1990, contains a history of the patent and its successor towns; an explanation of the tenant system; and a great variety of transcribed precinct, road, and military records—as well as Beekman papers. Subsequent volumes (first proposed as four and now envisioned as ten) try to identify the immigrant ancestor of each colonial family and to bring the relevant lines down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Volume 3 contains a chapter of additions and corrections to the work in the two previous numbers.

Doherty presents his data in Register format and cites his sources amid text. Each volume is well indexed. The size of the project has compelled him to include less information on upstate families; but he has added data from other Hudson Valley counties when doing so seemed relevant.

Settlers of the Beekman Patent is nothing less than a whole-community study, with all the benefits such broad research offers. While anxiously awaiting future volumes, users will want to check the author's long index of references and sources for many other research ideas.

Anita A. Lustenberger, CG, Irvington, New York

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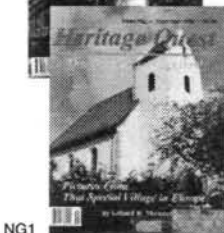
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Reprinted in these three volumes are seventeen books that comprise one of the major achievements of twentieth-century genealogy—the multi-ancestor compendia (plus *Thomas Haley of Winter Harbor and His Descendants*, 1930) compiled and published by Walter Goodwin Davis between 1916 and 1963. These 2,300 pages (plus indexes) authoritatively cover 180 families, all of Davis's colonial forebears plus nineteen English families in the immediate ancestry of American immigrants. One hundred fourteen of these families lived mostly in Massachusetts; twenty-nine are associated largely with Maine; and eighteen—Basford, Brown, Clifford, Cram, Estow, Fernald, Folsom, Gibbons, Gilman, Marston, Moses, Roberts, Roper, Sherburne, Sloper, Taprill, Walton, and Waterhouse—lived largely in New Hampshire, primarily Hampton, Portsmouth, or Exeter. Most of the 114 Massachusetts families resided in Essex County, a few in Middlesex or Plymouth counties, or in Boston. Thus *Massachusetts and Maine Families in the Ancestry of Walter Goodwin Davis* is largely a compendium on “north of Boston” families.

It is undoubtedly the premier work for northern New England, and an often essential companion volume to the celebrated *Genealogical Dictionary of Maine and New Hampshire* (which it considerably expands, especially for many Essex County families with ties further north), and the **greatest multi-ancestor series to date in American genealogy**. Almost anyone with considerable New England ancestry—and as many as 100 million living Americans, about 40 percent of the population, have *some* colonial New England

forebears—will descend from one or more, often a dozen or more, of the 180 families herein.

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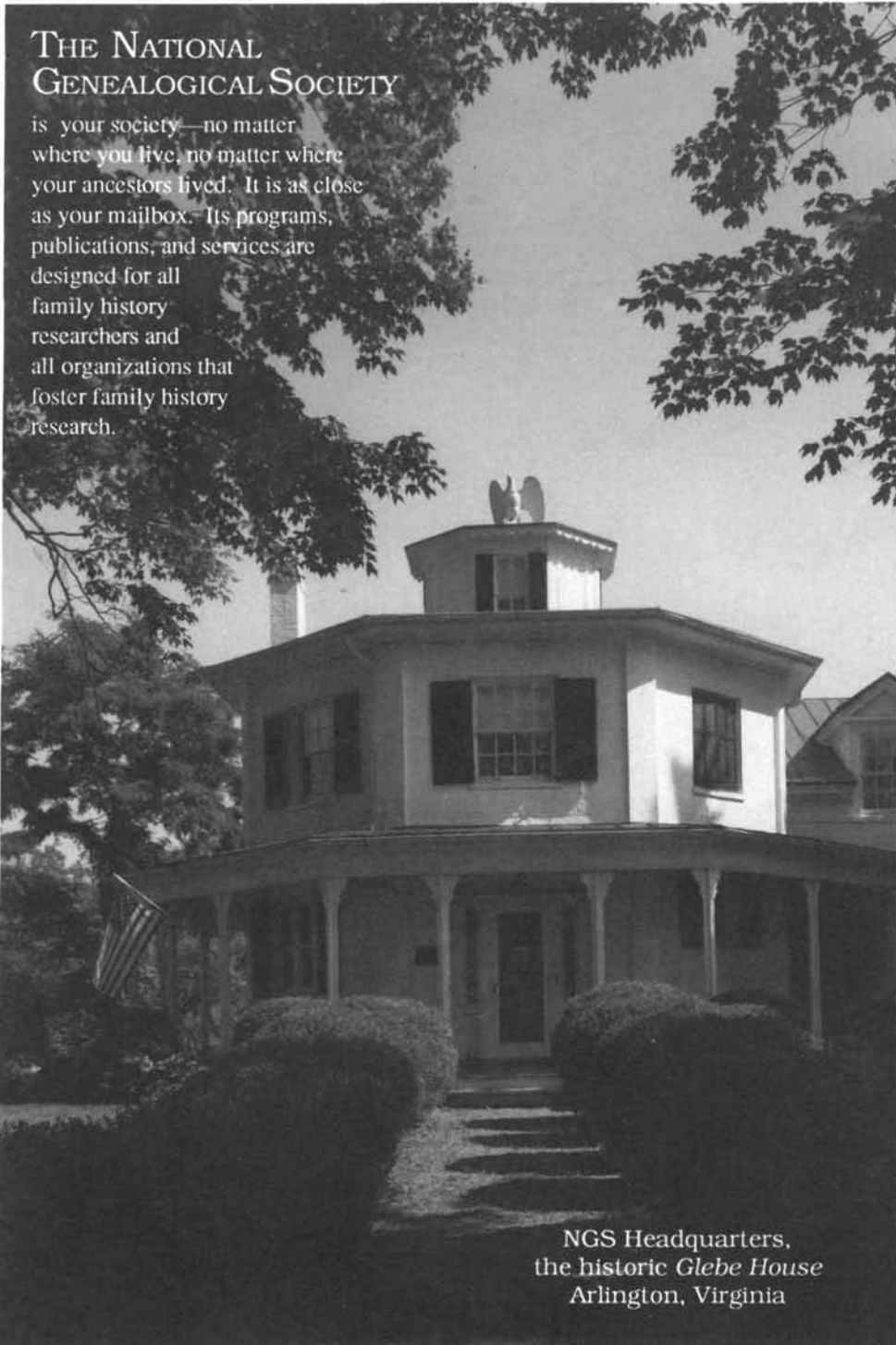
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Editors' Corner

Intellectual curiosity: is it worth the time?

Your editors once came upon an intriguing item in a newspaper we were studying for a client. The census marshal of Rapides Parish, Louisiana, had just completed his rounds and reported a curious fact someone had told him along the way: supposedly, the first settlers of Rapides were a clan of Egyptians who had come there about 1770.

Hunh? we reacted. *Egyptians* in the heart of colonial Catholic Louisiana? Our intellectual curiosity was piqued. No, the client should not be asked to pursue this sideline. No, we had no ancestry of our own in that parish, so far as we knew; and virtually every Louisiana ancestor of ours was already identified. So why should we waste time chasing this tale of Egyptians settling the falls of Red River?

Intellectual curiosity, that's why!

Sure, we're *genealogists*. We seek *ancestors*, and we suffer from the common affliction: so many of them to find; so little time to find them in. Common sense argued "stay on target." Intellectual curiosity won. Was the time wasted? No. By identifying those early settlers and reconstructing their lives, we learned two things. First, they were *Gypsies*, not Egyptians. Second, the matriarch of the clan had a daughter who married out of the group and moved to a neighboring parish. She was, in fact, the woman identified on our own family charts, up to that point, as Marie *Blank*, wife of Jacques Rachal.

Wondrous things happen when we let our minds expand, when we move beyond the narrow focus on direct ancestors to consider the larger world in which they lived. At the least, we learn how our forebears fit into the grand scheme of life. Beyond that, we often find the answers to tough research problems that tunnel vision had hidden from us.

Ronald Hill makes that point in a different way in the present issue—illustrating why our concept of thorough research should go considerably beyond the typical search for records indexed under the needed name. How many genealogists, we wonder, would feel it worthwhile to search *six thousand probates* in a single county—95 percent of them by individuals of no known connection—in order to glean "buried" references to the ancestral family? More to the point: how worthwhile might it be for *you*? Hill's bottom line is an eye-opener. Don't miss it.

For most genealogists, six thousand records represent a time expenditure they can ill afford. For family groups, it is entirely doable, by assigning smaller segments to many participants. Until the day comes that an every-name index exists to all records in the entire world, community studies such as this one by Hill—that go beyond the narrow focus on a single name, a single person, or a single family—offer unbeatable potential for identifying those Marie Blanks on our family charts.

So you're stuck on a research problem, too? Remember our Gypsies. Consider Hill's example. Intellectual curiosity definitely is worth the time invested.

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**Migrants and Mill Hands:
The Wardrobes of Lawrence, Massachusetts**

"On the morning of Monday, the thirteenth of July began this outbreak, unparalleled in atrocities by anything in American history, and equaled only by the horrors of the worst days of the French Revolution. . . . A body of five or six hundred strong, gathered about one of the enrolling-offices in the upper part of the city, where the draft was quietly proceeding, and opened the assault upon it by a shower of clubs, bricks, and paving-stones torn from the streets, following it up by a furious rush into the office. Lists, records, books, the drafting-wheel, every article of furniture or work in the room, was rent in pieces and strewn about the floor or flung into the street. . . . Police-stations, enrolling-offices, rooms or buildings used in any way by government authority, or obnoxious as representing the dignity of law, were gutted, destroyed, then left to the mercy of the flames."¹

By Sandra MacLean Clunies, CGRS*

The Civil War was in its third terrible year; and for five days in 1863, New York City was the scene of mob violence as rioters protested against the National Conscription [Draft] Act.² *The New York Times* carried lurid headlines on 14 July: "Continuation of the Riot—The Mob Increased in Numbers . . . Large Number of Rioters Killed . . . Streets Barricaded, Buildings Burned, Stores Sacked, and Private Dwellings Plundered."³ Despite the city's chaos, steamships bearing hundreds of new immigrants from Europe continued to arrive almost daily. Among them was a young Englishman named Charles Wardrobe—aged twenty and a prime candidate for the draft.

*6 Briardale Court, Derwood, MD 20855-2027. Ms. Clunies, a Certified Genealogical Record Specialist, was previously first runner-up in the 1994 NGS Family History Writing Contest with her study of a Wood family. A specialist in New England research, she is also the author of two books on the application of computer technology to genealogical compilations and family reunions.

1. Richard B. Morris and James Wooddress, eds., *Voices from America's Past*, vol. 2, *Backwoods Democracy to World Power* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1961), 174.

2. U.S. Congress, 3 March 1863; see *The Statutes at Large of the United States of America*. vol. 12, Dec. 5, 1859 to March 3, 1863, G. P. Sanger, ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1863), 731.

3. *New York Times*, 14 July 1863, p. 1, col. 1.

WARDROBE ORIGINS

Hook, in the West Riding of Yorkshire (present county of Humberside), was a small village at the time Charles was born there in 1843. Lying along the River Ouse, just northeast of the busy port of Goole, Hook increased steadily in population during Charles's youth: from 2,159 persons in 1851 to 2,958 in 1861. In the decade after he left, Hook would grow to more than 4,000 souls.⁴ Wardrobe ancestors of Charles lived in many small towns of the area—Fishlake, Snaith, and Sykehouse, among them. Their descendants remain in York and Goole today.

William Wardrobe, father of Charles, had been born in Sykehouse. By trade, he was a shoemaker—as had been his grandfather and likely, also, his great-grandfather.⁵ William and his wife, the former Elizabeth Hobson, produced seven children between 1840 and 1856. Charles, the second of their three sons, lived with the family group at the time of its enumeration in 1851;⁶ in 1861 he did not.⁷ Already eighteen years of age in 1861, he possibly was apprenticed to another tradesman or had moved away. Perhaps he already was interested in the textile manufacturing that had become a primary industry of West Riding.

Young Charles's departure for America, despite its unrest, appears to have occurred with family blessings. Among the legacies he would leave for his offspring in Massachusetts is a bible once owned by his paternal grandparents, with entries made by his older brother, George, before his death in 1859 at age eighteen.⁸ Arguably, that Bible could have been shipped to Charles at any point after his relocation to America; but it appears more logical that he brought it with him, as a memento of the family he had left behind and a Godspeed toward his future.

4. Thomas Langdale, *A Topographical Dictionary of Yorkshire* (Northallerton, Eng.: J. Langdale, 1822); text is unpaginated on the version available electronically at <<http://midas.ac.uk/genuki/>>, updated 17 May 1996. This web site offers an excellent and growing collection of data on the United Kingdom and Ireland.

For the above population statistics, see *Census of England and Wales, 1861, Part 2, Tables of the Area, Houses, and Population in Superintendent Registrars' Districts and Poor Law Unions, Division IX—Yorkshire* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1862), 620 [which includes 1851 statistics]; and *Census of England and Wales, 1871, vol. 2, Tables of Area, Houses, and Inhabitants, Division IX—Yorkshire* (London: HMSO, 1872), 446.

5. Grandparents of Charles were George and Rachel (Heald) Wardrobe and Timothy and Elizabeth (Shaw?) Hobson, all of Yorkshire. George Wardrobe, shoemaker, was likely the son of a George Wardrobe, shoemaker, baptized in Well, Yorkshire, in 1748. Documentation of this English ancestry, which lies beyond the limitations of this paper, is available from the writer.

6. 1851 English cens., West Riding of the co. of York, Hook village and twp., microfilm H.O. 10, 107- 2350, enumeration district 2a, folio 223, p. 8, household 32 (30 March): William Wardrobe, 38, master shoemaker; Elizabeth, 38 (wife); George, 11 (son); Harriot, 9 (daughter); Charles, 8 (son); Rachel, 6 (dau.); Sophia, 4 (dau.); and Anne, 3 months (dau.); also living in household: Joseph Schofield, 18 (journeyman); in Public Record Office [PRO], London.

7. 1861 English cens., W. Riding of the co. of York, Hook village and twp., PRO microfilm R.G. 9, 3529, enum. dist. 9, folio 48, p. 14, fam. 76 (7 April): William Wardrobe, 47, shoemaker; Elizabeth, 47 (wife); Sophia, 14 (dau.); Anne, 10 (dau.); Tom, 5 (son).

8. George Wardrobe Bible, *The Christian's Complete Family Bible . . .* (Liverpool: Nuttall, Fisher and Dixon, 1809), in possession of Frances Faye (Wardrobe) Bachman of Ansonia, Conn. It contains birth data for all children of William and Elizabeth (Hobson) of Hook and other family data through the generation of Charles's son William Lorenzo. The first entries are headed "George Wardrobe Book, Son of Elizabeth and William Wardrobe left by His grandfather and granmother [sic] george and rachel Wardrobe."

Embarking in early July 1863, Charles probably spent only ten or so days on his transatlantic journey. In the 1850s, steam-powered vessels began to replace sailing craft as the primary transportation for new immigrants; and in the 1860s, British and German shipowners built fleets of steamships designed specifically for the passenger trade.⁹ Steerage rates, one-way, for the New York to Liverpool trip were \$25–\$35, American currency.¹⁰ Extant records, unfortunately, do not document Charles's port of embarkation, the ship on which he traveled, or his exact dates of departure and arrival. Late in life, he made up for this loss of detail somewhat—with a brief chronicle of his life, penned in his own hand in a second family bible.¹¹

Charles Wardrobe Born at Hook Yorkshire England on the 15th day of March 1843—came to America in July 1863—Landing in New York July 14th during the Draft Riot. Went through to Canada—Returned to the U States in May 1866 comeing [sic] to Lawrence [Massachusetts], started to work in the Pacific Print Works the midle [sic] of May 1866 and remained there up to his Retirement January 1st 1913 having worked 46 years and 7 months. Held the Possition [sic] of Second Hand in the Finishing Department for over 30 years.

Charles's reference to Canada appears to explain the lack of an incoming passenger roll for him at the port of New York, and his decision not to go ashore there is understandable.¹² Secretary of State William H. Seward had authorized American diplomatic and consular representatives in Europe, during 1862 and 1863, to

9. Maldwyn Allen Jones, *American Immigration*, 2d ed. (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1992), 148–59.

10. *New York Times*, 15 July 1863, p. 3, col. 3.

11. *Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments together with the Apocrypha: Translated out of the Original Tongues and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised, to Which is Appended a Concordance, the Psalms of David in Metre, an Index, Tables, and Other Useful Matters; The Text Conformable to the Standard of the American Bible Society* (Boston: Ira Bradley, n.d.), in possession of Sarah Jenison (Wardrobe) Peel of East Dennis, Mass. The bible is dated as circa "1860s" by Ben Muse, a bibliographic expert of East Dennis, who examined it in October 1995 and approximated its publication on the basis of the printing process used for the illustrations and the style and decoration of the binding. The date is contemporary with Charles's first marriage in 1867.

This Charles Wardrobe Bible passed from his daughter, Katherine Elizabeth Wardrobe, to her half brother, George, at her death in 1941. It was inherited by George's son, Roland, in 1964 and by Roland's daughter, Sarah, in 1987. In Charles's own writing (confirmed with samples from his will and naturalization records) are the dates of his two marriages, the birth dates of his wives and all his children, and the death dates of his wives and the three children who predeceased him. Other entries of births, marriages, and deaths from 1925–54 were written by several family members over the years, including George, Roland, and George's wife, Josie.

12. *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New York, New York, 1820–1897*, microcopy M237, roll 230 (17 June–9 July 1863) and 231 (10–30 July 1863), National Archives [NA], Washington, D.C., reports arrivals from England during the period stated by Charles. Specifically: the *Columbia* (13 July), the *Lidon* from Liverpool (14 July), and the *Persia* and *Borussia* (15 July). Although Charles states that he "landed" on the fourteenth, several dates must be considered when tracking arrivals. Ships would enter the harbor and anchor until they were boarded and cleared. Depending on the origin of the ship, this might take one to four days. The British ship *Corsica*, for example, appears with new immigrants listed by the *Times* on 14 July, with a note that it "came up to the City today from the Quarantine," having originated in Nassau and Havana. However, the microfilmed passenger lists (cited above) report that the *Corsica* "arrived" on 10 July.

1900 and 1910 census data for Charles report that he immigrated in 1870 and 1869. In light of his statement in his family Bible, the census dates are deemed incorrect. For that data, see: 1900 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Essex Co., Mass., Lawrence, p. 111A, dwell. 143, fam. 176, NA microfilm T623, roll 643; and 1910 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Essex Co., Mass., Lawrence, enumeration district 355, sheet 3, Lowell St., fam. 66, NA microfilm T624, roll 583.

publicize the high rate of wages at U.S. factories and mills in an effort to attract new workers.¹³ However, the Union Army had established a recruiting program among arriving immigrants, and many foreigners became soldiers immediately on arrival. Before or during the voyage, Charles likely heard reports that healthy young immigrants were at risk of being conscripted or that they were urged by draftees to accept money to serve as substitutes.

Charles had left the pastoral Yorkshire countryside to find employment and a new life in North America—but not labor as a gun-toting soldier in a war that could easily end that life. The type of employment he secured, during his Canadian sojourn, remains unknown. The period 1863–66 is a between-census era in Canada, as in the United States; and no known records exist to document further his residence or activities during that time. But his eye stayed turned toward the United States. By the end of the war, industrialization had become the gear that ran New England's economic and social structure, and textile mills needed a massive labor force to rebuild the war-torn American economy. Charles Wardrobe, reared at the bench of a leatherworker, saw his future in the cotton mills. Or, perhaps, the cotton mills selected him.

The company to which he committed his life was Pacific Print Works (later Pacific Mills) in Lawrence, Massachusetts. The mill had incorporated in 1853 to reap profits from the late-antebellum boom in Southern cotton production. Amid Northern factories, it was socially progressive. The year after Charles's arrival, Napoleon III awarded Pacific a prize of ten thousand francs, proclaiming it to be one of only ten companies in the world selected by a special jury for having "accomplished the most to secure a state of harmony between employers and their work people."¹⁴ Charles had chosen well.

There at the mills, in all probability, he also found a wife.

ELVIRA CASS

Like Charles, Elvira's life reflects the fluid migration that occurred between New England, Canada, and New York. She was born in 1842 in Brown's Hill, Stanstead County, Quebec—a part of Canada still called the Eastern Townships. Her grandparents, Levi and Betsy (Mosher) Cass, had migrated there in 1800 with kinsmen from Epsom, New Hampshire, and Betsy's parents from nearby Grafton. Three of Levi's brothers were part of a group called the Nine Partners, who acquired land in the Eastern Townships in 1799.¹⁵ There, a cluster of New England families carved new communities from the wilderness above the borders of northern Vermont.¹⁶

13. Jones, *American Immigration*, 148.

14. Maurice B. Dorgan, *History of Lawrence, Massachusetts, with War Records* (Lawrence: p.p., 1924): 113–15.

15. B. F. Hubbard, comp., *The History of Stanstead County, Province of Quebec, with Sketches of More than Five Hundred Families* (1874; reprinted, Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1985), 37.

16. Joel Andres, "The Pattern of Pioneer Migrations to Stanstead County, 1793–1840," *Stanstead Historical Society Journal* 7 (1977): 43–50.

Elvira's parents, Lorenzo Dow and Abigail (Butterfield) Cass, had both been born in the Eastern Townships. Despite the Methodist leanings implied by Lorenzo's name, he married Abigail at Stanstead's Free Will Baptist Church on 26 August 1841.¹⁷ About 1846, with Elvira and another infant, Lorenzo and Abigail moved west to Clinton County, New York, settling near Black Brook. The path they took was an established migration route across Lake Champlain; and their exodus from Canada probably included extended-family members, as other Casses also appear in the 1850 and later censuses of Clinton.¹⁸ Four more children were born to the couple in Black Brook; and most of the Cass offspring remained in the vicinity of Clinton, Essex, and Franklin Counties, New York. Only Elvira and her sisters Mary and Lucerne moved to Massachusetts, where Elvira would marry Charles.

No naturalization record exists for Elvira because females of her era seldom initiated citizenship proceedings. As children, they took the status of their fathers. Once married, they assumed the allegiance of their husbands. Whether Lorenzo Dow Cass filed for United States citizenship is yet unknown. Elvira's husband, Charles, would be naturalized in October 1872, just months prior to her death.¹⁹ Thus, she died an "American" citizen—to use the term in its stereotypical context that excludes Canada. In the larger historical view, Elvira was unquestionably "American." Although her immediate forebears had lived in Canada, more-distant ancestors had been early-seventeenth-century immigrants to New England; and Revolutionary War soldiers and patriots are numbered among them.²⁰

Little is known of Elvira's years in New York. Census records place her with parents and siblings in Clinton County in 1850, where she presumably enjoyed a

17. Lorenzo Dow (1777–1834), a Conn.-born, itinerant, Methodist preacher, left many namesakes across America and the British Isles. For the Cass-Butterfield marriage, see *Marriages in the District of St. Francis of the Eastern Townships, Quebec, 1815 to 1879*, 2 vols. (Sherbrooke, Quebec: La Société de Généalogie des Cantons de l'Est, 1987), 117, 130.

18. 1850 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Clinton Co., N.Y., Black Brook, p. 76, dwell. 319, fam. 331, NA microfilm M432, roll 489. The birth pattern of the children in this household dates the migration: Alvira, 8, b. Can.; Mary, 6, b. Can.; Levi, 3, b. N.Y.; and Almira, 1, b. N.Y. Levi, aged 3 on 1 June 1850 (the official census date), would have been b. between 2 June 1846 and 1 June 1847. The father's death record, dated 11 September 1889 states that he had lived in the United States for 42 years. The mother's death record, dated 6 April 1900, states she had lived in the U.S. for 52 years. Those two documents, if their data are correct, bracket the removal between 12 September 1846 and 7 April 1847. See Lorenzo Dow Cass death record, no. 32494, and Abigail Butterfield Cass death record, no. 13604; both in N.Y. Dept. of Health, Vital Records Section, Genealogy Unit, Albany.

For more on N.Y.-Canada migration routes, see Althea Douglas, "The Eastern Townships: Settlement," *Canadian Genealogist* 10 (June 1988): 105–9.

19. Charles E. Wardrobe naturalization, Superior Criminal Court of Essex Co., Mass., certificate 19-981. A Works Progress Administration [WPA] index to these records, compiled in the 1930s, is available as *Index to New England Naturalization Petitions, 1791–1906*, NA microfilm M1299, roll 116.

20. Particularly see Theophilus Cass pension file, no. W22729, *Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty Land Warrant Application Files*, NA microfilm M804, roll 495; and Polly/Molly (Widow David) Merrill pension file, no. W25695, NA microfilm M804, roll 1713. Theophilus was Elvira's uncle, her Cass lineage being Lorenzo⁷, Levi⁶, Simon⁵, John⁴, Jonathan³, Joseph², John¹. The soldier David Merrill was her maternal great-grandparent; through him, her lineage to early New England was David⁵, Abraham⁴, Jonathan³, Abraham², Nathaniel¹ Merrill. No published source gives the full Cass and Merrill lines for Elvira with adequate proof. Doing so goes far beyond the limits of the present article, but the documentation is available from the writer.

traditional country lifestyle centered on the family farm, school, and church. The latter was particularly important to her father, as a 1939 letter from one of his granddaughters attests: "He [Lorenzo Dow Cass] used to lead the choir in the days when there was no organ, and used a pitch pipe. He had a fine tenor voice, and often would sit and sing in the evenings the old hymns."²¹

Amid this tranquil picture, the winds of change blew over the Cass family farm. Five of the six children were girls, and daughters were of limited help in farming. Without several sons to assist in tillage, a farmer could not easily support a large family. Consequently, daughters of this time and place sought work elsewhere, once they reached maturity. Elvira and her sister Mary, aged eighteen and sixteen, are not listed with their parents in Black Brook's 1860 census, nor were they living in any other household in the town.²² It seems likely that they were two of the thousands of girls who responded to the lure of the New England mills.

Massachusetts millowners actively sought young women from distant farm communities, posting placards in public places to attract workers fifteen to thirty-five years of age. One broadside—circulated around Burlington and Saint Alban's, Vermont, and Rouses' Point, New York, by an agent representing mills in Lowell and Chicopee, Massachusetts—offered young women

\$1.00 a week and board for the first month [after which] they will then be able to go to work at job prices. . . . They will be considered engaged for one year, cases of sickness excepted. . . . All that remain in the employ of the Company eighteen months will have the amount of their expenses to the Mills refunded to them. They will be properly cared for in sickness. It is hoped that none will go except those whose circumstances will admit of their staying at least one year.²³

According to one authority:

By 1860 more than sixty thousand women were employed in the cotton textile industry in New England alone. . . . Mill work attracted young women seeking employment for a brief period before marriage. . . . [It] offered individual self-support, enabled women to enjoy urban amenities not available in their rural communities, and gave them a measure of economic and social independence from their families. . . . Mill towns had a wider range of men to choose among than [was available to] women who remained at home.²⁴

21. Letter from Constance Entwistle Hoar, published in the *Stanstead [Quebec] Journal*, 13 December 1945.

22. 1860 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Clinton Co., N.Y., Black Brook, p. 1081, dwell. 2271, fam. 2291, NA microfilm M653, roll 736.

23. This broadside is presented in both Wilbur E. Garrett, ed., *Historical Atlas of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Society, 1988), 149; and Thomas Dublin, *Transforming Women's Work: New England Lives in the Industrial Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1994), 78. These two secondary sources, both of seeming high quality, attribute the flyer to the same repository (Baker Library, Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, Boston) but disagree as to date; Garrett cites it as 1870, Dublin as 1859.

24. Thomas Dublin, *Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826–1860* (N.Y.: Columbia Univ. Press, 1981), 6, 31, 40, 54.

In July 1860, the federal census taker recorded one *Almira* Cass, aged eighteen, and *Mary* Cass, aged sixteen, in a Lawrence boardinghouse. The forty-something other inmates were mostly female mill workers. The proprietors of the house reported *New Hampshire* for the Cass girls' nativity,²⁵ but birthplace data for boarders in a facility this large has a low level of reliability. The names and ages suggest that they were indeed the sisters missing from their home in Black Brook. Their younger sister *Lucerne*, born in April 1850, also arrived in Lawrence before 1867, when her marriage to *Parker Entwhistle* was recorded in that mill town.²⁶

CHARLES AND ELVIRA

On 17 August 1867, *Elvira* Cass married *Charles Wardrobe* in Lawrence, a month following the marriage of her sister *Lucerne*.²⁷ *Elvira* had long since completed the one-year-minimum labor contract that was standard for the area mills. Now aged twenty-four, she would bear three sons over the next five years. The 1870 census found her, *Charles*, and their infants living in a neighborhood with other young mill workers of similar backgrounds.²⁸

Working hours for mill "operatives" were long and arduous. In the 1860s, the shift began at 5:30 A.M., with fifteen-minute breaks for breakfast and dinner; and it ended at 7 P.M. These thirteen-hour workdays, repeated six days of the week, meant that *Charles* was away from his home and growing family for most waking hours; over the span of his career with *Pacific Print Works*, it would be reduced to eleven, then ten, hours. In 1912, the year before his retirement, new regulations limited the employment week to fifty-four hours.²⁹

Elvira died of puerperal fever, just two weeks after the birth of her third son in December 1872.³⁰ She left behind an undated poem in which she penned an elegy of her own death. Perhaps she wrote it amid grief at the loss of her sister *Lucerne*, just three months before her own passing.³¹ Perhaps she wrote it during her brief final illness following the birth of son *George*. One can only wonder as one reads from the only words she left behind:

25. 1860 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Essex Co., Mass., Lawrence, p. 375, dwell. 1880, fam. 2447, NA microfilm M653, roll 498.

26. Cass-Entwhistle marriage record, Mass. Vital Records, 1867, vol. 199:210.

27. *Charles Wardrobe Bible*. The 1872 marriage of *Mary* Cass to *Rufus* Clap also appears there. The marriage place is unknown, as is his occupation. The couple has not been found on the 1880 census soundexes for Mass. or N.Y., although the bible attributes to them four children born between 1873 and 1883.

28. 1870 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Essex Co., Mass., Lawrence, dwell. 204, fam. 284, NA microfilm M593, roll 609.

29. *Dorgan, History of Lawrence*, 54.

30. The death registration mistakenly identifies her as "Eloisa L." *Wardrobe* but correctly gives her age as 30 years, 6 months, and cites her parents as *Lorenzo* and *Abigail* Cass, both born in Can.; see Mass. Vital Records, 1872, vol. 247:251.

31. The *Charles Wardrobe Bible* contains a six-page collection of Cass-family information, compiler unknown. It lists birth, death, and marriage dates for *Lorenzo Dow* Cass and all his children, as well as some descendants up to 1945—at which time the Bible was owned by *George Wardrobe*, son of *Charles's* marriage to *Elvira* Cass.

Rear no marble slab for me, No columns grand or rare.
Let my grave all nameless be; Plant one violet there. . . .

Clouds are lowering in my sky. I feel their weight of woe.
Oh, Great Father, tell me why That now I cannot go. . . .

Come quick, Oh Death, and set me free, Save me from sin and woe.
Take me Lord, where sin doth cease, Quick, Father, let me go.³²

Two days before Christmas 1872, she left Charles to rear three small sons under four years of age—including a newborn. One of them would die less than four months later, just after his second birthday. Considering that Charles had no other family in the country to help him tend his infants, it is not surprising that he remarried in less than a year. Marilla Woodworth, the new wife of November 1873, was also a Canadian-born mill worker.³³ With her, Charles would have three more children, although none of them left descendants.

Elvira's two surviving sons never really knew her. Their stepmother reared them. The family attended the Second Baptist Church in Lawrence, where Charles was a deacon; and the church community served as "extended family" for them. On a small scrap of paper tucked away in the family Bible is a note about a Bible class conducted by "Brother Wardrobe."³⁴ After his second wife's death in 1907, Charles made his home with their only surviving child, the daughter Katie.

The chronicle Charles entered in this Bible cites his retirement on 1 January 1913. Fourteen months later, with World War One siphoning off the labor force, the seventy-one-year-old Charles was invited back to work. Not until the end of the war in 1918 did he retire a second time. The gold-handled cane he received as a parting gift for his more than fifty years with Pacific Print Works still remains in the family.³⁵ Charles, though seventy-five, would live another seven years. Twice during his American residency, Charles returned to England—sentimental occasions that marked the twenty-fifth and fiftieth anniversary years of his emigration. Passenger records exist to place him on the 1888 journey.³⁶ Family photos remain of the visit in 1913, showing him with his sister Harriet and other kin in the garden of a family home in Yorkshire.³⁷

Charles's will is dated 6 June 1924, but he did not pen its text. His signature is faint and weak, indicative of his advanced age and possibly poor health. His

32. This poem has been saved in the Wardrobe Family Papers, in possession of the present writer; but only typed copies remain. Untitled, it runs for several stanzas more than those reprinted here. The top of the typed sheet states simply "Poem by Elvira Wardrobe."

33. Charles Wardrobe Bible.

34. *Ibid.*

35. The cane is presently owned by Sarah Jenison (Wardrobe) Peel of East Dennis, Mass.

36. *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Boston, Massachusetts, 1820–1891*, NA microfilm M277, roll 107; see the list for S.S. *Catalonia*, arriving at Boston, 12 August 1888, line 18: "Charles Wardrobe, 45 years, male, Mill Hand, U.S.A. Citizen, U.S.A. destination, Intermediate space occupied, 3 pieces of luggage."

37. These photographs are in possession of the present writer.

daughter “Katie E. Wardrobe-Whittier” of Lawrence was appointed executrix, to be exempt from furnishing any surety on her bond. Katie, who had cared for him for two decades, also received the residue of his estate—after three other bequests were made. To his son William Lorenzo of Attleboro, Massachusetts, Charles left one thousand dollars and half of his burial lot (with perpetual care) in Lawrence’s Bellevue Cemetery. To William’s son Charles Byron went Charles’s gold watch and chain. Finally, to his other surviving son, George Ernest of Somerville, Massachusetts, Charles left five hundred dollars—with no explanation as to the reason for this son’s lesser legacy. Witnesses were John Ashton, John A. Peabody, and Albert F. King Jr.³⁸

The will was proved the following 27 April 1925, four days after Charles’s death. An inventory of 9 June attributes to Charles a two-family dwelling and lot at 415 Lowell Street in Lawrence, valued at six thousand dollars, and a two-family dwelling at 62 Warren Street, also in Lawrence, valued at thirty-five hundred dollars.³⁹ Charles, both of his wives, and five of his six children are all buried at the Bellevue Cemetery in Lawrence. Only George lies elsewhere.⁴⁰

Charles and Elvira (Cass) Wardrobe made significant breaks with their pasts—moving far from family and cultural origins. The traditional rural environment in which they had been reared, with generations of skilled handiwork by farmers and craftsmen, gave way to the new urban lifestyle that characterized the industrialized New England of the 1860s. The courage and challenges of their generation need to be documented and valued by all who descend from immigrants of that era.

GENEALOGICAL SUMMARY: THREE GENERATIONS

1. **Charles E.¹ Wardrobe** (William^A, George^B, George^C?), son of William and Elizabeth (Hobson) Wardrobe, was born 15 March 1843 at Hook, West Riding, Yorkshire, England;⁴¹ died 23 April 1925 at Lawrence, Essex County, Massachusetts.⁴² He married, first, 17 August 1867 at Lawrence, **Elvira L. Cass**, daughter of Lorenzo Dow and Abigail (Butterfield) Cass. Elvira had been born 23 June 1842 at Brown’s Hill, Stanstead County, Quebec, Canada; and died 23 December 1872 at Lawrence.⁴³ Charles married, second, 26 November 1873 at Lawrence, **Marilla**

38. Essex Co., Mass., Probate File 151780.

39. *Ibid.*

40. Lot 99, Group 10, as per records and map provided in 1995 by James A. Carroll, superintendent, Bellevue Cemetery, to the present writer. This copy of the burial records contains two errors: it names Elvira as *Clarissa* and calls the infant who died in 1873 by the name *Charles* instead of *John Linville Clark Wardrobe*, as he properly was. Elvira’s tombstone actually reads *Elvira L.*; her child’s reads *John L. C.*

41. Charles Wardrobe birth certificate, no. BXB 578397, Dist. of Goole, Yorkshire, issued 9 August 1989, General Record Office, London. Charles’s naturalization record mistakenly cites his birth date as 15 March 1845 instead of 1843, apparently a clerical copying error. See Superior Criminal Court of Essex Co., Mass., no. 19-981.

42. Charles Wardrobe death record, Mass. Vital Records, 1925, vol. 35:511.

43. Elvira L. Wardrobe death record, Mass. Vital Records, 1872, vol. 247:251, no. 717.

Woodworth,⁴⁴ daughter of Lewis and Katherine (Stevens) Woodworth; Marilla had been born 28 June 1847 at Hillsboro, New Brunswick, Canada; and died 15 January 1907 at Lawrence.⁴⁵

Typical of their era, Charles's name appears in a variety of public and printed records, while Elvira stands in his shadow. Both of their surviving sons are attributed to Marilla as long as they lived with their father; in the 1880 census, even Marilla's place of nativity (New Brunswick) is cited as "mother's birthplace" for Elvira's sons.⁴⁶ In 1900 William still lived in the parental home and his "mother's birthplace" remained New Brunswick. George, newly married and living in Lawrence that year, hardly remembered his mother better; his census entry asserts that she was a native of New York.⁴⁷ Other public records vary widely, indicating many errors by transcribers or clerks.

Children of Charles E.¹ Wardrobe and wife Elvira L. Cass were

- + 2 i. WILLIAM LORENZO² WARDROBE, born 7 April 1869 at Lawrence;⁴⁸ died 16 May 1935, Norton, Bristol County, Massachusetts.⁴⁹ He married 6 June 1906 at Lowell, Massachusetts, Jessie A. Earle.⁵⁰
- 3 ii. JOHN LINVILLE CLARK WARDROBE, born 1 April 1871, Lawrence; died there 20 April 1873.⁵¹
- + 4 iii. GEORGE ERNEST WARDROBE was born 8 December 1872, Lawrence;⁵² died 30 August 1957 at Lexington, Middlesex County, Massachusetts.⁵³ He married 12 October 1898, West Lebanon, Grafton County, New Hampshire, Josie Ellen Wood.⁵⁴

Children of Charles E.¹ Wardrobe and wife Marilla Woodworth were

44. Charles Wardrobe Bible.

45. Marilla Woodworth [Woodward] Wardrobe death record, Mass. Vital Records, 1907, vol. 53:466.

46. 1880 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Essex Co., Mass., Lawrence, p. 531, dwell. 75, fam. 97, NA microfilm T9, roll 530. The surname is misspelled as *Wardnell*.

47. 1900 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Essex Co., Mass., Lawrence, ward 5, p. 111A, dwell. 143, fam. 176 (Charles Wardrobe); and ward 5, p. 494, dwell. 13, fam. 17 (George Wardrobe), NA microfilm T623, roll 643.

48. Charles Wardrobe Bible.

49. *Ibid.*; also Wm. Lorenzo Wardrobe death record, Mass. Vital Records, 1935, vol. 68:202.

50. Wardrobe-Earl marriage, Mass. Vital Records, 1906, vol. 562:482, no. 394.

51. The Charles Wardrobe Bible gives this child's full name and birth and death dates, identifying him as *John Linville Clark* Wardrobe; his tombstone at Bellevue presents his name as *John L. C.* Wardrobe. The cemetery office records, as previously mentioned, record his name as *Charles*. His birth record, Mass. Vital Records, 1871, vol. 232:223, records his name only as *John*.

52. Mass. Vital Records present two birth records for George, both for 8 December of two consecutive years. Registrations for 1872, vol. 241:259, show the birth of George to Charles (b. Eng.) and Elvira (b. Can.). The 1873 registration, vol. 259: 259, shows birth of George to Charles (b. Eng.) and "Viola" (b. "Blandbrook"). Custodians of these records explain that sometimes doctors filed "late reports," but this appears to be a simple clerical error. George was born 8 December 1872, according to the Charles Wardrobe Bible.

53. George E. Wardrobe death record, Mass. Vital Records, 1957, vol. 60:371, no. 165.

54. Wardrobe-Wood marriage, Mass. Vital Records, 1898, vol. 478:395, records (for the city of Lawrence) this couple's marriage in Lebanon, N.H.

- 5 iv. KATHERINE ELIZABETH "KATIE" WARDROBE, born 9 October 1874 at Lawrence; died there 27 February 1941.⁵⁵ She married Claude Whittier after 1920, when the census enumerated her as an unmarried, forty-five-year-old saleswoman for a dry-goods store.⁵⁶ Claude died 16 May 1924, aged sixty-seven.⁵⁷ They left no issue.
- 6 v. MINNIE LUELLA WARDROBE, born 29 July 1876 at Lawrence; died there on 6 October 1905, aged twenty-nine, unmarried.⁵⁸ The obituaries for Minnie's mother relate her deep grief over Minnie's death, a factor that may have contributed to Marilla's own demise fifteen months later.⁵⁹
- 7 vi. ROWLAND CHARLES WARDROBE, born 19 December 1891 at Lawrence; died there 6 December 1892, at eleven months.⁶⁰

2. **William Lorenzo² Wardrobe** (Charles E.¹, William^A, George^B, George^C?) was born 7 April 1869 at Lawrence;⁶¹ and died 16 May 1935 at Norton, Bristol County, Massachusetts.⁶² He married 6 June 1906 at Lowell, in Middlesex County, Massachusetts, **Jessie A. Earle**, who had been born about 1882 in New Brunswick, Canada, as daughter of Frederick and Eliza D. (Earle) Earle.⁶³ Jessie died 23 February 1962.⁶⁴

Like many mill-working families of the early-twentieth century, this one made several moves, although all were in the state of Massachusetts. William was still in Lowell when the family provided data for his stepmother's obituary.⁶⁵ By 1911, he had relocated to Ware, Hampshire County; and a son Melvin was born two years

55. Charles Wardrobe Bible gives birth and death dates. Bellevue Cemetery records also give this death date.

56. 1920 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Essex Co., Mass., enum. dist. 125, sheer 10, 415 Lowell St., dwell. 108, fam. 210, NA microfilm T625, roll 692.

57. Bellevue Cemetery records.

58. Charles Wardrobe Bible.

59. Marilla (Mrs. Charles E.) Wardrobe obituaries, from undated, unidentified newspaper clippings tucked into the Charles Wardrobe Bible. The shortest of these memorials states: "Her illness seems to date back to the death of her youngest daughter, Minnie, some 15 months ago, for whom she grieved continually and could not be comforted."

60. The Charles Wardrobe Bible uses three spellings of this child's first name: *Rowland*, *Rolland*, and *Roland*, written in Charles's own handwriting. The child's birth record, Mass. Vital Records, 1891, vol. 412:391, shows *Harold C.* was born on 19 December 1891 to Charles and Marilla. There is no evidence that twins were born. Mass. Vital Records, 1892, vol. 427:408, records the death of *Roland C.*, aged 11 months, son of Charles and Marilla, attributing the death to "brain fever."

61. Charles Wardrobe Bible (for birth record).

62. Wm. Lorenzo Wardrobe death record, Mass. Vital Records, 1935, vol. 68:202.

63. Wardrobe-Earle marriage, Mass. Vital Records, 1906, vol. 562:482, no. 394.

64. Bellevue Cemetery records provide a death date and age at death. For her birthplace, see birth registrations of her two sons, Charles B. Wardrobe (Mass. Vital Records, vol. 567:516) and Melvin Earle Wardrobe (Mass. Vital Records, 1914, vol. 622:436); both cite the birth in Calais, Maine. However, her marriage record (Mass. Vital Records, 1906, vol. 562:482) states that she was born in New Brunswick. Her daughter-in-law states that the Earle family lived in Maine, with property in adjacent New Brunswick; interview with Helena C. Wardrobe, December 1995, East Otis, Mass.

65. Marilla Wardrobe obituaries, undated clippings from unidentified newspapers, tucked in Charles Wardrobe Bible.

later in Fall River, Bristol County.⁶⁶ The 1920 census taker found them in Fall River still, but by 1925 they had returned to Attleboro.⁶⁷ William continued mill work, as an overseer in the bleachery section, up to ten days before his demise. According to his death certificate, he died suddenly of heart disease in Norton, a small town near Attleboro.⁶⁸

Children born to William Lorenzo² Wardrobe and his wife, Jessie A. Earle, were

- 8 i. CHARLES BYRON² WARDROBE, born 18 November 1907 at Lowell, died 19 May 1963, in Massachusetts—possibly in Arlington, Middlesex County, the site of his burial.⁶⁹ Charles, who served in the U.S. Army for over twenty years, met and married in Germany, 8 May 1948, Hildegarde Agnes Hadamik (born 2 January 1918), by whom he had no issue.⁷⁰
- 9 ii. MILDRED EVELYN WARDROBE, born 16 February 1911 at Ware, Massachusetts; died 11 September 1954 at Attleboro. A spinster, Mildred lived with her mother all her life and worked in Attleboro music stores.⁷¹
- 10 iii. MELVIN EARLE WARDROBE, born 26 December 1913 at Fall River, Massachusetts; died 3 June 1984 at Pittsfield (residence: East Otis), Berkshire County, Massachusetts.⁷² He married 3 August 1939 in Attleboro, Helena Constance Palagi, who had been born 2 March 1914 at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, as daughter of Adolph and Louisa (Luchesi) Palagi.⁷³ Melvin, an Army veteran of World War Two, retired in 1976 after twenty-three years' employment in Bridgeport, Connecticut. He and Helena also lived in Rhode Island and Massachusetts. They had one daughter who married and has children.⁷⁴

66. Mildred E. Wardrobe obituary (clippings from unidentified newspaper of 13 September 1954, tucked in Charles Wardrobe Bible) cites Mildred's birth date and birth place. Also see Melvin Earle Wardrobe birth record, 1913, vol. 615:293, no. 3185; see also 1914, vol. 622: 436, no. 86. This is the second family member for whom the Mass. Vital Records present two registrations a year apart. The 1913 date is given as 26 December; the 1914 date as 28 December. The 1913 date is supported by the Charles Wardrobe Bible.

67. 1920 U.S. cens., pop. sch., Bristol Co., Mass., Fall River, enum. dist. 93, sheet 4A, dwell. 37, fam. 80, NA microfilm T625, roll 684. The 1925 probate proceedings for Charles's estate cite William's residence in Attleboro; see Essex Co. Probate File 151780.

68. Wm. Lorenzo Wardrobe death record, Mass. Vital Records, 1935, vol. 68:202.

69. Charles B. Wardrobe birth record, Mass. Vital Records, 1907, vol. 567: 516, no. 1977. For death date and state of death, see Charles Wardrobe entry, no. 026-01-3194, Social Security Death Index, *FamilySearch* (Salt Lake City: Family History Library, 1994). The SSDI is drawn from the *Social Security Death Benefits Index* of the U.S. Social Security Administration. Charles's sister-in-law reports his site of burial; interview with Helena C. Wardrobe, December 1995.

70. Hildegarde's birth date and her marriage date to Charles appear in the George Wardrobe Bible. Charles's military service, Hildegarde's nativity, and the location of their marriage is from interview with Helena C. Wardrobe, December 1995.

71. Dates of birth and death appear in Charles Wardrobe Bible, along with a 13 September 1954 obituary from an unidentified newspaper; also see Bellevue Cemetery records.

72. Charles Wardrobe Bible; birth records for Melvin Earle Wardrobe, previously discussed; Melvin Earle Wardrobe death record, Mass. Vital Records, 1984, no. 034456.

73. Wardrobe-Palagi marriage record, Mass. Vital Records, 1939, vol. 4:114; George Wardrobe Bible.

74. Interview with Helena C. Wardrobe, December 1995.

4. **George Ernest² Wardrobe** (Charles E.¹, William^A, George^B, George^{C?}) was born 8 December 1872 at Lawrence; and died 30 August 1957 at Lexington, Middlesex County, Massachusetts.⁷⁵ He married 12 October 1898 at West Lebanon, Grafton County, New Hampshire, **Josie Ellen Wood**, daughter of Jeremiah and Martha Ellen (Dickinson) Wood.⁷⁶ Josie had been born 25 January 1876 at West Lebanon; she died 11 October 1964 at Lexington.⁷⁷

After completing high school, George apprenticed himself to a Lawrence drugstore, Charles E. Clarke and Sons.⁷⁸ However, Josie's older brother—also named George—was employed at Pacific Mills; and it was likely through him that Charles met Josie, whose family still lived in New Hampshire. George Wardrobe continued to work at Clarke's until 1912, when he bought a drugstore in West Somerville, now a suburb of Boston, and moved his young family there. Eventually, he added another store and changed locations—all within West Somerville—while Josie operated her own gift shop for many years in one of their buildings.⁷⁹

Moving to West Medford, on the outskirts of Somerville, George and Josie remained in their new home for almost twenty years. Both were active in community organizations—George as a charter member of the Somerville Lodge, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, and a member of the Aleppo Temple Shrine; Josie as a member of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution. In 1948, when George was seventy-five, they sold their West Somerville stores and moved to Lexington, Massachusetts, where they remained for the rest of their lives. George never officially retired, though. He purchased a historic business building in adjacent East Lexington and opened another pharmacy. His son Roland assumed increasing responsibility for the family business, but George went to his store every day until shortly before his death at age eighty-four. A member of the Lexington Baptist Church, he was a familiar figure in that town. The historic building he owned for many years still stands and is preserved in print.⁸⁰

Children born to George Ernest² Wardrobe and his wife, Josie Ellen Wood, were

- 11 i. MURIEL ARLINE³ WARDROBE, born 26 January 1900; died 21 January 1923. She married 21 June 1922 at Somerville, Massachusetts, Lawrence

75. George E. Wardrobe birth record, Mass. Vital Records, 1872, vol. 241:259; George Ernest Wardrobe death record, Mass. Vital Records, 1957, vol. 60:371, no. 165.

76. Wardrobe-Wood marriage record, Mass. Vital Records, 1898, vol. 478:395.

77. Josie Ellen (Wood) Wardrobe death record, Mass. Vital Records, 1964, vol. 69:378, no. 616.

78. Clarke's had been a Lawrence business since at least 1868, when it was described as "Charles Clarke, Druggist and Apothecary, 91 Essex, corner of Jackson St., Dealer in Drugs, Medicine, and Fancy Goods"; see J. F. C. Hayes, *History of the City of Lawrence* (Lawrence: E. D. Green, 1868), 48.

79. Interview with Phyllis Cass (née Wardrobe) (MacLean) Marsh, Venice, Fla., October and November 1995; Mrs. Marsh was a daughter of George Ernest and spoke from personal knowledge.

80. Interview with Phyllis Marsh. For the photo, see Beverly Allison Kelley, *Lexington: A Century of Photographs* (Lexington: Lexington Historical Society, 1980), 132: "For many years known as Wardrobe's Pharmacy, this building was once a grocery store and post office for the residents of East Lexington. It is still standing today on the east corner of Curve Street."

Parsons Marshall.⁸¹ A childhood bout with scarlet fever had left Muriel with a weakened heart. She succumbed to rheumatic heart disease just seven months after her wedding, leaving no children.⁸²

- 12 ii. PHYLLIS CASS WARDROBE, born 6 November 1906 at Lawrence; died 11 December 1995 at Venice, Sarasota County, Florida.⁸³ She married, first, 14 June 1930 at Somerville, Massachusetts, Daniel Fraser MacLean, who had been born 14 May 1903 at Orangedale, Inverness County, Nova Scotia, and died 11 April 1952 at Waltham in Middlesex County.⁸⁴ The son of Murdock and Mary Ann (MacLeod) MacLean of Nova Scotia, Daniel graduated from Boston University, attended Harvard Law School, and served in World War Two's Pacific theater as a lieutenant commander, U.S. Naval Reserves. Phyllis, who also attended Boston University, graduated from the Katherine Gibbs School. Phyllis and Daniel had two daughters, both of whom married and have children and grandchildren.⁸⁵

Phyllis married, second, on 11 December 1965 at Lexington, Massachusetts, Hallock Snyder Marsh.⁸⁶ The son of Charles Archibald and Jennie Edna (Curtin) Marsh, Hallock was born 9 April 1902 at Brooklyn, Kings County, New York, and died 25 July 1980 at Venice, Florida.⁸⁷ An electronics scientist, Hallock retired from federal employment in 1965 to continue his interest in watercolor painting. Phyllis, who worked professionally as a secretary and buyer until 1971, gained much acclaim in Venice, after her own retirement, for her whimsical clay sculptures.⁸⁸

Phyllis grew up unaware of the origin of her own middle name, Cass. She knew well her grandfather, Charles Wardrobe, who had died when she was eighteen; but she knew him only as an elderly widower and never learned much of his history from other family members. She recalled him as a serious and religious person, "quite stern and not too fond of noisy visiting grandchildren!"⁸⁹ Her grandmother Elvira, she knew only from a few photos that remained in the family. It was not until one of her daughters began genealogical research in the 1980s that Phyllis recalled hearing anything about this grandmother. The poem Elvira had written remained tucked away in the family bible, forgotten for many years.

- 13 iii. ROLAND MILTON WARDROBE, born 21 May 1908 at Lawrence; died 23 August 1987 at East Dennis, Barnstable County, Massachusetts. He wed

81. Charles Wardrobe Bible.

82. Interviews with Muriel's sister, Phyllis Marsh, October and November 1995.

83. Phyllis Cass Wardrobe birth record, Mass. Vital Records, 1906, vol. 558: 521, no. 2181 (also Record of Births, City of Lawrence, Book 11: 111); Phyllis C. Marsh death record, Fla. Office of Vital Statistics, no. 5229054 (local file no. 1717), Tallahassee.

84. Death certificate of Daniel Fraser MacLean, registration no. 672, issued 26 November 1965 by Town Clerk, Lexington, Mass.; original in possession of this writer, Daniel's daughter.

85. Personal papers of Daniel MacLean, in possession of the present writer, and personal knowledge of writer.

86. Personal knowledge of the writer.

87. Hallock Snyder Marsh death certificate, Fla. Office of Vital Statistics, local file no. 201, issued to this writer on 12 June 1990.

88. Personal knowledge of the writer.

89. Interviews with Phyllis Marsh, October and November 1995.

26 June 1936, Irene Dallas Hall, daughter of John S. and Vendla Marian (Ohlson) Hall. Irene had been born 26 April 1909 at Dallas, Texas; she died 5 December 1987 at East Dennis. Graduating from the Massachusetts College of Pharmacy, Roland operated Wardrobe's Pharmacy with his father, retiring in the 1970s. Irene was a talented artist and left many drawings and sketches of family members. From the 1950s to the 1970s, the couple owned and lived in a historic Lexington home, the Sanderson House (built 1686), at 1314 Massachusetts Avenue. They had two daughters, one of whom married and has children and a grandchild.⁹⁰

- 14 iv. JOSEPHINE JENNISON WARDROBE, born 24 May 1911 at Lawrence; died 11 April 1990 at Wakefield, Middlesex County, Massachusetts.⁹¹ She married 14 June 1946, at West Medford in Middlesex, Carl Bulkeley Norris, who had been born 5 March 1908 and died 11 August 1971 at Melrose in Middlesex County.⁹² A graduate of Colby Junior College and Tufts University, Josephine was a legal secretary and a skilled photographer. Carl, a graduate of Bowdoin College, was a banker. They adopted two sons who were biological brothers, one of whom had children.⁹³

CONCLUSION

Large families are commonly believed to have been the "norm" in premodern society; yet many lines tapered to extinction, as Charles Wardrobe's almost has. Many of the marvels of modern medicine were yet undiscovered and death was a more-frequent visitor. Many women died during or soon after childbirth, from infections now treatable with medication. Children died in large numbers of now-preventable or curable diseases, such as diphtheria, scarlet fever, tuberculosis, and whooping cough.

Charles Wardrobe sired six children in two marriages, but only two sons produced descendants. In the fourth generation from Charles, there are but four females living today who are parents themselves. Thus, the line has "daughtered out" in America. It soon will in England.⁹⁴ Situations such as this make the gathering and recording of a family history even more significant.

Recent efforts to restore the Ellis Island Immigration Center in New York City have attracted widespread attention. But Charles Wardrobe did not see the Statue

90. Sarah Jenison (Wardrobe) Peel of East Dennis, Mass., provided dates from her parents' birth, marriage, and death certificates. Birth and marriage data for Roland and Irene also appear in the Charles Wardrobe Bible.

91. Charles Wardrobe Bible; Josephine Jennison Wardrobe Norris probate proceedings, Middlesex Co., Mass., probate file 90P2170.

92. Carl Bulkeley Norris probate proceedings, Middlesex Co., Mass., probate file 451340.

93. Personal knowledge of the writer.

94. All of Charles Wardrobe's siblings remained in England. His youngest brother, Tom, a child of seven when Charles left for America, reared a large family of thirteen children, born 1880–99. Some of Tom's children and grandchildren maintained written correspondence with their American cousins, and this continues to the present day. In 1989, the writer visited them in Yorkshire for the first time and was welcomed with great fanfare—newspaper interviews, photos, parties, and celebrations. However, the last living males with the Wardrobe surname have no sons, and so the name will soon disappear in the English branch of this family as well.

of Liberty when he arrived in 1863; this gift from France to the United States was not in place in New York Harbor until 1886. Charles did not pass through Ellis Island, because that facility did not open until 1892. However, the desire of Americans to honor their immigrant ancestors and the appeal of this worthy endeavor has inspired the present writer—a descendant of many immigrants—to purchase a nameplate on the American Immigrant Wall of Honor, created by the Statue of Liberty–Ellis Island Foundation. The certificate of registration presents a message that applies to all our immigrant ancestors, whenever and from wherever they journeyed:

Charles Wardrobe
Came to the United States of America from
England
joining those courageous men and women who came to this country in search of
personal freedom, economic opportunity and a future hope for their families.

To remember Elvira, it would be meaningful to visit the Bellevue Cemetery in Lawrence and “plant one violet there.”

Cherokee Citizenship Petition: William Blyth (and Others)

Item [folder] 41, “Petitions, Citizenship,” Box 6, Muster Rolls, 1835–1838
Entry 220, Indian Removal, Cherokee Removal Records, Record Group 75
National Archives, Washington, D.C.

“To the Cherokee Committee: Gentlemen—The undersigned respectfully represents to your honorable body, that when the late Treaty was made, they were opposed to removing, that they were induced to petition their white bretheren of the Tennessee Legislature to admit them [as] Citizens of Said States, which they were kind enough to do, that since that time a part of your petitioners have visited the Country required by the Treaty & find it to be a very fine Country and very different from what we had been taught to believe it was.

Therefore, we pray your honorable Body to readmit us, as Citizens of the Cherokee Nation, & place us on the Same footing that we occupied before the Legislature of Tennessee acted on our petition. And as in duty bound, will ever pray &c.

7th Feby. 1838. /Signed/ Wm. Blyth Siegn., Joel[?] Sothard, Richard Fields, Jno. R. Blyth, James Vann, Moses Fields, James W. Fields, William Blyth, George Fields.”

Wm. Blyth Siegn.
Jno. R. Blyth
Richard Fields
James Vann
Moses Fields
James W. Fields
William Blyth
George Fields

Maximizing Probate Research: An Analysis of Potential, Using English Records from Cornwall

In spite of the current ease of accessibility, English probate records remain underused even by those who consult them. The obvious search—that is, one for wills or estates filed by individuals bearing the surname of interest or the surname of a known relative—frequently results in failure. Success commonly requires a more-comprehensive but carefully targeted study.

By Ronald A. Hill, Ph.D.*

Preconceived ideas thwart many research efforts. Combined with the intimidation most people feel upon approaching foreign records, the result can be a needless stalemate or failure. English probate records offer a prime example. Probate files are typically underused in the first place. Many researchers assume their ancestors would not have left wills or that “only the wealthy left estates to probate.” Even if a forebear is suspected of wealth, the challenge of locating, accessing, and understanding estate files of an unfamiliar jurisdiction can seem too problematic to be practical. Little wonder it is that English probate records are both a key genealogical source and a seriously neglected one.

Typically, American efforts to track the origins of English people focus upon the International Genealogical Index (IGI) of the Family History Library in Salt Lake City—a convenient finding aid for the baptism and marriage records created by Anglican parish priests. Good researchers always go beyond the IGI to the original registers that provided the IGI data. Yet even the parish records themselves are frequently inadequate. Baptismal entries often omit the names of infants’ mothers; and pre-1837 marriage registrations rarely note the parents of a bride or groom. Burial records have not yet been abstracted into the IGI; but even when the originals are consulted, they seldom yield the age of the deceased or cite any spouse or parent to aid in correct identification. In addition, the proliferation of common given names (John, William, Thomas, Elizabeth, Mary, etc.) can cause incredible confusion between families. It is not unusual to find two or three men of identical Christian and family names for whom children are baptized concurrently in the same or adjacent parishes.

*7313 Gladden Avenue NE; Albuquerque, NM 87110. Dr. Hill, a recently retired physicist, has earned a practical education in English genealogical research through a quarter-century of relentless study at the Family History Library in Salt Lake City and at many record offices abroad. He is a past president of the New Mexico Genealogical Society and a frequent lecturer on English research at American genealogical conferences.

English probate records are of major value in sorting such families—a resource so accessible now that continued neglect is hard to justify. No longer must one struggle through various county record offices in England to determine whether a particular probate record exists. Extant files and ledgers are microfilmed and are centrally located at the Family History Library; that film also can be borrowed through one of more than two thousand branches of this library worldwide. In spite of the current ease of accessibility, English probate records remain underused even by those who consult them. The obvious search—that is, one for wills or estates filed by individuals bearing the surname of interest or the surname of a known relative—frequently results in failure.

Success commonly requires a more-comprehensive but carefully targeted study. The usual focus on individuals believed to have had some measure of wealth is highly unreliable. Some wealthy individuals left no will; perhaps they had settled their estates before death, or they were superstitious about writing that last will and testament. On the other hand, it is not unusual to find one for a husbandman whose individual bequests were less than a shilling and whose inventory scarcely totaled three pounds.

This article explores the potential that researchers can realize from a comprehensive probate study. It is based upon a two-part question:

Regardless of whether the probate index to a specific jurisdiction includes the ancestor or ancestral family in the parish of interest,

- can a researcher justify the time and cost expenditures of studying *all* probate records of that particular parish?
- can a researcher justify the time and cost expenditures of studying *all* probate records of *surrounding* parishes?

There is, of course, no guarantee that the statistics generated in this example will apply to the general case. But the material discussed here, as well as the approach that is outlined, is applicable to most regions of England.

THE SEARCH

The focus is a cluster of interrelated families in Cornwall, a county that forms England's southwestern promontory. (See figure 1.) The Pearce and Colwill families, who are emphasized in this paper, resided in the ancient deanery of Trigg Major, which encompassed thirty-two parishes in northern Cornwall.¹ Several families of secondary interest—Best, Bray, Cornish, Downing, Grigg, Joynt, Mark, Marshall, Parminter, and Scott—also appear there. A half-dozen others—Hill, Mathew, Mullis, Penkevill, Pinch, and Roscarrock—populate the adjacent deanery of Trigg Minor, composed of twenty parishes extending from the coast to Bodmin

1. The ancient deanery boundaries of the archdeaconry of Cornwall were abolished in 1875, when the original eight rural deaneries were restructured into twelve.

Moor. With an additional interest in the Achym family of Pelynt parish, about fourteen miles south of Trigg Major, the entire search extracted data on nineteen surnames from fifty-three parishes. An estimated 320 hours was spent on the project.

The records

Research focused upon the extant holdings of two courts during the century 1600–1700, as follows:

ARCHDEACONRY COURT OF CORNWALL

The Family History Library offers fifty-two microfilmed rolls of Cornwall probate records from this court—the originals of which are at the Cornwall County Records Office in Truro. The files are organized alphabetically by surname and date. Those for the letter A, dating 1600 to 1700, are followed by those for the letter B, from 1600 to 1700. A handlist (a handwritten calendar) of the probates for each letter and year is included in the filming. For each case, the handlist cites a reference number; the testator's name (or the name of the deceased); the parish name; the probate date; and a notation as to whether the file contains a will, an administration, an inventory, or an account.

PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY (PCC)

The materials of the PCC—the court of record for all England during the Commonwealth (1649–1660)—are variously approached. An index to the Cornish PCC probates, at the Cornwall County Record Office, provides each testator's name, parish, and PCC reference number. The Family History Library's microfilm collection covers PCC's registered probate records. Complete indexes to the probate records in the PCC can be found in that library's Locality Index, under the heading "England—Probate Records."

The procedure

The handlist was read for any and all probates occurring in the two deaneries (fifty-three parishes) of interest. A table was compiled, noting cases by reference number, year, name of parish, and identity of the deceased. The actual cases were then examined, scanning each document line by line for several types of information on all surnames of interest, as outlined below:²

ACCOUNTS

(Probate accounts are written statements of receipts and disbursements sometimes made by the administrator.) Extracted data cover

- payments to debtors, legatees, or heirs.
- relationships noted between the deceased and the legatees or heirs, if any.

2. An excellent discussion of English probate records—one much broader than its title suggests—is provided by J. S. W. Gibson, *Wills and Where to Find Them* (Chichester, Sussex, Eng.: Phillimore, for the British Record Society, 1974).

ADMINISTRATIONS

(Administrations are the acts by which someone is appointed to dispose of the real and personal property of one who has died intestate or whose will does not name executors. This type of record may include a petition for appointment, the act of appointment—"letters of administration"—and a bond by which the administrator and sureties guarantee that the terms of law will be observed.) Extracted data cover

- names of bondsmen, witnesses, and administrators.
- distinguishing signatures or marks.³

DEPOSITIONS

(Depositions result when a will is challenged by one or more legatees or by relatives who contend that the submitted paper is not the proper testament of the deceased or that the testator did not act with free will and sound mind. Witnesses are called to testify as to their recollections of the proceedings surrounding the draft of the document presented for probate.) Extracted data cover

- all genealogical statements made in the depositions—including, often, the ages and the home parishes of deponents.
- distinguishing signatures or marks.

INVENTORIES AND APPRAISEMENTS

(Inventories are detailed itemizations of personal and household goods left by the deceased; appraisements are inventories on which individual valuations are provided by qualified individuals. Frequently, one document serves both purposes. Inventories and appraisements were common in England during the century under study but became less so, and less detailed, in the eighteenth century.) Extracted data cover

- names of debtors or creditors; names and signatures of appraisers.
- other identifying information—as, for example, the occupation of the deceased, which often appears in the heading of an inventory; or the home parishes of the appraisers, which often are cited as part of the appraisers' identifications.

PROBATE ACTS

(Probate acts are short descriptions—in Latin before 1733—of the action taken by the probate court in each case. In the archdeaconry of Cornwall, these acts are endorsed on the back of the will or administration bond, together with the name of the parish and the date of probate. Included in the act is the identity of the person or persons who executed the will or administered the estate.⁴) Extracted data cover

- names of all mentioned parties—and relationships, when given.
- date and location of the probate.

3. Individuals often are identifiable by their manner of signing. For example, if multiple men exist by the name of a witness and a burial record is found for one, the question arises: did this witness die or was the decedent another man? If a postburial signature for that name matches a preburial signature, then the question is resolved.

4. Probate acts may contain genealogical data that differ from or augment that found in wills and letters of administration. For example, the will of John Pooley of St. Teath, dated 2 January 1681/2, names his daughters *Katherine and Alice* as joint executrixes. However, the probate act, dated 31 January 1681/2, names the executrixes as *Katherine, wife of Nicholas Hodge, and Alice, wife of John Mullis, daughters of the deceased*. See probate record P1572, Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall, FHL microfilm 1471853.

WILLS

(Wills are the instruments by which a person directs the disposition of his or her property after death. In the archdeaconry of Cornwall—as in most other locales—they were not filed with official papers until after the death of the testator. They might be holographic—written entirely by the individual in his own hand; or nuncupative—expressed orally on the deathbed and reduced to writing by witnesses but not signed by the deceased. Or they might have been dictated to a clerk, scrivener, or solicitor, after which the testator affixed his signature or mark.) Extracted data include

- names of relatives, tenants, friends, apprentices, debtors, creditors, overseers, witnesses, or other types of associates.
- signatures or marks of witnesses.

When a surname of interest was found, the will was completely abstracted.

The results: Pearces of Trigg Major and Minor

A number of apparently unrelated families bearing Pearce (and variant) surnames lived in northern Cornwall during the seventeenth century. The main family groups were in Trigg Major at Davidstow, Jacobstow, Launceston, North Petherwin, and Whitstone. (See figure 1.) Smaller groups were at Boyton, Egloskerry, North Tamerton, and Week Saint Mary. By the close of that century, Pearce baptisms can be found in all parishes of Trigg Major, except Morwenstow. Tables 1 through 3 summarize the data gleaned in this study. Users will note the following:

- Omitted are two of the thirty-four parishes of Trigg Major. Trewen and South Petherwin were in the jurisdiction of the bishop of Exeter, whose records were destroyed in the bombing of Exeter Cathedral during World War Two.
- Included are four parishes from Trigg Minor: Forrabury, Lesnewth, Minster, and Trevalga border Davidstow in Trigg Major. The Pearces of Davidstow appear to have had connections in these adjacent Trigg Minor parishes.

The results are striking. As shown in table 2, *Pearces created less than 2 percent of the probate cases but are found in three times that many files.* (Pearce probates: n=73 or 1.6 percent; Pearce involvements in all cases: n=218 or 4.9 percent.) In 14 of the 34 parishes, there were no Pearce probates at all; yet Pearces appear in 33 cases treating other surnames—an average of 2.4 appearances per parish.

Significant clues to relationships exist in many of the “other surname” cases. Pearces are named as legatees in over half the other cases (n=75 of 124 or 60.5 percent). They were administrators (i.e., almost certainly relatives or in-laws) or bondsmen in a significant number of other cases (n=21 or 26 percent). They were appraisers (likely neighbors or kinsmen ineligible to inherit) in a great majority of cases (n=105 or 85 percent). In addition, 22 Pearces were connected closely enough to serve as overseers, receive payments from the estates, or make depositions in response to contested wills.

Two examples should suffice to demonstrate how the typical genealogical problem of identifying females can be resolved by this type of broad survey.

Alice Pearse

The parish registers of Jacobstow in Trigg Major offer a 1686 marriage entry for Digeory (Digory) Pearse with Alles (Alice) Pearse;⁵ yet no female of that name appears in any extant baptismal register of Trigg Major. By cavassing all wills and probates of Trigg Major *and* the adjacent Trigg Minor parishes, a match was found. Alice is cited as a granddaughter in the 1682/3 will of John Pearse Sr. of Lanteglos by Camelford in Trigg Minor; and the baptism of Alice, daughter of John Pears and Margery, appears in that same parish. Also, John Pearse [Jr.] of Lanteglos by Camelford names Digory Pearse of Jacobstow as executor of his will, proved 1689.⁶ If the identification of Alice had been the specific goal of this project, success would have required a search of all parishes within a ten-mile radius.

Wilmot Pearse

On 10 January 1671/2, in Egloshayle Parish of Trigg Minor, Humphry Pearse married Wilmot, widow of John Mullis. Wilmot's earlier marriage had occurred in that same place on 16 December 1656, at which time she was identified as Wilmot Anne. Her Mullis husband had died on 15 October 1657, also at Egloshayle; and on 8 June 1658 their first and only son (John Jr.) had been baptized in that parish.⁷

Prior to the present project, the area's resources had been combed for all Pearse, Mullis, and Anne records (as well as for variant spellings). The only clue found to Wilmot's identity was the following will for a resident of the adjacent parish of Saint Breock, found in the records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury:⁸

23 September 1655 (written)

18 January 1655/6 (proved)

Testator: *William Anny, yeoman*. Legatees: *wife Wilmott*, sister Joane; Nicholas Marshall Jr. and his daughter [unnamed]. Executor: father George Anny.

The details of the will suggest that Anny and his wife were relatively young and childless. The probate date suggests that this Wilmott might be same as the Wilmot Anne who married John Mullis eleven months after William's will was probated.

5. Jacobstow parish registers, Cornwall Co. Record Office DDP 92/1, 15 September 1686 (unpaginated, chronological arrangement), for Digeory Pearse and Alles Pearse; Family History Library [FHL] microfilm 1595809.

6. Probate record P1524, John Pearse Sr., Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall; FHL microfilm 1471853. Lanteglos by Camelford parish registers, Cornwall Co. Record Office, DDP 115/1, 24 May 1662 (chronological arrangement); no FHL microfilm. Probate record P1744, John Pearse, Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall; FHL microfilm 1471380.

7. Egloshayle parish registers, Cornwall Co. Record Office DDP 52/1 (chronological arrangement) for marriage of Humphry Pearse and Wilmot Mullis, burial of John Mullis, and baptism of John (son of John Mullis and Wilmot); FHL microfilm 1595486

8. Probate record PCC, [vol. labeled] Berkley, folio 7, William Anny; FHL microfilm 092216.

No marriage record was found for William and Wilmott, probably because records were not consistently maintained during the Commonwealth. Thus, no maiden name was provided for Wilmott Anny by the records one logically would examine.

The problem was solved by the deanery-wide probate search. Her maiden identity was established and it was confirmed that she was indeed the same person as Wilmot (Anne) (Mullis) Pearce. In the parish of Michaelstow, two parishes to the northeast of Egloshayle, the following will was probated:⁹

30 April 1681 (written)

08 June 1681 (proved)

Testator: *Richard Mountsteven*. Bequests to: kinsman Nicholas Marshall, kinswoman Anne Jeffery, *kinswoman Willmote Pearse and her son John Mullis*, kinswoman Elizabeth Marshall, kinswoman Honor Marshall—each female being *a sister of the aforesaid Nicholas Marshall*.

A reexamination of the parish registers in which English searches commonly begin provided the additional data needed to confirm the identity, as these extracts from baptismal entries at Saint Mabyn and Egloshayle in Trigg Minor reveal:¹⁰

16 April 1626	<i>Wilmott, daughter of Nicholas Marshall and Margery</i>
20 June 1630	Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Marshall and Margery
10 December 1632	Nicholas, son of Nicholas Marshall
23 June 1636	Philipp, daughter of Nicholas Marshall
07 July 1639	Honor, daughter of Nicholas Marshall and Margery

The results: Colwills of Trigg Major

In contrast to the Pearces, the Colwills were relatively few in number and were concentrated in a single parish (Week Saint Mary) throughout the first three quarters of the studied century. (See figure 1.) One related couple dwelled at Tremaine, but they had no children. By the end of the seventeenth century, these families had begun to expand into surrounding parishes—Jacobstow, North Petherwin, Poundstock, and Whitstone. Thereafter, they would move into the remaining adjacent parishes of Boyton, Marhamchurch, North Tamerton, and Warbstow and then into the western parts of the adjacent county of Devon.

A search of surrounding parishes was quite productive for the Colwills of Week Saint Mary—as table 3 illustrates. In this example, *over four times as many probates mention the Colwill surname as there are Colwill estate cases*. (Note: The statistics in this example were computed from Week Saint Mary and adjacent parishes, but not for the entire deanery.) Several of the non-Colwill files helped unravel relationships that had otherwise proved difficult to decipher.

9. Probate record M1188, Archdeaconry Court of Cornwall; FHL microfilm 1471277.

10. St. Mabyn parish registers, Cornwall Co. Record Office, DDP 132/1 (chronological arrangement), for Willmott, Elizabeth, and Honor; FHL microfilm 1595913. Egloshayle parish registers, Cornwall Co. Record Office DDP 52/1 (chronological arrangement), for Nicholas and Philipp; FHL microfilm 1595486.

John Colwill

A typical case is that of several closely spaced marriages for the name John Colwill, which appear in the Week Saint Mary and Jacobstow parish registers.¹¹

13 February 1678/9 John Colwill and Liddy Metherell
 27 February 1678/9 John Colwill and Sarah Dagg
 06 November 1679 John Collwell and An Tombe

The following will, drawn at Poundstock, provides clues to the latter John:¹²

1 November 1689 (written)
 6 March 1689/90 (proved)
 Testator: *Cornelius Tom, yeoman*. Legatees: mother Cicily Tom, sister *An Colwill and John her son*, sister Mary Stanton, brother Humphery Tom, sister Elizabeth Tom, the daughter of *Charles Colwill*. Executor: brother George Tom.

These details suggest that the John Collwell (Colwill) who married An Tom (be) had a relative named Charles Colwill and that John was now dead. According to parish registers of Week Saint Mary, only one of the John Colwills baptized there had a brother Charles. Further, the Cornelius Tom will leaves his sister An four times the sum left to his other siblings, suggesting a greater need on her part. His inventory lists the husband of Mary Tom, but not the husband of An. Presumably, John Colwill, the husband of An, was dead. Poundstock's burial records are lost for the period, but its baptismal records report one child for this couple.¹³

17 February 1680/1 John, son of John Colwell and An

In short, a reading of all probate records in the deanery resolved an identity problem that could not be resolved by Colwill probates themselves.

The Overall Results for Trigg Major

This project suggests that researchers who seek wills for only the surname of interest will miss over two-thirds of the available probate data—as illustrated by table 1. Its summary covers all surnames for which the search was conducted completely throughout the deanery. As the bottom line shows: 266 wills were found for 12 surnames of interest; but over twice that number (560) of other-surname wills contained information on members of the 12 studied families.

CONCLUSION

Two patterns have emerged that lend hope to many genealogists and biographers discouraged by prior research. First, for every probate case existing for a

11. *Week St. Mary parish registers, Cornwall Co. Record Office DDP 248/1 (chronological), for the two February marriages; FHL microfilm 1596316. Jacobstow parish registers, Cornwall Co. Record Office DDP 92/1, for the November marriage; FHL microfilm 1595809.*

12. Probate record T1425, Archdeaonry Court of Cornwall; FHL microfilm 1471721.

13. Poundstock parish registers, Cornwall Co. Record Office DDP 193/1 (chronological arrangement); FHL microfilm 1596143.

surname in this study, there are *on average* two to three relevant other-name probates in the same or adjoining parishes. Second, even if no probates are found for a given surname in a parish but families of that name live in the parish or an adjoining one, there are *on average* two to three other-name probates that mention the family of interest. Clearly, a comprehensive search—time-consuming though it can be—is a worthwhile strategy. In the best of cases, it can resolve specific problems of relationship or identity. In other cases, it will enable the researcher to set aside uncertainties, close out research in that particular area, and move on with confidence to other areas that offer potential.

Table 1
Ratio of Appearances
Family Probates Compared to Appearances in Other-Surname Probates
Deanery of Trigg Major, 1600–1700
Northern Cornwall, England

FAMILY SURNAME OF INTEREST	NUMBER OF FAMILY CASES	NUMBER OF OTHER-SURNAME CASES MENTIONING FAMILY OF INTEREST	RATIO
PRIMARY INTEREST			
Colwill	9	42	4.7
Pearce	73	218	3.0
SECONDARY INTEREST			
Best	3	10	3.3
Bray	51	87	1.7
Cornish	7	4	0.6
Downing	12	34	2.8
Grigg	33	40	1.2
Joynt	1	8	8.0
Mark	14	29	2.1
Marshall	59	81	1.4
Parminter	0	3	—
Scott	4	4	1.0
TOTALS	266	560	2.1

Conclusion:

A probate search that is limited to the family surname of interest can miss two-thirds of the relevant probate records that exist.

Table 2
Pearce Probates Compared to Pearce Appearances in Other-Surname Probate Files
Northern Cornwall, England, 1600–1700

PARISH	TOTAL CASES	PEARCE CASES	OTHER CASES	NUMBER AND TYPE OF OTHER PEARCE APPEARANCES
<u>TRIGG MAJOR</u>				
Altarnun	181	1 ad	1 ac 5 wi	2 paid 1 depo, 1 exec, 2 heir, 4 witn
Boyton	117	1 ad 1 wi	2 in 3 wi	2 appr 2 appr, 6 heir, 3 witn
Davidstow	95	1 ac 3 ad 3 pc 12 wi	9 in 6 wi	10 appr 3 appr, 3 over, 6 witn
Egloskerry	120	3 wi	3 wi	1 appr, 3 heir, 1 witn
Jacobstow	151	1 ad 1 in 4 wi	2 ad 12 in 9 wi	1 appr, 2 bond 12 appr 1 appr, 1 exec, 6 heir, 1 over, 5 witn
Kilkhampton	223	—	—	
Laneast	81	—	1 wi	2 appr, 2 witn
Launcells	196	1 ac 2 ad 1 wi	2 wi	1 debt, 2 witn
Launceston	324	1 pc 7 wi	3 ad 8 in 17 wi	3 bond 8 appr 5 appr, 6 heir, 2 ment, 2 over, 9 witn
Marhamchurch	133	—	1 ac 2 ad 1 in 2 wi	1 paid 1 appr, 2 bond 1 appr 1 appr, 1 heir, 1 witn
Morwenstow	198	—	1 wi	1 heir
North Petherwin	277	1 ac 2 ad 4 wi	2 ad 3 in 7 wi	1 admr, 1 appr, 1 bond 3 appr 2 appr, 1 bond, 3 heir, 1 ment, 3 witn
North Tamerton	121	1 ad 1 wi	1 ad 8 wi	1 bond 9 heir, 1 over, 3 witn

ac=account; *ad*=administration; *in*=inventory; *pc*=Prerogative Court of Canterbury; *wi*=will

admnr=administrator; *appr*=appraiser; *bond*=bondsman; *debt*=debtor; *depo*=deposer; *exec*=executor; *heir*=heir or legatee
ment=mention; *over*=overseer; *renu*=renunciator; *witn*=witness

Table 2 (continued)
 Pearce Probates Compared to Pearce Appearances in Other-Surname Probate Files
 Northern Cornwall, England, 1600–1700

PARISH	TOTAL CASES	PEARCE CASES	OTHER CASES	NUMBER AND TYPE OF OTHER PEARCE APPEARANCES
<u>TRIGG MAJOR</u>				
Otterham	46	—	1 ad 2 wi	1 witn 2 witn
Poughill	124	—	1 ad	1 admr
Poundstock	178	1 ad	3 wi	1 appr, 1 heir, 1 over, 1 witn
Saint Clether	25	2 pc 1 wi	1 wi	1 appr, 2 heir
Saint Gennys	175	—	—	
Saint Giles in the Heath	77	—	3 ad 1 in 3 wi	3 bond 1 appr 1 admr, 1 appr, 9 heir
Saint Juliot	70	—	1 in	1 appr
Saint Stephens by Launceston	214	2 wi	1 ad 3 in 7 wi	1 bond 2 appr, 1 ment 2 appr, 1 depo, 2 heir, 1 ment, 5 witn
Saint Thomas by Launceston	104	1 pc	1 ad 2 in 3 wi	1 admr, 1 renu 2 appr 1 appr, 2 heir, 2 witn
South Petherwin	*	*	*	
Stratton	364	1 ad	2 ad 6 wi	2 bond 6 heir, 2 paid, 3 witn
Tremaine	42	1 wi	1 wi	1 debt
Treneglos	65	—	1 in 1 wi	1 appr 1 witn
Tresmeer	43	—	1 ad 1 wi	1 bond 1 appr, 2 witn
Trewen	*	*	*	
Warbstow	129	1 ad 1 wi	2 in 3 wi	2 appr 1 appr, 3 ment, 1 over, 2 witn

* *South Petherwin and Trewen were in the probate jurisdiction of the bishop of Exeter, whose records were destroyed by bombing in 1942.*

Table 2 (continued)
 Pearce Probates Compared to Pearce Appearances in Other-Surname Probate Files
 Northern Cornwall, England, 1600–1700

PARISH	TOTAL CASES	PEARCE CASES	OTHER CASES	NUMBER AND TYPE OF OTHER PEARCE APPEARANCES
TRIGG MAJOR				
Week Saint Mary	165	2 wi	5 in 5 wi	5 appr 2 appr, 5 witn
Werrington	110	3 wi	1 ac 1 ad 4 in 3 wi	1 paid 1 bond 4 appr 1 bond, 3 witn
Whitstone	90	1 ad 1 pc 2 wi	2 ad 4 in 14 wi	1 appr, 2 bond 4 appr 7 appr, 2 depo, 9 heir, 1 ment, 1 over, 11 witn
TRIGG MINOR				
Forrabury	36	—	2 in 1 wi	2 appr 1 over
Lesnewth	39	—	1 wi	6 heir
Minster	91	—	1 ad 3 in 1 wi	1 bond 3 appr 1 heir
Trevalga	56	1 ad	1 ac 3 in 4 wi	1 paid 3 appr 1 appr, 4 witn
TOTALS	4460	3 ac 16 ad 1 in 8 pc 45 wi	4 ac 24 ad 66 in 124 wi	5 paid 3 admr, 4 appr, 20 bond, 1 renu 66 appr, 1 ment 1 admr, 35 appr, 2 bond, 2 debt, 4 depo, 2 exec, 75 heir, 8 ment, 11 over, 2 paid, 80 witn
GRAND TOTALS	4460	73 1.64%	218 4.86%	4 admr, 105 appr, 22 bond, 2 debt, 4 depo, 2 exec, 75 heir, 9 ment, 11 over, 7 paid, 1 renu, 80 witn

Table 3
Colwill Probates Compared to Colwill Appearances in Other-Surname Probate Files
Northern Cornwall, England, 1600–1700

PARISH	TOTAL CASES	COLWILL CASES	OTHER CASES	NUMBER AND TYPE OF OTHER COLWILL APPEARANCES
<u>TRIGG MAJOR</u>				
Boyton	117	—	—	
Jacobstow	151	—	1 wi	2 heir
Marhamchurch	133	—	—	
North Petherwin	277	—	1 ad 1 in 4 wi	1 appr, 1 bond 1 appr 1 heir, 2 over, 1 paid, 2 witn
North Tamerton	121	—	—	
Poundstock	178	—	3 wi	1 appr, 4 heir
Tremaine	42	1 wi	—	
Treneglos	65	—	2 wi	1 appr, 5 heir, 1 witn
Tresmeer	43	—	1 inv	1 appr
Warbstow	129	—	—	
Week Saint Mary	165	1 ac 1 ad 6 wi	1 ac 11 in 13 wi	1 paid 12 appr 4 appr, 5 heir, 1 over, 9 witn
Whitstone	90	—	3 in 1 wi	3 appr 1 witn
TOTALS	1511	1 ac 1 ad 7 wi	1 ac 1 ad 16 in 24 wi	1 paid 1 appr, 1 bond 17 appr 6 appr, 17 heir, 3 over, 13 witn
GRAND TOTALS	1511	9 0.59%	42 2.77%	24 appr, 1 bond, 17 heir, 3 over, 1 paid 13 witn

ac=account; ad=administration; in=inventory; pc=Prerogative Court of Canterbury; wi=will

adm=administrator; appr=appraiser; bond=bondsman; heir=heir or legatee; over=overseer; witn=witness

Figure 1
 Northern Cornwall, England
 Trigg Major and Adjacent Parishes in Trigg Minor



The dark line encloses the thirty-two parishes of the ancient deanery of Trigg Major. To the southwest are the adjoining parishes in the deanery of Trigg Minor. (St. Breock, at the extreme southwest, actually fell into Trigg Minor's adjacent deanery of Pydar.)

Notes and Documents

White Claims for Indian Depredations: Illinois-Missouri-Arkansas Frontier, 1804–32

By Marsha Hoffman Rising, CG, CGL, FASG*

Researchers frequently ignore categories of records that bear labels of ethnic or racial groups other than their own. In a past issue of this journal, an ethnohistorian cautioned those who search for American Indian ancestry: if their study is confined to so-called “Indian records,” they will limit the likelihood of a successful outcome.¹ That principle applies in reverse to those who study “white” families and confine their research to “white” records. Each ancestor must be sought and studied within the context of his or her *whole* community and environment. When that community was one in which Indians and whites coexisted, research must transcend the physical or figurative lines.

Attempts by red and white Americans to live together on the frontier, as it pushed westward, resulted in all kinds of discord. The resulting loss of human life garners much attention from genealogists and historians. The more-prosaic loss of property earns short shrift from family researchers who put their emphasis upon documenting births, marriages, and deaths—as well as from historians who approach “Indian records” with a military or social view. Yet the nineteenth century was an era of increasing governmental intervention on both sides of the conflict, and governmental intervention inevitably results in the creation of records of broad value.²

The present article presents one such group of materials and points to their utility in genealogical research. Their creator was William Clark, who, as a young lieutenant,

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1. Stewart Rafert, “American-Indian Genealogical Research in the Midwest: Resources and Perspectives,” *National Genealogical Society Quarterly* 76 (September 1988): 213.

2. For other perspectives on white claims for Indian depredations, see Richard S. Lackey, *Frontier Claims in the Lower South: Records of Claims Filed by Citizens of the Alabama and Tombigbee River Settlements in the Mississippi Territory for Depredations by the Creek Indians during the War of 1812* (New Orleans: Polyanthos, 1977); and Larry C. Skogen, “The Bittersweet Reality of Indian Depredation Cases,” *Prologue* 24 (Fall 1992): 290–96. Numerous other claim files are identified in Edward E. Hill, *Guide to Records in the National Archives of the United States Relating to American Indians* (Washington: National Archives and Records Service, 1981).

made the legendary trek to the Pacific with Meriwether Lewis and Sacagawea. Upon his return, he rose to the rank of brigadier general for Upper Louisiana (present Missouri and Arkansas), then served (1813–20) as governor of the Missouri Territory. In 1822 he was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs at Saint Louis, a post he held until his death in 1838. In these various capacities, Clark presided over one of the most tumultuous of all American frontiers—a territory where the East met the West nervously, roisterously, and violently.³

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The land that became the Missouri Territory was originally that of nomadic plainsmen who roamed the region from the Mississippi River west to the Rocky Mountains—principally the Osages. For a century prior to the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, Osage ferocity was legendary among the traders who ventured onto their lands; and Osage relationships with other tribes of plainsmen were no better.⁴ The development of the Missouri region during and after the American Revolution and the influx of Anglo-Americans, who moved there not just to trade but also to settle, aggravated traditional hostilities. As early as 1794, a French priest at Saint Louis wrote the governor of Louisiana at New Orleans, urging caution in attempts to restrain the Indians of Upper Louisiana, lest settlers suffer in retaliation:

The awful robberies which [the area tribes] commit against private people, devastating and stealing all their possessions, are forcing everybody to emigrate or to withdraw into the neighboring villages. There they are forced to stop their agricultural activities unless they wish to run the continuous risk of being robbed, ruined, and perhaps in case of resistance, losing their lives. I have been told that more than forty vigilant and laboring families who lived on the Maramek in Mr. De Cruzat's administration, have in spite of themselves quitted a country which hardly repaid the sweat of their brows. Consequently there remain only two there, who are forced to stay because of a large farming and manufacturing investment, and they feel that their lives are threatened every moment.⁵

The relentless surge of pioneers pushing across the Mississippi after the Revolution not only stoked the heat under this cauldron of conflict and resentment but added new elements to the stew. Settlement of the Northwest Territory after 1787 displaced Indians of that region and propelled several Eastern tribes into the land of the Osages—including the Sac (Sauk, Sack) and the Fox who figure prominently in the claim files now under scrutiny.⁶ After the Louisiana Purchase, hordes of whites moved

3. Edward E. Hill, *The Office of Indian Affairs, 1824–1880: Historical Sketches* (New York: Clearwater Publishing Co., 1974), 155.

4. For example, see Lt. Gov. Athanase de Mézières to Gov. Luis Unzaga y Amezaga, 10 February 1773, legajo 2357, no. 204, Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain; translated in Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Athanase de Mézières and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1768–1780*, 2 vols. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1914), 2:24–27.

5. Curé LeDru to Gov., 16 July 1794, in Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765–1794*, vols. 2–4, *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1945* (Washington: Government Printing Ofc., 1946), 4:321. “De Cruzat” was Francisco Cruzat, former lieutenant-governor at St. Louis.

6. Carl Waldman, *Atlas of the North American Indians* (New York: Facts on File, 1985), 114–18.

onto Osage and Iowa hunting grounds, causing starvation among the tribes. The native groups complained vociferously to the U.S. agent, with few positive results. The government's predicament in dealing with the Western tribes was further complicated by popular pressure to move all Eastern Indians west of the Mississippi, to make Eastern land available for white settlement. When the U.S. bowed to that pressure and began resettling the Cherokee along the White River of Arkansas in 1816, that tribe was hostilely received. Significant problems were created when whites—primarily trappers and subsistence-level hillsmen—moved into the White River Valley and began to encroach upon Osage settlements.

Inevitably, the conflicts, disputes, and quarrels—even several “massacres”—forced the creation of new governmental entities, including Fort Smith in the Arkansas Territory. Litigation, no modern phenomenon, soon followed. Whites, Cherokee, and “mixed bloods” all lodged claims against the native tribes, particularly the Osages; and the plaintiffs usually prevailed, even though the natives had no capital with which to meet the fines assessed them. Inevitably, they were induced to cede lands in recompense. By the terms of a treaty signed with the United States on 25 September 1818, the Osages (for example) relinquished land to a large section north of the Arkansas River. In return, the U.S. government agreed to pay the claims against them.

This process of fielding complaints and distributing the money was assigned to U.S. Indian superintendency offices such as that of William Clark, and adjudication continued for decades. Despite the treaties, war periodically erupted—as in 1821 between the Cherokee and the Osages, resulting in a May 1821 Osage raid against settlers along the Poteau and Lee Creeks in Arkansas and attacks on some soldiers living within a mile of Fort Smith in that territory. Other tribes were caught up in the conflict. The Kickapoo and the Fox and Sac joined the Osages, while the Creek, Choctaw, Delaware, and Shawnee (along with some whites) sided with the Cherokee. A number of the claims logged in Clark's registers were filed by individuals and families robbed by the Osage faction amid these hostilities.⁷

THE RECORDS

The Kansas Historical Society at Topeka holds a thirty-three-volume manuscript collection known as the Clark Papers, which heavily treats the U.S. Superintendency of Indian Affairs at Saint Louis and its handling of these frontier conflicts.⁸ The material

7. For varied overviews of this subject, see Gilbert C. Din and A. P. Nasatir, *The Imperial Osages: Spanish-Indian Diplomacy in the Mississippi Valley* (Norman, Okla.: Univ. of Okla. Press, 1983); Willard H. Rollings, *The Osage: An Ethnohistorical Study of Hegemony on the Prairie-Plains* (Columbia: Univ. of Mo. Press, 1992); Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Southwest* (Norman: Univ. of Okla. Press, 1936); and Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers: The Story of the American Southwest before 1830* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1930).

8. “Record of Reports Made by William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, Mo. for property taken from citizens of the United States by Indian tribes within the St. Louis Superintendency, from June 21, 1825 [sic] 1807–Dec. 20, 1831,” vol. 11, Records of the United States Superintendency of Indian Affairs, Kans. Historical Society, Topeka.

Similar depredation files can be found in various other state libraries and historical societies—as, for example, the “Indian Depredations” series, 5 vols. in 8 (typescript, Ga. Dept. of Archives and History, Atlanta).

has been microfilmed on six rolls as MS 94–99. The abstracts that follow are taken from volume 11 (roll 96).

As brief as these notes are, they are still of considerable utility to genealogists. Record losses for the early Missouri-Arkansas-Illinois frontier are drastic, making all the more valuable any extant document treating the early traders and settlers. Viewed purely for their name value, Clark's notes offer priceless substitutes for nonexistent censuses. The identity of the offending tribe in each case suggests the region in which the claimant resided or traded—the Kansas, Osage, and Otoe claims having been filed primarily by residents of lower Missouri and Arkansas; the Delaware, Fox, Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac, and Winnebago claims having been filed primarily by residents of Illinois and eastern Missouri. The identity of individuals who made depositions is a prime pointer to relatives and associates. By correlating claims of the same date and cataloging interaction between claimants, researchers can glean clues to men or families who lived or traveled together. The nature of the loss (particularly when related claims are considered) suggests the circumstances—whether the claimant was a trader, whether a group of travelers was accosted, or whether the home front was violated. The original files, when consulted, often offer significant other information.

Not all depredation claims were approved for payment. In some cases, the claimants did not submit adequate proof of the loss, or the claimed amounts were considered exorbitant, or the claimant was illegally upon Indian lands at the time the loss occurred. In all cases, the claimant was supposed to identify the responsible tribe, and that tribe had to be in a treaty relationship with the United States—by which the tribe agreed not to harass U.S. citizens within U.S. bounds, and the United States agreed to pay the tribe a cash annuity. The cost of any depredations committed by a member of any such tribe, once proved, was deducted from the tribe's annual allotment.

Several of Clark's lists cite a congressional act of 1802 that laid the ground rules upon which the claims were based. Its most-relevant section decrees:⁹

If any Indian or Indians, belonging to any tribe in amity with the United States, shall come over or cross the said boundary line, into any state or territory inhabited by the United States, and there take, steal or destroy any horse, horses, or other property, belonging to any citizen or inhabitant of the United States, or . . . the territorial districts . . . or shall commit any murder, violence or outrage, upon any such citizen or inhabitant, it shall be the duty of such citizen or inhabitant, his representative, attorney, or agent, to make application to the superintendent . . . with the necessary documents and proofs, [who] shall . . . make application to the nation or tribe . . . for satisfaction; and if such nation or tribe shall neglect or refuse to make satisfaction, in a reasonable time, not exceeding twelve months, then it shall be the duty of such superintendent or other [authorized] person to make return of his doings to the President of the United States, and forward to him all the documents and proofs in the case, that such further steps may be taken . . . to obtain satisfaction. . . . The United States guarantee[s] the party injured, an eventual indemnification.

9. "An Act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers, March 30, 1802," chap. 14, 7th Cong., 1st sess., in Richard Peters, ed., *The Public Statutes at Large of the United States of America*, 8 vols. (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1845), 2:139–46. Italics added.

PROVIDED ALWAYS, that if such injured party, his representative, attorney or agent, shall, in any way, violate any of the provisions of this act, by seeking, or attempting to obtain private satisfaction or revenge, by crossing over the line, on any of the Indian lands, he shall forfeit all claim upon the United States.

None of the claims actually date back to the year of this act. In 1802, Saint Louis was still part of the French-owned, Spanish-governed province of Louisiana. After the Louisiana Purchase (December 1803), U.S. officials did not arrive in Saint Louis until 1804. Even so, the only claims dating to that early period were two lodged by Daniel Boone's son, Nathan, for losses occurred in 1804 and 1805. A few other claims date to 1807—the year used by the person who altered the label Clark himself penned onto the cover of his register. Clark's actual lists were compiled between 1825 and 1832.

Several options are available to those seeking further data on any of these cases—particularly the following:¹⁰

CLARK PAPERS

- Volume 2, 1813–25. Miscellaneous letters and documents. 199 pages.
- Volume 3, 1815–17. Miscellaneous papers. 47 pages, including a few items relating to Indian-depredation claims.
- Volume 4, 1829–32. Letterbook. 409 pages.
- Volume 6, 1830–32. Letterbook. 450 pages, including copies of letters received from agents within the superintendency.
- Volume 20, 1822–25. Record of accounts of Indian agents. 201 pages, including Clark's own accounts.
- Volume 25, 1824–34. Record of accounts of Indian agents, Osage Agency. 122 pages.
- Volume 26, 1826–36. Record of accounts with Indian agents and subagents. 78 pages, of which pages 1–50 are missing but are referenced in the volume's index.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

- *Special Files, 1807–1904*. 85 rolls, Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.
- "Registers of Indian Claims, March 1819–July 1894." 3 feet, 15 volumes. Entry 474, RG 217, Records of the U.S. General Accounting Office.
- "Letters Received from Executive Officers ('AB' Series), 1831–69." 43 feet, 141 volumes (including letters relating to payment of claims for Indian depredations). Entry 82, RG 56, General Records of the Department of the Treasury.
- "St. Louis Superintendency, 1824–51," rolls 747–56, *Letters Received, 1824–1881, Correspondence of the Office of Indian Affairs*, microcopy M234. (A search should also include rolls for each specific agency and subagency, as well as the superintendency.)
- *Digested Summary and Alphabetical List of Private Claims*, 3 vols. (Washington: W. M. Belt, 1853).

MISCELLANEOUS

- *Papers of the St. Louis Fur Trade* (Bethesda, Md.: Univ. Publications of America), 93 reels to date. (See particularly the Chouteau Collection, 40 reels.)

10. Appreciation is due to James L. Hansen, FASG; Elizabeth Shown Mills, CG, CGL, FASG; and Craig R. Scott, CGRS, for their recommendations of related source materials.

THE CLAIMS

Page 1

17 August 1825. "A Report of claims for property taken from citizens of the United States by the Osage Indians, the payment of which claims is embraced by the provisions of the 2nd article of a Treaty ente[red] into with the Osage Nation dated the 25th of September 1818." *Date first given for each claim is the payment date.*

CHOTEAU & DEMUN¹¹

21 June 1825. Loss: horses. \$240 paid.

JOSEPH LUISSE [SUISSE?]¹²

21 June 1825. Loss: horse. \$50 paid to A. P. Chouteau, attorney in fact.

JOSEPH DESSEREAUX

15 July 1825. Loss: horses, saddles, rifle, powder, shot, flint, blankets, and sundry merchandise. \$352 paid to James H. Lucas, attorney in fact.¹³

JOSEPH DUCHASSIN¹⁴

15 July 1825. Loss: horse, taken August 1816. \$40 paid to James H. Lucas, attorney in fact.

BERNARD BONNE¹⁵

15 July 1825. Loss: horses, merchandise, etc., taken July 1816. \$206.67½ paid to James H. Lucas, attorney in fact.

ANTOINE DUCHASSIN

15 July 1825. Loss: horses. \$80 paid to James H. Lucas, attorney in fact.

BAPTISTE DARDENNE¹⁶

15 July 1825. Loss: horses, blankets, axes, powder, clothing, merchandise, taken October 1816. \$151 paid to James H. Lucas, attorney in fact.

11. Auguste Pierre Chouteau and Julius De Mun were partners at least from 1815, when they launched a trade expedition into Spanish territory and were imprisoned in Santa Fe for a year; see Thomas Maitland Marshall, ed., and Nettie H. Beauregard, transl., "The Journals of Jules De Mun," *Missouri Historical Society Collections* 5 (February 1928): 167–208, and (June 1928): 311–26. Chouteau and his St. Louis brothers (on whom much is available in area literature) operated four trading posts among the Osages, along the Neosho and Verdigris rivers of Okla. and Kans.; see Rollings, *The Osage*, 234.

12. Clark's index to this volume places the claimant under both the "L" and "S" sections, suggesting that Clark himself was not familiar with the claimant and did not know whether his name was *Luisse* or *Suisse*.

13. James Lucas, in 1837, was an "esquire" living at South Bend in Arkansas Co., Ark.; see Dorothy Jones Core, *Abstract of Catholic Register of Arkansas, 1764–1858* (DeWitt: DeWitt Publ. Co., 1976), 55. A biographical sketch appears in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 20 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928–36), 11:484–85.

14. The Duchassins were an Ark. métis (mixed blood) family, primarily centered in the Pine Bluff area. See Core, *Catholic Register of Arkansas*, passim. Joseph Duchassin subsequently appears in Clark's claim register as a partner of A. P. Chouteau, who prominently resided in St. Louis; hence it seems probable that Duchassin operated the Chouteau post on the Verdigris in Ark.

15. Bernard Bonne, a métis, was born 1 May 1792 in Ark., to Michel Bonne, French, and Marie Jeanne, Quapaw. As adults, Bernard and his brothers lived near present Pine Bluff. See Core, *Catholic Register of Arkansas*, 16–17, 21, 46; and Thomas Nuttall, *A Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory during the Year 1819*, Savoie Lottinville, ed. (1821; edited reprint, Norman: Univ. of Okla. Press, 1980), 110, n. 22; 246, n. 8.

16. The métis Dardenne family of Ark. had several Jean Baptistes. See Core, *Catholic Register of Arkansas*, passim. The Dardanelle settlement lay on the south bank of the Ark. River at the site that now bears their name.

E. [LE] VASSEUR¹⁷

15 July 1825. Loss: horses, saddles, blankets, powder, merchandise. \$411 paid to Hewes Scull, attorney.¹⁸

JOHNJARDELAS¹⁹

17 July 1825. Loss: horses, merchandise. \$228.25 paid to Hewes Scull, attorney.

FRANCISLAROSSE²⁰

17 July 1825. Loss: horses, taken August 1816. \$80 paid to Hewes Scull.

MANUEL RODERIGUE²¹

17 July 1825. Loss: blankets, great coat, razors and case, shirts, a [gun?]stock, tobacco, file, pantaloons. \$56 paid to Hewes Scull, attorney in fact.

JOSEPH PERKINS

23 July 1825. Loss: property and merchandise. \$318 paid to Josiah [sic] Perkins.

BALTHAZARLATOUR

5 September 1825. Loss: horses. \$90 paid to Balthazar Latour.

JANET PERTUI [PERTUIS]²²

7 September 1825. Loss: horses taken in 1816, claimed by Janet as administratrix of Pierre Pertui. \$325 paid to Hewes Scull.



Pages 4–19

12 January 1826. “A Report of Claims for property taken from Citizens of the United States by several Tribes of Indians within the limits of the Superintendency at St. Louis provided for by the 14th Section of the Act of Congress regulating trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes and to preserve peace on the Frontier (approved 30th March 1802).” *Date is that on which the loss occurred.*

JAMES LEWIS

1 October 1807, loss: mare. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Antoine Chenie, James Burns.

HEZEKIAH O’NEIL

10 February 1812, loss: robbery and waste of property—including smoke house, corn crib,

17. The surname, more correctly, is *Le Vasseur*. The individual is apparently Étienne, born 8 December 1792 to Étienne LeVasseur and wife Marie LaRose of the Ark. Post; he was a kinsman of Martin Serrano, who also appears in these claim files. See Core, *Catholic Register of Arkansas*, particularly 25.

18. Hewes Scull, on 20 November 1817, was appointed sheriff of Arkansas Co.; see Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, 65. He married, before 1830, Athanase Bogy (born 6 March 1796, daughter of the French Joseph Bougis and the Indian Marie Louise); see Core, *Catholic Register of Arkansas*, 29, 50.

19. Jean Jardelas was married to the métisse Cecile Joliet and was extensively intermarried with other Ark. families involved in this group of claims; see Core, *Catholic Register of Arkansas*, 22, 54, and *passim*. In 1809 he operated a billiard parlor at the Ark. Post; see Morris S. Arnold, *Colonial Arkansas, 1686–1804* (Fayetteville: Univ. of Ark. Press, 1991), 71.

20. The Ark. LaRose family was likewise interconnected with the other métis families in this section; see Core, *Catholic Register of Arkansas*, *passim*.

21. On 29 April 1820, Manuel Rodrigue [Rodriguez, Rodrigue] of Ark. served as godfather to a child of Athanase Racine and wife Marie “Seranne”; godmother was Judith “Imbau.” See the Serrano and Imbo claims that follow; also Core, *Catholic Register of Arkansas*, 48.

22. The Pertuis family, which included more than one Pierre, also appears extensively in Core’s abstracts.

bacon, pork, lard, corn, rifle guns, horns, bags, powder and ball, butcher knives, bed clothing, teapot, assorted tools and implements. Tribe: Kickapoo. Deposition: John Mackay.

SARCHEL COOPER²³

JOHN HANCOCK

JOSEPH COOPER

19 July 1811, loss: *S. Cooper*: mare; *Hancock*: horse. 5 September 1812, loss: *J. Cooper*: mare, colt. Tribes: Sac and Fox. Deposition: Sarchel Cooper. Certificates: Maurice Blondeau [subagent], John Johnson [subagent].

WILLIAM EWING²⁴

JOHN EWING

7 and 23 September 1812; July and August 1813, loss: clothing, trade goods, furniture, tools, crops, animals; very long list provided by each man. Tribes: Kickapoo, Piankeshaw, Sac, Iowa. Depositions: Thomas Forsythe,²⁴ Ezekiel Dunning, Nancy Ewing, F LeSieur.

STEPHEN COLE²⁵

CORNELIUS GOOCH

SAMUEL BROWN²⁶

JAMES MURDOUGH

WILLIAM TEMPLE COLE

ABRAHAM PATTEN

SARCHEL BROWN²⁷

July 1810, loss: *S. Cole*: horse, saddle bags, blanket, bridle, shot bag, powder horn, knife. *Gooch*, deceased: horse, saddle, blanket, bridle, rifle, pouch, powder horn. *W. T. Cole*, deceased: saddle, rifle, shot bag, powder horn, knife, wool hat. *Samuel Brown*: sides of leather. *Sarchel Brown*, deceased: horses, bags, blankets, bridle, saddle, rifle, shot bag, horn. *Murdough*: mare, new bag, shot bag, powder horn, butcher knife. *Patten*, deceased: horse, saddle (half worn), "big coat," blanket, rifle, bridle. Tribe: Potawatomi. Depositions: Murdough, S. Cole, Thomas Smith, Thomas Chandler, Thomas Forsythe.²⁸

MATTHEW MCCORMICK

GILES THOMPSON

1813, loss: stew kettle, bedsteads, looms, pewter dishes, candlesticks, etc. Tribes: Sac, Fox.

23. Sarchel Cooper and his brothers, Braxton and Benjamin, who appear in subsequent claims, came to Mo. from Madison Co., Ky., with the Daniel Boone contingency. The Coopers were evicted from the Boone's Lick region in 1808 for intruding into Indian territory. Sarchel, for whom Cooper Co., Mo., was named, was murdered 14 April 1814 by an unknown party, amid the War of 1812. See Louis Houck, *A History of Missouri from the Earliest Explorations and Settlements until the Admission of the State into the Union*, 3 vols. (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley, 1908), 3:115.

24. William Ewing, as a young resident of River LaMoine in Ill., was appointed U.S. agent to the Sac in 1805; see Robert A. Trennert, *Indian Traders on the Middle Border: The House of Ewing, 1827-1854* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebr. Press, 1981), passim.

25. Stephen Cole, a capt. in the War of 1812, erected Cole's Fort where stands the modern town of Booneville, Mo. Cole Co. was named in honor of him in 1820. See *History of Cole, Moniteau, Morgan, Benton, Miller, Maries, and Osage Counties, Missouri* (1889; reprinted, Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1978), 203.

26. Samuel Brown was born about 1758 and died 13 August 1844 in Howard Co., Mo. He married about 1781, probably in Madison Co., Ky., Frances Cooper. They were part of the early group that came to Mo. with Boone. See Faye Marie (Brown) Lightburn, *Revolutionary Soldier Samuel Brown and Some of His Family* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1993), 61.

27. Sarchel Brown was killed in 1810 on the Salt River (now Audrain Co., Mo.) by Potawatomi who raided the white settlement on Loure Island. See Houck, *History of Missouri*, 3:99.

28. Thomas Forsyth was Indian agent at the Sac and Fox Agency, Rock Island, Ill.; for his 1822-30 accounts in that office, see Clark Papers, vol. 24. For a description of another significant set of Forsyth's papers, see Josephine L. Harper, *Guide to the Draper Manuscripts* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wis., 1983): 95-100.

SAMUEL BYRNSIDE

DANIEL TYLER

July 1814, loss: horses, furniture, rifle, etc. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Byrnside, Tyler, Benjamin Hatherly, James Kiggins.

JAMES SAVAGE

SEYBERT SCOTT

HANNAH COLE

JOSEPH YARNOLD [YARNALL]

July 1814, loss: horses, food, cattle, personal property. Tribe: Sac. Deposition: Delany Bolling.

JAMES ANDERSON

FREDERICK HYATT

July 1814, loss: *Anderson*: sheep, horses, heifer, corn crop, millstones at the fort. *Hyatt*: stud horse. Tribes: Sac, Fox. Depositions: Anderson, Hyatt, Philip Turner.

DELANY BOLLING

June or July 1814, loss: horses, steers, hogs, saddle bags, tomahawk, fenced corn crop, cabbage and flax in the field, etc. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Seybert Scott, James Savage.

MARGARET SMYTH

DAVID BURRASS & DAVID BURIS(S)

July 1814, loss: horses, yearlings. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Delany Bolling, James Savage, Seybert Scott, Briton Williams, James Cole.

JAMES COLE

SALLY BOLLING

June or July 1814, loss: horses. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Delany Bolling, Seybert Scott.

JAMES BYRNSIDE

June or July 1814, loss: horses. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Samuel Byrnside, Isaac Best.

THOMAS REYNOLDS

July 1814, loss: mare, colt. Tribes: Sac, Fox. Depositions: Samuel Byrnside, Isaac Best.

BRITON WILLIAMS

June or July 1814, loss: horses, cabbage patch, flax wheels, cotton wheels. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Seybert Scott, Delany Bolling, James Savage.

ISAAC BEST

WILLIAM CALLAHAN

July 1814, loss: horses, feather beds, counter panes, linen shirts, bed quilts, buffalo robes, cambic dresses, cotton drapes, calico dresses, cotton aprons, petticoats, straw beds, linen shirts, pantaloons, saddle, pocket knife, teacups and saucers, etc. Tribes: Sac, Fox. Depositions: Aaron Quick, Isaac Best, John Best, Alexander Quick. Certificate: Maurice Blondeau [subagent].

STEPHEN COLE

June or July 1814, loss: [unspecified]. Tribe: Sac. Certificates: R. B. Belt, Maurice Blondeau [subagents]. Depositions: James Savage, Joseph Yarnall, James Cole, John Davis.

JOSEPH JOLLY²⁹

June or July 1814, loss: horses, cows, salt petre, flax hackle, mattock, other tools, food. Depositions: Delany Bolling, James Savage, William Warden, Briton Williams, William Savage, John Davis.

29. Joseph Jolly lived in Cooper Co., Mo., in November 1819, when Polly Guinn was bound to him until she reached the age of eighteen; see Cooper Co. Deed Book B:184.

WILLIAM REED

June or July 1814, loss: twelve acres of corn, one acre of flax, two steel traps, garden vegetables, wagon body, bee stand, tobacco, sheep, other goods; block house burnt. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: William McMahon, David Jones, John Hancock, Solomon Cox.

JESSE COX

JAMES MCMAHON

STEPHEN TURLEY

JOHN HANCOCK

WILLIAM GREGG

DAVID JONES

BRAXTON COOPER

WILLIAM MCMAHON

June or July 1814, loss: Cox: sheep, cows, corn, wheat, flax, hemp, still, wrought iron, barley. Turley: hogs, sheep, flax patch, hemp, knife, chain; house burnt. Gregg: cattle, hogs, mare, wheat, flax, hemp. Cooper: steers. J. McMahon: horses, hogs, leather, deer skins, bee stands, gaming fowls. Hancock: cattle. Jones: horse, wheat, corn and flax crops, sheep, bee stands, peach trees; wagon damaged. W. McMahon: horses, cattle, corn and wheat crops, bee stands, tanned leather; wagon damaged; block house burnt. Depositions: Jones, Hancock, David McGee, Jesse and Solomon Cox, William Reed; also depositions in claims of Jolly and Stephen Cole.

SAMUEL MCMAHON

JOHN DAVIS

THOMAS MCMAHON JUNR.

WALTER BURRIS³⁰

THOMAS MCMAHON

DAVID KINKEAD

DAVID MCGEE

JOHN SAVAGE

GILEAD RUPE

WILLIAM SAVAGE

MUKE BOX(E)

HENRY BURNS

June or July 1814, loss: S. McMahon: two houses burned, large sign board, window sashes, hogs, cradle, bedstead, flax, corn field, gaming fowl. T. McMahon Junr.: mare, hogs, ax, bearskin, bedquilt, stockings, flax crop. T. McMahon: horses, cattle, hogs, vegetables, bee stands, clothing, chain, soap, tobacco, furniture; damages to wagon. McGee: corn, wheat, cabbage, other vegetable crops; colts, cowhide, one fro. Davis: horses. Burris: horses. Burris: horses, bells, collars. Kinkead: horse, colt. Savage: horse. Rupe: horses, cattle, food crops, salt petre. Box(e): horses, hogs, housewares, cabbage patch, saddle, foodstuff. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Delany Bolling, James Savage, J. Jolly, Wm. Savage, Briton Williams, Muke Boxe, Joseph Yarnall, Gilead Rupe.

GABRIEL MERLOT

15 April 1815, loss: horses, saddle, bridle. Tribes: Sac, Fox. Deposition: Henry Duval.

RICHARD HAYNES

[N.d.], loss: horse. Tribe: Kickapoo. Depositions: Francis Woods, Joseph Haynes, Joshua Dodson.³¹

STEPHEN JACKSON

April 1814, loss: horses. Tribes: Sac, Fox. Deposition: Otho Ashcroft.

OTHO ASHCROFT

July 1814, loss: horses, cattle, side saddle, pot. Tribes: Sac, Fox. Depositions: Stephen Jackson, Amos Ashcroft.

AMOS ASHCROFT

July 1814, loss: horses, shoemaker's tools; "a good cabbinn," chairs, bedsteads, cooper's ware burnt. Tribes: Sac, Fox. Depositions: Stephen Jackson, Otho Ashcroft.

30. Mrs. Walter Burris is enumerated on the 1 November 1803 Spanish census of Cape Girardeau, Mo.; see Louis Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, 2 vols. (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley, 1909), 2:404.

31. In 1809 a land claim was confirmed for Joshua Dodson on the Femme Osage in St. Charles Dist. of Mo. See *American State Papers: Documents Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the United States*, 32 vols. (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1834-61), *Public Lands Series*, 2:695.

JESSE COX

May 1814, loss: copper still, saddle, tools, foodstuff, etc. Tribes: Sac, Fox. Certificate: John Johnson, subagent.

DANIEL DOUGHERTY

March 1815, loss: horses, rifle. Tribe: Sac. Deposition: Jacob Groom.

JACOB GROOM

March 1815, loss: horses, cattle, food stuff, "cyphering book & quire of paper," [writing] slate, umbrella, tools, household wares. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Alexander Quick, Aaron Quick.

CHARLES RAIL

March 1815, loss: horses. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: John Manly, Baptiste Derau.

JAMES FOREMAN

4 July 1813, loss: Saddle, bridle, saddle bags, blanket. Tribe: Sac. Deposition: Ephraim Jenkins.

EPHRAIM JENKINS

4 July 1813, loss: horse, saddle, blanket. Tribe: Sac. Deposition: James Foreman.

JOHN MCDUFF

4 July 1813, loss: horse, rifle, blanket. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: James Foreman, Ephraim Jenkins.

LEVY TANSY

4 July 1813, loss: horse, saddle, bridle, blanket. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Ephraim Jenkins, James Foreman.

DANIEL RICHARDSON³²

April 1814, loss: horses. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: John Morrow, Hugh Heatherly.

JAMES ANDERSON

18 July 1815, loss: horse. Tribe: Iowa. Depositions: John Hancock, Stephen Jackson.

WILLIAM REED

JAMES MCMAHON

HENRY FERREL

THOMAS MCMAHON JR.

DAVID JONES

THOMAS MCMAHON

STEPHEN TURLEY

JAMES ANDERSON

1815, loss: one or more horses each. Tribe: Iowa. Depositions: William Reed, David Jones, James McMahon, Stephen Turley.

R. A. HEATH

JOHN G. HEATH

1815, loss: horses stolen; Negroes killed (Harry, \$600; and Nat, \$800). Tribe: Iowa. Depositions: John Ferril, Nathaniel Simonds, Osborn Knott.

JAMES DODSON

March 1804, loss: horses, cotton cloth, kettle, wool cards. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: John Calloway, John Clements, Elizabeth Stephens.

S. PRATTE

B. VASQUES

May 1820, loss: brass kettles, "first-rate" horses and mules, blankets, moccasins, powder horns,

32. Daniel Richardson claimed 460 arpents of land at Pointe Labadie on the Mo. River in 1806, as assignee of John Caldwell; see *American State Papers: Public Lands*, 2:567, 652.

Indian pack saddles; damage to furs. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Baptiste Tuio, Louis Bisson.

JOHN FERRIL

September 1812, loss: horses. Tribe: Sac. Comment: "Original claim forwarded to Secretary of War Feb. 24, 1817."

HENRY FERRIL

July 1815, loss: horse, colts. Tribe: Iowa. Depositions: Stephen Jackson, Robert Hancock, William Reed.

ROBERT HANCOCK

May 1812, loss: horses. Tribe: Iowa. Depositions: Edward Good, Joseph Cooper.

JOHN HANCOCK

July 1815, loss: horses. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Abbot Hancock, David Cooper.

JOHN HANCOCK

July 1815, loss: horses. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Abbot Hancock, David Cooper.

SAMUEL BROWN

1814, 1815, loss: horses taken by Sac and Fox; Negro man servant murdered by unknown tribe. Depositions: Robert Wilds, Towson F. Brown, Francis Berry, James Alcorn.

JOHN HANCOCK

August 1813, April 1814, loss: horses. Tribe: Sac. Deposition: Stephen Jackson.

NATHANIEL PRYOR³³

1814, loss: property stolen [long list of personal items submitted]. Tribe: Winnebago attached to party of the Shawnee leader, Prophet. Depositions: A. Gallatin; F. Boutilier;³⁴ M. Blondeau, subagent. Comment: "Mr. Pryor was regularly licensed to trade with Indians (Sack & Fox)."

General Comments:

[A summary of Clark's remarks:] In 1814, some Sac and Fox robbed the "upper settlements on the Missouri," then returned to "their old village on Rocky," while the peaceful half of the Sac remained south of the Missouri. This continued until about June or July 1815. In a treaty signed 13 May 1816, some or all of the horses were returned—those that "were in the power of the Indians to restore."



Pages 20–24, 28, 36

[No date.] "A Report of property taken from Citizens of the United States by the Osage and Kansas Tribes of Indians within the limits of the Superintendency at Saint Louis,

33. Capt. Nathaniel Pryor, whose wife was Osage, had been one of the nine young Ky. volunteers on the Lewis and Clark Expedition. In 1820, with Hugh Glen, he opened a trading post at Three Forks near the juncture of the Ark., Neosho (Grand), and Verdigris Rivers, about 1½ miles above the Verdigris's mouth. In 1830, he was acting subagent of the Osage. At his death in 1831, he operated Pryor's Saltworks on the west bank of the Neosho, about five miles northeast of present Mazie, in Mayes Co., Okla. See Rollings, *The Osage*, 234; Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, 64–67, 85–86, 282; John Joseph Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters* (Norman: Univ. of Okla. Press, 1961), 431; and Lottinville, [*Nuttall's Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, 109–10, n. 21.

34. François Boutilier in 1809 claimed a lot in the village of Saint Philip's near Fort Chartres, Ill.; see *American State Papers: Public Lands*, 2:191.

provided for by the 9th and 7th articles of the Treaties made with said Tribes of Indians at Saint Louis on 2nd and 3d of June 1825." *Date is that on which the loss occurred.*

NATHAN BOONE³⁵

December 1804, loss: beaver and otter skins, horse, steel trap. Tribe: Osage.

NATHAN BOONE

1 November 1805, loss: horses, steel traps. Tribe: Kansas.

A. P. CHOTEAU

S. LABADIE

July 1810, loss: blankets, strouding. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: Joseph Luisse, Piere Roi.

ELIJAH EASTWOOD³⁶

13 January 1814, loss: bear and deer skins, horses, saddles, tomahawk, razor, double knife, etc. Deposition: John Jones.

WILLIAM T. LAMME³⁷

January 1807, loss: horses. Tribes: Osage, Kansas. Deposition: Joseph Duplessy.

MAURICE FONTENOT³⁸

October 1809, loss: horses, gun. Depositions: J. B. Dardenne, B. Bonne.

JOHN WELLS³⁹

PETER TYLER

December 1814, November 1815, November 1817, and October 1818, loss: *Wells "and others"*: blankets, beaver pelts, traps, rifle, shotgun, horses. *Tyler* (October 1818, December 1818): beaver traps, mare, salt, blankets, knives, rifle, etc. Depositions: Augustin Friend,⁴⁰ Peter Tyler, Thos. Patterson,⁴¹ Thos. Patterson Junior.

35. Capt. Nathan Boone was a son of Daniel; see Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Southwest*, 101.

36. According to Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, 53, Elijah and Abraham Eastwood were hunting on the "Osage Fork of the Gasconade" when they were robbed.

37. William T. Lamme, between 1813 and 1816, was granted 640 acres of surveyed land on River Tuque, St. Charles Co., Mo., formerly held by Jos. Amow; see *American State Papers: Public Lands*, 3:327.

38. Maurice Fontenot was baptized 3 July 1780 in St. James Parish, La., for Maurice Fontenot Sr. and wife Helaine Martin. See *Diocese of Baton Rouge, Catholic Church Records*, vol. 2, 1770–1803 (Baton Rouge: The Diocese, 1980), 291.

39. Wells had hunting camps on White River each time the Osages robbed him; see Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, 53.

40. "August" and Peter Friend were camped on the James River in 1818 when they were robbed of their traps, powder, and bullet molds by a band of one hundred Osages, according to *ibid.*; however, there is no claim file for Friend noted in Clark's register. In January 1819, Augustine lived on the White River of Mo., about five miles below Bull Shoals and a little north of present Branson; see Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, *Journal of a Tour into the Interior of Missouri and Arkansas*, reissued as *Rude Pursuits and Rugged Peaks: Schoolcraft's Ozark Journal, 1818–1819*, Milton D. Rafferty, ed. (Fayetteville: Univ. of Ark. Press, 1996), 100.

41. Thomas Patterson was one of the earliest settlers in southwest Mo., migrating about 1819 from Smith Co., Tenn., to the mouth of the Little North Fork of Mo.'s White River. He was one of the petitioners of 30 January 1819, who requested permission to settle on lands purchased from the Quapaw. In 1822, he moved his family to the area that later became Greene Co. but was evicted in 1825, when the Delaware were assigned a reservation in the area. He fell back to the Gasconade River and remained there until 1830, when the Indians were moved further west. Then he returned to his James River farm in Greene Co., about fifteen miles south of present Springfield. See Clarence Edward Carter and John Porter Bloom, eds., *Territorial Papers of the United States*, 28 vols. (Washington: General Services Adm., 1934–75), 20:343; R. I. Holcombe, *History of Greene County, Missouri* (St. Louis: Western Historical Co., 1883), 129; and Springfield, *Missouri Weekly Patriot*, 2 March 1876, p. 3.

WILLIAM STILES⁴²

13 October 1820, loss: three trunks of clothing, wearing apparel, looking glass, mare and two colts, two saddles (one lady's, one gentleman's). Tribe: Osage. Depositions: William Stiles, William Brice, John Bowman, Richard Stiles.

WILLIAM H. MCMINSTRY

9–10 April 1821, loss: provisions, tobacco, horses, shotgun, saddles, bearskins, sheepskins, etc. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: William Hunt [Huit?], James McMinstry.

REUBEN SAUNDERS⁴³

April 1821, loss: corn, bacon, horse, hog. Tribe: Osage. Deposition: Mark Beane.⁴⁴

DAVID WILLIAMS

April 1821, loss: three horses. Tribe: Osage. Deposition: Thomas Lindsay.

MARTIN STEGALL

10 April 1821, loss: horse, crop (which could not be gotten in for want of horse). Tribe: Osage. Deposition: Wm. Murphy.

WILLIAM MURPHY

10 April 1821, loss: coats, pantaloons, shirt, household stuff, horses, saddles, crop, lots of time and trouble. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: David Murphy, George Madison, Thomas Madison, Martin Stegall.

MARK BEANE

April 1821, loss: one mare and yearling colt. Tribe: Osage. Deposition: See Beane's deposition in the Reuben Saunders claim.

42. *Ed. note:* William Stiles, in late 1818 or early 1819, was one of the Ark. householders evicted from Mulberry Creek (present Franklin and Crawford Cos.) when the Eastern Cherokee were relocated there. Naturalist Thomas Nuttall found him in May 1819 living near the juncture of the Kiamichi and Red Rivers (near the present intersection of Ark., La., and Tex.). The destitute Nuttall spent several weeks in the Stiles home, after which he reported, "I shall always remember, with feelings of gratitude, the sincere kindness and unfeigned hospitality [of] these poor and honest people, when left in the midst of the wilderness"; see Lottinville, [Nuttall's] *Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, 170ff. Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, 169, refers to Stiles's claim of \$750 for the above losses, citing "'Special File' No. 191, Retired Classified Files, Office of Indian Affairs." These records today are found in the National Archives as entry 98, RG 75, Bureau of Indian Affairs. See also the John Stiles claim herein.

Regarding the three witnesses to the William Stiles claim:

Richard Stiles was son of William Stiles. William Brice Sr was Richard's father-in-law. For these relationships, see William Stiles Sr. Bible, [*Words torn*] *Stereotyped by B & J Collins, New York* (Lunenburg, Mass.: W. Greenough, 1821), transcript provided 1973 by Jewel (Mrs. W. T.) Britton, 3706 Carolyn Road, Fort Worth, TX 76109, to Elizabeth Shown Mills, (presently at) 1732 Ridgedale Drive, Tuscaloosa, AL 35406-1942; and Agnes Brice, *History of the Brice Family* (Fort Worth: American Reference Publishing, 1972), chap. 3.

John Bowman and Brice, a distiller who sold liquor to soldiers and Indians, in 1825 raised a force of two hundred men, who met at the home of Joseph English on Clear Creek (old Miller Co., Ark., about six miles below old Jonesborough, Tex.) to attack and destroy nearby U.S. Fort Towson (whose commanding officer, Alexander Cummings, had taken a number of actions odious to residents of the area). They abandoned the plan, however. Cummings reported them to the U.S. Dist. Atty. for Ark. Terr., who refused to press charges, and Cummings was shortly dismissed from his post and ordered to stand court-martial; see Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, 207–8, 248.

43. Possibly Reuben Saunders, "late collector of internal revenues in Tennessee" in 1813, who left that post under a cloud when he could not collect the revenue due. See *American State Papers*, Class 9, *Claims*, 420–21. Note his association with Mark Bean above. In 1811 Reuben Saunders [Sanders], Robert Bean and Jesse Bean sold 200 acres they jointly held on Rattle Snake Branch, Franklin Co., Tenn.; see Franklin Co., Deed Book C:280–81.

44. Mark Bean of Tenn. and Ark. operated a saltworks about a mile below the Illinois Creek of the Ark. River; see Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, 68.

ABRAHAM SIMMONS

JOSEPH ENGLISH⁴⁵

JAMES BRICE

December 1821, loss: horses. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: James Brice, J. Stiles.

JOHN ROBERTS

18 June 1822, loss: horse, shirt, pantaloons, bullet molds, waistcoat, socks, watch, inkstand, butcher knife, bridle, saddle, blanket, spurs, silver, pistol. Tribe: Osage.

SAMUEL GUTHERIE

31 July 1823, loss: horses, bee stands, pewter plates, other household possessions, scarlet cloak. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: John Bowman, John Emberson.

JAMES KNIGHT

JESSE EMBREY

October 1832, loss: horse, mule. Tribe: Osage. Deposition: R. W. Morris.

PAUL BALIO⁴⁶ & CO.

March 1824, loss: blankets, strouding, brass kettle, coloured glass, silver earbobs, wampum. Tribe: Osage. Deposition: John S. Davis.

LYDIA MCFARLAND

August 1812, loss: property taken from her husband, Alexander McFarland, as per her claim on file with the War Department. Tribe: Osage.⁴⁷

BARONET VASQUEZ⁴⁸

April 1823, loss: mare. Tribe: Kansas.

DE MUN & CHOUTEAU

21 August 1817, loss: horses “and other property.” Tribe: Kansas. Deposition: Paul Brasiere.

RAMOND GARCIA

June 1823, loss: mule, Spanish saddles, other saddles, and “accoutrements after the Fashion of Chihuahua.” Tribe: Kansas.

MANUEL RODERIGUE

1813, loss: beaver traps and skins, rifle, blankets, great coat. Tribe: Osage.

45. *Ibid.*, 164, 188; see also n. 42.

46. Mathews, *The Osages*, 520, identifies this person as Paul *Baillio*. However, the only known *Baillio* family in the Miss. Valley at that time (on Red River in central La.) did not have a Paul in this generation. See Elizabeth Shown Mills's *Cane River Creole Series*, translated Catholic Church records of Natchitoches, La., 3 vols. (Tuscaloosa, Ala.: Mills Historical Press, 1975–1985); Alberta Rousseau Ducote, *Early Baptism Records: St. Paul the Apostle Catholic Church, 1796–1824* (Mansura, La.: St. Paul the Apostle Catholic Church, 1980); and Catherine Baillio Futch, *The Baillio Family* (Baton Rouge, La.: Claitor's Publishing Division, 1961).

47. Alexander McFarland led an 1812 trading party that left Cadron on the Ark. River to trade with villages on the upper Red River. Although he endeavored to avoid the Osages, the latter entered his camp on 13 August 1812 and killed McFarland while his companions were absent. Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, 74, discusses the incident and refers to “Indian Office, Old Files, Special Case 191,” in which depositions were given by John Lemmons, William Ingles, Robert Kurkendall, and Benjamin Murphy.

48. Baronet (“Baroney”) Vasquez in the 1803–6 period had served as interpreter on the Zebulon Pike expedition; see Mathews, *The Osages*, 358ff.

A. P. CHOUTEAU

May 1824, February 1825, loss: horses, earbobs, blue cloth, silk hankerchiefs, English calico, vermilion, dressed deer skin. Depositions: P. M. Papin, Francis A. Chardon, Charles Danis.



Page 25: "Recapitulation"

The top half of the page lists twenty-six of the preceding claims. The bottom half lists several claims not yet presented, as follows:

MICHAEL BOONE [BONNE]⁴⁹

November 1823, loss: sundries and clothing. Tribe: Osage. Claim paid to Ambrose H. Sevier, his attorney.⁵⁰

*MARTIN SERANO⁵¹

BAPTISTE BOONE [BONNE]⁵²

November 1823, loss: sundries and clothing. Claim paid to Ambrose H. Sevier, their attorney.

*FR^S & BARTMY IMBO⁵³

MARTIN IMBO

November 1823, loss: sundries and clothing. Tribe: Osage. Claim paid to Wm. P. Hunt.

*THOMAS PATTERSON

November 1823, loss: sundries and clothing. Tribe: Osage. Claim paid to Ambrose H. Sevier, his attorney.

*LEWIS BARTILAMY⁵⁴

November 1823, loss: sundries and clothing. Tribe: Osage. Claim paid to P. L. Chouteau.

*HENRY GRATIOTT⁵⁵

10 July 1825, loss: timber. Tribe: Osage. Claim paid to N. P. Chouteau.

*WILLIAM PARRISH

10 July 1825, loss: white horse. Tribe: Kansas. Claim paid to Col. L.[?] Boone, his atty. in fact.

49. Michel Bonne, a Quapaw métis, was born in Ark. on 3 May 1787 to Michel Bonne, French, and Marie Jeanne, Indian; as an adult, he held land on the right bank of the Ark. near present Pine Bluff. See Core, *Catholic Register of Arkansas*, 16–17, 21; and Lottinville, [Nuttall's] *Journal of Travels into Arkansas*, 110, 246.

50. Ambrose H. Sevier was speaker of the Ark. House of Representatives in 1827; see *American State Papers: Public Lands*, 5:37.

51. Martin Serrano, a soldier from Murcia, Spain, married Maria Jacinta de Torres of Santa Fe at the Ark. Post on 9 July 1786; Martin Jr. was born there 9 September 1783. See Core, *Catholic Register of Arkansas*, 10–11.

52. Baptiste Bonne, born 1 May 1792, was brother of Michel Jr., above. Baptiste appears to be the child born to the couple on 3 September 1789. See Core, *Catholic Register of Arkansas*, 17, 37, 46, 56.

53. The brothers François and Pierre Himbeau [Imbo, Imbeau] married at the Ark. Post in a double wedding on 27 February 1797; François's wife was half-Indian, Pierre's appears to have been. Their brother Joseph married a Va. native at that post on 13 May 1793. All produced numerous children. See Core, *Catholic Register of Arkansas*, 20, 39–40, and passim.

54. Louis Barthélemy, of French-Quapaw descent, was one of eleven petitioners who asked Congress in 1826 to settle the title to their lands on the south bank of the Ark. River. See Lottinville, [Nuttall's] *Journal of Travels into Arkansas*, 110–11, n. 24.

55. Col. Henry Gratiot was the U.S. Winnebago agent during the Black Hawk War; see William T. Hagan, *The Sac and Fox Indians* (Norman: Univ. of Okla. Press, 1958), 129.

*This group of claims carries the notation, "See page No. 109 & 110 in small book for copy of original claims & Evidence . . . al[lowe]d by Secty. of War."



Page 26

[Here resumes the list that begins on page 20.]

HENRY GRATIOTT

1816–25, loss: 1816 or 1817: Kansas Indians encamped on his land. 1822: Kickapoo cut down timber. 1822 and 1823: Delaware cut timber and destroyed property. May 1825: Delaware and Shawnee camped on property. Depositions: John Tayon, James Perry; also report of Maj. [Richard] Graham.⁵⁶

CHARLES DOWNY

1817, loss: horse. Tribe: Osage. Claim paid to David Green, attorney of M. Palmer, administrator of C. Downie, 9 June 1828. "See letter of A. McNair, [Osage agent], reporting facts."

GEORGE DOUGHLASS⁵⁷

October 1821, loss: horses. Tribe: Osage. Claim paid to A. P. Choteau. "See letter of A. McNair, agent for the Osage Indians, reporting facts."

JOSEPH BEZET

November 1823, loss: horse. Tribe: Osage. "See letter of A. McNair, agent for the Osage Indians, reporting facts."

BENJAMIN BRIGGS

June 1823, loss: mare. Tribe: Kickapoo. Depositions: Alexander McNaughton, James Chapman. The stolen mare was "regularly demanded by James Latham, S[ub] agent," to whom she was delivered and in whose possession she died after ill use by the tribe.

BELUS JONES

16 February 1824, loss: Mackinac blanket, furs, rifle, dressed deerskins, etc. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Quintas Hitchcock, Wm. Stanley. "Paid by W. Forsyth, In. Agt."

M. M. MARMADUKE⁵⁸

S. MCLURE

REYS. BASQUES

RAYMON GARCIA

JAMES PURSELY

MANUAL SIMON ESCUDERO

BAILY HARDEMAN

WILLIAM (NEGRO SERV'T)

EWING YOUNG

ROMALDO GARCIA

J. P. B. GRATIOTT

WM. RENICK

14–15 July 1825, loss: diminished value or death of horses and mules recovered from Indians after ill use. Tribe: Osage. [This group of claims is consolidated under one label that reads: "M. M. Marmaduke and others . . . As per their several & separate accounts."]

RAYMOND GARCIA

MANUAL SIMON ESCUDERO

RAMALDO GARCIA

SIMON & LEWIS SWITZLER

14–15 July 1825, loss: diminished value or death of horses and mules recovered from Osage

56. Maj. Richard Graham was appointed agent of Indian Affairs in the Ill. Terr. in 1815. His papers are held by the Mo. Historical Society, St. Louis. See Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, 214–15.

57. Capt. George Douglass, in summer 1821, arrived at the mouth of the Grand River from Cincinnati, with supplies for the Union Mission. At that mission, on 5 May 1827, he married the missionary Elizabeth Selden; see *Arkansas Gazette*, 19 June 1827.

58. Meredith Miles Marmaduke, late of Westmoreland Co., Va., married Lavinia Sappington on 4 January 1826 in Saline Co., Mo.; see Saline Co. Deed Book A:12. He was briefly governor of Mo. in 1844.

after ill use. Affidavits: Ignacio Arrize (for Raymon Garcia), Raymon Garcia (for Escudero), Loretto Neoso (for Ramaldo Garcia), Fleet S. Clopton (for Simon and Lewis Switzler).

MICHAEL BOONE [BONNE]

27 November 1823. \$114.50 paid for "merchandise &c." Tribe: Osage. "See Book A of claims page 109."

MARTIN SERANO

BERNARD & BAPT^e BOONE [BONNE]

27 November 1823. \$330.50 paid for skins, clothing, powder. Tribe: Osage. "See Book A of claims page 109."

FRANCOIS & BERTHELEMIE IMBO

27 November 1823. \$175 paid for skins, powder, tobacco, etc. Tribe: Osage. "See Book A of claims page 109."

MARTIN IMB[O]

27 November 1823. \$60.50 paid for mare, blankets, clothing. Tribe: Osage. "See Book A of claims page 109."

THOMAS PATTERSON

27 November 1823. \$117.25 paid for gun, peltries, blankets, clothing, etc. Tribe: Osage. "See Book A of claims page 109."

R. & J. G. HEATH

June 1823. \$350 paid to John Heath for animals, saddles, sundry arms. Tribe: Kansas. Affidavit: Wm. Ross.

WM. M. BURCH

2 January 1825. \$304 paid for horses, blankets, cash in silver. Tribe: Kansas. Depositions: Fred Hix, Benj. Cooper.

BENJAMIN COOPER

2 January 1825. \$64 paid for blankets, mule. Tribe: Kansas. Depositions: Fred Hix, Benj. Cooper.

FREDERICK HICKS

2 January 1825. \$20 paid for blankets. Tribe: Kansas. Depositions: Wm. M. Burch, Benj. Cooper.

WILLIAM PARISH

19 February 1825. \$50 paid to Col. Boone for white horse. Tribe: Kansas. Deposition: Owen Adkins.

CHARLES ENGLISH

4 October 1825. \$60 paid for mule. Tribe: Kansas, who acknowledge responsibility.



Pages 29–30

[No date.] "List of Such Claims as are filed in the Office of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis for robberies committed by the Indians in the Indian Country, a part of them supported by evidence and a part of them not thus supported." *Date is that on which the loss occurred.*

THOMAS GREEN

1808, loss: Beaver and otter skins, powder, razors. Tribe: Osage.

THOMAS GREEN

1811, loss: horse. Tribe: Osage.

THOMAS BURRESS

1811, loss: horses. Tribe: Osage.

JAMES MCFARLAND

1812, loss: Indian goods. Tribe: Osage.

FRANCIS DESNOYER

1812, loss: mare, colt. Tribe: Sac.

JOHN LEPLANT

1812, loss: horse. Tribe: Sac.

JOSEPH VASQUEZ

1813, loss: beaver traps, other property. Tribe: Iowa.

WILLIAM EWING

1813, loss: horses.

GREY BYNUM

1815, loss: horse.

LOUIS LETORNEAU

1816, loss: Indian goods. Tribe: Yancton.

HUGH CUMMINS

1817, loss: hogs killed. Tribe: Kickapoo.

WILLIAM MORSE

1817, loss: horses. Tribe: Osage.

ROBERT PATRICK

1820, loss: horses. Tribe: Sac.

MISSOURI FUR COMPANY

1822, loss: horses, mules, traps, gun, beaver, merchandise. Tribe: Blackfeet.

HENRY & ASHLEY

1823, loss: horses, merchandise. Tribes: Blackfeet, Assiniboin, Aurickaras, Sioux.

ROBERT BURNS

[No date], loss: horses. Tribe: unspecified.

JOHN BAINE

1823, loss: unspecified goods totaling \$270. Tribe: unspecified.

FREDERICK HICKS & OTHERS

[No date], loss: \$200 cash. Other claimants: not named. Tribe: unspecified.

E. BEEBE

1822, loss: cattle, horses, breeding sows, hogs. Tribes: Sac, Fox. "Papers returned to Ch. Hempstead, 25 June 1829."

ANTOINE BARRAQUE⁵⁹

1822, loss: "property stolen." Tribe: Osage.

SAM^l BROWN

1816, loss: Negro man killed. Tribe: "not known." Note: "This claim is entered [previously]."

L. MILTON MOORE

1816, loss: horse, branded W. M.; horse, branded J. O.; yellow horse, ringed legs.



Page 31

[No date.] "A Report of Claims for Property taken from Citizens of the United States by Several of the Tribes of Indians within the Superintendency at St. Louis & for the payment of which their annuities are liable." *Date is that on which the loss occurred.*

SHEPHERD MOORE

April 1820, loss: horses, bell, collar. Tribe: Kickapoo. Depositions: Rhatio Durley, Peter Hubbard.

WILLIAM TOTTEN

December 1823, loss: corn. Tribe: Potawatomi. Depositions: John Totten, A. W. Williams.

NATHANIEL SYMMES

October 1825, loss: horse. Tribe: Kansas. Deposition: William Taylor.

WM. W. LANE

October 1827, loss: house burned by Indians firing the prairie. Tribe: "supposed to be Shawnee." Appraisements: Asa Pennell, Andw. Clement, Sam^l Glover. Affidavits: Asa Pennell, John McClure, Wm. A. Tansey. Report also supplied by Maj. [Richard] Graham [Osage agent].

NEWMAN POUNDS

October 1827, loss: fence panels; crops burned. Clark notes that the "outrage" was believed to have been committed by white people.

CHARLES LANE

October 1827, loss: fence panels; crops burned. Clark notes that the "outrage" was believed to have been committed by white people.

ISAAC HERALD

3 June 1826, loss: horse, bell. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: Wm. Snelgrove, Jn. Stiles, Jacob Nidever. Disallowed; horse was taken on Choctaw lands.

MAJ. ALEXR. CUMMINGS⁶⁰

31 July 1826, loss: white horse injured, later died. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: Jos. Brandon, Jacob Page, John Stiles.

59. Antoine Barraque and Frederick Notribe, formerly of New Orleans, operated a trading house at the Ark. Post, and also dealt extensively in the Red River-Sulphur Fork area; see "Red River-Sulphur Fork Factory, 1824-30," *U. S. Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received*, National Archives microfilm M234, roll 727. Also see Core, *Catholic Register of Arkansas*, passim.

60. Maj. Alexander Cummings commanded Fort Towson until March 1825, when he was removed from command and ordered to appear for court-martial on charges of resisting civil authority; by May 1827, he had been reinstated at Fort Towson. See Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, 207-8, 248. See also n. 42 in present paper.

JOHN STILES

11 September 1826, loss: four horses, clerk's fees, expenses and trouble in traveling to Canton Gibson⁶¹ to recover five horses and to pay for twenty-two days at \$1.50 per day. Appraisements: John Emerson, Isaac N. Charless.

JAMES POOL

1826, loss: flour, corn, horseshoes, salt. Tribe: Kickapoo. "See report of Major R. Graham."



Pages 32–33

[No date.] "A Report of Claims for Property taken from Citizens of the United States by Several Tribes of Indians within the limits of the Superintendency at St. Louis, provided for by the 14th Sec. of the Act of Congress regulating Trade & Intercourse with the Indian Tribes & to preserve peace on the Frontiers (app^d 30th March 1802)." *Date is that on which the loss occurred.*

JESSE COX

2 June 1811, loss: horses, saddle, clothing. Depositions: Margery Cox; Rebecca Norris; Solomon, Jesse, and William Cox. "This property was taken before the last war by a band of Kickapoo under the influence of the Shawnee [called] Prophet."

JOSEPH HOWDESHELL

1 August 1812, loss: Horses. Tribe. Sac. Depositions: Wm. Howdeshell, Winslow Turney, Dan'l McCoy, Jacob Groshong. "Same as above."

JAMES LEWIS

10 September 1812, 4 July 1813, loss: horses. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Jacob Groshong, Wm. Howdeshell, Winslow Turner. "Same as above."

JACOB GROSHONG

11 September 1812, loss: horses, colt. Depositions: Wm. Howdeshell, Winslow Turner, Dan'l McCoy, Joseph Howdeshell. "This claim, together with the 2 preceding & 3 following ones, is for property taken before the Sacks & Foxes, who committed the acts, had openly commenced war against the U. States."

DANIEL MCCOY

1812, loss: skuyball (or pied) horse. Depositions: P Rybault, Winslow Turner, Jacob Groshong, Wm. Howdeshell. [See Groshong claim above.]

WINSLOW TURNER

4 July 1813, loss: horses. Tribe. Sac. Depositions: Jacob Groshong, Wm. Howdeshell. [See Groshong claim above.]

JAMES & JESSE MORRISON

1814, loss: salt kettles, horses, cattle. Tribes: Sac, Fox. Depositions: Jos. Dubois, Wm. Becknell, Jos. Martineau, Nathan Boon, Etienne Marrian, Col. Benjamin Cooper. [See Groshong claim.]

HUGH CUMMINS

1 March 1818, loss: hogs. Tribe: Kickapoo. Depositions: John Cox, Wm. Trail, John Gilliland.

61. Cantonment Gibson (variously Fort Gibson) sat "on the east side of the Neosho or Grand River about three miles from the mouth"; see Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, 195. See also claims for William Stiles (father of John), Isaac Herald, Alexr. Cummings, and Joseph English.

GILEAD RUPE

August [year not given], loss: horse, skillet. Tribe: Iowa. Depositions: Hugh McCafferty, James Hicklin, William Rupe.

JAMES ROSS

STEPHEN DONOHOE

12 February 1821, loss: merchandise and damage. Tribe: Otoe. Depositions: Jas. Glasgow, Seth Bott, Jas. McCorkle, John Aull; also report of Major [Benjamin] O'Fallon.

SETH BOTTS

12 February 1821, loss: great coat, halter, chains, line; thirty-nine days lost with wagon, team. Tribe: Otoe. Depositions: Martin Marrs, Jas. Williams, J. M. McCorkle, Collin C. Stoneman.

JOHN MCCORKLE

12 February 1824, loss: pantaloons, mackinac blanket; great coat injured; thirty-nine days lost with wagon and team. Depositions: same as Botts above.

MARTIN MARRS

12 February 1824, loss: blanket, quilt, tin bucket, bottle; thirty-nine days lost with wagon and team; injury done to gear. Depositions: same as Botts above.

SAMUEL FORREST

12 February 1824, loss: horses, halter, chains, etc.; forty-one days lost with wagon and team. Depositions: same as Botts above.

ROBERT KIRKENDALL

1816, loss: mules, horses. Deposition: Osage superintendent Richard S. Welt. [Page 38: Clark states that Kirkendall's claim and one for Joseph English were in existence at the time of Lovely's Purchase and are believed not to have been satisfied.]⁶²

JOHN BOWMAN⁶³

13 November 1823, loss: horses. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: William Brice, Isaiah Rose. [A supplemental list on page 37 identifies Rose as *Joseph*.]

ANTOINE BARRAQUE

1823, loss: one Negro man (killed), deer skins, etc. Tribe: Osage. Deposition: Martin Imbo. "See also letter from Robert Crittendon." [A supplemental list on page 37 identifies the Negro man as *Ben*.]

ISAAC SHANNON

1821, loss: horse, cash, clothing. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: Hugh Shannon, Adam Beaty.

MARTIN WARREN JUNR.

1821, loss: horse. Tribe: Osage. Deposition: M. Warren Senz. Certificate: Thos. W. Newton, authenticating acts of justices of the peace in the absence of Arkansas's territorial governor.

62. Maj. William L. Lovely, U.S. agent for the Cherokee who were then immigrating to Ark., executed an agreement with the Osage in July 1816, whereby the latter relinquished a large portion of present Ark. Beginning west of the line drawn in 1808, it would follow the Ark. River (as its south boundary) to the mouth of the Verdigris River, then up the Verdigris for four miles to the falls, then northeasterly to the Saline on the Neosho (present Salina, Okla.), then east to the north-south boundary line established in 1808. In exchange, the U.S. promised to pay all outstanding claims that the Cherokee and U.S. citizens held against the Osage. See Mathews, *The Osages*, 418.

63. See claim for Stiles at n. 42.

FRANÇOIS LAPIEGE

1817, loss: horse. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: Balthasar Latour, Phillip Adam.

CHARLES BELGARDE

1817, loss: bay horse. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: B. Latour, P. Adam.

PHILLIP ADAM

1817, loss: mare and horse. Depositions: B. Latour, Augustine Durocher.



Pages 34–35

20 August 1828. “A Report of Claims for Property taken from Citizens of the United States by Indians within the Superintendency at St. Louis, and for the payment of which their annuities are liable.” *Date is that on which the loss occurred.*

HARRIS MINER

Spring 1821, loss: plough. Tribe: Potawatomi. Depositions: John Griffin, James Fulton.

BENJAMIN BURBRIDGE

1825, loss: mare. Tribe: Kickapoo. “See report of Maj. [Richard] Graham.”

JAMES ERICSON

June 1825, loss: cattle killed on waters of Iowa River. Tribes: Sac, Fox.

ROBERT JOHNSON

10 October 1827, loss: hogs. Tribe: Kansas. Proof: certificate of Nanprewarai, Kansas Chief, with request that reimbursement be deducted from the tribal annuity.

DAVID BENSELY

Spring 1827, loss: horse. Tribe: Osage. Deposition: William Bratten.

FRANCIS DUCATE

13 May 1828, loss: horses. Tribe: Kansas. Lewis Uno, chief, acknowledged horses taken. Deposition: Pier Ruate.

SAM^L MALLORY

14 May 1828, loss: cash, silver spoons, household staples, whiskey, furniture, clothing, provisions, crop, and use of ferry. Tribe: Potawatomi. Depositions: Wm. Nicholas, Simon Kelsey, Norman Leoville. Paid to attorney Wm. J. Nichols [sic].

HENRY CONNOLLY

April 1827, loss: one jennet. Tribe: Kansas. Depositions: Absalom Mail, Reuben Collins. Paid W. Tracy.

JAMES BLAIR

27 July 1828, loss: yoke of oxen. Tribe: Winnebago. Depositions: David Crossin, Alexr. V. Bonner. Case referred to Congress.

THOS. PATTERSON

March 1826, loss: mare, colt, wasted time and expense. Tribe: Delaware, who acknowledge responsibility. Deposition: Jno. S. Clark. Paid to attorney Sam^L Travis, May 1830.

LOUIS GUITARD

July 1828, loss: waste and depredation of timber on his land. Tribe: Delaware. Depositions: Jos. Charleville, Thoret Elkins. Clark recommends payment.



Pages 37–38

28 November 1828. "A Report of the Claims of Citizens of the Territory of Arkansas for Property taken and destroyed by the Osage Tribe of Indians in the years 1816, 1817, 1821, and 1823 which have not been satisfied by the Indians or paid under any law or treaty stipulation." *Date is that on which the loss occurred.*

ROBERT KIRKENDALL

1816, loss: mules, horses. Deposition: Richard Sweet.

JOHN BOWMAN

1823, loss: horses. Depositions: William Brice, Joseph Rose.

JOSEPH ENGLISH

1817, loss: horses. Deposition: John Stiles. Osage acknowledge. Asa Blankrenship and Robert Laton depose as to value of property only.

ANTOINE BARAQUE

1823, loss: Negro (Ben) killed; other property stolen. Deposition: Martin Imbeau.

BALEY ENGLISH

1821, loss: mare. Deposition: Joseph English, who proves value only.



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12 September 1829. "A report of Claims for property taken from Citizens of the U.S. by Several of the Tribes of Indians within the Superintendency at St. Louis, and for the payment of which their annuities are liable." Marginal note: "These nine [sic] claims, with the exception of N. Boismenu's, have been discharged—the papers returned to the claimants 17 August 1832." *Date is that on which the loss occurred.*

AUGUSTE P. CHOUTEAU

1827, 1828, loss: hogs, cows, steers, corn. Tribe: Osage of Arkansas. Depositions: Wm. Blevins, François Dauphin, Jean B. Charette.

AUGUSTE A. CHOUTEAU

1827, 1828, loss: corn, hogs. Tribe: Osage of Arkansas. Depositions: C. Sanguinette, Paul Bonne.

ELIJAH HAYDEN

7 June 1827 (1828?), loss: horse. Tribe: Fox. Depositions: E. Hayden, E. Bouthelier, A. Bozorth, Josiah Stillings, Obediah Dickinson.

GARNET HERSHEY

May 1829, loss: horses. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: James Lewis, Wilson Roberts.

NICHOLAS BOISMENUS⁶⁴

May 1827, loss: damages to land and timber east of Mississippi. Tribes: Wea, Miami. Depositions: Thomas Mead, Wm. Smith.

64. Nicholas Boismenu, in 1809, resided in Cahokia, Ill.; see *American State Papers: Public Lands*, 2:197.

ROBERT DUNLAP

1827, 1828, loss: steer, heifer, corn. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: Jas. Ross, S. Hoyle, Wm. Frasier, LeBaum, Baptiste Mongrain, Mr. Pixley.⁶⁵

DAVID BAILEY

1827, 1828, loss: corn, plank, blankets, "first-rate" milch cows. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: Marcus L. Aderton, Wm. Frasier, Sam^l Bailey, P. L. Chouteau, Baptiste and Mr. Pixley.

RICHARD BRANNIN

1827, 1828, loss: corn, a heifer (supposed to be with calf), horses, bell, saddle, blanket; rails and stakes burnt. Depositions: James W. Brannin, Jeremiah Burns, Solomon Hoyle, Wm. Drake, Richard Brannin Jr., Robert Dunlap. Although the claimant was in Indian Territory, Clark said he was there for the benefit of the Indians and thus should be paid.

LOUISON BRUSIER

1829, loss: sow, pigs. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: Raphael Crelic, P. L. Chouteau.

JOSEPH ANTIRE

1828, loss: hogs, corn. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: Louis Peltier, Charles Cardinal; also report of agent.

CHARLES CARDINAL⁶⁶

1828, loss: hogs. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: L^s Peltier, Jos. Antire; also report of agent.



Pages 40–42

14 October 1829. "A report of Claims for Property Taken from Citizens of the United States by several Tribes of Indians within the Superintendency at St. Louis provided for by the 14th Section of the Act of Congress regulating Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes and to Preserve Peace on the Frontier (Approved 31st March 1802)." *Date is that on which the loss occurred.*

HARMON GREGG

JOSIAH HIGGINS

1813, loss: horse. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: Robert Hancock, Ezekiel Williams.

JOSIAH HIGGINS

1813, loss: horses. Tribe: Osage.

HARMON GREGG

January 1815, loss: horses, cow, steer. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Josiah Higgins, Robert Brown, Ben Cooper, George Jackson. Disallowed.

JOSIAH HIGGINS

1815, loss: cows, hogs. Tribe: Sac or Iowa. Depositions: Harmon Gregg, Robert Hancock, Ben Cooper, George Jackson. Disallowed.

65. Apparently the Rev. Mr. Pixley, missionary to the Osage. See Mathews, *The Osage*, 529–33, 538.

66. Possibly a son of Charles Cardinal, who appears on the 1791 Spanish census of the St. Louis Dist., "from the Maramec down to Platin Creek." He married Henrietta Langevin, daughter of Jean Baptiste; see Houck, *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, 2:388, 390.

JOHN HANCOCK

September 1814, loss: horses. Depositions: Joseph Cooper, Robert Hancock, Ben Cooper, George Jackson. Hancock is deceased. Disallowed.

EDWARD GOOD

1814, loss: horses. Tribe: Iowa. Depositions: Josiah Higgins, Robert Hancock, Ben Cooper, George Jackson. Disallowed.

JOSEPH WASSON

1814, 1815, loss: horses, colts, cattle. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: John Wasson, Robert Hancock, Ben Cooper, George Jackson. Disallowed.

JOHN HANCOCK

July 1815, loss: horses. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: "See Abbot Hancock and David Cooper."

JOHN HANCOCK

August 1813, loss: horses. Tribes: Sac, Fox. Depositions: John Hancock, Sarshel Cooper, Joseph Cooper. Claim referred to Congress.

SARSHEL COOPER

July 1811, loss: mare. Depositions: John Hancock, Robt. Brown, Ben Cooper, George Jackson. Certificate: Maurice Blondeau [subagent]. Claim referred to Congress.

JOSEPH COOPER

1812, loss: mare, colts. Depositions: Sarshel Cooper, Robt. Brown, Ben Cooper, John Hancock. Certificate: Maurice Blondeau [subagent].

MATHEW MCCORMICK

1813, loss: corn, brass kettle, spinning wheel, bedsteads, weaver's spool, loom with hangings, weeding hoes, pewter dish, chisels. Tribes: Sac, Fox. Depositions: Giles Thompson, Samuel Gilbert, Wm. R. Gilbert.

GILES THOMPSON

1813, loss: hogs, corn, heifer, flax wheel, scythe, weeding hoes, skillet. Depositions: Mathew McCormick, Samuel Gilbert, William R. Gilbert. Referred to Congress.

BAPTISTE BELAND⁶⁷

September 1827, loss: horse. Tribe: Shawnee. Depositions: Peter Beland, L. A. Martin; also certificate of R. Graham, Indian Agent.

FRANCIS WITHERTON

14 November 1828, loss: sorrel horse. Tribe: Menominee. Depositions: John Gibson, James Wilkson, Vinet R. Sitton. "See statement of Cheotum or William, a Menominee."

MATTHEW ADAMS

1828, loss: corn. Deposition: Wm. Vickory. Wandering Shawnee acknowledged taking corn to feed their women and children and have not returned it or paid for it.



67. Jean Baptiste Beland [Belland] married Catherine Lalande, widow of Pierre Peltier. Belland came from Cahokia but in the 1804–7 period, the couple lived in the village of St. Charles, Mo. See *American State Papers: Public Lands*, 2:474, and Huck, *Spanish Regime in Missouri*, 2:389, 391.

Pages 43–45

1 November 1830. “A Report of claims for property stolen from Citizens of the U. States by the several tribes of Indians within the Superintendency at Saint Louis and for which their annuities are liable.” *Date is that on which the loss occurred.*

RENAH WELLS

1 June, 24 July, 12 August 1829, loss: ox shot; work steer killed; horse taken. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Joseph Danforth, John Wells, James Bridger, John Bain; also report of Thos. Forsythe, Sac Indian agent. Disallowed.

JOSEPH DANFORTH

1 September 1829, loss: corn; damages for mare and colts recovered. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Joseph Danforth, John Wells, Samuel Wells, Benj. Goble, Martin Culver, Joel Thompson. See report of T[homas] Forsythe [Sac agent]. Disallowed.

JOHN C. OWINGS

April 1829, loss: “abuse of mare and cash paid to Indians to give her up”; also “abuse of a cow.” Tribe: Potawatomi. Depositions: John C. Owings, Eliza B. Fitch, Rebecca Fraker, Isaac B. Esse [Essex?]; also report of P. Menard, Indian agent. Disallowed.

MICHAEL FRAKER

1829, loss: destruction of sugar orchard, killing of hogs. Tribe: Potawatomi. Deposition: Michael Fraker. “See report of Sub Indian agent at Peoria.” Disallowed.

SIMEON ABBOTT

1829, loss: horses. Tribe: Sac. Deposition: Charles McClellen. Disallowed.

WILLIAM DENISTON

1829, loss: horse. Tribe: Potawatomi. Depositions: Allen G. Andrews, Theodore Sargent, John B. Talbot, Thos. Forsythe, [Sac] agent.

OLIVER BANGS

1829, loss: hogs. Tribes: Sac, Fox, Iowa. Deposition: Oliver Bangs. Certificates: Vance M. Campbell (interpreter), Joseph Vanbibber (blacksmith); also report of General A. S. Hughes.

THOMAS BARNETT

June 1828, loss: sheep, bell, collar. Affidavit: Jacques Mett . Indians acknowledged the claim. Allowed.

JAMES REED

July 1829, loss: hogs, corn and potato crops, chopping ax, Barshaw plough, wash kettle, etc. Tribes: Sac, Fox, Iowa. Depositions: James Myers, Isaac Gross, Geo. W. Reed, Wm. Blackwell; also letter of Gen’l [A. S.] Hughes. Rejected on basis that evidence only showed property abandoned. Clark points out that witnesses in one or more of this block of cases are claimants in others. “Papers returned to James H. Birch, Sept. 5, 1832.”

JAMES MYERS

ISAAC GROSS

ELVAN ALLEN

July 1829, loss: hogs, pigs, produce, bedclothes, clothings, mares, equipage, etc. Tribes: Iowa, Sac, Fox. “Same affair” as Reed claim above. Depositions: same.

DAVID WALDO⁶⁸

October 1829, loss: "horse mule." Tribe: Osage. Depositions: Jacob Coons,⁶⁹ Dan¹ Parker.

FRANCIS L. SAMUELS

October 1829, loss: horse stolen, retaken, then "gave out in consequence of severe usage." Depositions: Thomas Barnes, John Hood, Jacob Coons, Dan¹ Parker. Allowed.

MANUEL LOPEZ

October 1829, loss: horse. Depositions: John Hood, Tho^s Barnes, Wm. Workman.

LORENZO LOPEZ

MANUEL LEAL

October 1829, loss: mules. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: Thomas Barnes, John Hood, Jose W. [M.?] Sembrano, Jose Denonia Ebarra. Disallowed; not proved that Indians had property.

THOMAS H. PRICE

June 1828, loss: horse. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: Wm. Phelps, E. D. Taylor. Disallowed.

SILAS ENYART

HUMPHREY ENYART

June 1830, loss: damage to horse and expense of recovering stolen horses (paid D. Enyart, G. Trammel, and E. Best for going in quest of horse; paid expenses of S. and D. Enyart for recovering horses). Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Gerard Trammel, David Enyart. Disallowed; theft proved, damages overrated, expenses exorbitant.

FRANCES [FRANCIS?] TRIMBLY

1829, loss: horse. Tribe: Kansas. Depositions: Clement Lessert, Francis Ducate, Gabriel Philiben, Lindsey Book. Indians acknowledged theft; claim allowed.

SAMUEL COLE

WILLIAM SCOTT

1828, loss: horses, beaver and wolf skins and traps, blankets, etc. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: claimants. Disallowed; not known whether they were within boundaries of the Osage or the U.S.

THOMAS KINNEY

1829, loss: horse. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Stephen Felps and claimant. Disallowed; requested damages too high.

WILLIAM JACKSON "OR FISH" (SHAWNEE CHIEF)

1829, loss: horses. Tribe: Sac. Capt. Vashon⁷⁰ and Thos. Forsythe request for claimant.

68. David Waldo, son of Jedediah and Polly (Porter) Waldo, was born 30 April 1802, Harrison Co., Va.; he died 20 May 1878 at Independence, Jackson Co., Mo. On 27 March 1849, he married in Jackson Co., Eliza-Jane Norris, daughter of Edward and Margaret (Glasgow) Norris, who had been born 25 June 1822 at Mt. Sterling, Ky., and died 20 November 1880 in Jackson Co. According to a family history, David received a medical degree at Lexington, Ky., in 1822 and practiced for a short time in Mo. and Mexico but left medicine to enter into freighting and trading. See Waldo Lincoln, *Genealogy of the Waldo Family: A Record of the Descendants of Cornelius Waldo of Ipswich, Massachusetts, from 1647-1900* (Worcester: Charles Hamilton, 1902), 432.

69. Jacob Coons (Counce) was born in St. Charles Dist., Mo. Terr., on 6 February 1805, as the probable son of Jacob Counce Sr. He married Levina (née Waldo) Wamsley, sister of David, on 31 January 1839 in Polk Co., Mo. See *ibid.*; also, *History of Henry and St. Clair Counties, Missouri* (1883; reprinted, Clinton, Mo.: Henry Co. Historical Society, 1968), 1143; and Polk Co. Probate Book A:143.

70. Capt. George Vashon, in 1833, was U.S. agent to the Ark. Cherokee. See Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, 76.

MRS. LEWIS (SHAWNEE)

1829, loss: horses. Tribes: Sac, Fox. Claim supported by Vashon and Forsythe. Mrs. Lewis is widow of a Shawnee chief; her niece (unidentified) also claims.



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[No date.] "A report of Claims for property taken from Citizens of the United States by Indians within the Superintendency at St. Louis and for the payment of which their annuities are liable." *Date is that on which the loss occurred.*

DAVID MOORE

1826, loss: horses. Tribe: Iowa. Depositions: Sam'l H. Vassor, Silas McGuire, Nicholas Owens. Certificates: Labon Garrett, James Nichol.

JOHN F. HAMTRAMCK⁷¹

1827, 1828, 1829, 1830, loss: cattle wounded and killed. Tribe: Osage. Depositions: Alexander Pitre, Wm. Frasier, Robt. Dunlop, Marcus L. Aderton. Certificate: P L. Chouteau, Osage agent.

Comment:

"This report of Claims not forwarded. Claim of David Moore included in the Report of Decr. 1831—See page 1848."



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20 December 1831. "A Report of Claims for Property taken from Citizens of the United States by Indians Within the Superintendency at St. Louis provided for by the 14th Section of the Act of Congress regulating Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes and to preserve peace on the Frontier (approved 30th March 1802)." *Date is that on which the loss occurred.*

DAVID MAGILL

1814, loss: mare, colt, clothing. Tribes: Sac, Fox. Deposition: Abraham Groom.

ABRAHAM GROOM

1814, loss: horses. Tribes: Sac, Fox. Depositions: Elisha Tod, Caleb Magill.

ELISHA TODD

1814, loss: horses. Tribes: Sac, Fox. Depositions: Abraham and Wm. Groom.

JOSEPH BOGGS

1814, loss: horse. Tribes: Sac, Fox. Depositions: Elisha Tod, Abraham Groom.



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20 December 1831. "A Report of Claims for Property taken from Citizens of the United

71. John F Hamtramck was Osage agent in 1826–30; for his accounts at this post, see Clark Papers, vol. 25. Born in Ind. as a son of Capt. John F. Hamtramck of the Battle of Miami, he graduated from West Point in 1819; see Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest*, 184.

States by Indians within the Superintendency of St. Louis & for the payment of which their annuities are liable." *Date is that on which the loss occurred.*

DAVID MOORE

1826, loss: horses. Tribe: Iowa. Depositions: Sam'l H. Vassom [Vassor], Silas McGuire, Nicholas Owens. Certificates: Laban Garrett, Js. Nichel [Nichol].

IRA COTTLE⁷²

1816, August 1829, loss: "beeves," oxen. Tribe: Fox. Depositions: Ira Cottle, F. Dickson, John Argent, Royal Cottle, Antoine St. Clair, Abrah^m Osborne, Gen. Davidson, Hyacinth St. Cyr, John W. Johnson. Disallowed.

SHUBAL ALLEN

1830, loss: detention of four negroes for three months; expense of advertising and reclaiming same. Tribes: Sac, Fox. Deposition: Cornelius Gilliam. Rejected by Secretary [of War?] in 1832.

JACOB NAVE

5 November 1830, loss: 25-gallon barrel of whiskey. Tribe: Delaware. Deposition: John Nave.

PATRICK H. HART

1829, loss: horse. Tribe: Sac. Depositions: Rob^t Grant, Reuben Eveland, Pat^k H. Hart, Wm. Causland; also agent's report. Disallowed.

D. R. DAVIS

1828, loss: horse. Tribe: Fox. Depositions: Whiteside Hargis, George Davidson. Disallowed.

BERNARD GRAY

1829, loss: horses. Tribe: Fox. Deposition: Jno. Connolly; also agent's report. Disallowed.

JAMES WILLIAMS

April 1830, loss: horse and costs. Tribe: Fox. Depositions: Moses T. Johnson, Antoine Goky, U. Hulst. Disallowed.

PETER SMITH

1821, loss: clothing, bedding, etc.. Tribe: Delaware. Deposition: James Logan. Allowed.

BAILLIE & ST. VRAIN⁷³

1829, loss: mule. Depositions: S. D. Lucas, Wm. Cook, Js. Kirnsey [Kimsey?], Gurnet M. Hensly. Disallowed.

FREDERICK M. HIX

1830, loss: horse. Tribe: Kansas. Deposition: Js. [Ls.?] McClintock; also agent's report. Allowed.

JOHN DOWLING

1829, loss: horse. Tribes: Sac, Fox. Deposition: B. Gray, W. Warner; also agent's report. Disallowed.

72. Ira Cottle in 1806 claimed six hundred arpents of land on Cuivre River, St. Charles Dist., Mo., citing his purchase of the land on 31 January 1805 from Henry McLaughlin; see *American State Papers: Public Lands*, 2:476.

73. Felix St. Vrain, a Peoria, Ill., resident in 1830, was appointed U.S. agent for the Sac and Fox; he was killed during the Black Hawk War, 1832; see Hagan, *Sac and Fox*, 122, 164.

Bible Records

The Rourk-Griffin Bible

*Contributed by Brent D. B. Rourk**

ORIGINS:

The following data were transcribed from the beautifully decorated family pages of a bible published in Richmond, Virginia, by B. F. Johnson and Company, 1882, and recently donated to the contributor by his aunt, Lillian Rourk. The latter's grandmother, Christina Dorothy Griffin Rourk, is the matriarch named on those family pages. Judging from the differences in the handwriting styles, several people recorded the information. The bible is in less-than-average condition for its age, and the multi-colored front matter shows considerable wear.

According to family tradition, Christina was born in the East Providence area of Orangeburg, South Carolina. She was a daughter of Anie Griffin, a farmer, and his wife, Lutitia—and the granddaughter of Joseph Griffin, a Revolutionary soldier. James Irvin Rourk, her husband, was born in that same county in 1837. He and three of his brothers fought in the Confederacy. While on furlough in Orangeburg, recuperating from injuries, he met and married Christina. Little is proved as to their ancestors or siblings, however, because of the destruction of the county's land and court records during the Union Army's occupation of Orangeburg in February 1865. Christina and James are buried in the Antioch Baptist Churchyard Cemetery, near Ellore, South Carolina.

PRESENTATION PAGES:

Presented to Mrs. Jas. I. Rourk, by Jas. I. Rourk, Oct 20th 1884.

This is to certify That Miss Christena D. Griffin of Orangeburg County and Mr. J. I. Rourk of Orangeburg County were by me united together in Holy Matrimony on the 9th day of Aug in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and 63. In Presence of [blank]. [No minister's signature appears.]

*139 South Hoover Avenue, Louisville, CO 80027. Mr. Rourk has submitted to the Bible Records Collection of the National Genealogical Society Library in Arlington, Va., full-color photocopies of the pages that contain the above data. For other personal information on this family, please contact Mr. Rourk directly.

MARRIAGES:

Jas. I. Rourk and Miss Christina D. Griffin, were married 9th August 1863.

Mr. T. T. Rourk and Miss Gussie Walling were married 12th day of January 1905.

BIRTHS:

Jas. Benjamin Rourk, born 22nd Oct 1865.

Samuel A. Rourk, born 26 Aprl, 1867.

William A. Rourk, born 19 Dec. 1870.

Elizabeth L. Rourk, born 31 Oct. 1872.

Florence C. Rourk, born 24 Mar. 1875.

Son Rourk, born 9 May 1877.

Carroll F. Rourk, born 7 June 1879.

Thomas T. Rourk, born 24 April 1882.

John H. Rourk, born 10 June 1884.

D. Cultino Rourk, born June 1864 [sic].

J. I. Rourk was born Oct 16th 1837

Christina D. Rourk born 13th March 1842

Lillie Pearl Born June 25 1895? [page torn]

Florence Victorie Born Dec 20- 1897

Gussie Elizabeth born April 23 1889. [The surname Walling is added in a different hand.]

DEATHS:

D. Cultino Rourk, died June 1864.

Son Rourk, died 22 July 1878.

Carroll F. Rourk, died Sep. 4, 1884.

Florence C. Griffin Died Feb 7 1898

Florence V. Griffin Died Mar. 19- 1898

James I. Rourk Died June 20th 1918

Harrel T.[?] Rourk Died Jan 6, 1906.

Edith Florence Rourk Died July 4 1922

Baby Rourk boy Died March 23^d 1935

Christina D. Rourk Died Jan 17th 1936

Angie May Heaitley [?] Died Nov 28th 1935

The Last Civil War Widow's Pension?

In May 1996, the state of Alabama approved an application for what is believed to be the last-possible Civil War pension. The recipient, Mrs. Alberta Martin of Elba, Alabama, had been a twenty-one-year-old widow and mother when she married the eighty-one-year-old William Jasper Martin, a veteran of Company K, Fourth Alabama Infantry. She subsequently bore him one son, who is believed to be the only "real" son of a Confederate veteran still alive today.

—Adam Nossiter, *N.Y. Times News Service* release,
published *Tuscaloosa [Ala.] News*, 7 October 1996, p. 6a

Book Reviews

ETHNIC REFERENCES

Lay Down Body: Living History in African American Cemeteries. By Roberta Hughes Wright and Wilbur B. Hughes III. Published by Visible Ink Press; 835 Penobscot Building; Detroit, MI 48226-4094; 1996. xxvii, 339 pp. Index, photographs. Softback. \$17.95 (shipping: \$1.75).

Lay Down Body is an important work, featuring three hundred African American cemeteries in the United States and Canada. Included are burial places of famous blacks, as well as unheralded slaves. Descriptions of smaller graveyards include several complete lists of interments and headstone inscriptions. Fascinating rituals of funeral and burial practices are discussed, many of which originated in Africa. Also chronicled are deplorable destructions, such as that occurring to early slave cemeteries in the Sea Islands, now being lost to developers of luxurious golf courses.

The scope of the project is enormous. Criteria for inclusion, stated in the introduction, center upon conflict and struggle—although brief descriptions of several sites mention neither. For example: the Chicago-area Burr Oak Cemetery is listed, because of the tragic death of Emmitt Till, who is buried therein; but absent is any mention of the struggle against racism to open Burr Oak, which required armed guards and a court order.

Despite its valuable information, the volume appears disjointed, its organization confused. The first chapter deals with superstitions; the second with cemeteries in the Southeast. All other cemeteries are lumped together, followed by a chapter on genealogy for beginners. The title of the subsequent chapter, "Preserving Historic Cemeteries," is not indi-

cated in the table of contents. The book concludes with chapters on burial societies and funeral and burial customs, a bibliography, and an index.

A future edition could serve researchers better if several needs are addressed. The index should include the personal names from the complete lists of interments and headstone inscriptions. Also beneficial would be a separate list of the three hundred cemeteries covered in the book—and footnotes to document the wealth of information offered.

Similarly, the chapter on genealogical instruction could make several useful points. Beginners should be told that cemetery records exist not only in libraries but also in nearby churches, funeral homes, and private possession. The authors incorrectly state that grave-stones are "primary, original sources of raw material." To the contrary, gravestone detail, by its very nature, is often secondary and may not even be contemporary; the gravestone could have been purchased long after the interment.

Wright and Hughes are to be applauded for increasing awareness of black cemeteries, burial practices, and preservation needs for burial grounds representing all ethnicities.

Tony Burroughs, FNGS, Chicago, Illinois

Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America, 1717–1775. By Aaron Spencer Fogleman. Published by University of Pennsylvania Press; Post Office Box 4836, Hampden Station; Baltimore, MD 21211-0836. xii, 257 pp. Illustrations, index, maps, photographs. Softback. \$16.95 (shipping: \$4.00).

Great waves of German-speaking immigrants washed onto American shores, particularly those of Pennsylvania, before 1775; and Fogleman treats them comprehensively. His study relies heavily on demographic data, yet it presents findings in a readable style. Contrary to the bias, romance, and wishful thinking in which the subject of European emigration is often steeped, Fogleman treats his issue maturely and with balance—although the focus is often upon economic concerns.

Conventional treatments of German migration to America emphasize religious persecution and the insatiable demands of German princes for youth to feed their war machines. Fogleman's coverage of several small, radical religious groups goes well beyond this—presenting overpopulation, land fragmentation, and mind-numbing bureaucrats as compelling factors also. Because of the quality of records kept by the German Moravians, he examines them in particular detail—their peasant communities in Europe, the mobility as emigrants, their political structure, and their ethnic diversity.

Attracted to the economic opportunities presented by the British experiment in America, the immigrants unified around their cultures, institutions, and ideals. Their staunch support of property and voting rights and their opposition to bureaucracy and land-office corruption protected the very values they had come to America to achieve.

Fogleman contends that German success in America depended to a great extent on two things: first, how much money an immigrant had in his pocket when he left the ship; and second, how well he utilized the extended German "family," which included friends and neighbors. Fully half of all immigrants indentured themselves to finance the trip—creating an incredible burden to bear. Once in America, those immigrants who did not network usually did not achieve their goals of land and prosperity.

Hopeful Journeys makes clear another case: the movement of German-speaking peoples to North America was much more than another

chapter in the British colonization of America or the consequence of the Penns' sale of land to raise cash. Germans came in a migration pattern dependent upon cultural identity and common language; that pattern reflects their need for privately owned, tillable soil; their extended communications between settlements in America and Europe; and the broad opportunities they saw for a prosperous family future.

Hopeful Journeys is illustrated and well indexed, offering an extensive bibliography and chapter endnotes that support the main text. It is a valuable study for anyone interested in German heritage and the extent to which it has shaped America's social environment.

Russell D. Earnest and Corinne P. Earnest
East Berlin, Pennsylvania

Native American Genealogical Sourcebook. Edited by Paula K. Byers. Published by Gale Research; 835 Penobscot Building; Detroit, MI 48226-4094; 1995. 219 pp. Illustrations, indexes. Hardback. \$69.00.

The market offers an increasing array of handbooks, guides, and manuals designed to carve the complex world of genealogical research into easily digestible pieces. Utility varies widely. Unfortunately, the present series has goals of the type that rarely can be met. Broad topics and limited space force the sacrifice of many crucial details. Recommended sources are commonly limited to standard ones already familiar or easily accessible to the public. And historical and genealogical detail are often incorrect or treated so superficially as to be misleading.

Native American Genealogical Sourcebook is a case at point. It is a book useful in many regards; yet many users are expressing sore disappointment, and for good cause.

Byers's introduction promises "a convenient guide which includes all the information required to begin genealogical research. . . . The essays reveal the steps that must be taken to ensure a successful search." These strong assurances are not delivered. Recommended

steps are superficial. Badly needed methodological guidance and data interpretation are sacrificed for elementary matter that does little to equip the reader for hands-on research.

Historical discussions are disjointed, sometimes overlapping, and occasionally misleading. The slant is biased in both sentiment and context, at the expense of needed historical facts. Obvious inaccuracies and inexactness are not minor concerns; they distort the reality of the Indian-white-black interaction that has had tremendous impact on genealogical, historical, and cultural research in America.

The *Sourcebook's* coverage of source materials is useful, so far as it goes. However, from church records to land records and beyond, there is an *unfortunate emphasis* upon records of peoples west of the Mississippi—leading readers to conclude there must be few or no counterparts in the east. A chapter on the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole) dates almost exclusively to the American period. There is no discussion of available resources for these native nations under British, French, and Spanish occupation—the period in which researchers are most in need of help. Several errors concerning basic sources (such as the first federal population schedule to provide for Indians) cast doubt on the accuracy of other details.

The concluding chapters on libraries and archives display the same patterns of omission and curious choices. Most new researchers will appreciate the general listing of libraries with genealogical collections; but—in a guide devoted to Native American research—it is puzzling to see the inclusion of institutions with no such collections while others with relevant holdings are entirely omitted.

This latest number in Gale's comparatively expensive series of ethnic guides does deserve a place on library bookshelves, as a tool for beginners. But many researchers who purchase a copy will be disappointed that the steep price they paid did not deliver a higher level of help.

Rachal Mills Lennon, CGRS, Tuscaloosa, Alabama

FAMILY HISTORIES

John Freeman of Norfolk County, Virginia: His Descendants in North Carolina and Virginia; and Other Colonial North Carolina Freeman Families. By Merrill Hill Mosher, CG. Published by Heritage Books; 1540-E Pointer Ridge Place; Bowie, MD 20716; 1994. xii, 236 pp. Charts, illustrations, index, maps. Softback. \$20.00 (shipping \$4.00).

Mosher's work is a worthy winner of the North Carolina Genealogical Society's Award for Excellence in Publishing (October 1995). It is based not only on extensive and well-planned research but also on an incisive analysis of the results. The author has successfully distinguished among many Freemans of the same name and straightened out kinks appearing in previously published lineages (as, for example, this family's frequently heard claim to descent from the *Mayflower's* Elder William Brewster).

Mosher includes extensive quotations from records used as proofs. She supplies maps, illustrations, and two large, foldout descendency charts. All of these help readers follow John Freeman (1650–1711) and his three sons (William, John, and Thomas), who not only named their sons similarly but had the irritating habit of moving to places where they settled among cousins and nephews, rather than among their own brothers and sons.

The text that describes this complicated family would have been easier to follow if it had undergone an additional level of editing—a trait common to many family histories. Verb tenses switch from present to past unexpectedly, stray words appear and disappear from sentences, and cross-references sometimes misdirect or are absent altogether.

Accumulations of small errors such as these can make readers uneasy about the validity of complex explanations. Nevertheless, when this reader penetrated the text to the underlying conclusions, she found them well grounded and drawn from relevant, persuasive evidence.

*Helen F. M. Leary, CG, CGL, FASG, FNGS
Raleigh, North Carolina*

Descendants of John Moore (Revolutionary War Soldier) and Mary Keller Moore: An Economic Genealogy. By Mack Arthur Moore. Published by Wolfe Publishing; Post Office Box 972; Roswell, GA 30007; 1995. Distributed by the author; 670 Edgewater Trail; Atlanta GA 30328. xii, 995 pp. Index. Hardback. \$60.00.

In years to come, genealogists in search of a Moore ancestor might find helpful information in these pages. This John Moore was born in Beaufort (now Pitt) County, North Carolina, on 1 October 1757; and was one of the four John Moores in the 1830 census of Hall County, Georgia.

The author, president of the Moore Reunion Association since 1965, reports that he is not a genealogist. He consolidates research donated by association members, whose contributions he scrupulously acknowledges. However, he made many decisions that severely limit the usefulness of his compilation.

Among the "space saving" measures taken to allow ample room for economic discourses are several that will trouble genealogists. A nonstandard numbering system "invented" by the author complicates use of the book. The author lumps together, as "minor" characters, five of the progenitors' nine children, "because [his contributors offered] less than ten pages on all of them combined." Readers are frequently told "we know that . . ." without any hint of *how* "we" are supposed to know it. County identification is omitted for sites—even for locales not found on today's maps—making far more difficult the task of locating land, probate, court, tax, and other county-level records that are not covered therein.

No bibliography appears. The index to 10,913 descendants cites only one page number each, regardless of the number of pages on which a person appears. Spouses are omitted from the index, because naming them "would have added 30 to 40 pages." Several interesting tales relate to such well-known political figures as Lester Maddox, Eugene Talmadge,

Newt Gingrich, and Bert Lance; but the reader has difficulty returning to them, because their names are not indexed either.

The disproportionate quantity of discourses on economics that are scattered throughout, together with the special chapter of seventy-four pages entitled "Easier Work, Bigger Rewards: The Quest for a Better Life," leads one to suggest that the title might be changed to something akin to *The Journals of Dr. Mack Arthur Moore; with Attention to Some of the Descendants of Revolutionary War Soldier John Moore and Wife Mary Keller Moore.*

Mary Smith Fay, CG, Houston, Texas

Descendants of Nicholas Humes of Massachusetts: The First Five Generations (volume 1). By Charles Warren Humes and Marilyn Harper Humes. Published by Clipper Press; 15038 Palomino Boulevard; Fountain Hills, AZ 85268; 1996. xii, 152 pp. Appendixes, index. Hardback. \$35.00; deluxe edition: \$40.00.

Five-generation portraits of individual families are not common; but five-generation genealogies of all descending lines of a particular person are popular and appealing. From the title of the present work, a reader might expect each of Nicholas Humes's lines to be followed for the stated generations. In reality, they aren't. Yet the Humes's not-quite-five generations offer a good learning tool when they discuss the research problems that stymied the truncated lines.

The work offers extensive documentation, with slightly over one thousand source notes. Source notes, however, are not equivalent to footnotes or endnotes. Each source on their composite list was given a number. Within the text, the corresponding superscript reference numbers appear in random sequence. While readers can discern which fact belongs with which source, it is difficult to check those sources quickly—and to discover which sources support many of the facts.

The awkward formatting apparently stems from unedited reliance upon genealogical software (*Brother's Keeper*) to compile the text. One other feature of the software choice, however, is helpful. In addition to the NGSQ (aka Modified Register) numbering system that is used, each person has another number that is carried over every time that name appears in the lineage list—making it easy to locate previous generations in that specific line. Such issues, however, reflect only software choices and are not wholly indicative of the actual research invested in the study.

The project relies heavily on printed versions and statewide indexes of early New England vital records. While such material in New England is fairly reliable, there is no substitute for consulting the original. Doing so can unearth errors in transcription and offer insight into family structures.

Analysis is scarce. Perhaps this was an unusually easy family, but the only discussion of holes in the paper trail appears briefly in the preface. Few accounts go beyond vital events, census returns, and printed sources. Analysis of original materials such as land or probate records is minimal; and the most-extensive discussion of a problem-solving nature occurs in a half-page speculation about the origins of Nicholas himself. Appendixes offer a photocopy and transcription of his will, inventory, and land division; but the text offers no discussion of these sources to provide readers with a connecting analysis between the documents and the genealogy.

One “gap” mentioned in the preface (centering upon Samuel Humes Jr., whose son Samuel died 6 July 1842 at Berlin, Vermont) is attributed to a break in the paper trail. However, the culprit appears to be a lack of pursuit. Documentation stops with cemetery entries from a statewide index—showing no evidence that the authors sought a transcription from the cemetery itself, or investigated the individuals buried with the problem couple, or examined other source material from that town’s fairly extensive records, which might suggest descendants (or lack of them) to con-

clude the line. A daughter of Samuel Jr., who married and lived not far from Berlin, is also not followed; nor is a sister who married and lived in Connecticut. A map reproduced on the front cover suggests that research along the migration trail stopped at the Vermont–New Hampshire border—or else went no further than census records.

There is a diligent effort to include the maiden names of Humes wives; but the same diligence is not apparent with the daughters. The authors do encourage readers to submit additions and corrections, with documentation, for a revised edition or a second volume.

Thorough five-generation projects generally try to place their families into social, historical, and political contexts. There is none of that here, except for occasional military and occupational information. What the researcher will find in this slender volume is a useful start for someone with the Humes surname in their ancestry, albeit one that should be used advisedly.

Alice Eichholz, Ph.D., CG, Montpelier, Vermont

Lick Creek Beckoned: History and Records of the Biggers-Fagan Families, Embracing Branches of Allied Families: Dooley, Eads, Grigsby, Harrison, Richardson, and Woodward. By Barbara Biggers Vaughn. Published by the author; 213 East Locust Street; Paris, MO 65275; 1995. 310 pp. Illustrations, index, maps, photographs. Hardback. \$35.00.

William Bigger, the immigrant, married Martha Woodward in New Kent County, Virginia, sometime prior to the 1680 baptism of their son William. James Fagan, born in Dublin, Ireland, 1744, married Elizabeth, the daughter of Moses Grigsby of Stafford County, Virginia. These two families are the focus of the compilation. All of the allied lines, with the possible exception of the Eades, have Virginia connections as well.

The text is well written and the book is attractively laid out. Appeal is enhanced by the interspersed transcribed court documents, letters, and obituaries and the repro-

duction of maps, newspaper clippings, and photographs. The numbering system follows an outline format, and generations are identified either as William I, William II, William III, etc., or by listing each individual's parents. A chart placed at the beginning of each family discussion helps to determine relationships.

Documentation is limited to parenthetical insertions of sources for some but not all events. While data on later generations seem to be based, for the most part, upon primary sources, accounts of the early generations rely heavily upon secondary sources whose material is undocumented. Incomplete references place unnecessary roadblocks in the path of researchers who wish to refer to the original sources.

Although the index appears to include every name, it has occasional omissions and confusing duplications. Mary "Molly" (Sammons) Dooley, for example, is indexed each time she appears, but under various headings—Sammons: Mary 224; Mary Molly 199; and Dooley: Mary Molly 205; Molly 224, 228; Molly Sammons 205.

Occasional misconceptions weaken the presentation. The text (pp. 18–19) refers to "William [Bigger]'s will dated 18 August 1752 . . . recorded in Goochland County." The document (which is recorded there in Deed Book 6:233–34) is a deed of gift, not a will. It was acknowledged by William and recorded on the same day. Similarly, the fact that William placed his daughter Elizabeth Whitehead's portion under the care of her brother does not necessarily mean that "Elizabeth was disabled physically or mentally" (p. 19). More likely, she was a widow or else her father did not want her current or future husband to control her estate. A similar misinterpretation appears in the Dooley section: "John Dooley was a witness in the pretrial of John Lowry who was charged with the murder of his father, Thomas Dooley. The court . . . paid John Dooley 100 pounds sterling for his testimony" (p. 199). John, like any other witness of that place and time, would have been paid 100 pounds of *tobacco* for that service.

Occasional errors exist as well. Readers are told that the suspect John Lowry was sent to Williamsburg for trial and that "Bedford County records pertaining to the murder were destroyed during the Civil War" (p. 193). Bedford's records were not destroyed during that conflict; the records of the General Court at Williamsburg were. Similarly it is stated, "William Bibb [son of John and Susannah (Bigger) Bibb], married Mrs. Hannah (Clark) Booker 12 May 1762 in Prince Edward County" (p. 25). The source citation is "*William and Mary Quarterly (First series)* 15 (1907): 260." That source offers marriages from Amelia County's records, not Prince Edward's.

Overall, the lineages in this study appear to be founded in fact, and the discussion shows evidence of extensive research. Families are placed on the land, and maps show where individuals resided in a particular county. Loving care has gone into producing a volume that preserves numerous mementos and family stories. Although the later generations are well researched, the inclusion of misconceptions, errors of fact, and unsupported statements for early generations may unfortunately cause the entire compilation to be questioned.

Barbara Vines Little, Orange, Virginia

GENERAL REFERENCES

Encyclopedia of American Family Names. Compiled by H. Amanda Robb and Andrew Chesler. Published by HarperCollins; New York; 1995. Available at bookstores. 707 pp. Hardback. \$45.00.

Robb's grandfather once wrote a newspaper column on the origin and meaning of British surnames. Inspired, Robb and her painter husband, Chesler, wanted to republish that work but realized that it needed broadening to be marketable.

The result is an alphabetical list of the five thousand most-common surnames appearing in Social Security Administration records. The compilers also provide the frequency with which the name appears (3,376,494 Smiths lead the list) and the supposed national origin

of the name (in this case, England). They report briefly the lives of a few famous Smiths and list two Smith genealogies in the Library of Congress. For other surnames, if that facility has no genealogy listed, they report “none known.”

The work is useless to genealogists. Chances are that any famous historical figure sharing one’s common surname was not an ancestor; and unsophisticated genealogists could waste years in a futile search for a relationship. The two or three genealogies that Robb and Chesler cite probably will not be relevant to most who share a common surname.

The work is also useless to those interested in the origin and meaning of surnames. The compilers are not authorities. When in doubt, they rely on a few standard surname dictionaries; otherwise, they may have guessed. *Smith* is not merely English, it is the most-common name in Scotland. It is also a common Anglicization of the German *Schmidt*. Similarly, pp. 301–2 report that *Henderson* is “derived from the Scandinavian name *Hendry*,” while p. 302 asserts that *Hendry* is French. Actually, it is typically Scottish. Curiously, while the surname *Malcolm* is accurately given as Scottish, the only famous *Malcolm* who is featured is Malcolm X.

The work is even useless to those who would like to say, “Gosh, my name is the 128th most common in the United States.” The Social Security Administration data give only the first six letters of a name. Thus, Spence can stand for itself and also for Spencer. The compilers report a frequency of 128 for Spence/Spencer. The two names appear about equally in *PhoneDisc™*, a CD-ROM compilation of millions of (but not all) phone listings nationwide. Robb and Chesler cannot disentangle them, so they report the frequency of the two names combined. For some six-letter entries, the editors list three or four possible surnames.

The premise is weak, the method is faulty, the content is often questionable. Basically, this book exploits the uninformed.

Helen Hinchliff, Ph.D.

Salt Spring Island, British Columbia

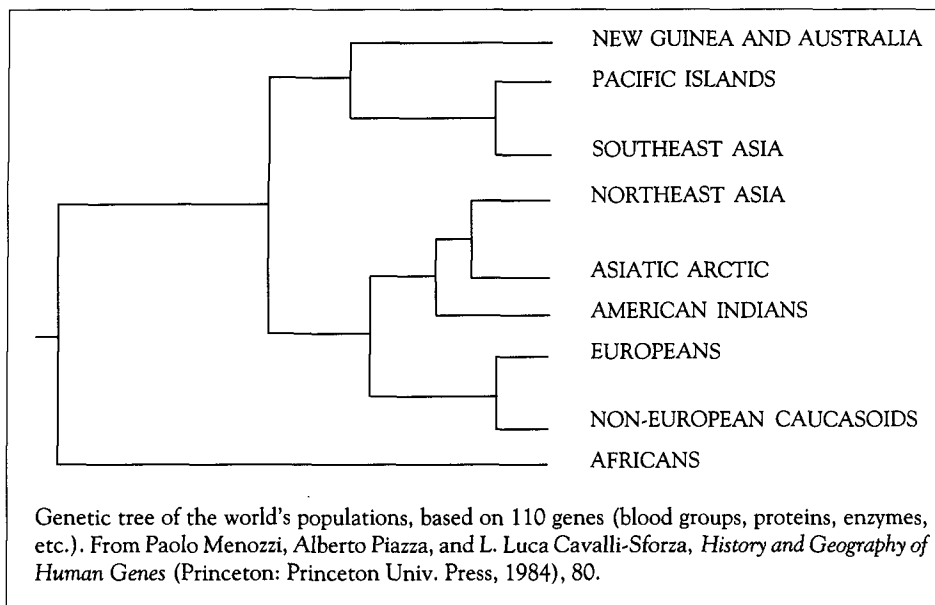
HEALTH AND MEDICINE

The Great Human Diasporas. By Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza and Francesco Cavalli-Sforza, translated from the Italian by Sarah Thorne. Published by Helix Books/Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.; Jacob Way; Reading, MA 01867; 1995. xiii, 300 pp. Bibliography, illustrations, index, maps. Hardback, \$27.50; paperback, \$14.00.

Genealogy may be the “handmaiden of history,” but it is also a legitimate offspring of biology. This engaging and nontechnical work, by an eminent human geneticist and his documentary-filmmaker son, explains the evolution of modern human beings and their spread across the planet. Just as our chromosomes determine our biological destiny, they also record—like the rings of an ancient tree—our biological history; and genetic researchers are increasingly adept at decoding and transcribing this information. Broad swaths of ignorance, like those bare patches termed *Terra Incognita* on old maps, are being rapidly filled.

Until recently, prehistory was the purview of archaeologists and anthropologists. Today, genetic testing can illuminate our common origins as well as show—using “tree” diagrams familiar to all genealogists—how, where, and when our modern human races diverged from the common ancestry. We also see how remarkably our linguistic and cultural heritage parallels our biological one.

DNA testing is now a familiar concept—thanks to O. J., Marcia, F. Lee, and Judge Ito. Although each person’s genetic identity is unique, the closer two individuals are related, the more alike are their genes. Finns’ genes most resemble those of other Finns; and the more distant another group is—geographically, temporally, or historically—the more dissimilar their genes. As genetic testing becomes more reliable and practical, genetic mapping lets us assign pedigrees to whole groups and races. The diagram facing this page (from an earlier work by Cavalli-Sforza) is based on an analysis of one hundred ten genes in forty-two native populations.



Readers with little scientific background will find the present work to be a simple and comprehensible primer in the mechanics of heredity and the nature of inherited disease. Those with little knowledge of anthropology and prehistory will get a brief look at their more-distant ancestors. As the senior author points out, most racial differences, such as skin color and body shape, represent accommodations to climate; and our genetic makeup differs very little beneath those superficial characteristics: "what unifies us outweighs what makes us different" (p. xi).

In a few places, the authors stumble. The Venerable Bede is identified (p. 80) as "the famous sixth-century Irish monk." He *was* a monk; but he was very much English and he lived at the cusp of the seventh and eighth centuries. The translation from the Italian appears seamless, except when a neologism such as "epiderm" (p. 93) turns up where "skin" or "dermis" would be more accurate.

Our nongenealogist friends frequently ask, "How far back does your family go? If one reads *The Great Human Diasporas*, one can answer honestly: "All the way!"

William B. Saxbe Jr., M.D., CG, Oberlin, Ohio

REGIONAL WORKS

Chicago and Cook County: A Guide to Research. By Loretto Dennis Szucs. Published by Ancestry; Post Office Box 476; Salt Lake City, UT 84110-0476; 1996. x, 517 pp. Illustrations, index, maps. Softback. \$19.95 (shipping: \$3.50).

Szucs's important and helpful guide, first published in 1986, has been extensively revised. The thirty-five chapters are arranged alphabetically by topics—ranging from adoption records through cemeteries, censuses, churches, court files, ethnic sources, land and property matters, newspapers, and occupation records, to voter-registration lists.

Chicago is composed of a number of historic neighborhoods, some in existence before their area was annexed to the city—e.g., Rogers Park, Edgewater, Hyde Park, and Chicago Lawn. One chapter identifies and describes these communities. Another chronicles the county's towns and townships. Architectural and historic landmarks, historical societies, and libraries and archives are well covered.

An important chapter treats the county court system, which underwent consolidation

in 1964. Before then, the superior and circuit courts had equal jurisdictions. A divorce, for example, could have taken place before either bar—making it necessary for researchers to check the indexes and docket books of both.

A chapter on land records points out that no grantor-grantee indexes exist for the county. Instead, there is a complicated system requiring the legal description of a particular address. Szucs describes the process and offers suggestions for identifying that address. Another chapter describes the extant directories of Chicago and surrounding areas, citing the location of each.

The guide's many additions and revisions cover numerous important topics: the consolidation of the Chicago Public Library, the opening of the Illinois Regional Archives Depository (IRAD) at Northeastern Illinois University, the closing of the Municipal Reference Library at City Hall, the availability of World War Two draft-registration cards, policy changes regarding access to vital records, regulations for using voter-registration and tax rolls, and the accessibility of passenger lists and maritime records.

Discussing vital records, Szucs relates a January 1993 state law allowing county clerks to issue copies stamped "for genealogical purposes only" for birth records seventy-five or more years old and death records twenty or more years old. She reports that marriage records are open to the public without restriction and points out that marriage-application forms contain little supplemental information until the 1920s, when exact birth dates were added to the form (but not the license). Szucs further notes that specific addresses for both bride and groom have been required since 1962, and names and birthplaces of parents since 1968.

No mention appears of difficulty in obtaining a copy of an application. However, this reviewer recently requested a copy of a 1942 marriage application from the Bureau of Vital Statistics and was refused by both the teller and the supervisor. Only after writing the county clerk was the request granted, with an

explanation that copies of pre-1968 applications are issued on a case-by-case basis. The 1942 application included names of both parties, exact birth dates, exact addresses, and date of a divorce obtained in another state.

While *Chicago and Cook County* is a valuable reference, its effectiveness is hindered by a number of editorial errors and omissions. For example, on pp. 394 and 399, the last few lines of text are repeated at the top of the next page of text. On p. 22, "eighteenth century" should be "nineteenth," and on p. 422, "pre-nineteenth century" should be "pre-twentieth." On p. 260, the words "the Evangelical Association" are omitted before the parenthetical expression "today's United Methodists"; and it is not made clear where the Evangelical Association Archives are located. The chapter on military records, in describing World War Two draft-registration cards, cites birth years from 1877 to 1897—more appropriate to World War One—and gives no repository. The same paragraph is repeated verbatim in the chapter treating the National Archives—Great Lakes Region.

The guide could have benefited also from more attention to updating information carried over from the previous edition. An illustration of application forms for obtaining Cook County vital records depicts a form from the 1980s, with the name of a former county clerk and a no-longer-current price, although the correct fee is stated in the text. The chapter on maps provides an address for the Rand McNally map store—an address that has been out of date since 1991, when that facility was replaced by two stores: one at 150 South Wacker and the other at 444 North Michigan. Pre-1996 area codes are given, although a notice of changes is buried at the end of the introduction. It would be helpful if future editions provide a Chicago-area map depicting the new code areas.

Szucs presents a comprehensive guide. Despite the editorial problems, any Chicago or Cook County researcher will find this a useful and timesaving aid.

H. Clark Dean, CG, Glencoe, Illinois

Civil War Veterans of Old Imperial Calcasieu Parish, Louisiana. Compiled by Betty Tyler Rosteet and Sandra Fisher Miguez. Published by Southwest Louisiana Genealogical Society; Post Office Box 5652; Lake Charles, LA 70606-5652; 1994. xxvi, 465 pp. Index, maps. Hardback. \$40.00.

Based primarily on grave markers and obituaries, these abstracts offer a number of useful features. The preface—which should be read before using the work—clearly states the criteria for selecting veterans. Both Union and Confederate soldiers are included, along with some doubtful entries. Recognizing that grave markers get misplaced and obituaries are not always completely accurate, Rosteet and Miguez felt it better to include questionable cases and have them eliminated by future research than to ignore them.

The introduction briefly reviews the war, from origins to postwar conditions to the last-surviving veterans. A strong feature is an account of the involvement of parish soldiers. A list of regiments raised from the area may be helpful in locating the residence of soldiers who did not return to the parish (even though soldiers “jumped boundaries” for the bonuses offered, they usually did not go too far from home). The mention of Union and Confederate naming patterns for battles can help determine the side a soldier was on.

Some abstracts show more than just birth, death, and marriage data. Unfortunately, one of the most-complete listings of soldiers and their records was not consulted. The National Archives’s compiled military-service records might have supplied the needed data for those men classed as “Service Unknown.”

Source abbreviations generally are clear and easy to understand, although the source citations are usually bare bones. For example, for David A. Lyons (p. 189), the citation is “family records.” It does not identify *which* family of the three mentioned in the entry—Lyons, Perkins, or Hayes—or the type of family record. Other citations refer to the authors’ names, locatable in the bibliography. Newspaper abstracts are usually cited to the day, month, and year.

The alphabetical arrangement of names with cross-references to alternate spellings eases the search for a specific surname—and does not deserve the usual cautions against rearrangement of raw material into alphabetical sequence. In this case, the originals came from many disparate sources and all entries had to be plucked out of their setting because the topic is intrinsically selective. However, the surname-only index makes the search for a specific given name frustrating.

The layout of the entries is concise and understandable, and the format is consistent throughout.

Marie Varrelman Melchiori., CGRS, CGL
Vienna, Virginia

RELIGION

Baptists on the American Frontier: A History of Ten Baptist Churches by John Taylor. Edited by Chester Raymond Young. Published by Mercer University Press; 6316 Peake Road; Macon, GA 31210-3960; 1995. xiii, 118 pp. Appendix, illustrations, index. Hardback. \$39.95.

John Taylor was a seventy-year-old Baptist minister in 1823, when he told his story and that of ten frontier congregations—two in Virginia and eight in Kentucky. Four years later, he published a second edition that relates the history (as well as the religious, intellectual, and social culture) of this part of the United States.

Editor Young, a historian and college professor, found Taylor’s book noted in several bibliographies while teaching the westward movement in the United States. He read Taylor’s two editions and recognized their potential for illuminating people, places, and events in pioneer America.

This edition of Taylor’s work is not just a reprinting or a slight alteration to update grammar or spelling. A lengthy introduction relates Taylor’s life, ancestry, and career—setting it amid general community information. The main body of the work combines his two editions, noting similarities and differ-

ences, then adds helpful notes and standardizes spelling and punctuation. The whole is amplified with Taylor's other writings, as well as views and data from his contemporaries, to create a vivid portrait of a pioneer preacher in rural Kentucky and Virginia.

Young's research is impressive and thorough. His use of primary resources to "flesh out" Taylor's narrative is superb. He combed courthouses, tramped through cemeteries, and visited the places about which Taylor wrote. His annotations—informational notes and content footnotes—are explanatory and informative, and they supply depth to the original work (although sometimes they are almost overwhelming). They not only provide fuller identification for the individuals about whom Taylor wrote, but also help understand nineteenth-century Kentucky idioms and ecclesiastical jargon; and they lead the reader to fuller notations of the scriptures and Taylor's other references.

To better understand and communicate Taylor's work, its context, his descriptions, and the people discussed, Young also studied the religious culture in which the book was written. He read many of the original records of the ten churches and their associations; he studied congregational accounts and perused the standard local and national histories of the denomination in the relevant period—focusing on the lifestyle, community, and environment in which contemporary pastors served. The author well demonstrates how to use the information found in these records, identify people and relationships, date events, and link church data to other sources.

Genealogical research is more than a series of names and dates, and historical study is more than a time line of events. Young well makes those points. He seems to have used all available resources to give twentieth-century readers more insight into John Taylor and to enrich Taylor's picture of nineteenth-century life. There is much to commend this book to all researchers.

Elizabeth Crabtree Wells
Birmingham, Alabama

PUBLICATION BRIEFS

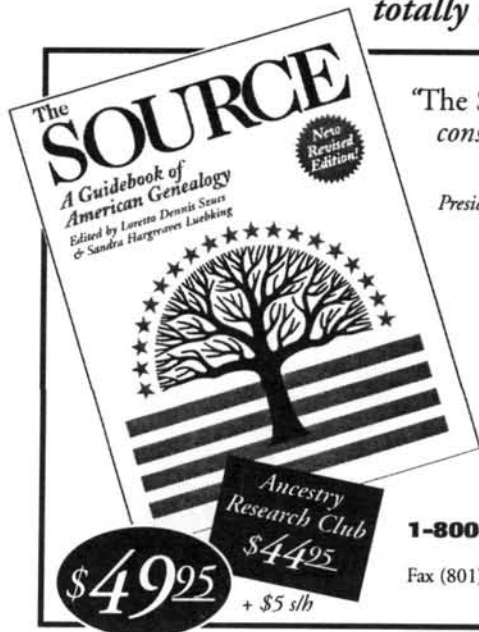
My Ancestors Were Londoners: How Can I Find Out More About Them? By Cliff Webb. Published by Society of Genealogists; 14 Charterhouse Buildings; Goswell Road; London EC1M 7BA; 1996. 61 pp. Appendixes, maps. Softback. £3.55.

This slim volume addresses genealogical sources in the greater London area and research techniques specific to that region, with emphasis on the period 1600–1900. Numerous types of records are described: apprenticeship, livery-company, and occupational records; census returns; civil and criminal records; depositions; directories, tax and voter rolls, and other types of name lists; manorial and land records; parish and non-parochial records; poor-law records; registrar-general's records at Saint Catherine's House; and wills and estate-administrations files. Useful features include a list of family-history societies; addresses of thirty-three records repositories, with hours of operation for many of them; and a list of area parishes, with corresponding registration district and metropolitan borough.

Maryland Freedom Papers: Volume I, Anne Arundel County. By Jerry M. Hynson. Published by Family Line Publications; Rear, 63 East Main Street; Westminster, MD 21157; 1996. 124 pp. Index. \$12.50.

The first of a planned series, this volume is a compilation of abstracted certificates of freedom for African Americans who were either manumitted or born free prior to the close of the Civil War. Each entry gives the names of the slave and former owner, date of certificate, age and physical description of the free person, and conditions of freedom. A few indicate parentage. The earliest certificates date from 1810, with a few deeds of manumission executed before them. The abstracts are prefaced by a summary of Maryland laws related to manumission.

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Christina K. Schaefer

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It is not generally recognized, but Washington, D.C. is home to the largest body of accessible research materials in the world, larger even than the vast body of materials at the Family History Library in Salt Lake City. It is the central repository of the nation's primary source records and the very center of genealogical activity. Hence the title of this new edition.

The Center is actually an all new work which is based on the original concept of *Lest We Forget*. Its aim is simple: to identify those resources in the Washington, D.C. area that will aid family historians in tracing their ancestors. Completely revised and updated, it is indispensable in understanding precisely what genealogical resources are available in the nation's capital and where they can be found.

Special attention is given to the most important research facilities in the D. C. area, including the National Archives (both Archives I and Archives II), the Library of Congress, the Bureau of Land Management, the DAR Library, and the National Genealogical Society. Also covered are facilities in the D.C. area for military research, federal government agencies, nearby facilities in Maryland and Virginia, academic institutions with genealogical resources, ethnic and religious research facilities, and societies and professional organizations with genealogical resources.

Under each facility listed there is a survey of key record holdings, with a description of the records, a summary of their contents, an explanation of their organization, and directions for their use. There is also a list of published indexes and finding aids, key addresses for mail requests, publications, phone numbers and hours of business, and **an itemization of those materials available through the Family History Library system.**

Since so many of the genealogical records housed in the D.C. area are available through the Family History Library and its 2,000 branches throughout the United States, a good many Washington-sourced documents can be examined without travelling to Washington, and one of the strengths of this new edition is that it points out those record groups that have been microfilmed and are now available through the Family History Library system. So while Washington is clearly the center for research, it need not be your destination.

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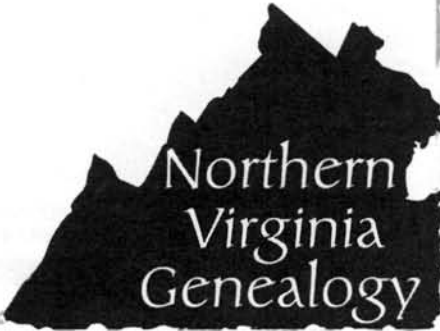
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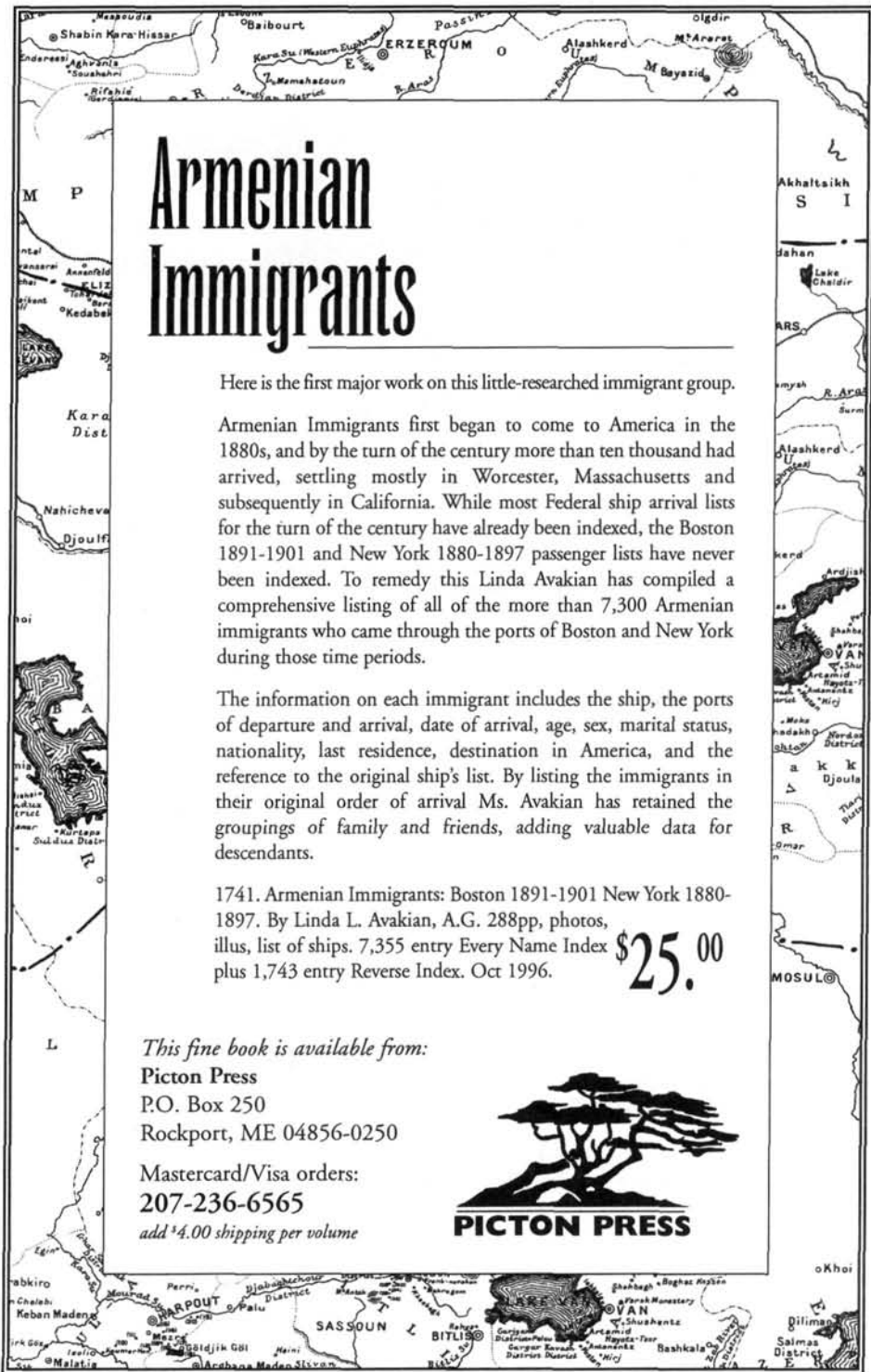
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