# NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY



March 1988

VOLUME 76 Number 1

### NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

# 4527 SEVENTEENTH STREET NORTH ARLINGTON. VA 22207-2363

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Purpose. The National Genealogical Society, established in 1903 and incorporated as a nonprofit organization under the laws of the District of Columbia in 1904, was created to collect and preserve genealogical, historical, and heraldic data; to inculcate and promote interest in research; to foster careful documentation and promote scholarly writing; and to issue publications relating to the field of genealogy.

Journal. The society in 1912 founded its journal, the National Genealogical Society Quarterly, which is issued in March, June, September, and December. The Quarterly is included on the list of American learned journals compiled by the American Council of Learned Societies and is indexed in the Genealogical Periodical Annual Index. It publishes compiled genealogy; essays on new methodology and little-known resources; case studies; and previously unpublished source materials from American public, private, and family archives—as well as records from foreign repositories which treat early-American settlers. An effort is made to publish materials from all parts of the United States, with emphasis upon the earlier years of settlement in each area. Manuscripts must be sent to the editors. See page two for guidelines for submission.

Special Publications. From time to time the society publishes works in our fields of interest. See inside back cover for current list.

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Periodical Orders. Libraries and societies may receive the Quarterly and the Newsletter at an annual subscription rate of \$25. Back numbers of the Quarterly may be purchased at the following prices: \$4 each for volumes 1 through 60, \$5 each for volumes 61 through 63, \$6 each for volumes 64 and later. A complete set of microfiche of volumes 1-72 is available for \$300 (\$240 to NGS members).

Meetings. The society meets on the first Saturday of each month from October through May. Topics of genealogical interest are presented by guest speakers or are discussed at workshop meetings. Consult the current program for meeting times and topics.

Library. The society maintains an expanding library of books, magazines, pamphlets, and manuscripts. The library is open to members and the public at the times and days designated by the librarian and printed in the current program. The accessions depend mainly on gifts of members and friends. Members may borrow books by mail for a small fee.

Genealogical Inquiries. The society is not staffed to answer genealogical inquiries. A research service is available to members. Upon receipt of a stamped, self-addressed envelope, the registrar will—for members only—consult the members' ancestor charts for the names of other members concerned with a specific family.

Change of Address. Notify the society of old address, new address, and membership number at least six weeks prior to the date of the next issue of the Quarterly.

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### NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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# EDITORS' CORNER

# Go West, Young Man, Go West!

This mid-nineteenth-century advice of Horace Greeley, founder of the New York *Tribune*, went to a young Easterner in search of opportunity. It is just as applicable today to genealogists who feel they have run out of opportunity or resources for solving their research problems on "Eastern" families.

Ruth Land Hatten illustrates the point with her essay on Mississippi research in this present issue. Her statistics on the origins of the Mississippi settlers will be surprising to many; but, more important, her examples of how families in that state have preserved or created records on siblings and forebears they left behind in New York, the Carolinas, and elsewhere may offer hope to more-Eastern genealogists who are stymied in their efforts to trace family lines that still remain in the Atlantic states.

Tracking westward-moving, collateral branches of one's family can yield surprising rewards. They not only took family records with them, they also created records in the new location which discussed the birth families they had left behind. Moreover, even though the ones who remained may have included the direct line of the present researcher, the ones who moved may have included the aged parents—who are then presumed, erroneously, to have died in the East without record. Especially were parents prone to move with daughters, a situation doubly important to note since female lines are often not pursued by researchers who prefer to work the family surname only.

Few men and women who moved away from their families severed all ties. Even among the enslaved whose masters carried them west, communication often continued to occur—as long as the bondsman remained within the same extended family of slave owners and as long as the masters were literate. Most westward migrants maintained at least an occasional correspondence and treasured the letters they received from "home" with news about family marriages, births, deaths, scandals, hard times, and happy times that often did not make its way into the official records of the old community. And many of their descendants treasure these family heirlooms today.

To any genealogist in search of fresh opportunities, renewed hope, or new dimensions—to any Eastern genealogist who asks, Where did all my family records go?—we can't resist paraphrasing Greeley: Look west, dear genealogist, look west!

—The Millses

NGSO: March 1988

# This Seventy Sixth-Anniversary Issue of the National Genealogical Society Quarterly

# is dedicated to

# MILTON RUBINCAM, C.G., F.A.S.G., F.N.G.S.

Who, with this issue, retires from forty-six years of active service to the National Genealogical Society Quarterly

Associate Editor, 1941–1957 Editor, 1957–1962 Book–Review Editor, 1962–1987

and

President, National Genealogical Society, 1945–1948, 1953–1954

"Both in his own work and in his book reviews, Mr. Rubincam has placed himself in the front rank of the modern school of genealogists and rendered incalculable service to their cause, helping by scholarly approach to make genealogy a reputable study in itself and an important adjunct to historical studies."

-Donald Lines Jacobus, 1960

# NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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Number 1

# James Johnson *alias* Ingram (ca. 1749–1795): A Southern Odyssey

By Dorothy Jeter Barnum and George Ely Russell\*

At London's Old Bailey Court, on 15-17 January 1767, one James Johnson alias Ingram, late of Saint Giles in the Fields, Middlesex, a laborer, was indicted on four separate charges, as follows:

That, on 8 January last with force of arms did in the said parish steal a cloth coat value 8 shillings, a pair of silk breeches value 10 shillings, a linen shirt value 4 shillings, and a silk handkerchief value 2 shillings, the goods of James Kinghorn. Found guilty.

That, on 9 January last stole a cloth coat value 10 shillings, a cloth waistcoat value 4 shillings, 2 pairs of worsted stocking value 1 shilling, and a linen neckcloth value 6 pence, the goods of Samuel Coates. Found guilty.

That, on 9 January last stole a cloth coat value 20 shillings, a cloth waistcoat value 10 shillings, and a gold hatband value 10 shillings, the goods of William Hancock. Found guilty.

That, on 12 January last stole a linen shirt value 1 shilling and a linen waistcoat value 3 shillings and 6 pence, the goods of William Cassody. Found guilty.<sup>1</sup>

At the trial William Hancock, one of the prosecutors, deposed:

I lived in Purpool Lane, being out of place [i.e., unemployed] at the time I lost these things. I was out when they were taken. I saw them again at Sir John Fielding's [i.e., the magistrate], the prisoner was there and the cloaths.

### James Thoy testified:

I live in High Holborn. I keep a sale shop. The prisoner came there on 9 January at about 12 or 1 o'clock with another old cloaths man. The old cloaths man said he has got a coat and waistcoat to sell, but he thought he asked too much for them. I bid him 14 shillings and he and I agreed. I took the coat and waistcoat with me and the prosecutor swore to them.

Question to the prosecutor [Hancock]:

Where were your cloaths taken from?

Prosecutor:

They were in a box up two pairs of stairs in an alehouse.

**Question:** 

Did the prisoner use the alehouse?

Prosecutor:

I never saw him there. I had no key to it; the people used to lock the door.

Prisoner [Ingram]:

I have nothing to say for myself. I own I am guilty of the fact.

James Johnson alias Ingram was found guilty and sentenced to the colonies for seven years.<sup>2</sup> As a convicted felon, he was transported to Maryland on the ship Tryal, under Captain James Somervell, master, in January 1767.<sup>3</sup> Probably at the port of Annapolis, he was "sold to a Mr. Berry of Bladensburgh [Prince George's County], who employed him as a school master. When he completed the education of Mr. Berry's children, Mr. B. proposed to sell him for the remainder of his time. For fear of this, he ran away, taking one of his master's horses with him. He [later] returned the horse and 10 guineas for his time." In the (Annapolis) Maryland Gazette issues of 14 January and 11 February 1768, John Clagett [of near Georgetown in Rock Creek Parish, a cousin of Berry<sup>5</sup>] advertised that Johnson alias Ingram was a runaway servant, aged about eighteen years, and "employed as a school master."

By 1771, James Ingram, as he was henceforth known, had crossed the Chesapeake Bay to the Eastern Shore, where, at Accomack County Court on 27 June 1771, his suit against Charles Copes for assault and battery was held over. In or shortly before 1771, Ingram married Mary Kendall (ca. 1753–1790), orphan and heiress of John Kendall of Accomack County. Ingram thereby gained possession of the 372-acre Kendall plantation, Oak Hall, which was the remainder of the 1700-acre tract originally purchased in 1671 by Colonel William Kendall and located in the northern part of the county where the modern town of Oak Hall is situated.

James Ingram was a plaintiff or defendant in a number of cases, usually involving debts, in Accomack during the years 1772–74,9 not an unusual record for an active planter. At court on 29 October 1771, he petitioned for permission to relocate the road leading past Oak Hall; on 29 May 1774, he again brought up the matter. By deed dated 2 January 1773, he purchased an additional 124-acre part of Oak Hall from William and Mary Anne Monroe of Accomack County for £100, the parcel being Mary Anne's "third in said tract." By indenture dated 11 June 1774, James and Mary Ingram of Accomack

conveyed Oak Hall to George Corbin, to be "held in trust for the use of James Ingram." It was further stated that its 372 acres represented

all that tract of land which John Kendall, grandfather of the af<sup>sd</sup> Mary, conveyed unto his son William Kendall by a deed of gift... and afterwards by the death of the af<sup>sd</sup> William Kendall intestate & without issue the same vested in John Kendall, being the only [sic] brother of the whole blood to the af<sup>sd</sup> William and father of the af<sup>sd</sup> Mary, and is now by the death of the last mentioned John Kendall intestate vested in the af<sup>sd</sup> James Ingram and Mary his wife as the only issue of the last mentioned John Kendall.

Then, on 12 August 1774, Ingram and George Corbin, both of Accomack Parish, sold to William Downing, for £1200, the property called Oak Hall "near Pocomoke... which came to the possession of the said James by virtue of his intermarriage with Mary Kendall his now wife." <sup>12</sup>

The Ingrams moved to Southampton County, Virginia, before 11 January 1775, on which date James purchased from Edward Taylor, gentleman, of Accomack, for £160, four Negro slaves. By deed dated 9 March 1775, he purchased 100 acres there from Benjamin Clifton and wife. On 11 May 1775, he purchased from James Taylor, for £400, 353 acres on the north side of Meherrin River; James and wife Mary entered into a mortgage from Taylor, using the land and eight slaves as collateral for the amount of £524. A week later, he began purchasing land across the state line in Northampton County, North Carolina. On 18 May, Ingram paid £100 to James Wasden and David Hines for 150 acres near Fountains Creek Bridge in Northampton. On the same date he paid £100 to Jonathan Wasden and wife for other land near Fountains Creek, a tributary of Meherrin River.

The Ingrams were settled near Fountains Creek Bridge, by 20 January 1776. On that date James paid £60 to Jacob Warrick of Brunswick County, Virginia, for 100 acres bounded on the north by Fountains Creek and lying in both Brunswick and Northampton counties. <sup>17</sup> In November 1776, Ingram was Northampton's member of the North Carolina Provisional Congress. <sup>18</sup> On 14 November 1776, he and his wife sold 100 acres of land in Southampton to William Simmons. <sup>19</sup> On 26 November 1776, he was commissioned lieutenant colonel of the Eighth North Carolina Regiment. <sup>20</sup> In 1777 he bought land in Northampton from William Blunt. <sup>21</sup> According to Ebenezer Hazard's diary entry dated 4 July 1777:

A Col. Ingraham of the North Carolina Troops passed with his men through Bladensburgh; where it was discovered that his name was Ingraham Johnston, that he ran away with & married a rich heiress in England [sic], for which he was tried, convicted & transported; that he was sold to a Mr. Berry of Bladensburgh, who employed him as a scholmaster; that when he had compleated the education of Mr. Berry's children, Mr. B. proposed to sell him for the remainder of his time; that for fear of this he ran away . . . & went to North Carolina, where he married again (his first wife being dead), supported a good character, gained a great reputation & the friendship of the people, & was appointed to the command of a regiment. Upon this discovery some of his officers refused to serve under him, but

I understand it is left to Congress to determine whether he shall continue in office or not.<sup>22</sup>

On 8 July 1777 Ingram resigned his commission.<sup>23</sup> On 11 September 1777 he and his wife Mary sold land back in Southampton County to William Peterson.<sup>24</sup> On 27 March 1778 they sold their 780-acre residence plantation on Fountains Creek in Northampton to William Peterson for £1300.<sup>25</sup>

The family then moved to Augusta, Saint Paul's Parish, Richmond County, Georgia, where they settled before 20 December 1778, on which date James witnessed a deed for William Shepherd. Continuing to support the patriot cause, Lieutenant Colonel Ingram was second in command of a Richmond militia battalion. On 15 January 1779, he wrote a proclamation during a council of war which he held at Burke Jail in Georgia. On 21 December 1779, the Georgia Executive Council (a patriot council) was informed that James Ingram, Esq., of Richmond County had been publishing "rumours among the good people of this State," tending to magnify the strength and movements of the enemy. On 24 December he appeared before the council. The evidences against him not appearing, it was ordered that he give parole. According to his later petition, after showing many services to the cause of America, he was by a "banditi" forced into the British lines and was under the necessity of taking a British commission to keep his family from starving.

Georgia was conquered by the British in 1780. In or before May 1781, the loyalist officer, Captain James Ingram, formed a volunteer troop of horse militia at Augusta, served, and did constant duty until June 1782. The Royal Georgia Gazette of 1 March 1781 printed the order for an election to be held in Augusta to replace James Ingram, Esq., who had neglected to take his seat as a representative to the restored colonial general assembly. In 1781 he petitioned the royal governor, stating that he had made his submission to Lieutenant Colonel Campbell and received His Majesty's protection, since which time he had behaved in no ways inimical to the British government. He was very desirous of serving in a public capacity in order to show his sincere contrition, and he "humbly beg[ged]" that disqualifications placed upon him be taken off and that he be restored to the privileges of a free citizen. Pay for Captain Ingram and his Augusta Troop of Horse, members of the Georgia (Loyalist) Militia, is mentioned in Sir James Wright's accounts from 3 August 1781 through 5 July 1782.

On 4 May 1782, shortly before the British left Georgia, Ingram's name appeared on a Bill of Attainder, Banishment, and Confiscation passed at Augusta by Georgia's patriot House of Assembly.<sup>34</sup> Leaving his wife and four children in Georgia, he took refuge in Charleston where, on 19 February 1783, the Privy Council ordered him confined.<sup>35</sup> In March 1783, still in prison, he petitioned South Carolina's assembly, claiming he had been obliged to take a British commission and begging to become a citizen of the state. On 17 March the Privy Council agreed to liberate him upon his giving security, to be forthcoming when called upon, and upon his observation of good behavior.<sup>36</sup>

On 24 July 1783, Ingram petitioned Georgia to be taken off the Act of Confiscation and restored to citizenship. The Assembly did not grant his

request but allowed him six months to settle his affairs.<sup>37</sup> In November 1783, title to a large number of his slaves was transferred to his four minor children,<sup>38</sup> and his 536-acre plantation in Granville County, South Carolina, was placed in trust for his wife and son John Kendall Ingram.<sup>39</sup> He was living at Pocotoliga, Beaufort District, South Carolina, on 13 August 1785, when he wrote to a friend from "my Juvenal days," James Henry of Northumberland County, Virginia, concerning land in Halifax County, Virginia.<sup>40</sup>

Ingram and his family remained at Pocotoliga until he was presented by the Beaufort grand jury as being on the bill of attainder of a sister state, in consequence of which he was ordered out of the country. He was a resident of New Providence, Nassau, Bahama Islands, on 18 April 1786, when he filed his loyalist claim for reimbursement for his losses during the war, stating

that he is named in the Rebel Confiscation Bill in Georgia and that he hath no expectation of ever recovering any part of said property, having rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the Rebels by a commission he [held] as Captain C[ommandant] of the Augusta Volunteer, which Troop of Horse he raised, cloathed, mounted, and [armed?] at his own expenses, and by the active part he took in favour of British Government.<sup>41</sup>

Supporting affidavits from Colonel Thomas Brown, Sir James Wright, and others were included. Ingram's list of losses included a house and lot in Savannah (£300); a house and lot in Augusta (£250); another house and lot in Augusta (£150); a carriage, horses, and other personal property in Augusta (£286); twelve slaves (£560); sundry goods lost at Galphin's Fort (£400); dry goods lost in Colonel Brown's Fort in Augusta (£200); the 300-acre Oak Hall plantation with an elegant house, outbuildings, sawmill, and gristmill (£660); the 200-acre Stump's Place, with buildings and mill (£150); the 100-acre Bugg's Place, adjoining (£100); the 200-acre Wallace Place and the adjoining 200-acre Wells Place (£200); 500 acres near Sunbury, with buildings and improvements (£213); a house and lot in Brownsborough (£30); and personal property lost at Oak Hall (£286.10). The total loss was £3835.10.

Still of Nassau, on 26 June 1787, Ingram took a bond for twelve slaves from Daniel McGirt for a loan of £500. At New Providence, Bahama Islands, on 23 February 1788, Ingram gave a bond for five slaves for a loan of 526 pieces of eight and six *rials*. 43 Meanwhile, back in Georgia on 1 February 1788, the act of confiscation and banishment against James Ingram was repealed. 44

The Ingrams were back in Georgia by 15 May 1789 when Ingram gave a deed of trust to James Henry of Accomack County, Virginia, empowering Henry to sell land in Halifax County. Resuming his acquisition of land, on 26 October 1789, Ingram purchased from Leonard Marbury 200 acres on the Savannah River in Richmond County and 6382 1/2 acres in Franklin County, Georgia. On the following day he bought 1800 acres in Richmond.

On 9 January 1790, the Augusta Chronicle reported the death of Mrs. Mary Ingram on 1 January 1790, age thirty-seven years, at Prospect Hill, long a resident of Richmond County. 48 Georgia newspapers, Richmond County records, and other sources contain countless references to James Ingram in the

period 1790 through 1795. He advertised for runaway slaves, loss of important papers, thefts from his house, sales of land, and settlement of debts. He gave his power of attorney, sold firewood to the state, witnessed land sales, and was a defendant in court cases. <sup>49</sup> In 1791 he was referred to as an attorney-at-law. <sup>50</sup> In 1792, he was secretary pro tem of the Richmond Jockey Club, <sup>51</sup> and in 1793 Colonel Ingram's horse, Escape, won the Savannah Sweepstakes. <sup>52</sup>

By an agreement dated 29 August 1794, James Ingram and John Cox Wylds, both of Winton County, South Carolina, agreed to sell to John Howell of Savannah three-fourths of two tracts totaling 110,000 acres in Orangeburg District, recorded in the names of Ingram, Polock & Company. On 1 August 1795, the Augusta Chronicle reported the death, on "Wednesday the 8th ult. at his plantation in South Carolina," of Colonel James Ingram. Although the Barnwell District, South Carolina, Docket of Causes in the April Term of 1805 lists a case Executors of James Ingram v. Cleveary D. Wyld, no recorded will for Ingram has been found in either South Carolina or Georgia. So

# GENEALOGICAL SUMMARY

Children of Colonel James Ingram by his only known wife Mary Kendall, were born before November 1783 and were as follows:<sup>56</sup>

- + 1 i. John Kendall<sup>2</sup> Ingram, born in either Accomack or Southampton counties, Virginia, about 1774-75.
- + 2 ii. Anna Maria Ingram, eldest daughter, married in 1804 to Colonel John Davies.
  - iii. Rebecca Ingram, second daughter, is mentioned in a bill of sale dated 10 November 1783, at which time she received five Negro slaves who were to remain in the care of her parents, James and Mary Ingram, until she reached lawful age or married.<sup>57</sup> No further record; she probably died young.
- + 4 iv. Elizabeth Ingram, youngest daughter.
- 1. John Kendall<sup>2</sup> Ingram (James<sup>1</sup>) was born in either Accomack or Southampton counties, about 1774–75, and died, probably in Barnwell District, in the 1820s. About 1799–1800, he married Esther Owens, probably of Barnwell. She was born about 1783–84 and may have died in the 1840s.

Recorded in Chatham County, Georgia, is a bill of sale dated 10 November 1783, by which William Harding of Prince William Parish, Granville County, and Thomas Washington of Chatham conveyed to John K., son of James Ingram, Esq., seven slaves "to be kept under the care of James Ingram, Esq., and Mary his wife until the said John K. Ingram is of age 21 years." On 6 December 1790, John witnessed his father's sale of 200 acres on the Savannah River. Land and chattels owned by James and held in trust for John were mentioned in 1783, 1792, and 1794. In 1798, as a student of physic of Decker Ward of Savannah, John's name appeared on the Chatham tax list. By deed dated 11 March 1799, John K. of Savannah sold a 400-acre part of a tract in Barnwell District originally granted to John C. Wyld.

By the time of the 1800 census, John K. Ingram was married and settled in Barnwell District. He was of Barnwell on 15 August 1811 when (by his agent, Samuel Overstreet) he sold to John Henry 500 acres in Halifax County,

Virginia, originally surveyed for Luke Williams and purchased from Williams on 28 December 1771 by James Ingram.<sup>63</sup> The 1821 will of Stephen Owens of Barnwell made a bequest "to my sister Esther Ingram."<sup>64</sup> In an 1821 deed of gift, James Owens conveyed land in Barnwell to his nephew, William H. Ingram, son of Dr. John K. Ingram.<sup>65</sup> John K. was head of a family in Barnwell on the 1820 census. In 1830, however, his widow Esther appears as head of the household. No Barnwell District probate records are found for John K. Esther is probably the older woman listed in the household of her son John M. Ingram on the Barnwell 1840 census, but she does not appear in the households of any of her children in 1850.

John Kendall Ingram and his wife Esther Owens had the following children, all of whom were born in Barnwell District:

- William H.<sup>3</sup> Ingram, born about 1803-05; died in Barnwell District on 21 or 22 March 1882, aged seventy-nine years.<sup>66</sup> Unmarried, he is listed in the Barnwell censuses of 1850 (aged forty-seven), 1860 (age fifty-six) and 1880 (age seventysix, with brother James J.)<sup>67</sup>
- 6 ii. Anna Maria Ingram, born about 1805-10; died before the 1850 census, at which time her children are living with relatives in Barnwell. She married Gervey (or Govey) Owens. Children: (a) Julia Owens, born about 1841, living with uncle John Ingram in 1850; possibly died before 1858. (b) William Owens, born about 1843; ward of uncle James Ingram; never married; died before January 1864. (c) John Owens, also born about 1843 [a twin?]; ward of uncle James Ingram; never married; died before January 1864 in the service of the Confederacy. 68
- 7 iii. John Mason Ingram, born 10 April 1813; died in Screven County, Georgia, 2 May 1897; married 7 October 1841, Rebecca Ann Sloman, daughter of Peter and Ann (Williams) Sloman. 69 Children: (a) William P. Ingram, born in South Carolina, 15 January 1843; died 22 September 1844. (b) John Robert Ingram, born in Screven County on 24 August 1844; died at Tusculum, Georgia, 20 September 1907; married at Savannah on 7 May 1873, Rebecca Newton. (c) Mary Esther Ingram, born in South Carolina on 18 April 1846; died in Jenkins County, Georgia, on 16 March 1914; married (1) Mills Cornelius Brinson; and (2) George Milton Wallace. (d) Ann Eliza Ingram, born 13 August 1848; died at Savannah, 13 November 1904; married William Henry Hawkins. (e) Sarah Jane Ingram, born in Screven County, 20 January 1851; died at Savannah on 1 May 1945; married (1) Matthew C. Pritchard; and (2) William Henry Hawkins. (f) James Averett Ingram, born in Georgia, 11 April 1854; died at Savannah, 19 March 1920; married Willie Tullulah Newton. (g) Benjamin Franklin Ingram, born in Screven, 17 September 1856: died at Savannah on 26 December 1922: married Mary Elizabeth Waters. (h) Rebecca Laura Ingram, born in Screven on 7 April 1859; died there on 10 November 1862. (i) J. Rebecca Clara Ingram, born in Screven, 30 April 1864; died in Screven on 10 April 1886, unmarried.
- 8 iv. Mary E. Ingram, born about 1820; died after 1882; married Greenbury Buford. A resident of Barnwell District in 1850 and Screven County in 1870 and 1880, Mary was the mother of (a) Ann Eliza Buford, born in South Carolina about 1844; married Benjamin Buford. (b) Francis Marion "Frank" Buford, born about October 1847 and a resident of Montgomery County, Georgia, in 1900. (c) Ziphora Buford, born about 1850; married John Buford. (d) Catherine Buford. (e) Franklin Buford, born in Georgia, about 1859. 70
- v. James J. Ingram, born 25 March 1821; died in Barnwell, 1 January 1896; married about 1848, Mary E. Johnson (born in South Carolina, 14 April 1829, daughter of Dr. W. J. Johnson; died 13 May 1907). Children: (a) Sarah Catherine Ingram, born about 1849; married John S. Shuck. (b) Estelle Ingram, born about 1851; married Harper Hagood.

- vi. Benjamin Franklin Ingram, born about 1822; died in Barnwell on 22 or 23 January 1858; married (1) 15 July 1847, Mrs. Lucy Dunbar Patrick Minor (born about 1790; died 19 February 1856); married (2) Amanda Malinda Hext (born about 1820). No issue by either wife.<sup>72</sup>
- 2. Anna Maria<sup>2</sup> Ingram (James<sup>1</sup>), by bill of sale dated in Chatham County, on 10 November 1783, was given seven Negro slaves by William Harding of Prince William Parish in Granville County, South Carolina, and by Thomas Washington of Chatham. The Negroes were "to remain under the care of James Ingram and Mary his wife until Anna Maria comes of lawful age or marries." By deed dated 1 May 1791, trustees for Anna Maria (called the eldest daughter of James Ingram, Esq.) purchased the northern moiety of Lot 56 on Ellis Street in the town of Augusta. Richmond County's 1795 tax digest for Fox's district charged one lot in Augusta to John Milton, for Anna M. Ingram. By deed dated 11 April 1800, Anna Maria (now of Burke County, Georgia) and her surviving trustees sold the Ellis Street lot (56). Her sister, Elizabeth Ingram of the city of Augusta, released her interest in the property. The surviving trustees are surviving trustees and the Ellis Street lot (56).

Maria Ingram and Colonel John Davies, both of Burke County, were married 26 June 1804.<sup>77</sup> He was born 16 November 1761, as son of Myrick Davies, and died 13 February 1817. Anna Maria died in Burke on 20 November 1807.<sup>78</sup>

Only known child of Colonel John and Anna Maria (Ingram) Davies was

- i. James W.<sup>3</sup> Davies, born in Burke about 1805; died in Richmond County, on 6 August 1880; married at Augusta on 12 February 1834, Elizabeth B. Nesbitt (born in Georgia, 3 September 1812, daughter of Hugh and Eleanor L. Nesbitt; died 15 May 1896). James is shown as a cashier on the 1850 census and as a banker on the 1880 enumeration. His will, dated 19 April 1880, was probated on 13 August 1880. Children were as follows: (a) Eleanor M. Davies, born about 1845; married [—?—] Dawson. (b) James Ingram Davies, born in Augusta on 22 April 1837; died at Alma, Colorado, on 14 September 1883. (c) John Nesbitt Davies, born 7 December 1838; died 27 December 1887. (d) Charles Thomas Davies, born 21 April 1840; died 9 June 1841. (e) Hugh Davies, born 24 July 1841; died 11 June 1842. (f) Mary Elizabeth Davies, born 21 January 1846; died 1 October 1848. (g) Annie B. Davies, born about 1854.
- 4. Elizabeth<sup>2</sup> Ingram (James<sup>1</sup>) was also given slaves in 1783 which were to be kept in custody of her parents until she reached age sixteen.<sup>80</sup> She also had an interest in Lot 56 in Augusta, which had been purchased for her sister Anna Maria Ingram in 1791 and sold in 1800.<sup>81</sup> By deed dated 6 October 1792, her trustees purchased a lot on Broad Street in Augusta from James and Elizabeth Williams.<sup>82</sup> In 1795 her trustee, Abraham Jones, was charged for the lot on the Richmond County tax list.<sup>83</sup> By deed dated 11 April 1811 and confirmed 21 June 1816, she (by trustee, Sarah Handly) sold Lot 42 in Augusta to Henry Shultz.<sup>84</sup> In the 1820 Richmond census, she is listed as Miss E. Ingram, aged twenty-six to forty-four, with ten slaves.<sup>85</sup> On 31 August 1825, Elizabeth Ingram of Richmond gave her power of attorney to Stephen Dickson to recover some debts and signed the document by her mark.<sup>86</sup> Eliza Ingram was listed in Richmond's 1840 census, aged forty to forty-nine, with one female aged fifteen

to nineteen and ten slaves.<sup>87</sup> The Richmond County federal census of 1850 lists Elizabeth Ingram, aged sixty, born in Georgia.<sup>88</sup> In the Richmond state census of 1852, Miss Eliza Ingram was listed in Augusta's third ward with two female slaves.<sup>89</sup> Administration on the estate of Eliza Ingram was granted on 6 August 1855 to [her nephew] James W. Davis.<sup>90</sup>

# NOTES AND REFERENCES

- \*Ms. Barnum (3008 Valera Way, Fullerton, CA 92635) is editor of *Doster Roster*, a family newsletter. Mr. Russell (709 East Main Street, Middletown, MD 21769) is a Fellow of the American Society of Genealogists, a Certified Genealogist, and past editor of the NGS *Quarterly*.
- 1. Gaol Delivery Roll, January 1767; Old Bailey Sessions Roll, Greater London Council Records Office, OB/SR/89, transcribed by Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G. Mr. Coldham found no record of Johnson alias Ingram in Middlesex Parish register transcripts. He also searched State Paper collections and Old Bailey archives for an appeal or other trial depositions but found no other pertinent documents.
- 2. Peter Wilson Coldham, English Convicts in Colonial America, vol. I: Middlesex, 1617-1775 (New Orleans: Polvanthos, 1974), 148.
  - 3. PRO T53/50/93, Public Record Office, London, cited in Coldham, English Convicts, 332.
- 4. Manuscript group number 1398, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, abstracted by Fred Shelley, "Ebenezer Hazard's Travels Through Maryland in 1777," Maryland Historical Magazine 46 (March 1951): 52.
- 5. Brice M. Clagett, "Biography of John Clagett," Records of the Columbia Historical Society (Washington, D.C.), vol. 1963-1965; 60-67.
- 6. Richard J. Cox, "Maryland Runaway Convict Servants," National Genealogical Society Quarterly 69 (June 1981): 127.
  - 7. Accomack Court Orders, 1770-73; 199.
- 8. The following sketch of the Kendall family may be useful. Mary<sup>5</sup> Kendall was the only child of John<sup>4</sup> and Rebecca (Wallop) Kendall. John was born by 1720, since one Joshua Kendall chose John as his guardian on 5 May 1741 (Accomack County Orders 1744–53: 45). John's relict, Rebecca, was granted administration on 27 June 1758, with Skinner Wallop as her security (Accomack County Orders 1753–63: 246). A division of the estate between the relict and Mary Kendall was returned to court in March 1760 (Accomack Wills, Deeds, Etc., 1757–61: 203–09). John<sup>4</sup> was son of John<sup>3</sup> who died in 1738 and his second wife, Mary Taylor, and was named as a son in the father's will (Accomack Wills 1737–43: 33). John<sup>4</sup> was named as a grandson and Mary Kendall was named as a daughter in the will of Comfort (Anderson) (Taylor) Finney, proved 1743 (ibid., 467). John<sup>3</sup> had married, first, to Tabitha Watts (Accomack County Wills, Deeds, Etc. 1715–29, Vol. 2: 58ff). Mary (Taylor) Kendall married second to John Baldwin (Accomack Court Orders 1744–53: 328). Rebecca Kendall was named as a daughter in the will of John Wallop, dated and probated in 1751 and witnessed by John Kendall (Accomack Wills 1749–52: 220). Rebecca (Wallop) Kendall married, second, to John Watts, who died in 1776. John<sup>3</sup> Kendall was a son of Captain William<sup>2</sup> and grandson of Colonel William<sup>1</sup> (Northampton Co. Wills 15:224 and 17:348.
- 9. Accomack Court Orders 1770-73: 303 (Blair v. Ingram), 324 (Ingram v. Taylor). Accomack Court Orders 1773: 26 (Ingram v. Foscue), 43 (Murray vs. Ingram), 61 (Ingram v. Watson), 77 (Ingram v. Danson), 96 (Ingram v. Burton), 103 (Ingram v. Baldwin, Smith v. Ingram), 114 (Ingram v. Taylor), 151 (Ingram v. Burton). Accomack Court Orders 1774-77: 37 (Ingram v. Riley), 91 (Roberts v. Ingram and Henry), 94 (Ingram v. Riley), 133 (Joiner v. Ingram), 162 (Ingram v. Watson), 174 (Matthews v. Ingram and Henry), 253 (Ingram v. Watson). Court orders to 1777 were examined without finding any references to James Ingram after 29 November 1774.
  - 10. Accomack Court Orders 1770-73: 259; 1774-77: 170.
- 11. Ibid., 1773: 182; Accomack Deeds 1770–77: 194–95. Mary Anne [—?—] (Kendall) (Scarburgh) (Lombard) Monroe was the remarried widow of Mary (Kendall) Ingram's uncle, William Kendall. See Accomack Orders 1753–63: 303–04; Accomack Wills, Deeds, Etc. 1757–61: 197–99 (for Maryann Scarburgh's inventory of William Kendall's estate); Accomack Wills 1761–67: 11 (for will of Charles Scarburgh, naming wife Mary Ann); Accomack Orders 1765–67: 364 (for orders issued Mary Ann, wife of Samuel Lombard, to hire out lands and Negroes of John Kendall, orphan); and Accomack Orders 1753–63: 303–04 (for identification of Mary Ann Kendall as mother and guardian of John Kendall); Accomack Wills &c 1767–72: 583–90 (for Mary Ann as administrator of the estate of Samuel Lombard and for appraisal of John Kendall's estate); and Accomack Court Orders 1774–77: 277 (for sale of one-third of Oak Hall).

- 12. Accomack Court Orders 1774-77: 277; Accomack Deeds 1770-77: 329-31, 378-79; Ralph T. Whitelaw, Virginia's Eastern Shore (2 vols.; Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1951), 2: 1321.
  - 13. Accomack Deeds 1770-77: 399
  - 14. Southampton County, Virginia, Deeds 5: 139, 224.
  - 15. Ibid., 157-59.
  - 16. Northampton County, North Carolina, Deeds 6: 57-58.
  - 17. Ibid., 86.
- 18. William L. Saunders, ed., Colonial Records of North Carolina (10 vols.; Raleigh, State of N.C., 1886-90), 10: 914-15, 946.
  - 19. Southampton County Deeds 5: 236-37.
- 20. Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army (1892; reprinted Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1973), 47, 313.
  - 21. Northampton County Deeds 6: 61.
  - 22. "Hazard's Travels Through Maryland," 52.
  - 23. Heitman, Historical Register, 47, 313.
  - 24. Southampton County Deeds 5: 282-83.
  - 25. Northampton County Deeds 6: 229.
  - 26. Columbia County, Georgia, Deeds A: 80.
- 27. Edward J. Cashing, Jr., and Heard Robinson, Augusta and the American Revolution: Events in the Georgia Back Country, 1773–1783 (Darien, Ga.: Ashantilly Press for Richmond County Historical Society, 1975), 25; Robert S. Davis, Jr., Georgia Citizens and Soldiers of the American Revolution (Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1979), 64; Davis, Georgians in the Revolution: At Kettle Creek (Wilkes Co.) and Burke County (Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1986), 101–02, 139–42.
- 28. Allen D. Candler, Revolutionary Records of the State of Georgia (3 vols.; Atlanta: Franklin Turner Co., 1908), II: 194-95.
- 29. General Assembly Petitions, 1783, no. 161, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia.
- 30. American Loyalist Claims, Audit Office Series, AO 13/80, Public Record Office, London (microfilm no. 366790, Genealogical Society of Utah).
  - 31. Royal Georgia Gazette, 1 March 1781, p. 1, col. 2.
- 32. Petition, Telamon Cuyler Collection, University of Georgia Special Collections, Athens, Ga.; copy provided by Robert S. Davis.
- 33. Candler, Revolutionary Records, 3: 618; Murtie J. Clark, Loyalists in the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War (3 vols.; Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1981), 1: 556, 559, 562, 564.
  - 34. Gazette of the State of Georgia, 11 September 1783, p. 2, col. 1.
- 35. Ibid., 27 February 1783, p. 1, col. 1; Candler, Revolutionary Records, 3: 243; Adele S. Edwards, ed., State Records of South Carolina: Journals of the Privy Council, 1783-1789 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, [1971]), 7, 9.
- 36. Theodora J. Thompson, ed., State Records of South Carolina: Journals of the House of Representatives, 1783-1784 (Columbia: Univ. of S. C. Press, [1977]), 217; Edwards, State Records, 10.
- 37. Gazette of the State of Georgia, 25 December 1783, p. 4, col. 3; 29 April 1784, p. 1, col. 2; letter, Hamill to Jackson, Letter File 11, pre-1800, Drawer 202, Box 52, Georgia Department of Archives and History; Candler, Revolutionary Records, 3: 368, 384, 404, 409.
  - 38. Chatham County Deeds G: 300, 525, 527, 529.
  - 39. Charleston District Deeds W-5: 329-34; American Loyalist Claims, AO 13/80.
- 40. Halifax County Deeds 14: 217-18. James Henry previously lived in Accomack County; see the many references to him in Whitelaw, Virginia's Eastern Shore.
  - 41. American Loyalist Claims, AO 13/80.
  - 42. Ibid.
  - 43. Ibid.
  - 44. Candler, Revolutionary Records, 1: 651.
  - 45. Accomack County Deeds 1797-1800: 412-13.
  - 46. Richmond County Deeds A-2: 77, 79.
  - 47. Richmond County Deeds A-1: 94.
  - 48. Augusta Chronicle, 9 January 1790, p.2, col. 3.

- 49. A detailed chronology and bibliography have been deposited in the James Johnson alias Ingram Files, National Genealogical Society Library, Arlington, Virginia.
  - 50. Richmond County Deeds C: 197.
  - 51. Augusta Chronicle, 10 November 1792, p. 3, col. 3.
  - 52. Georgia Journal and Independent Federal Register, 18 January 1794, p. 3, col. 1.
  - 53. Chatham County Deeds O: 209.
  - 54. Augusta Chronicle, 1 August 1795, p. 1, col. 3.
- 55. Barnwell District Chancery and Equity Records, Miscellaneous Group Papers, Box 31. Ingram's plantation was in the part of Orangeburg District (formerly Winton) that was set off as Barnwell in 1798 and lay across the Savannah River from Augusta, Georgia.
  - 56. Chatham County Deeds G: 300, 525, 527, 529.
  - 57. Chatham County Deeds G: 527.
  - 58. Ibid., 300.
  - 59. Richmond County Deeds C: 143.
  - 60. Charleston District Deeds W-5: 329-34; Richmond County Deeds D: 190, 496.
- 61. Mrs. Thomas C. Johnson and Mrs. Bess Stanley, "Chatham County 1798 Tax Digest," Georgia Genealogical Magazine 29 (July 1968): 1970.
  - 62. Barnwell District Deeds A: 72.
  - 63. Halifax County Deeds B: 295; 23: 150.
  - 64. Barnwell County Wills B: 139.
  - 65. Barnwell County Deeds M: 503.
- 66. His obituary in *Barnwell People*, 28 March 1882, gives the death date as 21 March. Deed Book 4-W: 193 (division of estate of William Ingram) gives the date as 22 March.
- 67. 1850 census, Barnwell District, S.C., p. 443, dwelling 1901, family 1902; 1860 census, Barnwell, p. 79, dwelling 616, family 616; 1880 census, Barnwell (Barnwell Village), dwelling 1, family 1.
- 68. Barnwell District Probate Records, bundle 140, package 8: account of Capt. J. J. Ingram, filed 12 January 1864, states that his wards William and John Owens are dead, John in Confederate service. In the Barnwell District census of 1850, John is listed with his father (household no. 1095), and William is listed as age seven years, born in South Carolina (household no. 1905).
- 69. This and subsequent information on family of John Mason is from the family Bible record of John Mason Ingram, owned by Mrs. Sarah Bradford of Savannah, Georgia, and from gravestone inscriptions in the Ingram family burial ground, Screven County, Georgia.
- 70. Considerable variation is shown in the age of Mary on various censuses. 1820 census, Barnwell County, p. 14, shows a female under age 10 in household of John H. Ingram. 1830 census, Barnwell, p. 149, shows female aged 10–15 in household of Hester Ingram. 1840 census, Barnwell, p. 180, shows female aged 20–30 in household of John M. Ingram. 1850 census, Barnwell, dwelling 1905, family 1905, shows Mary, aged 25, born in S.C. 1870 census, Screven County, Ga., p. 161, dwelling 1293, family 1235, shows Mary, aged 61. 1880 census, Screven, dwelling 198, family 198, shows Mary as aged 60. Ages of Mary's children are approximated from these same 1850, 1870, and 1880 censuses.
- 71. Death notice, James J. Ingram, Barnwell People, 2 January 1896; Barnwell Baptist Churchyard, Barnwell District Cemetery Records, Microfilm 5350-0002, Genealogical Society of Utah. For information on offpring of James J., see also family records of Sarah Savannah Ingram, in possession of Mrs. Sarah Bradford of Savannah (photocopies in Mrs. Barnum's possession).
- 72. Grave of B. Frank Ingram, Brown Cemetery, Barnwell County. Death notices for various members of this family are abstracted in Brent H. Holcomb, Marriage and Death Notices from Baptist Newspapers of South Carolina, 1835–1865 (Spartanburg: Reprint Co., 1981): 59, 77; his probate file appears in Barnwell's Probate Records, bundle 135, no. 11. See also James J. Ingram et al v. William H. Ingram et al, 1858, in Barnwell Chancery and Equity Court Records, Box 6, Group 12.
  - 73. Chatham Co. Deeds G: 525.
  - 74. Richmond County Deeds C: 250-53.
  - 75. Richmond County Tax Digest, 1795, Fox's District, p. 7.
  - 76. Richmond County Deeds H: 16.
- 77. Augusta Chronicle, 30 June 1804, abstracted in Mary B. Warren, Marriages and Deaths from Extant Georgia Newspapers, 1763-1820 (Danielsville, Ga.: Heritage Papers, 1968), 28.
- 78. Augusta Chronicle, 5 December 1807; typed copy of John Davies family Bible record was sent by Mrs. William Andrews of Augusta to the Georgia Archives. Colonel John Davies's first wife was Martha Walker (born 29 September 1760; died Burke County, 22 October 1798).

- 79. Much data pertaining to the James W. Davies family may be found in *Ancestoring* (quarterly of the Augusta Genealogical Society), vol. 6. 11 and 12. See also Richmond County Wills 1880; 716–20.
  - 80. Chatham County Deeds G: 529.
  - 81. Richmond County Deeds C: 250-53, H: 16.
  - 82. Ibid., D: 190-93.
  - 83. Richmond County Tax Digest, 1795, Fox's District, p. 7.
  - 84. Richmond County Deeds M: 86; N: 501-03.
  - 85. 1820 census, Richmond County, p. 209.
  - 86. Richmond County Deeds S: 518.
  - 87. 1840 census. Richmond County, p. 207.
  - 88. Division No. 73, No. 681, 28 September 1850.
  - 89. "Census of Augusta (Georgia)," Ancestoring, No. 6 (1983): 19.
- 90. Richmond County Letters of Administration 5 (1852-59): 86; Richmond County Inventories 1855: 599-600. Unless Elizabeth's age was consistently understated in the enumerations, the first child of this name died young after 1783 and was succeeded by another Elizabeth born about January 1790.

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# The Thomas Selby Families of Boston, Massachusetts, and Stratford, Connecticut

By Donna Valley Russell, c.g., f.a.s.g.\*

Thomas Selby and his wife Elizabeth were residents of London, England, and parishioners of Saint Pancras Parish, Soper Lane, as early as 1695, when their first of four children was baptized; but no record of their marriage is found there, and Elizabeth remains unidentified. In June 1709, Thomas left England in one of His Majesty's ships of war, of which Captain Mathews was commander, and arrived in Boston in August. While no passenger list has been found, this information is provided in a deposition filed in 1731 by Thomas's daughter, Jane Melville, on behalf of her brother, Thomas. Eight months later, on 20 February 1709/10, Thomas was admitted as an inhabitant of Boston. Elizabeth did not accompany Thomas in 1709; but on 17 June 1712, she and a child embarked on the *Peter and Paul*, a ship with Richard Love as master, sailing from London to Boston. The child was clearly Thomas, who had been born in December 1709.

Sometime before 21 December 1714, Thomas acquired property, either by lease or deed; but no record of the transaction remains. On that date, he rented a wharf at the east end of "Butler's Row of brick buildings on King Street Pier," also called the Long Wharf, agreeing to pay £20.20 yearly for thirty years to the owner of the property, Peter Butler, a merchant. On the same day, he purchased a parcel of land from Butler for £120; this property was described as adjoining Selby's house on the north side.<sup>5</sup>

Thomas's occupation, "perriwigg maker," was not noted in Boston records until nearly five years after his arrival in the colony, when, on 3 January 1714/15, he purchased from the Boston tailor Benjamin Bridge a brick dwelling in the possession of the widow Rebecca Mountford. In this transaction, he paid £500. The following 16 February, Thomas and Elizabeth mortgaged the same property to Bridge to secure a debt of £596 which they owed him. On 4 March of the same year, he was granted permission by the town to build a timber shop at the east end of Mr. Butler's row of brick buildings on King Street. The structure was to be twenty feet by thirty feet by twenty feet, part to be of brick and part roughcast.

In the town records of 1716/17, Selby is shown holding the office of scavenger for Boston. On 29 January 1718, again identified as a "periwigg-maker," Selby paid £40 for half a thousand-acre farm tract on Keneback River at "Whigby alias Worsqueag" in York County, Massachusetts (now in the state of Maine), adjoining Thomas Stevens and Purchases Bay (also called Merry Meeting Bay). The seller was John Butler, a resident of George Town on Arrousick Island in York County, although he and his wife Hannah were called Boston residents when the sale was confirmed on 31 January 1723. According to the latter document, Selby bought the southern half of the lot, and the whole tract was surveyed as only 366 acres rather than 1000. No evidence has been found that Selby moved to the York County property.

On 23 July 1718 John and Hezakiah Butler, mariners (with their wives, Hannah and Priscilla); William Randle of Boston, a japanner, and his wife Mary; Elizabeth Savage of Boston and Ephraim Savage; and Elizabeth Watts, a widow, quitclaimed to Selby their rights in "the land, wharf, and flatts, with buildings," at the lower end of Butler's Row on King Street, "which Peter Butler lately sold Selby." On 12 November of that same year, Selby purchased another piece of the Butler wharf from Peter, paying five shillings for a section eight feet long by twenty feet wide. On 3 August 1719, Selby, still called a periwig maker, mortgaged his dwelling house and land again, this time to James Bowdoine, a Boston merchant, for £150.

By mid-1719 Elizabeth Selby had died. The last record found for her is her relinquishment of dower in February 1714/15. On 5 September 1719, Thomas married Mehetable Bill. After his remarriage, Selby participated in a series of deeds involving the estate of his new wife's father, James Bill. On 22 February 1719/20, Thomas and Mehetable, together with the other Bill heirs (all of Boston), gave to the widow Mary Gutteridge (also of Boston) for £150 a mortgage on "a certain brick messuage" on Fish Street that was bounded by the heirs of Joseph Bill, Mrs. Thomas, and Jabez Salters. Joining Selby and Mehetable in this sale were the widow Hannah Essex, the widow Mehetable Bill [Mehetable's mother], and the mariner John Tenny and his wife Rebecca. 14

A second document dated that same day is more explicit in its statement of relationship. By its terms, Selby and wife (now described as one of the daughters and executors of James Bill, yeoman, of "Pullen" Point in Boston) sold to Benjamin Bridge for £800 all the estate they had received from the will of Mehetable's father. Four days later, Selby bought this property from Bridge for the same price. Finally, on 19 February 1719/20, the Bill heirs reached an agreement. Selby and wife; John Tenny [elsewhere, Tenney] and wife Rebecca; the widow Mehetable Bill; and Abigail Bill, daughter of the late James, together paid £330 to Hannah Essex for two-thirds of the house on Fish Street. Then Hannah sold to Selby and wife 27 acres at Pulling Point for £273.6.2. Both properties were identified as part of the Bill estate.

It does not appear that Thomas moved onto the outlying property, although records exist to show that some in-laws continued to reside there. On 26 July 1720, Rebecca Tenney, wife of John of Pulling Point, mortgaged her rights in her father's estate for £800, paid her by Selby and North Ingham, an instrument maker of Boston, who married the Bill daughter Abigail. On 2 August 1720 Selby and wife; Ingham and wife Abigail; and Tenney and wife Rebecca sold one moiety in a farm of 101 1/2 acres at "Pullin" Point, together with one-third of Snake Island. The purchaser, a Boston yeoman named Joseph Belcher, paid £1020. On 24 September following, Selby and Ingham again appear on record as paying £800 to Rebecca for her rights in her father's estate.<sup>17</sup>

On 30 November 1720, Selby executed an agreement with his mother-in-law and Ingham, acting as trustees for Mehetable Selby. For £400, the trustees now held title to Selby's dwelling house, land, wharf, and shop—a property described in detail. It was bounded on the front (southerly) by both

King Street and the house and land of Jonathan Belcher and was called the Crown Coffee House. The lot on which the Selby buildings stood measured 50 feet on the west along a passageway; 53 feet on the east along a cove or creek; and 53 feet on the north, where it adjoined both land of the heirs of William Webster and the passageway. The property was free of encumbrances except for the former Bowdoine mortgage, which was due in one year.<sup>18</sup>

As the settlement of the Bill estate extended over the next several years, Thomas continued as a central figure. Sometime before 6 February 1722, Hannah (Bill) Essex married Ferdinando Bowd, a smith of Boston. On that date the Bowds sold to Selby (now called a vintner) "one fourth of their third part" of the expected estate of the widow Mehetable Bill, for which Selby paid £118. On 16 April 1723, the widow Mehetable joined the remaining heirs (Selby and wife, Ingham and wife, and Tenney and wife) in an agreement by which the Tenneys paid £980 for 56 acres, including Snake Island, which was the widow's one-third share. Of this sum, £560 went to the widow and £420 was shared by Selby and Ingham. On the same day, the Tenneys mortgaged the property to Selby. Finally, on 12 July 1725, Ferdinando and Hannah appeared with Selby and mortgaged to him the brick house on Fish Street. 20

The documents executed in the remaining years of Selby's life reflect the breadth of his economic and community activities. In the summer and fall of 1725, he was one of a group who purchased the Salem Street land on which Christ (Anglican) Church stood and then resold it to a church committee for the same price (£100). The first deed identifies Selby as a taverner. A year later, at which time he was again called periwig maker, Selby paid £500 to the merchant Joshua Wroc for a parcel of the wharf behind the Crown Coffee House, bounded by his own land and that of Fitch and Willis.<sup>21</sup>

Thomas died by 19 September 1727. Jeremiah Bumstead's diary, for that date, recorded that Selby had died at the Crown Coffee House.<sup>22</sup> On the first of February 1727/28, and again on the eighth, notice was published in the *Boston News Letter* that all persons indebted to Selby's estate should apply to Captain Samuel Keeling, the attorney of Mrs. Mehetable Selby.

An inventory taken of Selby's estate on 24 October 1727 by Jona. Williams, Tho. Phillips, and Henry Whitton carefully divided the goods by room or subject, with such categories as "In the Prince," "In the Eight," "In the Ten," "In the Barr Room," "Books," and "Wearing Apparell-Linnen and Woollen." The books were mostly religious in nature. Apart from the usual household furniture and goods, there were 52 pounds of loaf sugar, beeswax, 35 bottles of Stoughton's elixir, crimson curtains and valances in the crown, 4 boxes plus 2 gross of tobacco pipes, green curtains laced with scarlet and white in the glove, 40 leather and/or cane chairs, 8 silver punch bowls, and many articles of clothing—such as a seersucker jacket and another embroidered one. The back warehouse contained 3 1/2 bushels of salt and a 48-pound Cheshire cheese, among other items.

The document also reveals that the house and land were at that time in the possession of Mr. Robert Skinner and Mrs. Mehetable Selby and were valued at £1000. The total value of the inventoried items (house and land included) was £2042.7.5. On 23 October 1727, Mehetable testified to the inventory,

excepting a few items of bedding that did not belong to the estate. On the same day, she attested a separate inventory of wines and liquors. Valued at £1537.18.4, this included an interesting assortment of such items as 1 3/4 pipes of ordinary canary, 10 gallons of "sweet oyl," 210 gallons of New England brandy (valued at 7 shillings a gallon), and 112 gallons of "best brandy" (worth 14 shillings a gallon).<sup>23</sup> Mehetable (Bill) Selby married William Burgess on 1 October 1728.<sup>24</sup> She signed as Mehitable [sic] Burgess when she filed her account as administratrix of Thomas's estate on 14 October 1728. The net value of the estate was given as £1951.11, of which £650.10.4 was paid to the widow. Of the balance, two-thirds (£867.7) went to the minor son, Thomas, and one-third (£433.13.6) went to David Melville, husband of Selby's daughter Jane.<sup>25</sup>

The last records found for Thomas were executed by his children. On 9 March 1731, David Melville, a "periquemaker" of Newport, Rhode Island, and his wife Jane, Selby's daughter, recorded a deed in York County stating that "Thomas Selby, late of Boston, mariner," had died intestate owning property in York. The land bore the same description as the half-tract which Selby had purchased from John Butler in 1718. By the terms of the 1731 deed, Melville and Jane appointed Thomas Selby, a baker in Boston [her brother], to dispose of the land. Fourteen days later, the younger Thomas sold the tract for £40 to Job Lewis, Esq., of Boston, at which time he stated that he and Jane were the only surviving children and heirs at law of "Thomas Selby, late of Boston, vintner." He also stated that the land had been purchased from Christopher Lawson, which contradicts the previously found record by which the elder Thomas purchased the land from John Butler. 26

# GENEALOGICAL SUMMARY

1. Thomas Selby, born in England; died at Boston shortly before August 1727. He was married first, in England before 1695, to Elizabeth [—?—], who died between 1715 and 1719. He then married Mehetable Bill at the Presbyterian Church of Boston, on 6 September 1719, with Samuel Miles officiating. The daughter of James and Mehetable [—?—] Bill, Mehetable Selby married second, William Burgess, at the Presbyterian Church on 1 October 1728.<sup>27</sup>

Children of Thomas Selby and his first wife Elizabeth, all baptized in London's Saint Pancras Parish, were as follows:<sup>28</sup>

- i. John<sup>2</sup> Selby, born and baptized on 11 November 1695; buried in vault of church, 31 December 1699.
- 3 ii. Jane Selby, born and baptized on 1 December 1697; died at Newport, Rhode Island, 4 October 1734.<sup>29</sup> She married (a) Thomas Garrett, at the Presbyterian Church in Boston, on 2 February 1717;<sup>30</sup> and (b) David Melville, by 1731. Born at Boston on 17 October 1704, son of David and Mary (Willard) Melville, Jane's second husband died at Newport in 1751.<sup>31</sup>

On 7 June 1731, Jane Mellvill [sic] testified before Anthony Stoddard, P.C., saying she was about thirty-three years and six months. She swore that in June 1709 her father, Thomas Selby, innholder, came to Boston [as previously related] and that on the following 8 December 1709 "this deponent then being near 12 yrs. old well remembers" that her brother Thomas was born in Bowe Parish, London, so that he is now "21 yrs. and 6 mos. old wanting one day." 32

- 4 iii. Elizabeth Selby, baptized in Saint Pancras Parish in August 1704; buried in vault there on 24 August 1707.
- + 5 iv. Thomas Selby, baptized 11 December 1709.
- 5. Thomas<sup>2</sup> Selby (Thomas<sup>1</sup>) was baptized at Saint Pancras Parish, Soper Lane, in London, on 11 December 1709; he probably died at Stratford after 1751. He was married at Boston, on 12 January 1730, to Lettice Melville, who was probably born at Boston and was the daughter of David and Mary (Willard) Melville, as well as the sister of David Melville who married Thomas's sister Jane.<sup>33</sup>

At his father's death, Thomas was a minor. On 2 October 1727, he chose as his guardian the Boston merchant, John Powell. On 14 December 1730, at which time he was called a merchant, Thomas acknowledged receiving from Powell the sum of £293.15.6. He signed both of these documents.<sup>34</sup> As discussed in the preceding account, his sister testified on 7 June 1731 to his having reached the age of twenty-one years; at this time he presumably received the balance of his inheritance, £867.7, plus rights in the dwelling house, wharf, and land on King Street. He sold these rights on 29 June 1731 for £213.5.8, to the merchant, Thomas Phillips.<sup>35</sup> While the 1730 document identifies him as a merchant, the 1731 deed by which he sold his and his sister's interest in their father's York County land identifies him as a baker.<sup>36</sup>

Thomas probably moved to Stratford shortly after this. The first record found for him in Stratford is a birth entry for his son Thomas in 1733.<sup>37</sup> Assuming that Thomas<sup>2</sup> continued his occupation as merchant (or baker), then he either rented a lot or else a purchase deed is missing. The only transaction found for him is dated 28 March 1743, when he either purchased or was granted one-half acre of the commonage land in the Four Mile Division from or by Joseph Thompson and Timothy Sherman.<sup>38</sup>

Children of Thomas and Lettice (Melville) Selby, all of whom appear in the vital records of Stratford, except as stated, were as follows:<sup>39</sup>

- + 6 i. Thomas<sup>3</sup> Selby, born 22 May 1733.
  - 7 ii. David Melville Selby, born 3 July 1735.
  - 8 iii. Lettice Selby, born 16 July 1737; Orcutt's history of Stratford states that she married Charles Burroughs in 1763.<sup>40</sup>
  - 9 iv. William Selby, born June 1739.41
- + 10 v. John Selby, born 20 January 1740/41.
  - vi. Elizabeth Selby, died 1 September 1751.
  - 12 vii. Abigail Selby, baptized June 1745. 42
  - 13 viii. William Willard Selby, born January 1748.43
- 6. Thomas<sup>3</sup> Selby (Thomas,<sup>2</sup> Thomas<sup>1</sup>) was born at Stratford on 22 May 1733 and died there in August 1760. He married Ann Blackman, daughter of John and Anna (Jackson) Blackman, on 12 October 1756.<sup>44</sup> Ann's father had died in 1737; and her mother married second, Samuel Chatfield, who subsequently served as guardian to the minor children of Thomas<sup>3</sup> and Ann. After the death of Thomas,<sup>3</sup> his widow married Richard Smith, on 7 August 1761. She died at Oxford, Connecticut, on 9 May 1781.<sup>45</sup>

Ann Selby, widow, was appointed administrator of the estate of Thomas on 20 October 1760. The inventory taken of that estate by Captain Zach.

Hawkins and Benjamin Bates showed a total value of £17.9.0. Thomas's probate file also contains the notations, "Paid the girl who was 3 yrs. 1 month old when her father died; paid the boy who was 1 yr. 5 months old when his father died."<sup>46</sup>

The girl and boy are identified elsewhere as Betty and David Melville Selby. On 17 May 1762, Samuel Chatfield was appointed guardian of Betty; he was her grandfather by marriage. On 4 July 1774, the guardianship was given to Charles Burroughs, husband of Thomas's sister Lettice. As for David, on 4 April 1762 David Woodin was bonded as his guardian but was replaced by Samuel Chatfield on the same day that Chatfield assumed guardianship of Betty.<sup>47</sup>

One document has been found that is presently unexplained, in light of the foregoing probate records. The 1800 probate file of John Selby, presumably the brother of this Thomas, contains a statement by Betty Walker and Lettice Blakeman/Blackman, identifying themselves as children of Thomas Selby who had left a will in which they were promised certain household items. John is further identified therein as administrator of Thomas's estate. A discrepancy exists between this record and the foregoing. The records in the file for Thomas himself clearly indicate that he had only two children, Betty and David Melville, and this information is consistent with the vital records. Nevertheless, John's probate file shows that these household items were delivered.<sup>48</sup>

Proved children of Thomas and Ann (Blackman) Selby were as follows:<sup>49</sup>

- i. Betty<sup>4</sup> Selby, born at Derby, 29 July 1757.
- ii. David Melville Selby, Revolutionary War pensioner, born at Derby, "Society of Oxford" (according to his pension application); died at Guilford, Connecticut, 9 October 1846. He was married at Middletown, Massachusetts, on 24 May 1806 to Hannah Hawley, by the minister Enoch Huntington. 50
- 10. John<sup>3</sup> Selby (Thomas,<sup>2</sup> Thomas<sup>1</sup>) was born in Stratford, on 20 January 1740/41, and died there about 1800. He was married first, at Stratford, on 22 January 1764, to Asenath Fairchild, the daughter of John and Thankful Fairchild, who had been baptized at Durham on 5 December 1742. After Asenath's death at Stratford on 28 November 1780, John married second, Mary Osborn, on 21 June 1781. Mary was still alive in 1800.<sup>51</sup>

No deed records have been found for John, although he clearly owned property. Presumably he inherited it from his father. His estate was administered by his widow Mary and Silas Hubbell, who were appointed 30 December 1800. The inventory taken by Hubbell and Nathan McEuen on 27 July 1801 showed property valued at \$332.41. The distribution papers, dated 4 November 1801, included only the widow's allowance or dower (i.e., the dwelling house and a portion of the land which commissioners Hubbell and Joseph Walker had valued at \$70). However, the distribution of the rest of the estate was not included in this document.<sup>52</sup> This may be the same property described in the probate file of their son John as one and a half acres with a dwelling house near the lower wharf in Stratford.<sup>53</sup>

Children of John and Asenath (Fairchild) Selby, born at Stratford, were:54

- i. Thomas<sup>4</sup> Selby, born 16 March 1765; drowned in June 1788.
- ii. John Selby, born 22 January 1767.
- 18 iii. Mary Elizabeth Selby, born 11 March 1769.
- iv. Robert Selby, born 17 June 1773.

Children of John and Mary (Osborne) Selby, also born at Stratford, were: 55

- v. Sally Selby, born 14 March 1782.
- vi. Betty Selby, born 13 October 1783.
- vii. Assene Selby, born 30 April 1786.
- viii. Fanny Selby, born 4 July 1787.
- ix. Thomas Selby, born 23 October 1789.
- 25 x. John Willard Selby, born in October 1791.56

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# Genealogical Research in Mississippi

# By RUTH LAND HATTEN\*

Mississippi was founded by the French, occupied by the British and Spanish, and populated primarily by "Anglo" Americans. It is an agricultural society whose first citizens often came as merchants, and its oldest families are as likely to have Northern as Southern roots. Its rich genealogical resources are frequently overlooked by Eastern genealogists who wonder where their family and its records "disappeared to." This essay is an attempt to help the genealogist better understand why, when, and by whom Mississippi was settled and the types and peculiarities of the records created.

# PART I: SETTLEMENT AND HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The land called Mississippi possessed two important qualities. It was accessible to the open sea, and it lay at the outlet of the continent's most-important waterway. It was a commercial crossroads of unequaled importance, and its land was incredibly rich. Silt from a third of the present United States had washed its way down that river, depositing in Mississippi some thirty feet of topsoil capable of spectacular harvests. It is no wonder that France, Britain, and Spain all wanted the Mississippi Valley—each for her own reasons.

# FRENCH DOMINION (1699–1763)

The French colony called Louisiana was established in 1699 at Biloxi within present Mississippi; and for two decades it bounced in and out of the area until it finally settled at New Orleans. Aside from the military outpost at Natchez and random attempts to farm the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta, the few hundred souls who occupied French Mississippi were scattered thinly along the Gulf, where they existed in a jurisdictional limbo somewhere between Mobile and New Orleans. Researchers interested in this period will find two helpful guides in the manual of the American Society of Genealogists, Genealogical Research: Methods and Sources—the Louisiana discussion by De Ville and the Alabama chapter by Mills.<sup>1</sup>

# BRITISH DOMINION (1763–1783)

The European struggle for the Mississippi Valley was ended by the Seven Years War; Great Britain triumphed over France and Spain. In a secret treaty in 1762, the French, repaid Spain for her help by giving her New Orleans and all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi. Under the treaty which closed the war in 1763, France gave Britain her territory east of the river and Spain gave up Florida. Britain then divided her acquisition into two colonies: East and West Florida. The latter, with Pensacola as its capital, extended from the Apalachi-

cola and Chattahoochee rivers on the east to the Mississippi on the west. It included present-day Alabama and Mississippi and the eastern portion of Louisiana.

Mississippi remained under British control for the next sixteen years. Some French families moved west of the river to escape British rule and were replaced by newcomers from the older British colonies, most of whom settled along the flat, fertile banks of the Mississippi or one of its tributaries. Prominent among these were the New Jersey settlers of 1772 under Richard and Samuel Swayze, who prospered along the Homochitto River southeast of Natchez;<sup>2</sup> the Connecticut Military Adventurers under General Phineas Lyman and Colonel Israel Putnam, who were granted nearly a half-million acres in 1773.3 the Garrett Rapalie associates of New York, who were granted some 25,000 acres that same year; and the brothers Anthony and Thomas Hutchins: who soon after were granted 152,000 acres, in exchange for which they were to bring settlers from Virginia and the Carolinas. Land was awarded in smaller quantities as bounty for veterans of the Seven Years' War: and more migrants arrived not only from the above areas but also from Maryland. Pennsylvania, and Georgia. The area also became a haven for British sympathizers as unrest on the Eastern Seaboard increased 4

# THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR (1775-1782)

Mississippians generally escaped the bloodshed, but not the turmoil, of the British-American revolution. When Spain declared war against Britain as a ploy to assist the American revolutionaries, Natchez surrendered to Creole forces from Louisiana in October 1779 without a fight. Revolts and counterplots embroiled the population, but by the close of the war all of West Florida had been conquered by Spain. Mississippians who actively supported Spain's conquest of British West Florida are considered patriots to the American cause, and their descendants are eligible for membership in the various societies for Daughters, Sons, and Children of the American Revolution.

# SPANISH DOMINION (1779–1798)

When the British surrendered Natchez, the district became a Spanish province. In an effort to make settlement more attractive, Spain modified many of its policies regarding the economy, government, and religion. Land was given generously. The Catholic church became the official church, as it had been under the French—in the same manner that other groups such as Puritans and Anglicans enjoyed exclusivity in various British colonies—but newcomers enjoyed some toleration. Adults were not forced to convert or attend Catholic services, but the open practice of other religions was not permitted. Infants were to be baptized, although many families did not comply and were not prosecuted for noncompliance as in earlier Puritan society. 6

Since marriage was a religious rather than a civil function in Catholic countries, a legal marriage could only take place through the exchange of vows within a Catholic church. Again, compliance was far from universal. Extant

notarial records for Natchez suggest that numerous Protestant couples were surreptitiously "wed" by one or another Anglo-American who had been appointed a neighborhood alcalde<sup>7</sup> by the Spanish government or that they merely filed a civil contract of marriage<sup>8</sup> before a Spanish official, promising to wed in the Church, and then set up housekeeping. Records also show that many such wives came to grief when their husbands died and they and their offspring were left without a legal claim to support from the estate or when the marriages proved less than blissful and husbands sought escape from familial obligations by claiming they had not legally married the women with whom they had been living.<sup>9</sup>

Tobacco and indigo were profitable crops. Cotton was being introduced. Merchants were welcomed as long as they complied with economic regulations. Regular commerce developed between the Natchez District and mercantile interests out of the North and East, particularly with those in Saint Louis, Illinois, the Great Lakes region, and Philadelphia. Settlement patterns within Spanish Mississippi continued much the same as they had been. The Natchez District, which extended into an indefinite radius of some fifty or more miles, constituted the mainstream of society. Its settlers, predominantly Anglo-American amid smaller numbers of French and Spanish, generally regarded their monarch as a benevolent despot. Meanwhile, the coastal or island settlers, French in origin and still isolated from the Natchez District by the Choctaw Indian nation, continued the same shadowy existence that had characterized their lives since the founding of the colony. They emerged in the records, for the most part, only on rare visits into Mobile or New Orleans or when a priest ventured into their area.

A rich and scarcely tapped store of resources exists for research on Spanish Mississippi. Those seeking to document the arrivals of Anglo-Americans might begin with Potter's *Passports of Southeastern Pioneers*<sup>11</sup> and the more-extensive collection of documents and letters from which some of her material is drawn, Kinnaird's *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*. For a bibliography of the guides to censuses, notarial documents, church sacramental records, and the millions of government papers now housed in Spain and Cuba which treat Spanish Mississippi, the researcher might turn to Mills's "Spanish Records: Locating Anglo and Latin Ancestry in the Colonial Southeast."

The most accessible records of this period are the notarial archives created locally (i.e., deeds, probate [succession] records, contracts of marriage, donations, and legal suits). Since the population centered in the Natchez District, the records of that district will be the primary source; they were translated after the transfer of Natchez to the United States and are housed today in the Adams County courthouse. Secondarily, for the Natchez population, one should not neglect the records created at Pointe Coupée, Baton Rouge, and New Orleans, since Mississippi settlers had frequent dealings in those towns. The principal source of notarial records for Mississippi's coastal population will also be New Orleans; while settlers here had extensive commerce with Mobile, the bulk of the civil records of colonial Mobile are no longer extant.

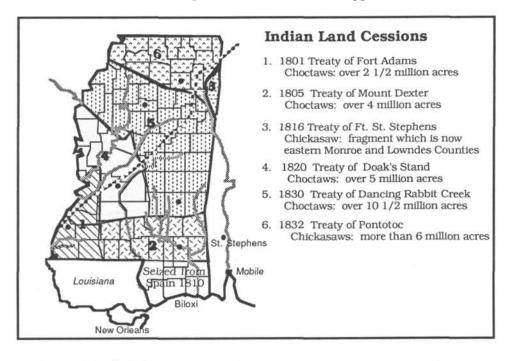
Researchers working on Eastern families in which a kinsman is known to have migrated south or west should remember one other point: immigrants to the province created many records which discussed the families they had left behind. Protestant immigrants who married in the Catholic church or who filed civil contracts of marriage before Spanish officials were usually asked to identify their places of birth and names of parents—including mothers' maiden names. In a significant number of cases, researchers report that a Catholic marriage recorded in Spanish West Florida is the only known source of maiden name for women who married, lived, and died in one of the Eastern colonies or states. Similarly, unmarried migrants to Spanish Mississippi left wills naming parents and siblings within the family unit they had left behind in the East—as, for example, the Pennsylvanian Samuel Marshall in 1789.14 Their petitions and court suits might give even more-personal information on people and events within the county of their origin, records which are particularly valuable when these settlers hailed from counties in which records were subsequently destroyed—as with the case of the interrelated families of Dewitt and White, who came to Natchez from Burke County, North Carolina. 15

# MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY (1798–1817)

The Territory of Mississippi was created in 1798. By treaty signed three years earlier, Spain and the United States agreed that the northern boundary of West Florida would be the thirty-first parallel. However, the new territory covered only the so-called Yazoo Strip which lay above the thirty-first parallel and below the juncture of the Yazoo River with the Mississippi; it also extended eastward to present Georgia. Above the Yazoo were the unceded lands of the Chickasaw and Choctaw Indian nations and the unconceded claims of Georgia, who argued that her limits went all the way to the Mississippi. Much of the heart of the Yazoo Strip was also claimed by the Choctaw.

As a result of the above factors, only three counties were originally formed in the new territory. Two lay along the Mississippi River, Adams and Pickering (changed to Jefferson in 1802). The third county, Washington, merely clipped the southeast corner of the present state; for the most part, it sprawled across the lower Tombigbee River in present-day Alabama. As the population spread into other areas, newer counties were formed; and many of these bore names of present Mississippi counties although they were actually in the part of the territory that became Alabama. Researchers should be especially careful not to confuse these counties (Baldwin, Madison, Mobile, Monroe, Montgomery, and Washington) with the counties by these same names which were later formed in Mississippi.

Throughout the territorial period, land seems to have been the raison d'etre for most political, social, and economic activities. Spurts of population growth occurred whenever and wherever new land was ceded, first by the Spanish and then by the Indian nations. (See map.) Many newly arrived settlers did not wait patiently for the Indian lands to be ceded, as evidenced by various groups of records created between Mississippi Indians and the U.S. government.



Disputed land claims were a serious problem. Grants and sales had been made by the governments of France, Britain, Spain, and Georgia. These claims often overlapped, many were of doubtful legality and few grantees had made the necessary improvements to secure their claims. Moreover, after the treaty of 1795, departing Spanish officials had issued titles to favored settlers, Anglo as well as Latin, and carefully backdated them. The opening of the territory also brought an influx of new settlers from the east who saw land "up for grabs," and by the time the first U.S. land offices were opened in the area, these settlers were insisting that their "occupation" claims (i.e., "squatter's rights") also dated back to the Spanish regime.

Georgia, meanwhile, had created a county she called Bourbon. It swept ambitiously from the Georgia line to the Mississippi River, and covered the northern half of the present states of both Mississippi and Alabama. Between 1785 and 1795, she parceled out most of the region to various groups of speculators, who compounded the problem by selling still-smaller parcels to other speculators who sold still-smaller tracts to would-be settlers—a maze of transactions that came to be called the Yazoo Land Frauds. The conflicting claims to the region were only partially resolved in 1802, when Georgia relinquished her interests in exchange for a federal promise to settle the damage claims of defrauded individuals. In response to this agreement, Congress established the Lincoln Commission to adjudicate the claims and make appropriate reimbursements. The resulting documents constitute a useful, but not easily used, body of records for studying pioneer families of the Southeast.

In a further attempt to clarify land titles within Mississippi, Congress passed

the Land Act of 1803. It confirmed all British or Spanish grants for land under cultivation by 27 October 1795 and gave preemption rights to settlers without earlier grants if their lands were actually under cultivation. Still, problems persisted. New settlers arrived faster than lands could be prepared for sale. In 1802, Governor W. C. C. Claiborne estimated that there were more than seven hundred squatters who had made improvements but held no legal claim. Further, conflicting claims between bearers of equally valid grants could receive legal title only through court action. The settlement of titles was also delayed by the credit system; and Congress gave extensions to petitioners until 1820, when the credit system was abolished. Unsettled claims continued to plague Mississippians throughout the antebellum period.<sup>20</sup>

As more settlers came into the territory. Mississippi became the center of another dispute with Spain. Settlers along the Pearl, Pascagoula, and Tombigbee rivers had no practical outlet for their crops. These rivers fed into Gulf ports controlled by the Spanish; to use them Americans had to pay a tariff. Overland transportation to the Mississippi River, which they could descend to the free port of New Orleans, was slow and expensive. In 1810, the West Florida Rebellion erupted when American inhabitants of nearby Baton Rouge. with arms supplied by Mississippians, wrested control of their government from the Spanish. Months later, President Madison ordered that American forces take possession of the rest of West Florida.<sup>21</sup> However, her major port. Mobile, could not be seized until the War of 1812, when Spain sided with Britain against the United States. In conjunction with that war, the Creek Indians—encouraged by the British and Spanish—attacked Fort Mims, a frontier post in southwest Alabama. The Mississippi militia was called up and served with Choctaw and Chickasaw forces to break the resistance of the Creeks. 22

# STATEHOOD (1817—)

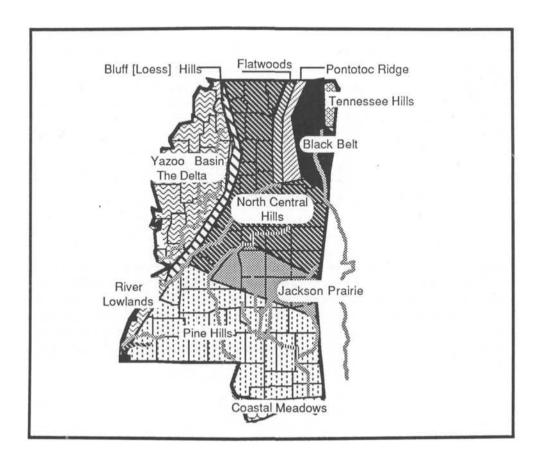
By 1817 serious rivalry existed between the western and eastern parts of the territory. Congress resolved the problem by declaring the more-populous western portion to be the state of Mississippi (effective 10 December 1817), while the eastern portion was reorganized as the Territory of Alabama. In the next two decades, Mississippi's population almost doubled. The end of Choctaw resistance came in 1829 and 1830, when the Mississippi legislature passed laws extending state rule over Choctaw and Chickasaw lands and made it a crime for tribal officers to perform their duties. Whites flooded into Choctaw and Chickasaw lands. By 1840, Mississippi had fifty-six counties and was entirely in the hands of white settlers. Agriculture was the primary occupation and cotton the economic base. Industrialization had begun by 1850, but the state was dependent upon outside sources for financing her crops as well as for manufactured goods.<sup>23</sup>

During these years of rapid growth, the state polarized even more. Natchez continued as the cultural center. Vicksburg became the seat of commerce.

Jackson was the seat of government. The rural portions of the state divided into two distinctly different societies:

The planter dominated the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta, a crescent of flat, rich swampland along the Mississippi between Vicksburg and Memphis. This area rapidly developed as the seat of the plantation regime, and it was controlled by that one-fourth of the population termed planter. Some were natives of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, and Kentucky; and some were absentee landlords with hired overseers to manage their holdings. (Indeed, the 1850 census of Mississippi suggests that the majority of migrants to Mississippi from the North and Northeast settled in the Delta or river counties.) Because of its comparative wealth, this planter minority also controlled the state's politics.<sup>24</sup>

The yeoman comprised three-fourths of the population. For the most part, the yeoman farmer occupied the hilly north-central section of the state. Small-scale lumbermen, cattlemen, fishermen, and hunters occupied the lower piney woods and coastal plains. (See topographical map.) These yeoman were frugal, self-sufficient individualists. Cotton was their cash crop, but they generally supplied their families with everything they needed and some of what they wanted—without slaves. They also left fewer records.<sup>25</sup>



# CIVIL WAR

The issue of states' rights, not slavery, prompted Mississippi to secede from the Union in January 1861. More than a quarter of the soldiers whom Mississippi sent to war did not return. Those who did, came home to devastation. Communication and transportation systems were virtually destroyed. Families struggled to subsist. Former slaves enjoyed little more than an impoverished freedom. Farmers seldom had money to hire labor; the share-cropping system arose, with whites as well as blacks as tenants. Out of Mississippi's bout with war and reconstruction, a new strain merged into the old population: Northerners who came as soldiers, found wives, and decided to stay or who came as financial entrepreneurs following the army of occupancy and found the area profitable. Out of these problems, new records emerged—on whites and blacks, Northerners and Southerners, poor and newly rich.

# PART II: RESOURCES AND REPOSITORIES

# STATE ARCHIVES

Research can feasibly begin at the Mississippi Department of Archives and History—State Library (MDAH)<sup>27</sup> when one's needs cover several counties. However, a trip to the local courthouse will still be necessary for solving many genealogical problems. Major holdings of MDAH are outlined in its 1977 catalog compiled by Thomas W. Henderson and Ronald E. Tomlin, Guide to Official Records in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, which lists collections by record-group number and itemizes county records available in microfilm form. Holdings acquired since 1977 have been described in MDAH's annual and biennial reports. Some records are restricted (for example, those of the insane asylums and charity hospitals), but an archivist usually will provide a copy of available data on a specific individual.

# Colonial Records

Among the important early records to be found at MDAH are manuscript copies of selected originals from foreign archives. Dating between 1687 and 1820, these documents have been labeled the French, English, and Spanish Provincial Archives. Selected records from these were translated and published early in this century and are a major resource for anyone who is not fluent in foreign languages, but is interested in colonial families.<sup>28</sup> The British records are particularly valuable for the Revolutionary period.

# Territorial- and State-Level Records

Records of the territorial and state governments that are no longer kept in the office of origin form an important part of MDAH's holdings. Among these, the researcher will particularly be interested in:

Territorial and State Censuses. Some one hundred and fifty enumerations were taken by the American government in random years and random counties between 1805 and 1866,<sup>29</sup> in addition to an enumeration made of parts of the territory in 1801, which is maintained in Spanish archives.<sup>30</sup> Censuses for the years from 1818 to 1825 have been indexed by MDAH. Nine counties made special enumerations between 1822 and 1824, listing heads of families whose free or slave households had a birth or death within the year. Throughout this collection, categories will vary from year to year and from county to county. Also included is a copy of the 1792 Spanish census of the Natchez District.

Tax Rolls. Record Group (RG) 29 contains extant copies of tax rolls submitted by the various county assessors to the state auditor with the state taxes they had collected. Holdings are voluminous, although gaps exist from county to county and from year to year. The rolls have been microfilmed and can be purchased from MDAH. No published guide offers a full listing of these rolls; MDAH does have an in-house catalog of RG 29 holdings, which is available for examination on the premises.

Marriage Records. MDAH has a microfilm copy of marriage records in the county courthouses beginning 1 January 1926. The period 1 July 1938 through 1 December 1941 is excluded. Additionally, there is a State-Wide Groom Soundex Before 1926 prepared by the Work Projects Administration (WPA) from county-level records. No statewide index to brides exists.<sup>31</sup>

State Land Office Files. Catalogued as RG 46, this collection is drawn from the early files of the State Land Office, which was established in the 1870s to keep survey records and administer state-owned land. Holdings include the Homestead Entries Register (1907–08); Land Patent Records (1854–57); Land Redemptions (1875, 1902–22); Land Registration Book, Choctaw Cession (1848–70); and Tax Land Sale Certificates (1893–96).

County-Level Records. Some original county records exist at MDAH, but primarily the researcher will find microfilmed copies of records filmed by the Genealogical Society of Utah. No county-level records are maintained at MDAH for Calhoun, Humphreys, or Stone counties; in all other counties, filming was done only on a selective basis. The major groups of county-level records excluded from the microfilming project were the "loose" papers of probate cases, civil and criminal court cases, and marriage licenses, along with bound volumes of miscellaneous subject matter.

City-Level Records are held for Carrollton (1897–1908), Centreville (1908), Clinton (1899–1906, 1934–70), Hattiesburg (1920 census), Jackson (1888–1969), Natchez (1805–82), and Washington (1830–49).

Miscellaneous Items of particular importance at MDAH include

- —Grave Registrations of Soldiers Who Died in Mississippi, a microfilmed card file.
- —County Highway Maps produced by the State Highway Department, which also sells these at a nominal fee. The maps can be used in conjunction with MDAH's typescript "State Cemeteries" (which lists all public and private cemeteries, giving section, township, and range) to locate known cemeteries.

- -Card Catalog to Mississippi Newspapers, from 1805.
- —Biographical Surname Index, covering Mississippians who were county officials, militia officers, or otherwise enjoyed some degree of prominence.
- —Genealogical and Cemetery File, in which material from unpublished family histories is arranged in folders by surname and material from unpublished cemetery records is arranged by county.
- —Bible and Cemetery Records Collection, created by Mississippi chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution. This is a massive collection, poorly indexed. Researchers who use this (and the similar series published by the Mississippi Genealogical Society) will also find much genealogical information on families left behind in the older states. For example, the Bible record of Alfred Hoyt Raymond—who was born in Putnam County, New York, in 1817 and married Louisa Eliza Walker of Maury County, Tennessee—not only records the births of their several children in Mississippi but also includes the Bible records of the parents and siblings he had left behind in New York and parental and sibling information on his wife's family from Dinwiddie County, Virginia. 32
- WPA Oral History Collection, with interviews of elderly blacks and whites recorded in the 1930s and 1940s.
- -Map Collection, from 1687 to the present.
- —Private manuscripts, including funeral-home records, business papers, diaries, plantation journals, and family correspondence.

# **COUNTY REPOSITORIES**

Nine of Mississippi's eighty-two counties have two county seats (Bolivar, Carroll, Chickasaw, Hinds, Jasper, Jones, Panola, Tallahatchie, and Yalobusha). Researchers should be aware that the published guide most genealogists consult to determine the availability of Mississippi's county records has considerable errors.<sup>33</sup> Information therein should be verified.

Generally, the state has followed the ancient English legal custom of separating courts of law (circuit) and equity (chancery). One brief interval was an exception; between 1857 and 1869, chancery jurisdiction was assigned to the circuit court. The 1817 constitution of the state provided for an orphans court, an inferior court charged with probates and guardianships. It was renamed the probate court in 1832 but was discontinued in 1869, and its jurisdiction was returned to the court of chancery.

Chancery courts in Mississippi have broad jurisdiction. They maintain deed and mortgage records with grantee and grantor indexes; land entry or tract books, recording the original transfer of each parcel of land from the federal government to the individual; sectional indexes, which are expanded versions of the tract books, showing the original acquisition of the property and citing a volume/page reference for each subsequent transfer between individuals; probate and orphans-court records (often the original packets of papers, as well as the volumes which record only certain documents from the packets); board of supervisors' minutes (formerly called the police court), an unindexed collection of volumes with abstracts of such proceedings as the acknowledgement of deeds and the appointment of administrators, guardianships, and members of inquest juries; county maps and plat books; and divorce records.

Circuit courts in Mississippi maintain a more-limited variety of records for genealogical use: marriage records; voter registrations; declarations and naturalizations;<sup>34</sup> criminal court minutes; and, in some cases, the coroners' books.

Tax assessors maintain extant copies of the tax rolls covering real and personal property as well as poll-tax rolls. For the nineteenth century, tax lists exist randomly and are usually unindexed, with entries often listed alphabetically instead of being in neighborhood sequence. Taxable items varied from county to county and year to year. Poll ages were normally twenty-one to fifty, but at times the maximum dropped to forty-five. Researchers who encounter tax rolls which do not explicitly identify poll ages should consult the state statutes for that year. Some tax rolls were destroyed as soon as the taxes were paid; others have burned or otherwise been destroyed. In such cases, MDAH often has the state-level copy of the roll for the missing year and county.

Miscellaneous items also are found from courthouse to courthouse. Particularly, the researcher should check for the existence of the 1907 State Enumeration of Confederate Soldiers and Widows, which appears to be extant for only twenty-seven of the counties. Older records not regularly used in the courthouse are often relegated to storage areas. The researcher who inquires about such a possibility is usually given access.

### VITAL RECORDS

No birth or death records were kept on a state level before 1 November 1912. The Bureau of Vital Statistics (BVS), Box 1700, Jackson, MS 39205, has kept birth and death records since then and will answer mail requests submitted on its own forms. BVS officials have estimated that the state did not reach a level of 90-percent compliance in death registrations until 1919 or in birth registrations until 1921. This tardy compliance is unfortunate for the genealogist, but it does appear that the problem is not as acute in Mississippi as elsewhere. One national study shows an average of 21.9 years after the various state laws were passed before a state reached the 90-percent level.<sup>35</sup>

### FEDERAL CENSUSES

# Population Schedules

The first federal census was taken in 1820 and has been published three times, but never with slave or miscellaneous information. Various published versions also rearrange households, statewide, in alphabetical order instead of preserving the original neighborhood sequence. Therefore, researchers are cautioned to use these only as a shortcut to the location of individuals on the microfilmed originals. Subsequent censuses are extant, except for the 1830 enumeration of Pike and that of 1860 for Hancock, Sunflower, and Washington counties. Printed indexes are available (1820–60)<sup>36</sup> as well as soundexes (1880–1910). A published version exists of the 1830 census, statewide, but age categories were altered by the compilers.<sup>37</sup> The census of 1840, following the last Indian cession, was the first which ostensibly included all inhabitants

within the bounds of the present state. Revolutionary soldiers were also enumerated in this schedule, even if they were not heads of households. The 1870 census was the first to give every-name enumerations of freedmen.

### Auxiliary Schedules

In addition to the population schedule, the federal government during the mid to late 1800s took various other schedules of value, including

Census of Union Veterans and Widows (1890), which inadvertently included some individuals who had served in the Confederate Army.

Agricultural Schedules (1850-80), which enumerated the amount and quality of land under cultivation, the types of livestock owned, etc. Landowning neighbors are listed consecutively; when this data is compared with the population schedules, the researcher can more fully reconstruct the community in which an individual resided.

Industrial and Manufacturers Schedules (1850-70), which are similarly helpful for tradespeople and craftsmen.

Mortality Schedules (1850–80), which provide information for those individuals who died during the twelve months preceding the official census date (1 June).

Slave Schedules (1850-60), which enumerate owners and generally itemize nameless slaves by age, sex, and racial composition. Slave schedules for Washington and Hancock counties in 1860 are missing.

Social Statistics Schedules (1850-70), which tally and characterize each county's annual taxes, libraries, newspapers, periodicals, colleges, schools, and churches and give statistics on pauperism, crime, and wages. The taxation rate is particularly important for the genealogist to note, since the property valuations shown on the population schedule are the assessed value rather than the actual value.

Defective, Delinquent, and Dependent Classes, Supplemental Schedules Nos. 1 to 7 (1880), which have four sections: (a) Insane and Idiots; (b) Deaf-mutes and Blind; (c) Homeless Children and Prisoners; (d) Paupers and Indigents. Strict definitions for each category are given. Institutions are enumerated as well as private households. Since the support of these classes was a public concern and since the county or state which was legally responsible was the one of legal residence (not the site of the institution where treatment was administered), these schedules state explicitly the county and state in which the institutionalized individual resided when "at home."

### NATURALIZATION RECORDS

Prior to 1906, naturalization proceedings might take place in any court of law. Consequently, declarations of intentions, petitions, and minutes noting the administration of oaths of allegiance will be scattered throughout chancery-and circuit-court records of the various counties. However, many of these records have been lost. WPA workers combed Mississippi's courthouses and presented, in 1942, a typescript *Index of Naturalization Records in Missis-sippi Courts*, 1798–1906. A copy is at MDAH. Naturalization proceedings after 1906 have taken place in the federal district courts. Extant records for the Southern District of Mississippi (1906–43) are now part of RG 21 (Records of District Courts of the United States), which the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) has transferred to the Federal Records Center—Atlanta (1557 St. Joseph Avenue, East Point, GA 30344).

### LAND RECORDS—FEDERAL

Mississippi is a public-lands state, meaning that when its territory was acquired, the federal government took title to all lands. These *public lands* were then sold or given away, as military bounty or for homesteads, by the federal government. Consequently, federal land records for Mississippi date to the earliest settlement of each community and may be the only early land records still extant for "burned" counties. Researchers can use these to locate federal land files, and more-skilled researchers can use these to trace non-landowners and establish relationships.<sup>38</sup>

Public lands within the state were sold through eight federal land-office districts between 1806 and 1925. Several major types of records were created in the process:<sup>39</sup>

Tract Books, arranged geographically by land description (not by name of purchaser), which show the number of acres purchased, the date of sale, the name of the purchaser, the land office, and the entry number. Tract books were in the custody of the land office as long as land was available for sale. They are deposited today in the Eastern States Office of the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) at 350 South Pickett Street, Alexandria, VA 22304.

Credit Entry Files, containing the "loose" paperwork for land sold prior to the Land Act of 1820, are maintained today at the Suitland Branch of NARA. To obtain copies of these files, the researcher must provide entry numbers from the tract book or patent numbers. Mail-inquiries should be addressed to General Branch (NNFG), Civil Archives Division, NARA, Eighth and Pennsylvania Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20409.

Cash Entry Files, containing the "loose" paperwork for land sold after 1 June 1820, are also located at Suitland. To obtain copies, the researcher must again provide entry or patent numbers.

Patents, the official titles ultimately issued by the president of the United States (or a designated staff member under him), are obtainable from the Eastern States Office of BLM. The researcher must provide BLM with the land's entry number or its full legal description.

Although the federal government did not require family information until the Homestead Act of 1862, the earlier records contain much valuable data. Both the credit-entry files and the earlier cash-entry files frequently cite prior places of residence or middle names which often cannot be found elsewhere. The signature of the purchaser often appears in these files, making it possible to positively identify him. Occasionally, family relationships will be stated. The patents, which are the documents most likely to be sought by genealogists, are of little genealogical value.<sup>40</sup>

### MILITARY RECORDS

# Revolutionary War

Although no battles were fought on Mississippi soil during this war, Revolutionary activities did occur here. Because of the extent to which the subject has been neglected, most existing records have not been published in a conveniently processed form for genealogists. Willing's Raid of January 1778 openly split the colony between Loyalists and Rebels,<sup>41</sup> and British forces at Natchez surrendered to America's Spanish allies in the spring of 1779, but counterrevolts continued. The best published survey of Revolutionary activities in Mississippi is Hayne's *Natchez District and the American Revolution*,<sup>42</sup> and the standard guide to service records is the typescript compendium amassed by Churchill from Spanish archives.<sup>43</sup> Many of the records which chronicle the clash between Loyalists and Rebels are in the previously discussed English Provincial Records at MDAH, particularly the 5th Series (America and the West Indies), volumes 582–97, taken from London's Public Records Office. Useful, too, are the Oliver Pollock Papers from RG 360, Records of the Continental Congress, in NARA.

Families which came into Mississippi after the war may also find records on ancestors who participated in the Revolution from one of the seaboard colonies. The census of 1840 lists Revolutionary veterans living within the state, and MDAH's Grave Registrations also includes veterans of the Revolution. Welch's Family Records: Mississippi Revolutionary Soldiers<sup>44</sup> and the DAR Collections at MDAH are also helpful, although they do contain errors.

# War of 1812

Military forces from Mississippi Territory who participated in this war were composed of regular army, militiamen, volunteers, and rangers. Major resources which exist on the federal level include: enlistment registers, showing name, place of enlistment, date, by whom enlisted, age, occupation, personal description, regimental assignment, and certification of the examining surgeon and recruiting officer; and muster-rolls, which include a column of events; as well as the better-known service records, pensions, and bounty land applications. A convenient index exists by which ancestors with service can be identified, Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served During the War of 1812 from the Territory of Mississippi, NARA Microfilm M602. Researchers may then turn to the compiled records themselves—Mississippi being the only state for which these records are presently filmed (M678). On the state-level, the reader should consult MDAH's Grave Registrations. A helpful overview of Mississippi's role in this war is available from Rowland's Mississippi Territory in the War of 1812.

### Mexican War

The best overall discussion of Mississippi's contribution to America's defense during this conflict is Lasswell's "First Regiment of Mississippi Infantry in the Mexican War." Researchers will also want to consult NARA's M863, Compiled Service Records of Soldiers from Mississippi (9 reels), and the previously cited Grave Registrations.

# Civil War: Federal-Level Military Records

The one type of record on Mississippi's soldiers which most genealogists seek from the National Archives is the military-service records for both Confeder-

ate and Union service. These are easily obtainable through the submission of a Form 80 or via microfilm. The filmed records of Union soldiers are accessible through NARA M389, Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of Mississippi (1 roll), which corresponds to the actual file on M404, Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of Mississippi (4 rolls). Access to Confederate service records is similarly gained through M253, Consolidated Index to Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers (535 rolls), or M232, Index to Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of Mississippi (45 rolls). Either of these will lead to the proper records in M269, Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of Mississippi (427 rolls).

Far more neglected is the richer collection of records from which the preceding Confederate material was gleaned: RG109, War Department Collection of Captured Confederate Records. This 5,739 cubic feet of material covers hospital records; registers of men exempted from service; letters; applications for officer status and civilian jobs; records of the sequestration of property of aliens residing in the South; and literally hundreds of other types of records that have never been filmed. NARA has prepared an indispensable 310-page guide.<sup>49</sup>

Pension records are available at NARA for very few of Mississippi's Civil War soldiers, since the bulk of the state's veterans served the Confederacy and the federal government did not issue pensions to those who had fought against it (unless they qualified as U.S. veterans of another conflict). Identification of Union veterans who received pensions can be made from T288, General Index to Pension Files.

### Civil War: Federal-Level Civilian Records

NARA also maintains several significant collections of records relating to civilians who resided in Mississippi during the Civil War. Several of these are more fully discussed in Goggin and Helton's General Records of the Department of State, 50 and a convenient overview is provided in NARA's Genealogical Research in the National Archives. 51 Following is a summary:

Amnesty Records. These are to be found in several record groups. RG59, Department of State, contains one series of amnesty oaths and another of presidential pardons. A more conveniently accessed group is the application-for-amnesty files of some fourteen thousand Southerners who had held high civilian or military rank, which NARA has filmed as M1003, Case Files of Applications From Former Confederates for Presidential Pardons ("Amnesty Papers"), 1865–1867 (73 rolls). Rolls covering Mississippi are also at MDAH.

Claims Records. Mississippians who claimed to be loyal to the United States throughout the conflict and aliens residing in the state filed thousands of claims against the U.S. for damage or confiscation of property. Their case files are often rich in genealogical detail. Researchers will be principally interested in

- —RG 56, Records of the Southern Claims Commission. An index to the 22,298 SCC claimants (arranged by state) was published by the private sector in 1980 and has resulted in such public demand for these records that NARA is now microfilming the actual case files.<sup>52</sup>
- -RG 76, Mixed Commission of British and American Claims. A complete list of these claimants recently has been published, together with instructions for accessing the unfilmed records.<sup>53</sup>

Union Provost Marshals' Files. These records chiefly relate to civilians living in areas under Union occupancy during and after the war and contain such material as court papers and orders, passes, parole records, oaths of allegiance, and transportation permits. Secondarily, one will find information on Confederate prisoners, deserters, and soldiers. Arranged alphabetically by the name of the individual involved, these papers have been filmed as M345, Union Provost Marshals' File of Papers Relating to Individual Civilians (300 rolls).

### Civil War: State-Level Records

At some courthouses, researchers will find a 1907 Census of Confederate Soldiers for that county or pension applications of soldiers and widows; however, the bulk of available records treating Mississippi's soldiers will be found at MDAH. This repository has copies of NARA's microfilmed indexes and service records, previously discussed, for both Union and Confederate soldiers. In addition, it offers

- -Lists of indigent and disabled soldiers and dependents, by county, 1864-68.
- -Lists of persons liable for military duty, 1861-65.
- -Court-martials, 1861-64.
- —Deceased soldiers' claims, 1861-65.
- —Final statements of deceased soldiers, certificates of payment and claims, 1861-65.
- —Pension records by county and date (ca. 1889–1935); these pensions were issued by the state of Mississippi, not by the federal government.
- —Grave registrations of soldiers (previously discussed).

Special research aids exist for locating burial information on soldiers or veterans who died at Vicksburg. The National Military Cemetery there has a computerized list that covers not only the known Union victims of the Siege of Vicksburg but also the family members buried there after 1866 when the site was declared a National Military Park. Copies of the list are available in both the park's office and the Old Court House Museum in Vicksburg. Also in that city is the Cedar Hill Cemetery, whose office has records of lot purchasers beginning in 1840 and a list of the soldiers buried in the Confederate section; the latter list is arranged alphabetically by state. Mail inquiries are answered if addressed to Post-Office Box 150, Vicksburg, 39180. Researchers who seek a general overview of Mississippi's military contribution to the Confederacy would be interested in Rietti's Military Annals of Mississippi: Military

Organizations.<sup>54</sup> The federal publication known informally as Official Records, War of the Rebellion is indispensable.<sup>55</sup>

### Later Wars

Fewer records are available, either at MDAH or NARA, for veterans of later conflicts. MDAH offers one box of records, Army Headquarters, General Orders, 1898–1899. Soldiers for this conflict, for the Philippine Insurrection, and for World War I appear amid Grave Registrations at MDAH. That facility has a small number of original records relating to World War I, including a typescript, alphabetical index of veterans from the state. Draft registration cards for World War I are on file at the Federal Records Center—Atlanta. Later military records have various restrictions placed upon them for reasons of privacy. Researchers not familiar with these should consult the discussion provided in NARA's Genealogical Guide. 56

### CHURCH RECORDS

### Catholic

Church records for colonial Mississippi are Catholic ones since Catholicism was the official religion. Protestants appear in these records to varying degrees. Researchers interested in this period should see the general discussions of colonial Alabama and Louisiana by Mills and De Ville, previously cited, and Mills's more-detailed discussion of Catholic records in her article "Spanish Records."<sup>57</sup> Resident priests left the Natchez District in 1798 when the Spanish departed, but Catholic ministers from adjacent Louisiana and Mobile continued to come into the area to administer the sacraments.<sup>58</sup> Residents of the area below the thirty-first parallel were assigned to the Diocese of Louisiana and the Floridas, which existed briefly between 1785 and 1803, and appear not only in the baptismal, marriage, and burial records of Mobile and New Orleans but also in the confirmation, dispensation, and church-census records.<sup>59</sup> After the sale of Louisiana in 1803, the Catholic church abolished this diocese and placed Mississippi under the distant diocese of Baltimore; practically speaking, no more records were created on the diocesan level until a bishop was assigned to Natchez in 1837. That diocese was eventually removed to Jackson. Registers of local parishes that still function are generally maintained within those parishes. The Official Catholic Directory, issued annually, provides current names and addresses. 60 Historic records of older parishes can be found in the Catholic Archives on East Amite Street, Jackson. 61

# Baptist

Although non-Catholic worship services were proscribed under the Spanish, it is generally held that Reverend Richard Curtis established the Baptists on Cole's Creek of the Natchez District in 1791. Since then, twenty-seven distinct

Baptist groups have developed, the most prevalent of which may be the Primitive Baptists (also popularly called "Hard-Shell"). The most-useful type of Baptist records are the minute books maintained locally. Migrating church members took with them letters of recommendation from the old church which were recorded, or at least noted, in the church minutes within the newer congregation. Migrations can thus be documented. Membership rolls, within the minute books, reflect new affiliates as well as transfers to other congregations and often note deaths. The ordination of ministers, disputes between members, dismissals for transgressions against church law, and sometimes marriages are also included. Records of a district or state association contain session minutes which list affiliated churches, pastors, statistics of membership, delegates to the sessions, and sometimes obituaries of prominent ministers and histories of member churches.

Aside from records maintained in the local churches, the researcher will find auxiliary records in the Baptist Historical Commission at Mississippi College in Clinton. The Historical Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, 127 Ninth Avenue North, Nashville, TN 37234, is the major national repository and possesses significant material on Mississippi. For early Baptist newspapers treating Mississippians, the researcher should first turn to the Southwestern Baptist, which began publishing at Marion, Alabama, in 1843. The Mississippi Baptist (later Baptist Record) began in 1877.<sup>62</sup>

### Methodist

Methodism was Mississippi's largest denomination during the antebellum period. Established in 1799 by Reverend Tobias Gibson of the South Carolina Conference, the Natchez Circuit grew to twelve churches within the first year. and by 1812 the Mississippi Conference was independent. Records maintained by the Methodist church are somewhat similar to those discussed for the Baptists. 63 The J. B. Cain Archives of Mississippi Methodism are housed in the Wilson Library of Millsaps College at Jackson. Their holdings include manuscript and printed materials, church records, books, journals, biographies of ministers, and private papers. Methodist journals and newspapers at this facility include the Mississippi Conference's Journal, from 1845; the North Mississippi Conference's Journal, from 1871; the Mississippi Conference of the Methodist Protestant Church's Journal, 1870-1911; the New Orleans Christian Advocate, 1850–1946 (whose issues in early years covered Mississippians); and Mississippi United Methodist Advocate, published since 1947, for which there exists an index covering the years 1947-74. Inventories and indexes to the collections are being prepared. Interlibrary loan and photocopy services are available. Detailed searches are made for a reasonable fee. Other major record collections are in the United Methodist Archives Center, Drew University, Madison, NJ 07940.

# Episcopalian

Episcopalian worship in Mississippi is also said to have begun during the Spanish period—as early as 1790. However, it was twenty-five years before the

first congregation was established at Christ Church in Church Hill, Jefferson County. In 1849, the Episcopal diocese was still being supervised outside the state.<sup>64</sup> Records of this denomination include baptisms, confirmations, marriages, deaths, and funerals. However, all were not preserved and no central repository exists. The *Episcopal Church Annual* lists current names and addresses of parishes and dioceses. Denominational headquarters are at 815 Second Avenue. New York, NY 10017.<sup>65</sup>

### Presbyterian

The South Carolina Synod organized the Scotch-Irish settlers of Claiborne and Jefferson counties before 1800. The Mississippi Synod was organized in 1816 under sponsorship of the Kentucky Synod. By 1835, Mississippi's twenty-four churches had a combined membership of eight to nine hundred and were recognized as the Synod of Mississippi. Outside the local churches, records presently are found at Belhaven College in Jackson and at the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Assembly Drive, Box 847, Montreat, NC 28757.

Cumberland Presbyterians first organized in Dickinson County, Tennessee, in 1810, favoring less-stringent educational requirements for their frontier ministers. Operations in Mississippi began with a mission school for the Chickasaw in Cotton Gin Port, Monroe County. For information from the denomination's headquarters or publishing house, the researcher should write: Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Box 4149, Memphis, TN 42445.66

### Lutheran

Last among Protestants to enter the state before the Civil War were the Lutherans, who came from South Carolina to Attala, Winston, Smith, Leake and Scott counties. The Mississippi Synod, was established in 1855; and by 1860 there were nine churches.<sup>67</sup> Lutheran records rank with Catholic records (to which they are quite similar) as among the best of America's church records. The repository for those of the Southern states is the Lutheran Southern Seminary, 4201 North Main Street, Columbia, S. C. 29203.

Some general sources relating to Mississippi's church records which researchers will want to consult are the WPA's Guide to Vital Statistics Records in Mississippi, Vol II, Church Archives (which lists depositories of church records as of its date of publication (1942) and Donna Pannell's compilation Church Records in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, issued 1986, which treats an ongoing project to index church records found within that archives.

### **NEWSPAPERS**

The Mississippi Newspaper Project, part of the nationwide United States Newspaper Project funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, was organized to prevent further loss of this valuable information-source. The survey of extant newspapers, completed in 1985, identifies approximately 2,100 titles, most of which are held in MDAH and the state's major academic libraries. Currently, these titles are being cataloged. Bibliographic information for each will be entered into a national on-line computer data base (OCLC/CONSER) under the supervision of the Library of Congress. The final phase of this project involves microfilming selected titles. Meanwhile, useful reference guides are Lewis's Mississippiana: Union List of Newspapers<sup>68</sup> and the Library of Congress's more-current work, Newspapers in Microform.<sup>69</sup>

### INDIAN RECORDS

A rich store of records exists for tracing Indian and part-Indian families in Mississippi or frontier whites who traded with Indians and moved onto their lands (with or without invitation). Although a variety of records relating to Indians was created by the French and British, the extant records of greatest genealogical and biographical use date from the Spanish period. They number in the thousands and can be found primarily in two major collections.

# Spanish-Era Records Relating to Indians

Papeles Procedentes de Cuba (Cuban Papers). This incredibly vast collection, housed at the General Archives of the Indies in Seville, Spain, covers the "working papers" of the government of Spanish West Florida as well as those of adjacent Louisiana, with whom Mississippians had much business and social intercourse. These files include Indian treaties, censuses, accounts of white encroachments upon Indian lands and fugitive slaves living in the Indian nations, reports of traders and their activities, lists of Indians serving in the Galvez Campaigns of the Spanish-English War (American Revolution), accounts of attacks upon Anglo-American settlers, and numerous other items. The principal guide to these records is Hill's Descriptive Catalogue to the . . . Papeles Procedentes de Cuba, 70 which indexes some 2,375 legajos (bundles) of records by subject (in detail) and by names of individuals of major importance. The Cuban Papers have been microfilmed in a joint project by Tulane University of New Orleans and Louisiana State University of Baton Rouge: the original cataloging order of the legajos has been maintained, so that Hill's catalog serves as an index to the microfilm. After researchers identify legajos and documents of interest, they can order the corresponding film on interlibrary loan from LSU. Most documents appear in the Spanish language. secondarily in English and French.

Panton, Leslie, and Company Papers. This significant collection of more than 200,000 pages of documents was amassed at the Pace Library, University of West Florida in Pensacola. It represents the business papers of a British mercantile firm to whom the government of Spanish West Florida gave a monopoly over Indian trade. Because the firm's members were British and many of their traders were Anglo-Americans, a large percentage of the documents are in English. In 1985 the library completed its cataloging and microfilming of the papers, making them available in a number of research libraries via a 26-reel collection. A guide to the microfilm edition has also been published.<sup>71</sup>

### American-Era Records

By the onset of U.S. relations with Mississippi Indians, there were only two major groups left. The Chickasaw occupied the extreme northern and eastern portions of the present state. The Choctaw claimed the remainder. Although U.S. relations with these nations began with the 1786 Treaty of Hopewell, involvement was minor until Mississippi became a territory in 1798.

Over the next three decades, the Mississippi Indians found it impossible to resist American encroachment. Through a series of six treaties, the Choctaw and Chickasaw of Mississippi gave up their lands. (See map, Indian Land Cessions.) Removal of the Choctaw to the old Indian Territory (present-day Arkansas and Oklahoma) began on a voluntary basis in 1820 and became more compulsory under the 1830 Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, when the nation gave up the last of its lands and its right of sovereignty in Mississippi. The tribe was to remove to Oklahoma. Individual Choctaws might remain and become private landowners subject to Mississippi law. Each adult head-of-household who chose to stay was to receive 640 acres, each child over ten years of age was to receive 200 acres, and each child under ten received 160. Chickasaw sovereignty in Mississippi ended shortly after, with the Treaty of Pontotoc in 1832, although their departure was delayed until 1837.

No American censuses were taken of the Mississippi Indians prior to the period of final removal. However, a number of useful resources exist for genealogical work in earlier years. The treaties identify many male tribal members but provide virtually no genealogical detail.<sup>72</sup> The most-accessible records which state relationships and chronicle activities of tribal members are the NARA series, T500, Records of the Choctaw Trading House, 1803–1824 (6 rolls), and M234, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-81 (962 rolls), to which NARA has prepared a descriptive pamphlet that facilitates locating the exact rolls needed. The latter collection contains two copies of the 1831 register (or census) of Choctaw Agent William Ward; neither is complete, nor are they identical. 73 MDAH maintains copies of T500 and the portion of M234 which pertains to Choctaws. While the U.S. maintained no Chickasaw agency per se, there did exist a subagency under the dominion of the Cherokee agency; therefore, researchers will want to use M208, Records of the Cherokee Agency in Tennessee (14 rolls), for Chickasaw research. In addition to official government activity, there were several missions and schools established in various places by different religious groups; each created records which identify relationships within Choctaw families.<sup>74</sup> The Alabama Department of Archives and History at Montgomery also offers its M260, Choctaw Indian Muster Roll, 1837 (1 roll), which identifies some 500 males (Indians, mixed-bloods, and white countrymen) who fought for the U.S. during the Creek War.<sup>75</sup>

The unmicrofilmed records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, RG 75, at NARA, contain numerous records the genealogist will not want to overlook.

Researchers working on this subject will find three guides indispensable: Kidwell and Roberts's *The Choctaws: A Critical Bibliography*, <sup>76</sup> Hill's *Guide to Records*... Relating to American Indians, and Hill's earlier work, *Preliminary Inventory, Bureau of Indian Affairs*. <sup>77</sup>

### **BLACK RECORDS**

Research on black families in Mississippi generally involves the same records and methodology as research on Caucasian families. However, there are a few special situations and resources of which the researcher should be aware. As with Indian records, so-called black records contain much useful information on whites and Indians and should not be overlooked by researchers of either ethnic group. Genealogists with black ancestry in Mississippi typically expect their forebears to have been slaves. That was not always the case. Censuses enumerate several thousand free blacks here prior to the Civil War. These were scattered throughout the state, and they displayed a varied economic status. Some were slave owners themselves, sometimes owning a spouse and children and sometimes owning slaves as a labor force. Many were propertyless, but others can be found in conveyance, marriage, probate, and court records. The researcher should not expect to find separate volumes labeled black; almost without exception, in the prewar period their records are interfiled with those of other ethnic groups. Separate marriage registers began after the Civil War. One county-level record which can be found randomly in various courthouse volumes (but particularly in deed books) is especially useful: the free papers, which blacks sometimes recorded in the courthouse when they came into the county. In tracing the origins of free blacks who moved into Mississippi, it is helpful to remember that they often moved with a white family to which they were connected in another state and that antebellum church records frequently recorded the acceptance or dismissal by letter of slave as well as free members. Among special records created primarily on the black population of Mississippi, one will find the following:

# Slave Impressments—Confederacy

Part of the previously discussed Captured Confederate Records, this volume of unpublished, unmicrofilmed records is now part of NARA's RG 109. It treats only Mississippi, is arranged by county, and covers the years 1864–65. For each named person, there appears a physical description, identification of owner, the slave's value, and the date and name of person to whom the slave was delivered for work detail. The entries are indexed.

## Freedmen's Bureau, 1865-1872

The records of the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees, and Abandoned Lands are among the richest sources of genealogical information on black families during the period of their transition from slavery to freedom. Secondarily, they contain useful information on whites and former free blacks. The Bureau's several series of records contain correspondence from freedmen asking for help in locating family members; banking records, in which black depositors were required to give parental and other family data; education records; "marriage registrations" for unions entered into during slavery; labor contracts, which give the name of the planter, the name of the plantation, and lists of former

slaves agreeing to work on the plantation; and some wartime loyalty oaths which give a physical description of the individual.<sup>78</sup>

### WPA Slave Narratives

A major project of the WPA in Mississippi, as in other states, was the interviewing of elderly black freedmen. Transcripts of individual interviews are at MDAH and have also been published. Information found in these narratives varies widely, depending upon the slant of the interviewer (usually white), and the disposition or memory of the ex-slave. Most gave valuable genealogical detail on their immediate family. Comparatively few gave grandparental or more distant information. While the recollections of all aged interviewees was not perfect, the researcher will find this to be an important source of information which leads to many additional records.<sup>79</sup>

### **SUMMATION**

Research in every state is unique; Mississippi is no exception. The manner in which records were kept was influenced heavily by the political customs of the country which controlled it; under U.S. dominion, it was also influenced by customs prevailing in the particular state from which a record keeper hailed. The type of records created was in great measure determined by the political and economic events that transpired within the borders of Mississippi. Even for the so-called "burned counties" of the state, a wealth of resources exists; but to locate these and to glean full value from them, the researcher must also familiarize himself with the history of the state and the peculiarities of the society created by its widely diverse settlers.

### NOTES AND REFERENCES

- \*3323 Highland Drive, Vicksburg, MS 39180. Mrs. Hatten is editor and publisher of the Land Newsletter, a surname publication now in its seventh year.
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# Maritime Records in the National Archives: Civil Archives Division, 1789–1900

### By JOHN K. VANDEREEDT\*

The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) each year receives hundreds of requests from the public for information about vessels, their owners and masters, the crews that manned them, and the voyages undertaken by those vessels. The problem facing both searchers and the staff is where to locate the needed information, since records relating to merchant vessels are widely dispersed throughout NARA. To facilitate the location and use of these records, this essay focuses upon six selected record groups, found in three of the branches of the Civil Archives Division—records which are of significant value to genealogists and other historians.

Three principal record groups containing maritime information for the period covered by this essay are part of the holdings of the Judicial, Fiscal, and Social Branch of NARA. They are as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Record Group (RG) 26. Records of the United States Coast Guard, hereinafter referred to as Coast Guard Records:

Record Group 36. Records of the United States Customs Service, hereinafter referred to as Customs Records;

Record Group 41. Records of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, hereinafter referred to as RMIN Records

Two other record groups are part of the holdings of the Diplomatic Branch.

Record Group 59. General Records of the Department of State, hereinafter referred to as State Department Records;

Record Group 84. Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State, hereinafter referred to as Foreign Service Post Records.

The sixth and final record group is part of the holdings of the Scientific, Economic, and Natural Resources Branch, as follows:

Record Group 27. Records of the United States Weather Bureau.

The purpose of this essay is to show the type of information available in these records, some of the methods by which they might be used, and procedures for locating the needed information. In order to accomplish this, three types of searches will be explored—those relating to vessels, seamen, and voyages. These constitute the majority of the maritime-related reference inquiries received by the Judicial, Fiscal, and Social Branch.

### **VESSELS**

### VESSEL DOCUMENTATION

Inquiries relating to vessels constitute the greatest number of maritime requests received, and the principal information to be found on these vessels is generally referred to as vessel documentation. This term refers to those documents required by law for vessels to engage in trade. The primary vessel documents are

Registers issued to vessels which were five tons and over in size and which were engaged in the foreign trade;

Enrollments issued to vessels twenty tons and over, which were engaged in the coastwise or domestic trade;

Licenses issued to vessels below twenty tons, which were engaged in the coastwise or domestic trade.

Vessel documentation must be further broken down into two time frames: vessels documented prior to 1867 and those documented since 1867.

### LOCATION OF RECORDS

While the primary vessel documents are usually to be found exclusively in BMIN Records, RG 41, there is an exception to the rule. Enrollments and registers for the period 1789 through 1803 were gathered together by the Department of the Treasury during the period 1885 to 1887, to aid in settling the claims for losses to American merchant vessels captured during the Quasi-War with France, 1798–1800. These records are now part of Customs Records, RG 36. They are grouped together under the heading Records Used in the Settlement of French Spoilation Claims, arranged alphabetically by port of issuance, then by type of document, and finally by the date of issuance.<sup>2</sup>

### **RESEARCH PROCEDURES: PRE-1867**

Vessel searches in the pre-1867 period are more complex than later ones. In order to undertake a vessel search, the staff of the Judicial, Fiscal, and Social Branch should be informed on four details: name of vessel, its rig (manner and type of masts and rigging), its approximate tonnage, and the date and place built. A vessel search can be started with only two or three of these criteria; but doing so adds to the complexity of the search. Presuming that the inquirer has all the needed pieces of information, the first step would be determined by whether the vessel was sail powered or steam powered.

If the vessel of interest was steam-powered, an important finding aid exists to facilitate the search:

Lytle-Holdcamper Index (RG 41), arranged alphabetically by name of vessel and thereunder by date built. If the vessel had a compound name, the arrangement is

alphabetical by the first part of the name. The information for each vessel is on a separate three-by-five-inch card, each of which gives a brief description of the vessel and a list of the documents issued to it.

If the vessel was sail powered, however, the search is more complex. The principal finding aid for this type of vessel is

Master Abstracts of Enrollments (1815–1911), Registers (1815–1912), and Licenses (1867–1917), (RG 41). This ongoing compilation of the NARA staff offers a complete list of vessel documents (often referred to as a vessel history) for vessels which have been previously researched. An alphabetical index of the ports of issuance is located at the beginning of each volume. Under each port, the documents are listed numerically. Each entry gives the month and day of issuance; rig and name of the vessel; names of the managing owner and master; reason for issuance of the present document; date (year, month, and day), number, and port of issuance of the previous document; tonnage of the vessel; and finally, port, date, and reason for the surrender of the present document. The Master Abstracts are a convenient starting point if the researcher has full information on the vessel.

In most cases, some criteria will be lacking, and the first objective must be to locate any reference to any document issued to the vessel. The method used to locate such a reference is dependent upon the information supplied. If only the name of the vessel and its rig are known, the first step would be to check the following two resources:

Special List 22: List of American Merchant Vessels That Received Certificates of Enrollment or Registry at the Port of New York, 1789–1867.<sup>3</sup> Although this publication covers only one port, that port is the nation's major one, and a large percentage of American vessels were documented at New York at one time or another. Compiled from customhouse records, this list provides citations to specific documents.

WPA Lists of Documents Issued at Specific Ports. Compiled under the auspices of the Work Projects Administration, these manuscripts cover several major Atlantic and Gulf ports, as follows:

- -Index to Vessels Arriving at New York, 1820-1840s
- -Index to Vessels Arriving at Various Other Ports, 1820s-1860s
- —Index to Masters (of Passenger Vessels) Arriving at New York, 1820s-1840s
- -Index to Masters (of Passenger Vessels) Arriving at Philadelphia, 1800-1860s
- -Index to Masters (of Passenger Vessels) Arriving at Various Other Ports, 1820-1860s
- —Index to Abstracts of Seamen Receiving Seamen's Protection Certificates at New York, 1815–1870
- —Index to Abstracts of Seamen Receiving Seamen's Protection Certificates, 1815–1870 Copies of these unpublished typescripts are available for examination at NARA and at random libraries throughout the United States. As with Special List 22, these WPA compilations are drawn from customhouse copies of enrollments and registrations and offer citations to specific documents.

Additionally, the researcher who lacks full descriptive detail on a vessel might consult various scholarly works which have been written about merchant vessels. Primary examples would be Carl Cutler's pair, *Greyhounds of the Sea* 

and Queens of the Western Ocean, or William Fairburn's series, Merchant Sails.<sup>4</sup> Both of the latter two have separate indexes to vessel names. In general, such works mention the date and/or place built and, therefore, suggest places to check in the Master Abstracts in order to locate a citation to a document. However, they do not provide the direct citation of NARA records that are available from the WPA lists and Special List 22.

Two other finding aids less often used but still of value are also WPA indexes. Both were drawn from passenger manifests in RG 36 and are of limited value in locating documents directly. Their principal worth lies in their identification of the names of masters. They are as follows:

Indexes to Vessels. These three series cover vessels arriving at New York (1820–1840s), Philadelphia (1800–1860s), and miscellaneous ports (1820–1860s).

Indexes to Masters. This pair of indexes cover masters of vessels arriving at New York (1820–1840s) and various other ports (1820–1860s).

### RESEARCH PROCEDURES: 1867-1900

For vessel documents issued from 1867 through the close of the century, whether the vessel was built before or after that date or whether it was a sailing ship or a steamship, research follows a set pattern in the following records:

# Judicial, Fiscal, and Social Branch (JFSB) Records

List of Merchant Vessels of the United States, a government publication issued by the Department of the Treasury annually since 1867, is the first item to be consulted. This list has provided various information in several formats over the years, but consistently it has had one principal feature: it gives the official number assigned to a vessel.

Index to the Official Numbers of Merchant Vessels, 1867–1912 (RG 41), should be consulted after the identification number is gleaned from the prior source. There exist three sets of volumes under this heading. Each covers a different range of years. Each is arranged alphabetically by the first letter of the name of the vessel and thereunder numerically by the official number assigned. The format of the index has changed over the years, but the typical entry included the vessel's name; official number; rig, dimensions, tonnage, and number of decks and masts; date and place built; changes of name, rig, or description; date and reason for the vessel's removal from documentation; and complete citations to at least a representative sample of the vessel documents.

BMIN Records (RG 41) can next be accessed by using the information provided in the two indexes above. Port files in RG 41 are arranged by calendar year of issuance until 1875 and then by fiscal year (July through June). Within each year, the arrangement is geographical in the following order: Maine to Alaska; the Great Lakes; and, finally, the major river systems. Using the surrender citation on the back of each document, one can trace each succeed-

ing document. Sometimes incorrect citations appear; in other cases, researchers may find that all documents for the vessel have been collected already and placed in an official number file.

Once research has proceeded into JFSB records, if one still knows only the name and rig of a vessel and the date it arrived at a specific United States port, it often is still possible to locate additional information. First, one should verify the name and rig of the vessel and identify its *burthen* (tonnage) and nationality through the following:

Records of Entrances or Records of Vessel Arrivals (Customs Records, RG 36). These are part of the records of entrances and clearances for specific U.S. ports.

Shipping Articles and Crew Lists (Customs Records, RG 36; BMIN Records, RG 41). Shipping articles prior to 1872 are to be found in RG 36; those dating from 1872 are in RG 41. All crew lists are in RG 36. These various records provide the home port of the vessel. From there, one can check the finding aids previously discussed—particularly the Master Abstracts and Customhouse Abstracts.

# Diplomatic Records (for Foreign Ports)

If the searcher knows only the name and rig of a vessel and the date and place of arrival at a specific foreign port, the starting point might be with either of two groups of diplomatic records:

State Department Records (RG 59). The Consular Dispatches here are the principal source of maritime information. Almost from the beginning of the federal government, consular officers were required to report on the arrival and departure of American vessels in their respective districts. Their reports are part of the Consular Dispatches, a collection of records grouped alphabetically by consulate and thereunder by date of dispatch.

The amount of information contained in these consular reports increased until the 1830s. Many of the earlier reports are missing, with only the dispatch noting the enclosure of such a report as proof that one was sent. In the 1830s, the type and amount of information became standardized. For the purposes of a vessel search, the types of information of interest are the tonnage of the vessel, the names of the owner and master, when and where the vessel was built, its home port, and its rig.

Foreign Service Post Records (RG 84). This collection contains the returns of consular posts, representing the records maintained at the various consulates. Port consulates were required to collect information about American merchant vessels, their crews, and their cargoes in accordance with laws regulating United States trade. The records of each consulate were grouped by class or category, designated by the letter C and the category or class number. A list of the classes or categories of Foreign Service Post Records with maritime information appears in the appendix.

Many of the Foreign Service Post Records contain overlapping information. Those records relating principally to vessels (as opposed to crews and voyages)

are as follows:

- C7. Record of Services to American Vessels (Copies of Ships' Registers). Arranged chronologically by date of reporting and indexed by the name of the vessel, these contain abstracted information from the certificates of registry (for example, the number of the document and the date and place of issuance). This information sends the searcher directly to the Master Abstracts of Registers (RG 41) to compile a history of the vessel.
- C 20. Arrivals and Departures of American Vessels. Arranged chronologically by date of arrival. Copies appear in the consular dispatches.
- C 24. Ship's Daily Journals. Arranged chronologically by date of reporting, the journals are indexed by name of vessel.
- C 28. Register of American Vessels. Arranged and indexed in the same manner as the daily journals.

Should it not be possible to locate a reference to the vessel of interest within (C 7) Copies of Ships' Registers, one would take the information provided by the other diplomatic records and consult one of the following:

WPA Lists or Customhouse Abstracts (RG 41). See prior discussions. It should be noted that these may or may not exist for the port and year in which the vessel was built.

Port Enrollments. These may be a last resort if all of the above procedures fail. However, two major handicaps exist in using these. First, they are arranged chronologically; the researcher must approximate the year in which the vessel was built. Second, many vessels were built at a place other than a customs port of documentation (a port at which documents were issued). In the case of the latter, one might either check the index of customs districts and ports to locate the customs port with jurisdiction over the place at which the vessel was built or consult an atlas to identify the customs port closest to the place of building.

### **SEAMEN**

The second general type of search frequently made in NARA's maritime records is a search relating to seamen, whose names appear in many records throughout NARA. In order to simplify the present discussion, those records of principal use for this type of search are herein divided into two groups: records relating to individuals, and crew lists and shipping articles.

### RECORDS RELATING TO INDIVIDUAL SEAMEN

The majority of these records for the period covered by this essay are in Customs Records (RG 36). They consist of four types, grouped by the port of issuance.

Abstracts of Seamen's Protection Certificates (SPC), compiled by the collectors of customs from the actual certificates (see below); arranged

chronologically by the *quarter* of issuance; then alphabetically; and, finally, chronologically by the date of issuance. The abstracts provide such information as name, place of birth, age, height, color of eyes, and complexion.

Seamen's Protection Certificates, issued by the collectors of customs to American seamen as a form of passport. Arranged chronologically by year of issuance, SPCs offer more or less the same identifying information as the abstracts

Proofs of American Citizenship, which were attestations to a person's status made (usually) by or before a notary public. Arranged chronologically by year of issuance, the proofs also offer such additional information as the names of persons swearing to the seaman's citizenship and descriptions of scars or other noticeable marks.

Indexes to Quarterly Abstracts of SPCs at New York and Various Ports (1815-70). Compiled by the WPA from the abstracts, these indexes contain no additional information except citations to the abstracts.

In order to undertake a search of these four types of records, the researcher must know the full name of the seaman and the date and place his papers were issued. If one is not reasonably certain of the latter but does have information on place of residence and date of birth or death, it might still be possible to find the man through the Indexes to Quarterly Abstracts.

### RECORDS RELATING TO INDIVIDUAL OFFICERS

Research on officers of U.S. merchant vessels is more uncertain. There was no licensing of officers by the federal government until the establishment of the Steamboat Inspection Service in 1852. Past that date, the records of this agency are part of the BMIN records (RG 41). Licenses were first issued to pilots and engineers in 1852, then to masters and mates of steam vessels in 1871. Finally, they were extended to masters of sailing vessels in 1899.

NARA does not have copies of licenses issued to officers. It does have the annual List of Officers Licensed, compiled by the Steamboat Inspection Service. These lists are to be found in the Annual Reports of the Board of Supervising Inspectors of the Steamboat Inspection Service. The lists are first arranged numerically by supervising district, then grouped by the ports at which the licenses were issued. Within each port, the arrangement is first by the type of license issued, then roughly in alphabetical order.

In order to undertake a search of these lists, it is necessary to know the person's full name and the approximate date and place for one of the licenses issued. It is then possible to compile a list of the licenses issued to that officer. Researchers who also know the names of the vessels on which the individual served may proceed to use the resources outlined immediately below.

# Crew Lists and Shipping Articles

Judicial, Fiscal, and Social Branch Records. Within this branch of NARA, crew lists and shipping articles appear in two record groups, according to their

dates:

RG 36, Customs Records (for records prior to 1872). RG 41, BMIN Records (for 1872 and later records).

Both crew lists and shipping articles were required for vessels undertaking foreign voyages. If a vessel changed from domestic to foreign trade, it also had to change its documentation (i.e., its enrollment, if it was coastwise; or its register, if it was engaged in foreign trade).

The arrangement scheme for these records varies from port to port, but the types of information needed to use them are the same—that is, the name of the vessel on which the seaman served and the approximate dates of the voyage. Additionally, in the case of the crew lists it is necessary to know the ports from which the vessel cleared and/or entered. To use the shipping articles, one must know the port in which the seaman was engaged (signed on) or discharged (paid off).

Diplomatic Branch Records. Several collections within Foreign Service Post Records (RG 84) offer documents for tracking American seamen. They are listed below by order of usefulness and convenience.

- C 24. Ship's Daily Journals. Sometimes called Crew List Books, these are useful if one knows the date of arrival or departure of an American vessel at a foreign port. Chronologically arranged by port, these list members of the crew of each American vessel arriving at that port.
- C 20. Arrival and Departure of American Vessels. This collection identifies the port to which the vessel was sailing (bound) and is arranged by date of arrival. If the port of destination was American, by approximating the date of arrival one can search the Records of Entrances (RG 36), which were previously discussed under "Research Procedures: 1867–1900." With the date provided by the latter, the searcher can go to the Crew Lists or Shipping Articles in RG 36 for the specific port.
- C 28. Register of American Vessels. Each volume in this series is indexed by name of vessel arriving at that port. Entries are arranged chronologically by date of arrival, and each gives a complete list of the crew.
- C 21. Seamen's Register. Also known as the Detailed List of Seamen or Mariners Shipped, Discharged, or Deceased, this resource is useful for tracking crewmen who joined (shipped), died, or left service while abroad.
- C 6. Record of American Seamen Relieved.
- C7. Record of Services to American Vessels (Copies of Ships' Registers). Both C 6 and C 7 are arranged chronologically by the date service was rendered.

### VOYAGES

The last type of search to be explored is that relating to the voyage of a vessel. Researches of this type may be subdivided into three categories: (a) Voyages in general; (b) shipboard incidents during a voyage; and (c) disasters to vessels. This is not to imply that the three are mutually exclusive. However, in the interest of clarity, these will be treated separately.

### **VOYAGES IN GENERAL**

This type of search commonly has one of two objectives: identification of the path a vessel took or identification of the cargo carried on board.

### Path of Vessels

For this search, one must know the name and rig of the vessel, the port of departure, and the approximate dates of the voyage. Research can then proceed as follows:

- 1. A check for the port of departure should be made in Records of Foreign Clearances or Coastwise Clearances (RG 36). Here, one would learn the final destination of the vessel and the port to which the vessel was presently sailing.
- 2. An approximation must be made of the time of arrival, or else a check made of records for all dates after clearance at the port from which the vessel was sailing.
- 3. If the voyage was coastwise, one should check Records of Coastwise Clearances (RG 36) for the port of destination.
- 4. If the voyage was foreign, one should go to either Consular Dispatches (RG 59) or Foreign Service Post Records (RG 84) for the consulate having jurisdiction over the port of destination. If that port is a major one such as Le Havre or Hamburg, it would likely have a U.S. consulate.

Both the Consular Dispatches and the Foreign Service Post Records contain reports of the arrivals and departures of American vessels. However, the latter also offers two important collections that have been discussed previously, Ship's Daily Journals (C 24) and Register (Report) of American Vessels (C 28), which list the final destination of the vessel and the date of sailing.

Two additional record collections also exist for tracking voyages:

Maury Abstract Logs, 1796–1861. Found among the records of the U.S. Weather Bureau (RG 27) are abstracts of logbooks (and, in some cases, the entire logbooks) of merchant vessels that Matthew Fontaine Maury began to gather in 1842 as a data base for his "Wind and Current Charts." Indexed by name of vessel, this collection provides the longitude and latitude of a vessel at the same time for each day of the voyage, making it possible to plot a vessel's course.<sup>6</sup>

Meteorological Logbooks of the U.S. Weather Bureau, 1861-93. This series of logbooks is separate from the above, although it is in essence a continuation

of the Maury Abstract Logs for the period up to 1895. The format is the same as that of the Maury group.

### Information on Cargo

In order to undertake a search for this type of information, the researcher needs to know the name and rig of the vessel, the port, and at least the approximate date of departure or arrival. The types of records which may then be studied include

Customs Records (RG 36). These contain the cargo manifests for both inward and outward voyages, grouped by port and arranged by date of clearance or arrival.

State Department Records (RG 59). The consular dispatches in this record group contain reports of the arrival and departure of American vessels. Here the researcher will find information on the quantity and type of product for both the incoming and outgoing voyage.

Foreign Service Post Records (RG 84). This collection provides several types of records with cargo information:

- C 20. Arrival and Departure of American Vessels. These not only mention the quantity and type of cargo but also identify the consignees of the cargo.
- C 22-23. Marine Notes of Protest and Marine Extended Protests. These mention only the type of cargo carried on board.
- C 24. Ship's Daily Journals mention the quantity and type of cargo.

The C 20 and C 24 records (from the 1860s onward) also show where the cargo was manufactured or produced, information which can be useful in verifying products that were transshipped.

# Shipboard Incidences

Mutinies and other crew disturbances, births, deaths, hazardous weather conditions, and epidemics are a few of the various types of shipboard incidences that researchers seek to document. The information required for this type of search is the same as that for the voyage in general. The resources which are principally used are as follows:

Official Logbooks (BMIN Records, RG 41). These were required of all vessels engaged in foreign trade, except with British North America, and all vessels of seventy-five tons and upward which traded between domestic ports on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. The types of information required to be entered included the following: offenses (those resulting in either forfeiture of pay or corporal punishment); deaths (causes are also given); births (with names of infant and parents); discharges or desertions (with names of seamen or apprentices involved); and collisions (with a statement of the circumstances under which these occurred).

Logbooks within this collection are grouped by the port in which the crew was paid off, then arranged by the year the voyage ended. For some ports they are further arranged either alphabetically by the name of the vessel (and by the first part of the name if it is a compound name) or chronologically by the date the crew was paid off. A good method of approximating the date of payoff is to check the Records of Entrances (RG 36), previously discussed.

Consular Dispatches of the State Department (RG 59) and Foreign Service Post Records (RG 84). Both collections contain frequent mention of happenings aboard merchant vessels. However, a lengthy search is often required to locate this information. When the date and name of the foreign port of arrival are known, dispatches should be scanned. When a vessel experienced hazardous weather conditions and the date and the foreign port are known, the Marine Notes of Protest (C 22) and the Marine Extended Protests (C 23)—both filed within RG 84—should be checked. Shipmasters submitted such reports to U.S. consuls upon arrival at foreign ports to absolve themselves of liability for damages to vessels and cargo which may have occurred as a result of the weather.

### Domestic Disasters to U.S. Vessels

Records containing information about disasters to vessels are to be found in several record groups. There is much overlapping of information for those periods in which there are records, and large gaps with no information will be found for other periods. For disasters occurring off American shores prior to the 1830s, there are few available records. From the 1830s onward, the availability of information from the extant records and one's method of search both depend on the information known.

Records of the Life-Saving Service. This agency was a predecessor of the U.S. Coast Guard (RG 26). If the researcher knows the name of the vessel and the approximate date of the incident, the records to explore would be the following:

Registers of Letters Received Concerning Disasters, 1882–91. These are arranged alphabetically and then chronologically within each letter of the alphabet.

Correspondence Concerning Wreck Statistics, 1881-1909. These are in roughly chronological order.

Abstracts of Wreck Reports from Stations, 1881–1910. Each volume is indexed by the name of the vessel.

Letters Sent to Officers and Others Concerning Disasters to Shipping, 1882–1893. Each volume is indexed by the name of the vessel.

Abstracts of Wreck Reports, 1874-87. Arranged chronologically, with each volume indexed by name of vessel, these abstracts were compiled from reports submitted to the collectors of customs.

The amount of information contained in each of these, except for Abstracts of Wreck Reports from Stations, is minimal. Only the abstracts, with data entered on preprinted forms, contain substantial information as to date and

locality of the disaster, master's name, home port of the vessel, ports of departure and destination, vessel's cargo, and number of crew saved and lost.

Other Resources. Researchers who know the approximate location of the disaster can use several additional record series:

Life-Saving Wreck Reports, 1883–1920 and Miscellaneous Wreck Reports, 1854–1901. These two collections are part of the records of the previously discussed Life-Saving Service (RG 26). Both are arranged chronologically and thereunder by district in which the disaster occurred.

Journals of Shipwrecks, 1840–1933 (RG 26). This series, part of the records of the Light-House Service (later, Bureau of Light-Houses) and its predecessor, the U.S. Coast Guard, is rather incomplete. The journals which exist are arranged alphabetically by name of the lighthouse and then chronologically.

Logbooks of Revenue and Coast Guard Cutters, 1819–1941 (RG 26). These are part of the files of the Revenue Cutter Service, which assisted merchant vessels in need. The use of their records to locate information about specific disasters is rather limited, since one must know the name of the cutter involved. The records are arranged in alphabetical order under the name of the cutter (by the last name if the cutter had a compound name) and thereunder chronologically.

Record of Wreck Reports, 1874— (RG 36). This Customs Records collection is grouped by port and arranged chronologically by date of report.

Records of the Steamboat Inspection Service, 1852— (RG 41). This BMIN resource is the principal one for information on disasters when steamships are involved. The Annual Reports of the Board of Supervising Inspectors provide the bulk of available information. There also exists an Index to Casualties Described in the Annual Reports, 1852–1911. To search the annual reports efficiently, one must know the name of the vessel and the place and date of the disaster. To use the index, one should know the name of the vessel and the year in which the disaster occurred. A third useful source of information within the files of this service is Letters from Local Inspectors, 1853–1863 (Y Series). Bound in four volumes, each volume contains a subject index.

Correspondence of the Bureau of Navigation, 1884–1934 (RG 41). Amid these BMIN Records, the researcher can find information about disasters to merchant sailing vessels other than those involved in collisions with steam vessels. Useful material here is accessed in a three-step process (for correspondence after 1897, step one can be eliminated).

- A. Index to the Register ("Docket") of Letters Received, 1884-97, should be consulted first. Arranged chronologically, each volume is indexed by name of the individual, name of the vessel, and name of the customs port. Each entry contains a file number assigned to the letter by the Bureau of Navigation.
- B. Register ("Docket") of Letters Received, 1884–1905, a series of registers arranged numerically by file number as well as chronologically by date of letter, should be next consulted. Each entry contains the dates the letter was written and received, file number assigned, name of correspondent, name and rig of vessel (if necessary), duty station of correspondent, subject of letter, and miscellaneous remarks (on occasion).

C. Correspondence files should then be consulted if the subject of the letter was a mishap occurring to a vessel.

# Foreign Disasters

For disasters to vessels occurring off the shores of a foreign country, the search is more straightforward and confined. U.S. consuls were required to report all mishaps to American vessels occurring in their district and to assist both vessels and crew. To undertake a search for such information, it is necessary to know the approximate dates and location of the mishap. The two principal resources which might then be used are

Consular Dispatches (RG 59). Previously discussed, this offers the main source of information about disasters to American vessels off foreign shores.

Foreign Service Post Records (RG 84). Information in this source is usually less abundant and more scattered. References to disasters might be found in Ship's Daily Journals (C 24). Occasionally, as in the case of records of the Le Havre Consulate, they might include such items as newspaper clippings of vessel losses, usually by enemy action, during World War I. There is also useful material in Record of Services to American Vessels (C 7), Record of American Seamen Relieved (C 6), and Correspondence (Letterbooks) of the U.S. Consulate (C 8). The latter group represents office copies of the consular dispatches found in State Department Records (RG 59).

### SUMMATION:

Two points should be obvious from the foregoing discussion. A wealth of maritime records is preserved within NARA; however, it is widely dispersed and not conveniently arranged for casual research. Governmental records are not normally created for the purpose of biographical or genealogical study. Some indexes to personal names have been compiled by the NARA staff; but for the most part, researchers must orient their search toward a specific vessel—rather than a certain person—and they must pursue that search through the files of several agencies. For those who do, the rewards are usually well worth the effort.

### APPENDIX

Summary of Series Titles Discussed (Arranged by Record Group)

Record Group 26. Records of the United States Coast Guard
Records of the Bureau of Light-Houses and Its Predecessors
Journals of Shipwrecks, 1840–1933
Records of the Life-Saving Service
Abstracts of Wreck Reports, 1874–87
Abstracts of Wreck Reports from Stations, 1881–1910
Correspondence Concerning Wreck Statistics, 1881–1909
Letters Sent to Officers and Others Concerning Disasters to Shipping, 1882–93
Life-Saving Wreck Reports, 1883–1920

Miscellaneous Wreck Reports, 1854-1901

Registers of Letters Received Concerning Disasters, 1882-91

Records of the Revenue-Cutter Service and Coast Guard Logbooks of Revenue and Coast Guard Cutters, 1819-1941

### Record Group 27. Records of the United States Weather Bureau

Records of the Marine Division

Maury Abstract Logs, 1796-1861

Meteorological Logbooks, 1861-93

### Record Group 36. Records of the United States Customs Service

Customhouse Records

Abstracts of Seamen's Protection Certificates, 1815-70

Cargo Manifests (Coastwise and Foreign)

Crew Lists

Proofs of American Citizenship, 1815-70

Record of Wreck Reports, 1874-

Records of Entrances and Clearances (Coastwise and Foreign)

Seamen's Protection Certificates, 1815-70

Shipping Articles (pre-1872)

### Records Used in the Settlement of French Spoilation Claims, 1789-1803

Abstracts of Enrollments

Abstracts of Registries

Cargo Manifests (Coastwise and Foreign)

Certificates of Enrollment

Certificates of Registry

### Record Group 41, Records of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation

Records of the Steamboat Inspection Service

Headquarters Records

Annual Reports, 1895-1931

Index to Casualties Described in the Proceedings . . . and Annual Reports, 1852-1911

Proceedings of the Board of Supervising Inspectors, 1852-94

List of Officers Licensed, 1894-1942

Correspondence and Related Records

Miscellaneous Correspondences Received by the Secretary of the Treasury (Letters from Local Inspectors), 1852-63

### Records of the Bureau of Navigation

Administrative Records

Correspondence and Related Records

Correspondence of the Bureau of Navigation, 1884-1934

Index to the Register ("Docket") of Letters Received, 1884-97

Register ("Docket") of Letters Received, 1884-1905

### Records Relating to Vessel Documentation

Headquarters Records

Certificates of Enrollment, 1815-1915

Certificates of License, 1814-1915

Certificates of Registry, 1815-1919

Index to the Official Numbers of Merchant Vessels, 1867-1912

Record of Enrollments ("Master Abstracts"), 1815-1911

Record of Licenses ("Master Abstracts"), 1867-1917

Record of Registers ("Master Abstracts"), 1815-1912

Customhouse Records, 1774-1955

Abstracts of Registries

Abstracts of Enrollments

Abstracts of Licenses

Copies of Certificates of Registry

Copies of Certificates of Enrollment

Copies of Certificates of License

Records Relating to the Welfare of Merchant Seamen

Records Relating to the Engagement and Discharge of Seamen, 1872–1943 Shipping Articles, 1872—Official Logbooks, 1872—

Record Group 59. General Records of the Department of State

Part I: Central Files of the Department of State, 1782-1944

Records, 1789-1906

Consular Correspondence

Dispatches from Consular Officers

Record Group 84. Records of the Foreign Service Posts of the Department of State

- C 5. Register of Shipping and Seamen
- C 6. Record of American Seamen Relieved
- C 7. Record of Services to American Vessels (Copies of Ships' Registers)
- C 8. Correspondence (Consular Office Copies)
- C 20. Arrival and Departure of American Vessels
- C 21. Seamen's Registers
- C 22. Marine Notes of Protest
- C 23. Marine Extended Protests
- C 24. Ship's Daily Journals
- C 27. Register of Landing or Debenture Certificates\*
- C 28. Register (Report) of American Vessels
- C 29. Alien Crew Lists Visaed\*
- \*Denotes otherwise useful records not mentioned in this essay.

### NOTES AND REFERENCES

- \*1204 South Washington Street, Apartment 714, Alexandria, Virginia 22314. Mr. VanDereedt, an historian by training, is a staff member of the Judicial, Fiscal, and Social Branch of the Civil Archives Division of the National Archives.
- 1. For a clearer understanding of the organization of NARA records and the content of these and other record groups within NARA, the reader should consult *Guide to the National Archives of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1974).
- 2. More detailed information on the French Spoilation Claims may be found in ibid., 91, 169-70, 338, 352, 483; and George S. Ulibarri, *Preliminary Inventory of Records Relating to International Claims, Record Group 76* (Washington: National Archives and Records Service, 1974), 22-26.
- 3. Published by the Government Printing Office, 1968, this publication is currently out of print but is available for use at NARA and in many local and university libraries which serve as government-documents repositories.
- 4. Carl A. Cutler, Greyhounds of the Sea: The Story of the American Clipper Ship (New York: Halcyon House, 1930); and Queens of the Western Ocean: The Story of American Mail and Passenger Ships (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1961). William Armstrong Fairburn, Merchant Sail (6 vols.; Center Lovell, Maine: Fairburn Marine Educational Foundation, 1945–55).
- 5. In addition to being available at NARA and the Library of Congress, many annual reports are scattered throughout the United States in the government-documents repository sections of older libraries.
- 6. See also Claudia Bradley et al., Lists of Logbooks of U.S. Navy Ships, Stations and Miscellaneous Units, 1801–1947 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1978).

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# Notes and Documents

# Some Immigrants from Rottweil, Württemberg, Germany: 1849

Contributed by CLIFFORD NEIL SMITH\*

In the pages of the Allgemeine Auswanderungszeitung (General emigration newspaper) of Rudolstadt, Germany, there appeared in early 1850 a "clarification" from an immigration agent in New York, refuting the published allegation of a competitor that he had exchanged the German florins of immigrants for dollars at an excessively low rate. The refutation consisted of a statement by the agent plus two notarized affidavits; in each of the three documents the immigrants were listed.

Nowhere does there appear the date of their arrival at New York or the name of the ship. Presumably the immigrants arrived sometime in 1849. The European port of departure was Le Havre, and all the immigrants had come from the town of Rottweil, Baden-Württemberg, Germany, via Mannheim. It is clear from the context that they were indigents for whom the municipality of Rottweil had paid passage to America. Rottweil was more generous than most German municipalities wishing to rid themselves of indigents; the town fathers had remitted additional funds to be paid out to the immigrants upon arrival in New York, presumably to tide them over until they could make their own way. It was the exchange rate for these funds which became a matter of contention.

The present article combines all information of use to genealogical researchers from the three statements. All three statements list the names in exactly the same sequence (obviously based on the same master list), and that sequence has been preserved in this compendium. The reader will note that there appears to be basically three alphabetical sequences (or internal rolls) within the master list, with some names added out of sequence at the end of each internal roll. The reason for the groupings is not indicated; the fact that the names are grouped in this manner may or may not be significant.

The three separate statements present basically the following data.

- Statement A: Name and occupation. (Names are generally abbreviated.)
- Statement B: Name, occupation, and amount disbursed. (Nothing indicates the basis for determining how much was disbursed to each person.)
- Statement C: Names only. (However, names usually appear in full, rather than abbreviated. The list below gives the fullest rendition of the name that is provided on the several statements.)

Abele, Carl. Unmarried.	10.77
Armleder, Ignatius. Joiner. Died 14 September 1849, 7 o'clock, aboard the ship	
Judah Touro (Captain Rickerson), on the Ruhr [River?]; brother of Joseph	
Armleder; left heirs in Rottweil.	11.54
Armleder, Joseph. Glazier.	11.54
Dreher, Michael. Day laborer.	10.77
Fischer, Nepomuk. Gardener.	10.77
Haberer, Albert. Unmarried.	11.54
Haberer, Hermann. Unmarried.	11.54
Haeusler, Christian. Weaver.	11.54
Haeusler, Ferdinand.	11.54
Haeusler, Simplicius. Mason.	11.54
Haischer, Andreas.	11.54
Herb, Franz. Jos. Watchmaker	11.54
Herb, Sebastian. Weaver.	11.54
Hezinger, Jos. Weaver.	11.54
Hoehn, Xaver. Baker.	7.69
Hugger (Huk, Hukker), August. Butcher.	7.69
Lebsch, Ferdinand. Saddler.	11.54
Lebsch, Johann. Saeckler [sack maker?].	11.54
Linsenmann, Franz. Rope maker.	11.54
Linsenmann, Carl. Shoemaker.	11.54
Maier, Reinhold. Tailor.	11.54
Maier, Xaver. Book printer.	11.54
Mantel, Hermann. Joiner.	11.54
Maurer, Joseph. Surgeon.	9.61
Roeser, Friedrich.	11.54
Sallirt, Aug. Saddler.	11.54
Spreng, Jos. Book printer.	10.77
Spreter, Xaver. Butcher.	10.77
Spreter, Xav. Glazier.	10.77
Uhl, Joseph. Businessman.	11.54
Umschneider, Victor.	11.54
Volk, Joh. Nepomuk.	11.54
Weber, Bernh.	9.61
Weinmann, Joseph. Painter.	9.61
Zuber, Conrad.	9.23
Vogel, Sebastian. Mechanic.	11.54
Seitz (Seiz), Carl. Woodturner. [Does not appear on Statement B.]	
Schuler, Joseph. Watchmaker.	8.46
Reichle, Chrisostomus. Baker.	10.77
Seifriz, Mathäus. Day laborer.	8.91
Baumeister, Pelagi. Baker.	11.54
Baier, Anna. Unmarried.	9.61
Burkard, Anna. Unmarried.	10.77
Gruber, Rosa. Unmarried.	30.77
Haischer, Liberata.	10.77
Heim, Josepha.	36.54
Hugger (Zuker), Anna. [Statement C explicitly states: "Hugger, not Zuker"].	36.54
Koch, Caroline.	11.54
Liebermann, Marianne (Marianna).	25.00
Liebermann, Regina.	24.23
Maier, Elisabetha.	24.23 11.54
Marx, Ottilie.	
Schlecker, Scholastica. Stammler, Marianne (Marianna)	25.00
Standing, martaine (martaina)	23.20

Stammler, Magdalena.	11.54
[Statement C combines the two preceding names as "Marianna and	
Magdalena Stammler."]	10.55
Reichle, Victoria	10.77
Schramm (Schwarz), Josepha. Widow. [Statement A gives the name as	
"Josepha Schramm, widow." Statement C shows "Joseph Schramm."	
Statement B places "Josepha Schwarz, widow," in the same slot where	0.46
Schramm appears on the other two statements.]	8.46
Schuler, Luzia.	10.77
Fischer, Nepomuzene.	25.00
Auber, Johann. Shoemaker.	126.92
Baeuerle, Conr. Shoemaker.	96.15
Burkard, Johann. Bapt.	76.92
Kammerer (Hammerer), Ottmann (Ottmar). Tinsmith. [Statements A and B	(7.21
agree on Ottmann Kammerer.]	67.31
Dreher, Philipp. Blacksmith.	46.16
Friesinger, Joseph. Mason.	50.00
Hauser, Carl. Mason.	107.69
Hauser, Marcus. Shoemaker.	119.23
Heim, Michael. Joiner.	75.00
Herbst, Balthasar. Plumber.	88.46
Hartig, Joseph. Tailor. One of the two leaders of the immigrant group.	92.31
Huker (Hugger), Nep. Potter. [Statements A and B agree on Huker.]	54.61
Kammerer, David. Coppersmith.	65.39
Kiener, Johann. Basket maker. His funds received by Joseph Voglemann.	101.92
Maier, Aloys. Spanner [an unknown dialect word for his profession].	53.85
Negele, Friedrich. Joiner.	157.69
Schaffhauser, Christian. Knitter.	48.07
Schoepp, Friedrich. Shoemaker.	57.69
Schultheiss, Joseph. Book printer.	94.23
Stueckel, Johann. Daylaborer.	33.08
Vogelmann, Jacob. Master tailor. One of the two leaders of the group.	76.92
Fischer, Melchior. Mason.	90.38
Langenbacher, Nepomuk. Baker.	.146.15
Marx (Merz), Mathäus. Carpenter. [Statements A and B agree on Marx.]	53.85
Gaiss, Eberhard.	11.54
Stenner (Renner), Carl. [Statements A and B agree on Stenner.]	9.61
Herb, Marianne. Unmarried.	11.54
Pfeilstein, Caroline.	57.69
Sortmann, Mathäus.	19.23

### **NOTES**

\*Post Office Box 117, McNeal, Arizona 85617-0117. Mr. Smith publishes frequently on German-American families and land records of the Old Northwest.

1. The Allgemeine Auswanderungszeitung was long thought not to be extant. Recently, copies of two volumes were located in the Beinecke Rare Book Collection of Yale University Library; a microfilm run of the newspaper is also to be found in the newspaper collection of the University of Bremen. Even more recently, other volumes have been reported in the Stanford University Library.

The allegation appeared in a report of the Deutsche Gesellschaft (German Society) of New York City in issue 10 (22 January 1850), p. 38. The "clarification" appeared in issue 22 (19 February 1850), p. 88.

# Book Reviews

# **Book Reviews**

By MILTON RUBINCAM, C.G., F.A.S.G., F.N.G.S.

Confederate Research Sources: A Guide to Archives Collections. By James C. Neagles. Published by Ancestry, Inc.; Post Office Box 476; Salt Lake City, UT 84110; 1986. ix, 286 pp. Index. \$12.95.

This book is an important contribution to Civil War literature. A concise history of the Confederate States of America is presented, including events leading up to secession, the formal secession of the ten Southern states, organization of the army, campaigns and battles, and the final collapse of the Confederacy in 1865. There was a Confederate States Navy, but the chances of finding an ancestor therein are said to be slim. The vast majority of those who took to the sea were privateers, not a part of the organized navy.

Mr. Neagles treats the records of the Confederacy alphabetically by state. He gives names, addresses, and hours of service of the various state archives and describes their holdings, including lists of Confederate military units, pension records, and censuses of pensioners. The latter were taken only in certain states—as, for example, Alabama in 1907 and 1921; Arkansas, incompletely, in 1911–12; and Tennessee in 1914–15 and 1920–22. (This category of Tennessee records is incorrectly indexed as "Census of *Prisoners*, rather than "Census of *Pensioners*.") Each state section concludes with a summary of that state's role in the war. There next appears a discussion of the border states—Arizona, Indian Territory (Oklahoma), Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, and West Virginia—their records, military units, and role during the war. These states remained in the Union but had large segments of Southern sympathizers. Kentucky was so heavily divided that it had its own civil war; Thomas L. Crittenden, for example, was a Union general while his brother, George C. Crittenden, became a Confederate general. Many men in the border states served in both armies.

The remainder of the volume discusses Confederate records elsewhere. One chapter is devoted to the National Archives, which has compiled service records, army casualty lists and narrative reports; selected records of the U.S. War Department relating to Confederate prisoners; records regarding Confederate civilians and naval or marine personnel; and more. Another chapter deals with publications in the Library of Congress, the Virginia Historical Society, and elsewhere. The appendix discusses the United Daughters of the Confederacy, formed in the 1890s to honor and assist Confederate veterans, which is presently active in providing scholarships for descendants of men and women who served in the Southern cause. A good bibliography, arranged by states, completes the work.

Chicago and Cook County Sources: A Genealogical and Historical Guide. By Loretto Dennis Szucs. Published by Ancestry, Inc.; Post Office Box 476; Salt Lake City, UT 84110; 1986. x, 334 pp. Index. Hardcover, \$16.95. Softcover, \$12.95.

Cook County, Illinois, was created in 1831, and Chicago was incorporated in 1833, when it had a population of 350. Since then it has grown to include 116 incorporated suburbs (comprising the major portion of Cook County). Since 1833, the population has included New

Englanders and New Yorkers (the first settlers), Germans, Irish, Italians, Russian Jews, Poles, Blacks, Mexicans, Asians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Swedes, and others.

The Great Chicago Fire of October 1871, allegedly started by Mrs. O'Leary's now-famous cow having kicked over a lamp in the barn, destroyed an area nearly five miles long and one mile wide. In addition to a loss of about 300 lives, a tremendous loss of primary sources and critical documents took place. However, there are alternative means for reconstructing some of the pre-1873 gaps, and they are explained in this volume. Chapters discussing adoption; censuses; cemetery, court, land, probate, military, naturalization, and vital records; maps, newspapers, occupational and business resources; archives and manuscript collections; historical societies and libraries; and much else show what a wealth of genealogical sources is available for Chicago and Cook County. Eleven appendixes conclude the work.

A number of experts on Chicago and Cook County, including Ronald L. Otto and Sandra Hargreaves Luebking, contributed chapters to this important guide, which covers not only resources but also methodology. The discussion on land and property records, for example, describes the intricate steps the researcher must take to find the desired deeds. This reviewer wishes the book had existed over forty years ago when he floundered fruitlessly in the Office of the Cook County Recorder of Deeds!

Guide to Private Manuscript Collections in the North Carolina State Archives. 3rd revised edition. Compiled and edited by Barbara T. Cain with Ellen Z. McGrew and Charles E. Morris. Published by Division of Archives and History; 109 East Jones Street; Raleigh, NC 27611; 1986. x, 706 pp. Index. \$20.00.

The North Carolina Historical Commission was established in 1903; and four years later it was empowered by the legislature to collect "from the files of old newspapers, court records, church records, private collections and elsewhere, historical data pertaining to the history of North Carolina." The first edition of the guide included materials received through 21 December 1939, and the second edition described private collections received through 30 June 1964. The third edition, now under review, covers materials received through 31 December 1978 and is divided into three parts: private papers (1,640 collections); microfilmed private papers, diaries, and account books (186 collections); and account books (480 collections).

A wealth of historical, biographical, and genealogical information is contained in these collections. The papers belonged to governors of the state, lawyers, United States congressmen and senators, judges, Confederate officers, newspaper editors, state and county officials, educators, planters, merchants, physicians, historians, and genealogists. The Archives hold many papers of Baron Christopher de Graffenried, the founder of New Bern in 1710, as well as a journal of General Andrew Jackson, General David Meriwether, and Jesse Franklin—commissioners appointed by President James Madison to settle a treaty with the Chickasaw and Cherokee nations in 1816. There is much of value to black historians and genealogists. The Slave Collection, 1748–1856, contains deeds of gift and bills of sale for slaves, depositions by slaves; letters concerning an insurrection conspiracy in Bertie and surrounding counties (1802); and much other material. Other collections include plantation accounts and records of baptisms, confirmations, marriages, burials, and communions of both blacks and whites, 1836–1926.

Papers of famed Europeans appear in the guide among those of North Carolinians. Somehow, a letter written (in German) in 1816 by Field Marshal Gebhard Leberecht von Blucher, one of Napoleon's conquerors, found its way into the North Carolina State Archives. There are nine items relating to Winston Churchill, including a copy of the resolution by the General Assembly making him an honorary citizen of North Carolina. There are four collections relating specifically to genealogical research: the Mattie Wiggins Jones Dameron Collection, 1826–1927; the Elizabeth Moore Collection, 1724–1974; the Leonidas Polk Denmark Papers (he was a World War I army officer and a professional genealogist); and the Tucker Littleton Papers (he was a Baptist minister and historian of Swansboro and Onslow County). The Hugh Buckner Johnston Collection contains genealogical records of twelve families; miscellaneous Wilson County papers; Edgecombe County quitrents of 1761; and many other original and photocopied Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina records.

The Virginia Military Surveys of Clermont and Hamilton Counties, Ohio, 1787–1849. By Alma Aicholtz Smith, C.G.R.S.; 554 Anna May Drive; Cincinnati, OH 45244-1402; 1985. x, 253 pp. Indexes. Hardcover, \$35.00 (Ohio residents add \$1.92 tax). Softcover, \$28.00 (Ohio residents add \$1.50 tax).

Part 1 of this two-part book traces the historical background of Ohio's Virginia Military District, including the settlement of Virginia and her charter of 1609 which gave her claim to what is now Ohio. In 1783, Great Britain ceded the Northwest Territory to the United States and Virginia conceded its claims to these western lands. The region between the Scioto and Little Miami rivers in southwest Ohio was reserved for Virginia's continental troops. Mrs. Smith points out that the granting of bounty land for military service was an established practice in colonial times—in 1754 King George II (not George III, as stated on p. 9) issued a proclamation reserving 200,000 acres near the Ohio River to compensate the soldiers and sailors of the French and Indian War. The Virginia Military District, which evolved from the 1783 cession, comprised all the present counties of Adams, Brown, Clermont, Clinton, Fayette, Highland, Madison, and Union, as well as parts of fifteen other counties, including Hamilton. Mrs. Smith concentrated her research on her native Clermont and adjoining Hamilton.

The various steps whereby officers, soldiers, or their heirs obtained title to land are described in this section: the warrant, entry, survey, and finally the patent. According to Mrs. Smith, provision was made for the warrant holders to withdraw their entries if the land was not fertile, or they could also assign or sell their warrants. Most of Ohio was surveyed under the rectangular system established by Congress in 1785, but the lands in this district were allocated by the metes-and-bounds system of the thirteen colonies. A chapter is devoted to biographical sketches of deputy surveyors who operated in Clermont and Hamilton, and another discusses George Washington's lands in the district—which he never saw. Part 1 concludes with an account of Hamilton and Clermont—their formation, division into townships, and population.

Part 2 describes the surveys made in these two counties. Pages 81–196 provide the names of those for whom land was surveyed, together with the survey number and the acreage, drawn from records in the Clermont and Hamilton courthouses. From other sources are extracted the location of land and information from the military warrant and patent. Each of the two parts ends with a name index. Part 2 has a name index for surveys and a numerical index for surveys. The book is illustrated with numerous maps. Mrs. Smith's research appears thorough, and her volume is a valuable sourcebook for early land ownership in southwestern Ohio.

Pennsylvania and Middle Atlantic States Genealogical Manuscripts: A User's Guide to the Manuscript Collections of The Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania As Indexed in Its Manuscript Materials Index by the Genealogical Department, Salt Lake City. Compiled by J. Carlyle Parker. Published by Marietta Publishing Co.; 2115 North Denair Avenue; Turlock, CA 95380; 1986. xiv, 45 pp. Index. \$14.95 (CA residents add \$0.90 sales tax).

The Manuscript Materials Index of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia is primarily a surname index to the society's genealogical manuscripts as they were indexed as of 1967. The society's manuscript collections, for which the index was created, include abstracts and copies of many primary sources and some secondary materials. The collections represent many of the Eastern Seaboard states, England, and Nassau—but mainly the states of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The index, with about 46,500 entries, is an excellent asset to genealogists and historians. In 1967, the index was microfilmed by the Genealogical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Parts of the collections covered by the index had been microfilmed earlier in that decade. This *User's Guide* is only of value in the use of the collections on microfilm, and not the original collections located in Philadelphia. The microfilm is available at the Genealogical Department in Salt Lake City and through the interlibrary-loan program of the Genealogical Department's branch libraries.

The indexed materials consist of Bible and family records; abstracts of wills and other probate

records, deeds; military records; family histories; and research notes and correspondence of many of the professional and amateur genealogists, historians, and officers of the society. Among the collections included are the society's Bible records (4 reels), E. D. Buckman's records on Buckmans and allied families (16 reels), the society's family records (360 reels), John Clement's papers and genealogies (10 reels), Gilbert Cope's family data (75 reels), John G. Herndon's papers on Herndon and related families (7 reels), Alfred R. Justice's genealogical records and notes (16 reels), the collections of the famous Leach trio—Frank Willing (20 reels), J. Granville (5 reels), and (Miss) M. Atherton (46 reels)—the papers of Sophie Selden Rogers (45 reels), William McKinley Mervine (119 reels), and title briefs from the Philadelphia law offices of the late Eli K. Price, Esq. (6 reels). Altogether, the *User's Guide* provides information on 988 microfilm reels of the society's voluminous collection. The call numbers assigned by the society for its collections are given, as well as the LDS reel numbers. For some collections, volumes are missing and note is duly made of these. Anyone interested in the genealogy of Pennsylvania and New Jersey families will find the guide indispensable.

Descendants of Robert Rose of Wethersfield and Branford, Connecticut, Who Came on the Ship "Francis" from Ipswich, England. By Christine Rose, C.G. Published by Rose Family Association; 1474 Montelegre Drive; San Jose, CA 95120; 1983. xv, 512 pp. Index. Price not stated.

The Brothers Rev. Robert Rose and Rev. Charles Rose of Colonial Virginia and Weston Alves, Morayshire, Scotland. With Information on Their Brothers Patrick, James, Hugh, George and Alexander. [Same author and publisher] 1985. xv, 318 pp. Index. Price not stated.

The founder of the Wethersfield-Branford family was born about 1594, probably in England. No evidence has been found to establish his ancestry or a connection between him and the ancient Scottish family of Rose. He came to America in 1634 with his wife Margery and eight children; two more were born after their arrival. Rose was active in the affairs of Wethersfield from 1635, serving as deputy to the General Court, a member of many committees, and fence viewer. When dissension arose in the Wethersfield church surrounding the Rev. Henry Smith, Rose was one of the signers of a declaration critical of Smith. The minister was cleared of the charges against him, and the complainants were fined. As a result, Rose removed his family to Branford, where he was one of the original proprietors. There he was involved in several lawsuits, including one involving a dead bull; the story is told in some detail (pp. 6–9). After Margery's death (date unknown), Rose married Elizabeth [—?—] Potter Palmer, who was already twice a widow. Descendants are traced for ten generations to the present.

The identity of this Robert Rose has been a controversial subject. The author cites an article in *The American Genealogist* by John Insley Coddington, C.G., F.A.S.G., who proved that the late Colonel Charles E. Banks erred in linking him with one Robert Rose of Elmswell, county Suffolk, England (who, like Robert of Connecticut, had a wife Margery). Donald Lines Jacobus, in his "Rose Notes" (Jacobus Manuscripts, Connecticut Historical Society), believed that the "Goodman Rose" of a Branford record of 1665 was one Robert Rose of Long Island. The author has made a study of the Long Island family and found that its Robert died before Robert of Branford (who was undoubtedly the Goodman Rose of the 1665 record).

The ministerial brothers who founded the Rose family of Virginia, Robert and Charles, were descended from the ancient Scottish family of Rose. The frontispiece in this volume is a pedigree back to Hugh, first Baron of Kilravock, who died about 1306. Kilravock Castle, the family seat, is still standing in Nairnshire and in possession of Miss Elizabeth Rose, the chieftain of Clan Rose. A brief history of the Scottish family precedes the genealogy of the Virginia branches; and the Atlantic connection is firmly made. The brothers were sons of John Rose of Lochiehill and Weston Alves, Morayshire, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Patrick Grant of Whytree.

Robert (1703/04-51) came to Virginia about 1725. The reasons for his emigration are not clear. It may be that he had relatives in the colony (many Roses appear in the records) or that members of the Church of England were under repression following the 1715 uprising. Robert

was rector of Vauter's Church in Saint Anne's Parish, Essex County, from 1726 to 1748. He became an extensive landowner and slaveholder in Orange, Essex, and Goochland (later Albemarle) counties. In 1748 he took charge of another parish in newly formed Albemarle. He was well known and highly respected; among his friends was Governor Alexander Spotswood, whose estate he helped to settle. He is mentioned frequently in William Meade's Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia, and Robert Detweiler published an article about him in the Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church. He was twice married, first to Mary Tarent or Tarrent (d. 1738–39) and second to Anne Fitzhugh, of a well-known Virginia family. He had three children by his first wife, of whom only one survived to adulthood, and six by his second wife. Four sons (John, Hugh, Patrick, and Charles) served in the Revolutionary War as colonel. Descendants are traced to the seventh generation, the present time.

Charles Rose (1713-61) came to Virginia shortly after being ordained by the Bishop of London in March 1736/37, about ten years after Robert's emigration. He served as minister of Yeocomico Church in Cople Parish, Westmoreland County. Very little is known of his life. He did not acquire landed property, but he did own slaves. He kept in touch with his brother Robert, who recorded in his diary his first visit to Charles's glebe in 1747. By his wife, Charles had five children. Their descendants are traced for six generations, to the present time. Included with the Charles Rose genealogy are brief accounts of the other brothers (Patrick and Hugh of Morayshire; John of Morayshire and Virginia; and Alexander of King George County, Virginia) as well as a bibliography.

It is noteworthy that the compiler's husband, Seymour T. Rose, is not descended from any of these Rose lines. Rather, he is from one Abner Rose of North Carolina. Efforts to establish Mr. Rose's earlier pedigree have failed thus far. Mrs. Rose began to study all Rose families in the hope of finding a clue to Abner's ancestry. The result is several small works and articles—and these two splendid volumes. Both of the genealogies presently under review are heavily documented, the product of original research and wide reading. Sources are cited in the text and in many footnotes. Numerous wills, deeds, vital records, and other sources are transcribed. The second volume is illustrated with portraits and photographic views (a number of the latter being taken in Scotland by Seymour T. Rose). These two genealogies have well earned the Donald Lines Jacobus Award, which was bestowed upon them jointly in 1987.

A Partial View of the Beasman-Baseman Family of Maryland. By Catherine C. Hiatt, for the Fairlawn Committee on the Baseman Family. Published by Fairlawn; 7200 Third Avenue; Sykesville, MD 21784; 1986. xviii, 302 pp. Index. \$22.95 (including postage and handling).

The pioneer ancestor of this family was Joseph Beasman (and variant spellings), who is believed to have come to Maryland about 1705. The earliest evidence for him is his marriage to Mary Persias in 1707 in Saint James Parish, Anne Arundel County. He seems to have had some connection, possibly as an indentured servant, with Joseph Hawkins, a landowner of Elk Ridge Hundred, the border territory between Anne Arundel and Baltimore counties. There have been found few records concerning Beasman, presumably because he seems to have been illiterate. He married three times; by his first two wives he had children, most of whom died in infancy. His third wife was Elizabeth, apparently the widow of Joseph Hawkins. He acquired one hundred acres of land near Cockeysville, Maryland, and died in 1738. Elizabeth died about 1761.

This book traces a single line of descent—entirely in Maryland—through Joseph's only surviving son, William Beasman (1710–1769), and the latter's wife, Ruth Hamilton. In time, the family's real-estate holdings increased. The author comments: "This is a family whose roots are in the earth of Baltimore County and what became the eastern portion of Carroll County, Maryland. The early generations were planters and farmers, not city folk. . . . The only member of the family to enter public service was Johnzie E. Beasman (1852–1922), who served four terms in the House of Delegates (1886, 1888, 1892, 1896) and twelve years in the State Senate (1900–1912). By his wife, Laura Ella Bennett (1856–1946), who was 'reputed to have been a

vigorous, opinionated, isolated, and rather demanding person,' he had two sons—of whom the elder died on the day of his birth. The younger, Frank Bennett Beasman (1889–1960), owned the Fairhaven Dairy Farm, near Sykesville. He and his wife, Viola Jeannette Ritter (1894–1970), were generous in their charities. By his will their home was bequeathed to the Episcopal Diocese of Maryland as a home for older citizens. It is known as Fairhaven." The couple had no children

There are nineteen appendixes providing documentation for this family history: patents, church records, vestry proceedings, the 1798 federal tax list, obituaries, a marriage license, and ten wills. The work concludes with a "Master Genealogical Chart" compiled by Kathleen F. Field. In the strictest sense, this is not a chart but a condensed genealogy, showing members of the family in both male and female lines for ten generations. Although there is no index to the narrative history, an index to the "chart" is provided. The maps were drawn by George J. Horvath, Jr., and the photographs were made by Orlando V. Wootten. The publication of the book was intended to honor the twenty-fifth anniversary of Frank Bennett Beasman's death.

#### Books in Brief

Map Guide to the U. S. Federal Censuses, 1790–1920. By William Thorndale, C.G., and William Dollarhide. Published by Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc.; 1001 North Calvert Street; Baltimore, MD 21202-3897; 1987. xxvi, 420 pp. County index. \$49.95.

A valuable contribution to genealogical study, this work earned the Award of Merit of the American Society of Genealogists in 1987. Its prefatory material contains a history of census growth; a précis of technical facts about each census; a discussion of census accuracy; and an essay on the sources available for identifying each state's old county lines. The body of the volume is composed of nearly four hundred state maps, on which old county lines are superimposed over the modern ones to highlight the county changes at ten-year intervals. A variety of information is provided in the maps that will help genealogists, historians, and demographers understand local jurisdictions. The book's appendix deals with pitfalls in the mapping of boundaries. A bibliography completes the work. Since relatively few historical maps exist to show precise county boundaries in any census year, the research into state statutes and similar material which was needed to delineate boundaries for every county in every state in every census year is clearly impressive.

Anne Arundel County, Maryland, Wills Index, 1777-1918. Edited by John W. Powell. Published by Anne Arundel County Genealogical Society; Post Office Box 221; Pasadena, MD 21122; 1985. iv, 113 pp. \$9.00 (plus \$1.50 postage and handling).

In 1634 the General Assembly of Maryland established the Prerogative Court and required each county to provide the court with a copy of every will it probated. The law remained in effect until 1777. Records of the Prerogative Court during those 143 years have been published. To fill the need for a research tool after that period, Anne Arundel's genealogical society undertook the transcribing and publishing of that county's will index from 1777 to 1918. In the introduction, Mary Keysor Meyer (chairman of the society's publications committee) points out, "The reader should be aware that not all the records listed are wills per se; many of them are renunciations of the right to administer an estate or to the executorship of a will." Names of testators are listed alphabetically, followed by the will-book number, page, and year.

Records of the Evangelical Reformed Church in Frederick, Maryland, 1746–1800. Translated by William J. Hinke and E. W. Reinicke. Published by Family Line Publications; 13405 Collingwood Terrace; Silver Spring, MD 20904; 1986. 175 pp. Index. \$14.50.

The original records of this church, together with a translation by E. W. Reinicke, are in the Maryland State Archives at Annapolis. The translation is incomplete; Mr. Reinicke left out the names of blacks, both free and slave, and he failed to include the names of godparents. He also rearranged the entries into alphabetical groupings, thus losing the original sequence of the entries. The late Reverend William J. Hinke first translated the registers, and it is his work that was used as the basis of this publication. As now presented, the original records are divided into three parts: baptisms, marriages, and deaths. Baptisms are arranged in chronological order in the following format: parents/children/sponsors. The marriage records begin in 1756. It is not until 1784 that witnesses are named. The records of death do not begin until 1788.

Springfield Advertiser, 1844-50, Greene Co., Missouri. Compiled by Marsha Hoffman Rising, C.G.; 6058 Primrose Lane; Springfield, MO 85804; 1987. ii, 162 pp. Index. Price not stated.

Genealogical Abstracts from Southwest Missouri Newspapers, 1850-1860. [Same compiler and publisher] 1987. i, 128 pp. Index. Price not stated.

Genealogical Data from Southwest Missouri Newspapers, 1860-1870. [Same compiler and publisher] 1987. i, 172 pp. Price not stated.

These abstracts from eighteen papers of southwest Missouri are valuable contributions to the genealogy of that region. A variety of topics is reported, including settlements of estates, deaths, marriages, divorces, murders, runaways, thefts, and escapes from jail. For example, there appears an 1850 letter of Henry Lynch from California on the success of gold mining and an 1850 list of Greene County residents off for California; an account of the capture of a guerrilla leader named Dick Hemsted in Arkansas, who confessed to eleven murders and was burned to death by a slow fire; the affidavit of various citizens of Lawrence County who stated they had known Sarah Morris from "5–20 years and having full confidence in her as a lady of truth and veracity believe she had good cause for leaving... Daniel Morris"; and a report of the elopement of William Blankenship of Harrison County, aged about twenty-one, who had run off with the wife of James Robertson of Randolph County, aged seventeen. "The gay Lothario had wooed and won a married lady from Howard Co. a month ago." There is lots of human interest in these old newspapers!

Will Abstracts of Allegheny County, Pennsylvania: Will Books I through V, 1789-1844. Compiled and published by Helen L. Harriss, C.G., and Elizabeth J. Wall; 68 West Prospect Avenue; Pittsburgh, PA 15205; 1986. 225 pp. Index. Price not stated.

The will abstracts in this volume cover the first fifty-seven years of Allegheny's existence. They contain all the essential data: testator's name, page number of the will book, number of the file, dates of the will and recording, bequests, and names of the executors and witnesses.

Elizabeth City Parish, Hampton, Virginia: 19th Century Parish Registers. Compiled by Francis W. Hayes, Jr. Published by Heritage Books, Inc.; 3602 Maureen (Suite 327); Bowie, MD 20715; 1986. xii, 378 pp. Index. \$27.00.

Mr. Hayes, a past rector of this Elizabeth City church, has abstracted the extant registers of the oldest existing Anglican parish on the continent, founded three years after Jamestown.

Unfortunately the earliest vestry book dates only from 1751, and parish registers are extant only after 1865—thanks to the havoc caused by the Civil War—although "some unknown soul of blessed memory" copied into later registers the personal records from the 1820s of the Reverend Mark L. Chevers, who had kept his own account of baptisms and possibly of marriages, burials, and confirmations. The book is divided into sections for these four sacraments and for communicants and families, with each section arranged alphabetically.

Abstracts of Virginia's Northern Neck Warrants and Surveys, Vol. III, Dunmore, Shenandoah, Culpeper, Prince William, Fauquier & Stafford Counties, 1710–1788. Compiled by Peggy Shomo Joyner, C.G.; 5008 Dogwood Trail; Portsmouth, VA 23703; 1986. xx, 197 pp. Index. \$25.00.

Abstracts of Virginia's Northern Neck Warrants and Surveys, Vol. IV: Hampshire, Berkeley, Loudoun, Fairfax, King George, Westmoreland, Richmond, Northumberland, & Lancaster, 1697-1784. [Same compiler and publisher] 1987. xv, 225 pp. Index. \$25.00.

The first two volumes of this series were reviewed in the Quarterly in March 1986 (74:72-73). The present volumes complete the series. Each county is covered by a separate section with grantees arranged alphabetically. All essential data appears (names of grantees, adjoining landowners, surveyors and their assistants, dates, number of acres, land locations, family relationships and implied marriages, deaths of landowners, migrations, deeds, affidavits, letters, signatures, etc.). Included are a glossary of terms, reproductions of a warrant and a survey, a map of the Northern Neck, a list of surveyors, and abstracts of documents relating to surveys made by George Washington. The original records are in the custody of the Virginia State Library, Archives Division, at Richmond. Volume 4 should be especially noted. Aside from the expected material on the counties named in the title, volume 4 offers three features covering all the Northern Neck counties: abstracts of land-office wills (some unrecorded and not indexed in other publications of Virginia wills); the Jonathan Clark Notebook of 1786 from The Filson Club Library in Louisville, Kentucky (which describes buildings and improvements on 219 farms in the Northern Neck, west of Blue Ridge); and a place index to all four volumes.

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Form of re-	etologia (	bola-hackers	belook	oulpolo	oloolooloo	loca)o	oloolo	chocho	olook	poloci	—, for th	φασφαιο	ce ce co	+	OCTO
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- Date of receiving list from individuals.
- \* Names of white male tithables above 21. Yes! Every white male over 21 years is listed by NAME! Not just heads of household.
- \* Number of white males above 16 and under 21. Actually a census of this age group. In some counties names of these are also given.

On the 15th of October 1787, the prior year's law was repealed; thus this is the only year this form was required.

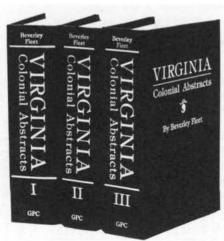
Amazingly, almost all of the 1787 Tax Lists have survived. Why haven't these valuable lists been published before now? The author considered publishing them 15 years ago, but abandoned the idea when time and cost were projected. Although it is still a monumental task, the computer has made it feasible.

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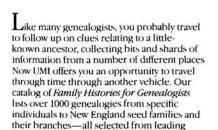
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Meetings. The society meets on the first Saturday of each month from October through May. Topics of genealogical interest are presented by guest speakers or are discussed at workshop meetings. Consult the current program for meeting times and topics.

Library. The society maintains an expanding library of books, magazines, pamphlets, and manuscripts. The library is open to members and the public at the times and days designated by the librarian and printed in the current program. The accessions depend mainly on gifts of members and friends. Members may borrow books by mail for a small fee.

Genealogical Inquiries. The society is not staffed to answer genealogical inquiries. A research service is available to members. Upon receipt of a stamped, self-addressed envelope, the registrar will—for members only—consult the members' ancestor charts for the names of other members concerned with a specific family.

Change of Address. Notify the society of old address, new address, and membership number at least six weeks prior to the date of the next issue of the Quarterly.

Tax Exemption. The U.S. Treasury Department has ruled that the society is a tax-exempt educational and scientific organization within the meaning of Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. Consequently, donations of funds and library books or other property made to the society are deductible contributions for purposes of federal income-tax returns; and testamentary bequests to the society are likewise deductible for purposes of federal and Virginia estate-tax returns. Form of legacy: "I give and bequeath to the National Genealogical Society of Arlington, VA, the sum of ...... dollars."

#### NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY—Ident.

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#### NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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Communications concerning the society and its activities should be addressed to its headquarters, 4527 Seventeenth Street North, Arlington, VA 22207-2399.

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Manuscripts submitted for publication in the Quarterly must be typewritten, double-spaced, and prepared according to guidelines set forth in The Chicago Manual of Style (University of Chicago Press). Duplicate copies should be submitted. Authors' names should appear only on the title page, since manuscripts are evaluated anonymously. A self-addressed envelope, stamped with adequate postage, must be included if manuscripts are to be returned. Communications concerning manuscripts and published articles should be addressed to the editors, Elizabeth Shown Mills and Gary B. Mills, Department of History, P.O. Box 1936, University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa, AL 35487-1936.

The National Genealogical Society Quarterly does not assume responsibility for errors of fact or opinion on the part of the contributors, but proved errors will be corrected. The responsibility of the editors and contributing editors is limited to articles published under their own names.



#### EDITORS' CORNER

#### But It Has to Be So!—or It Wouldn't Be in Print!

Or would it?

Tens of thousands of compiled genealogies sit on the shelves of American libraries, and the number grows daily. Families in which some persistent researcher has produced a family history proudly boast, "Our genealogy is already done." Researchers who are just beginning to explore a family line are ecstatic to discover that someone else has "put together" that family and published it. Details are quickly copied onto family charts; from there the researcher jumps to the earliest "identified" generation and vigorously proceeds with an effort to "extend" the line.

Occasionally, a Doubting Thomas attempts to shatter this euphoria by asking such irritating questions as: "But, how do you know the book is right?" or: "Can you prove that 'your line' is put together correctly?" . . . Is the book right? How dare someone be so gauche as to question the integrity of the genealogist who has immortalized our family!

The issue is not integrity. It is fallibility. Every written thought is penned by a human being, and all humans err. In a field as complex as genealogy—one that demands not only a knowledge of resources but also considerable skill in methodology, documentation, and the correlation and evaluation of evidence—the potential for error is exceedingly great. The fact that a reconstructed line *looks* logical is no test. Compiled genealogies frequently streamline evidence, leaving out confusing or conflicting detail, and omitting individuals of the same name, living in the same area, who could not be fitted tidily into the author's reconstruction.

Every genealogist must be a Doubting Thomas. Gullible Gerties and Naive Neds, who unquestioningly accept and perpetuate whatever they see in print, defeat themselves in the end. They waste time and funds tracking people who have no connection to theirs; when their errors eventually are proven, they lose credibility as trustworthy researchers. Testing, questioning, and *proving* the truth of certain statements are the hallmarks of sound research in every field of inquiry. Genealogy is no exception. It matters not whether the genealogist is a "serious scholar" or is "doing this for fun." There is no fun in tracing the wrong people.

Carmen Finley's article "David Finley (1754–1848): Correcting the Record" illustrates the danger that lurks in published works and the folly of blithely accepting the dicta of others—merely because they are in print and everyone else uses the books. She also demonstrates a useful sampling of ways by which the careful genealogist can test the reliability of a proposed lineage, effectively separate sundry individuals of the same name, and acceptably establish a correct identity or paternity. Even readers who care naught for the Finley family should profit from her case study.

—The Millses

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# NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

Volume 76 June 1988 Number 2

#### Genealogical Research in Florida

By BRIAN E. MICHAELS\*

Florida? "No man would immigrate into Florida—no, not from Hell itself," declared the Honorable John Randolph of Roanoke in the majestic halls of the United States Congress. The newly annexed territory was, he felt constrained to point out, "a land of swamps, of quagmires, of frogs and alligators and mosquitoes." No less a personage than Ralph Waldo Emerson himself pronounced the Saint Johns River Valley, inspiration for some of William Bartram's most-memorable prose in his classic *Travels*, "a grotesque region." Even the formidable Henry Clay had opposed annexing Florida, declaring it to be "so loaded and encumbered with land grants" that "scarcely a foot of soil" was left for the United States.<sup>1</sup>

Despite Clay's concern and Randolph's prediction, however, Florida's 1980 census count of 9.7 million marked her as the nation's seventh-most-populous state, and by 1987 she ranked fourth.<sup>2</sup> But native Floridians perpetually seem to be scarce (fewer than a third of the state's current inhabitants were born there), so there is a persistent perception that very few Americans outside the state today would have had early-Florida ancestors. "After all," goes the modern myth, "people don't emigrate from Paradise."

Nevertheless, the State Office of Planning and Budgeting estimates that one person moves out of Florida for every two who move in,<sup>3</sup> and many of the settlers who flooded the state from Georgia and the Carolinas before and especially after 1821 eventually fled her swamps, alligators, and mosquitoes to return home or to journey further west. Numerous "brick walls" in Southern genealogy have toppled when the missing ancestor suddenly turned up in Florida—either permanently or en route to Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, or gold-rush California.

Genealogical research has long been plagued by a widespread but erroneous perception that the Sunshine State was but recently settled and has few records and but little history. Many who have considered it simply an old state of new

people are genuinely surprised to learn that numerous living Americans can document their ancestry a full ten generations in Florida. While it is true that printed sources are not as numerous as in the thirteen original states and that a discrete division of archives, history, and records management has been developed only over the past twenty years, many more original records have survived the ravages of tropical heat, humidity, and vermin than is commonly imagined. More than a thousand Florida pioneer lineages have been identified and documented in the past decade, and the process gathers momentum daily. Perhaps the present overview of Florida's genealogical records and resources will dispel a few of these misconceptions and help to further genealogical study in the Sunshine State.

#### I: COLONIAL AND TERRITORIAL BACKGROUND

The Spanish presence which began with the landing of Juan Ponce de León at Eastertide of 1513—ninety-four years before Jamestown—did indeed leave behind a number of land grants; Spanish Florida ultimately embraced all of the present state and much of the Gulf Coast, including Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.<sup>4</sup>

When in 1564 French Huguenots settled Fort Caroline on the Saint Johns River near present-day Jacksonville, the Spanish reacted violently, establishing Saint Augustine—the first permanent European settlement in America—the next year and immediately destroying Fort Caroline. Soon, after further exchanges of hostilities, France abandoned her designs on peninsular Florida. Elizabethan England, however, was not to be so easily intimidated.<sup>5</sup>

Two years before Spain's Invincible Armada sailed into history, Sir Francis Drake sacked and burned Saint Augustine, a performance which did little to foster amity between the colonial powers. Spain was to spend much of the seventeenth century attempting to dissuade English settlement and to consolidate her relatively few gains by scattering colonists here and there across Florida, and by the 1680s San Marcos de Apalache (now Saint Marks) on the Gulf coast had grown to noteworthy proportions. In the final third of the century, pressure from the French to the west and the English and their Indian allies to the north prompted Spain to fortify Saint Augustine with the huge coquina-rock Castillo de San Marcos (now Fort Marion) and to re-establish a former settlement at Pensacola in 1698 with three hundred soldiers and settlers. They were just in time; in 1702 and 1703 there were numerous British raids culminating in a two-month siege of Saint Augustine, during which the town was captured while the fort held firm. Seventeen years later the French took and briefly held Pensacola before relinquishing the town, joining with Spain against England and finally retiring further westward along the Gulf Coast.7

In 1736, after James Oglethorpe of Georgia had rapidly manned a string of forts in Spanish territory, England and Spain agreed that both would withdraw from the Saint Johns River Valley. England was delighted with the implicit approval of her claims north of Saint Johns, but Spain quickly repudiated the agreement.<sup>8</sup>

Following an indecisive treaty with the Spanish in 1748 and a resulting brief decade of peace with Spain, England was again at war with France. In 1761 Spain, fearful that a French defeat could damage her own colonial interests, finally took sides with France; but all was too little, too late. By the Treaty of Paris ending the Seven Years' War in 1763, Spain ceded Florida to England in exchange for captured Havana. By February of 1764, fewer than 10 of the 3,046 Spanish colonists enumerated in the 1763 census at Saint Augustine were to be found in or near the town. In fact, "fewer than a dozen white people remained in all of East Florida when the British arrived to take possession of Saint Augustine."

British East Florida reached from the Atlantic to the Apalachicola River, and British West Florida ran from the Apalachicola to the Mississippi. Aside from the respective colonial capitals at Saint Augustine and Pensacola and what is now Saint Marks, much of present-day Florida remained wilderness. <sup>12</sup> In 1765 England sent Surveyor General William Gerard de Brahm<sup>13</sup> and Royal Botanist John Bartram<sup>14</sup> to her new possession to study and report on the land, rivers, harbors, soil, flora, and fauna. The English wished to develop the Floridas; so they offered bounties, land grants, and other inducements to settlers. It was a productive policy: East and West Florida remained loyal to Britain during the American Revolution, and Saint Augustine became crowded with Tory refugees from Georgia and the Carolinas. <sup>15</sup>

In 1781 Spain captured Pensacola from Britain, which two years later exchanged both Floridas for the Bahama Islands. <sup>16</sup> Another exodus ensued; this time thousands of Protestant Floridians—Tories and all—fled from the tender mercies of the Spanish Catholics to the Bahamas and West Indies.

Between 1785 and 1821 sporadic Spanish and American border disputes warmed the political climate of northern Florida. The Pinckney Treaty of 1795 fixed the 31st parallel as the northern boundary of West Florida and gave the United States undisputed control of an area now comprising nearly a third of Alabama and Mississippi.<sup>17</sup> An abortive "Patriot Republic" was declared in East Florida by John Houston McIntosh and a band of Georgians in 1812. Although Spain never declared war on the United States, Andrew Jackson captured and abandoned Spanish Pensacola in 1814 and then helped over the next few years to convince Spain of the folly of trying to hold a colony contiguous to a large and unfriendly nation that coveted her lands. 18 Under the terms of the Adams-Onis Treaty, which took effect in 1821, Spain gave up East and West Florida in exchange for American settlement of U.S. citizens' claims against Spain. By July 1821, the first two counties had already been established; and by its first territorial census in 1830, Florida boasted 18,395 white and 16,335 nonwhite inhabitants, for a total of 34,730.19 By statehood fifteen years later, her population would approach 66.500.20

The massacre of Army Major Francis Langhorne Dade and two companies of soldiers in December 1835 marked the opening hostilities of the Second Seminole War, which would end in 1842 only after an expenditure of twenty million dollars and one thousand five hundred dead soldiers.<sup>21</sup> Eventually relocated to Arkansas by 1858 were 3,824 Indians and Negroes; Indian and white civilian casualties and property losses cannot accurately be calculated.<sup>22</sup>

Florida attained statehood on 3 March 1845. First among the Atlantic Coast colonies to be settled, it was the last to be admitted to the Union. Her people already had lived under the flags of four sovereign nations: Spain, France, Great Britain, and the United States. Under American statehood, they would continue to be joined by numerous other groups of people from the United States and many foreign countries.

#### SETTLEMENT BY OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

The Native Americans whom other ethnic groups displaced today constitute only a small fraction of one percent of the Florida populace. Blacks constituted half of the state's population during the mid-1800s, but by 1980 were only 14 percent. Heavy immigration to southern Florida by Jewish northeasterners of European heritage in the 1920s boosted today's Jewish percentage to about 5 percent. Large Hispanic migration, except for areas such as Saint Augustine, Tampa, and Pensacola, generally dates from this century and has been heaviest within the past three decades.<sup>23</sup>

Among the earliest foreign colonies still traceable are the Minorcans, who came from the Greek, Spanish, and Italian isles with Dr. Andrew Turnbull to settle his ill-fated New Smyrna plantation on the coast south of Saint Augustine in 1768. Quinn's *Minorcans in Florida* tells the fascinating story of this fabled group. Nixon Smiley has compiled a brief overview of the dozen or so overseas groups who have followed the Minorcans: Jews, nineteenth-century English, Scandinavians, Conchs at Key West, Greeks at Tarpon Springs, Slovaks, Czechs, Poles, Japanese, Russians, Cubans, Mexicans, Hungarians, Vietnamese, and Haitians. However, most of these groups arrived only in the early 1900s, and some of the transplantations were not successful.<sup>24</sup>

#### II: RECORD REPOSITORIES

#### ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

#### State Archives

The Florida State Archives, a bureau of the Division of Library and Information Services, is located two blocks west of the Capitol, in the R. A. Gray Building (500 South Bronough Street, Tallahassee, 32399-0250). As the official repository for the state's public records, the Archives also contains nongovernmental records, papers, and manuscript collections of great use to the genealogist. Some of its holdings predate statehood; as early as 1822 the Territorial Legislative Council had established two "Keepers of the Spanish Archives" for the records left behind by the colonial governments at Saint Augustine and Pensacola.

Public Records held by the Archives consist primarily of the official documents created by the departments and agencies of state government in the course of their work. There is, however, a substantial microfilm collection of Spanish and British colonial documents. Some early deed, probate, tax, and

marriage records are also available on film at the archives for sixty of the state's sixty-seven counties. Such additional miscellaneous records as delayed birth certificates, vital records, family histories, naturalizations, court records, homesteads, marks and brands, militia rolls, and military records are available for individual counties. Some duplicate record-copies sent to Tallahassee by local officials during the nineteenth century and now held by the Archives are no longer available in the originating jurisdictions.

In the early 1970s the Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints microfilmed early county records throughout the state, including deeds before 1885 and marriage records to 1927, the year that central state registry began. The Archives has copies of those films, and the staff has developed a multi-volume finding aid containing a short history of each county, information on gaps in the records due to courthouse fires or other occurrences, a description of the filmed records, and notes on the condition of the film. Microfiche copies may be purchased from the archives. There is also a series of maps showing the evolution of Florida's counties, an aid to tracking their changing boundaries from 1822 to 1936. Unfortunately, there are no indexes to the material in the records except those created by the individual counties and filmed with the records to which they pertain.

The Manuscript Collection includes various collections from private citizens, organizations, and businesses. Family letters and papers, diaries, church and business records, and the Florida Pioneer Papers compiled since 1977 by the Florida State Genealogical Society comprise the bulk of this collection. Among the holdings are the West, Lovett, Gamble, Randolph, and Hunt family papers. The Perkins Papers span 1826–1941 and contain estate papers, wills, deeds, mortgages, insurance policies, certificates from law schools, and letters. Church records cover congregations as early as the 1590s; and cemetery records, organization rolls, reports and minutes, and patriotic- and genealogical-society deposits add to the value of the manuscript collection.

The Florida Photographic Collection was established in 1952 by Allen Morris to preserve existing visual documentation of the state's people and their history. Moved to the Archives from Florida State University in 1981, it contains more than 600,000 images, ranging from mid-fifteenth-century maps through photographs dated between 1855 and the present.

Records held by the Florida State Archives are open to the public, and the staff answers specific mail queries, quoting copy costs for advance payment. They can undertake reference searches requiring a maximum of thirty minutes but cannot summarize or transcribe documents or provide lists of records on particular surnames, although they can supply descriptive pamphlets, a list of Archives microform publications, and a directory of available researchers. The Archives has recently published a comprehensive Guide to the Records of the Florida State Archives, which is available for purchase from the Archives.

#### P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History

The state's pre-eminent collection of Floridiana covering five centuries is the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, one of the University of Florida

libraries in Gainesville. Its collection of Spanish colonial documents is the largest of its kind in North America, and the university's Latin American Collection maintains one of the most-comprehensive collections of Caribbean materials in North America. The Yonge Library does not collect genealogical materials as such, but it would be noteworthy if only for the fact that it has the largest microform collection of Florida newspapers in existence. Its other holdings exceed 25,000 volumes, 15,000 reels of microfilm, and 2,500 maps. Access is facilitated by the massive, four-volume Catalog of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.<sup>26</sup>

#### Florida Historical Society Library

Housed at the University of South Florida Library in Tampa, the library of the Florida Historical Society (organized in 1856) is strong in Florida historical materials, although again the primary focus of the collection is not genealogical. Photographs and special collections from a large area of substantial Hispanic influence add to its value.

#### State Library of Florida

The Florida Collection of the State Library (situated with the Archives in the R. A. Gray Building) is an excellent source for information on the people and places of the Sunshine State. It offers old city directories and newspapers, a few surviving state-census fragments, biographical indexes and clipping files created by the staff, original church surveys from 1938, and a number of manuscript collections. The collection is not primarily genealogical, but it does include much material useful to genealogists.

#### Saint Augustine Historical Society Library

This facility (271 Charlotte Street, Saint Augustine 32084) specializes in Saint Augustine and Florida history. It contains transcriptions and translations of Saint Augustine's Roman Catholic Cathedral Parish records for the years 1594–1763 and 1784–1882, including marriages, baptisms, and burials. Saint Augustine newspapers covering 1821 to the present, a card calendar of Spanish documents for the period 1512–1764, and a card index of Saint Augustine residents help make this a research collection not to be overlooked.

#### Lelia Abercrombie Historical Library

An arm of the Pensacola Historical Society, this West Florida collection (405 South Adams Street, Pensacola 32501) has 2,000 books, a genealogical collection, Pensacola newspapers, and 47,000 photos.

#### John C. Pace Library, University of West Florida

The Special Collections Division of the Pace Library at the University of West Florida, Pensacola, is strong in the documentary history of West Florida

and its people. It has substantial holdings of personal and business papers, records, and correspondence. The Panton, Leslie Papers (1783–1821) publication project is housed here<sup>27</sup>—along with the 5,821-piece Yonge Family Papers (1781–1934), old maps, runs and single issues of early West Florida newspapers (from 1821), and film copies of the Spanish Archives known as the West Florida Papers and the East Florida Papers. A Guide to the Manuscripts and Special Collections of the John C. Pace Library is helpful concerning the collection, and Servies's four-volume Bibliography of West Florida describes most of the available printed material.<sup>28</sup>

#### Other Noteworthy Libraries and Miscellaneous Collections

The Polk County Historical and Genealogical Library (Old Courthouse Building, Main and Broadway, Bartow 33830) is one of the state's few public libraries devoted exclusively to history and genealogy. It focuses primarily on Florida and the Southeast, with 10,000 volumes, 5,000 microforms, and over one hundred periodicals.

The Orlando Public Library of the Orange County Library System (101 East Central Boulevard, Orlando 32801) has a strong genealogy collection and since 1929 has been the depository for all materials copied or abstracted by the Florida State Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution. All U.S. census microfilms through 1900 (excluding the Soundex) are available, as they are (for 1790–1910) in the noteworthy Florida and Genealogy departments of the Miami-Dade Public Library (101 West Flagler Street, Miami 33130).

The Haydon Burns Public Library in Jacksonville (122 North Ocean Street, Jacksonville 32202) has a good genealogical collection made better by the extensive holdings of the department's Florida Collection of research material about Jacksonville and the state (with special emphasis on the counties of Duval, Baker, Nassau, and Saint Johns). Holdings include the J. Webster Merritt Collection of 500 rare books, maps, and documents—as well as indexes to the Florida Times-Union from 1895 and the Jacksonville Journal, 1925—38.

#### III: COUNTY-LEVEL RECORDS

Florida is not among those states in which the researcher is invariably wise to begin in the state archives. There will be something there for every county, but most county records have not yet been accessioned. One valuable guide—slightly dated but not yet superseded—is a compilation, "Records Available for Research in Florida Counties," published in eight consecutive quarterly issues of the Florida Genealogist, beginning with Winter 1984 and concluding in Fall 1985. The results of a two-year data-collection project of the Florida State Genealogical Society, the listing includes a number of unique and largely unknown sources.

"County Records on Microfilm at the Florida State Archives," by archivist Hal Hubener in the Winter 1988 issue of the *Florida Genealogist*, lists time spans covered by Archives microfilms of deed, marriage, probate, tax, and

certain miscellaneous records for sixty Florida counties.<sup>29</sup> Generally, initial inquiries for information about county records—filmed and original—should be addressed to the clerk of courts of the appropriate county. Everton's *Handy Book* or the current biennial edition of Morris's wide-ranging *Florida Handbook* will provide the name of each of the sixty-seven county seats.<sup>30</sup>

#### VITAL RECORDS

#### Birth and Death Records

The Bureau of Vital Statistics of the State Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services (Box 210, Jacksonville 32231) has custody of birth and death records filed from January 1917 to date. Scattered birth records from 1865 through 1916 are also held by the bureau, and some city health departments have additional scattered records (e.g., Jacksonville, 1893–1913; Pensacola, 1897–1916).

Death records begin about 1877; but the first state law mandating registration of deaths was passed in 1899, and records before 1917 are spotty. It is always well to check with city health departments. Some years ago, for example, the Saint Augustine Health Department deposited with the historical society library a number of "death certificates and burial permits" written on scraps of paper, prescription blanks, etc., for the late 1870s and early eighties.

Applications for central-registry birth and death records must be submitted on standard forms available from the bureau at the above address. Under a genealogically ill-advised act of 1987, "all birth records... shall be considered confidential documents." Birth certificates, computer certifications, and birth cards are available only to the registrant (if of the legal age of eighteen), his or her parent or guardian, or other legal representative. Death records are still issued to anyone paying the required fee, but the cause-of-death section of the original certificate is deemed confidential and will not be supplied.

If the bureau cannot supply a record, it is sometimes productive to have a search made at the local health department—some early-Florida records simply did not get to Jacksonville. It is also well to scan the periodical and genealogical-society literature for items such as the West Florida Genealogical Society's recent 460-page Early Pensacola Vital Records, Volume 1: 1891–1899 32

#### Adoption Records

Florida's adoption records are confidential. The original papers are filed with the clerk of the circuit court in the county where the adoption took place. Medical background on the birth family is given to the adoptive family at adoption; it can be obtained by the adoptee at age eighteen from the Family and Children Services Program, Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services (1323 Winewood Boulevard, Tallahassee 32301), which also has a file on each adoption. Since October 1980 it has been possible, when both the adoptee and the birthparent desire it and have submitted waivers of confidentiality, for a reunion to be arranged. Initial contact by searching adoptees should be with Health and Rehabilitative Services. Unsettling to

many genealogists is the state's practice of sealing original birth certificates in the case of step-parent adoptions and issuing "amended" certificates showing the step-parent as the parent. Adoptions are governed by Chapter 63, *Florida Statutes*, which are amended yearly; they and the latest legislative-session updates should be consulted at the outset of the search. For further information, consult Robie's *Searching in Florida*.<sup>33</sup>

#### Marriage and Divorce Records

The Bureau of Vital Statistics has custody of marriage, divorce, and annulment records filed after 6 June 1927. For records prior to that date, and there are thousands of them—back into the territorial days of the 1820s—query the clerk of courts in the county where the license or decree was issued. Copies of the marriage-license applications are available only from the clerk of courts in the county courthouse. Standard request forms for copies of state-held records are necessary and available as indicated above.

#### County Tax Rolls

Early tax rolls, especially between census years, can be a gold mine for the fortunate researcher. Most existing rolls can be found in the counties of origin, but the State Archives also has some bound volumes sent to the State Comptroller during the period 1829–81. Normal information includes the taxpayer's name, land ownership, number of white males (above taxable age, i.e., twenty-one) and slaves, horses, wagons, and other taxable items of personal property (such as jewelry, watches, musical instruments, and carriages). Many of the records in the series are incomplete, but there are some that the originating counties no longer have. This valuable resource is not indexed; rolls must be sought out and read in the county or at the State Archives—or both.

#### Court and Other Legal Records

In Florida all judicial power is vested in a supreme court, district courts of appeal, circuit courts, and county courts. Under a 1973 reorganization of the judicial system, the clerk of courts was made—and remains—custodian of all records of all predecessor courts, whether justice of the peace, city, county, probate, civil, or criminal.

Among the records useful to the genealogist and usually held by the county courthouses are original birth, marriage, and divorce records. Probate court records include wills, administrations, bonds, inventories and appraisements, and guardianships. Land grants, homesteads, deeds, mortgages, and similar or related records are found in earlier individual books, but for a number of years in most jurisdictions such records have been combined into "Official Record" books. Recorded plat books, civil and criminal court dockets (case schedules), minutes, order books, naturalizations, incorporations, incompetencies, soldier and sailor discharge records, Confederate oaths of allegiance, delayed birth certificates, marks and brands—all are generally useful.

Tax-assessment lists, tax rolls, and poll-tax records (on free white males of twenty-one and up) are helpful, as are listings of local lawyers, physicians, and dentists. Official minutes of county commissions, road and bridge trustees, and other taxing authorities can also provide useful genealogical information.

#### Church Records

As in most former frontier societies, early-Florida church records are a hit-and-miss situation but valuable when located. The Roman Catholic faith accompanied the earliest Spanish settlers to Florida; and by 1822 the Baptists. Methodists. Episcopalians, and Presbyterians were also active in the new territory.<sup>34</sup> By 1845 the Baptists had split into the Missionary and Primitive varieties (probably totalling more than 5,000 Florida members), and all of the above groups had become more or less well organized.<sup>35</sup> The Methodists had two churches in Fernandina as early as 1822 (under the South Carolina Conference) and more than 10.000 members by statehood. 36 The Episcopalians by 1845 had parishes at Apalachicola, Jacksonville, Key West, Pensacola, and Tallahassee, in addition to others in several smaller towns.<sup>37</sup> In 1840 Florida Presbyterian churches were divided among the Florida, Georgia, and Alabama presbyteries.<sup>38</sup> An incomplete but voluminous list of Florida churches of fifty years ago is the Work Projects Administration (WPA) compilation Preliminary List of Religious Bodies in Florida.<sup>39</sup> The original survey forms from which the volume was compiled are now in the State Library's Florida Room. Church records are also to be had in the holdings of most libraries and archival depositories throughout the state, and denominational representatives should be consulted for repositories peculiar to their particular persuasions.<sup>40</sup>

#### Cemetery Records

Cemetery records are held by most Florida libraries and archives. One important compiled source is the WPA Register of Deceased Veterans Buried in Florida, which covers fifty-one of the sixty-seven counties. Access to the massive amount of cemetery information scattered throughout the state is being facilitated by a continuing cemetery-location project of the Florida State Genealogical Society. The information will be published, but queries on locations and published surveys may in the meantime be directed to Cemetery Survey Chairman, FSGS, Box 10249, Tallahassee, FL 32302. It is important to note that this is a directory of cemeteries and published records, not of personal names.

#### IV: STATEWIDE RECORDS

#### **CENSUS RECORDS**

#### State and Federal Censuses

The state of Florida conducted its own censuses in 1845, 1855, and every ten years from 1875 through 1945 as a basis for regular reapportionment of the

state legislature. Unfortunately, very few enumeration schedules have survived. 42 Fortunately, however, Florida accepted partial funding from the federal government for a census taken as of 1 June 1885. The resulting schedules for population, agriculture, manufactures, and mortality are arranged alphabetically by name of county and thereunder numerically by type of schedule. Arrangement within the schedules is by enumeration district. precinct, or city. Thirty-five of the thirty-nine counties of the state in 1885 are included on the thirteen-roll microfilm publication M845 of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); the schedules for Alachua, Clay, Columbia, and Nassau appear to have been lost. The State Archives and a number of Florida libraries have copies of this invaluable bridge which reduces to fifteen years the gap caused by the destruction of the 1890 federal census schedules. The Putnam County Genealogical Society Quarterly Journal has published fully indexed transcriptions of the 1885 Putnam County population schedules, and several similar projects are reported to be in progress; so a query to the local genealogical or historical society might yield good results.

The State Archives has the original schedules of the state censuses of 1935 and 1945, accessible alphabetically by county and thereunder by numbered election precincts. The schedules give name, address (and whether inside or outside city limits), age, sex, race, relation to family, place of birth, degree of education, and occupation. There is no index to these records, and a personal visit to the Archives is necessary for access to the information.

A full set of the microfilmed U.S. population censuses of Florida from 1830 to 1910 is available at the State Archives, as well as at most of Florida's large libraries. The 1880 census has a phonetically based index (Soundex) to entries on households with a child under ten years of age, and the 1900 and 1910 have comprehensive (though not infallible) indexes to all individuals listed in the population schedules. For the years 1850–1880 there are mortality schedules, enumerating persons who died within twelve months prior to the official census date (i.e., 1 June) and giving a number of facts concerning the decedents.

The Southern Genealogist's Exchange Society<sup>43</sup> has published statewide indexes to the 1830 and 1840 territorial censuses and the 1850 federal census of Florida. SGES has also transcribed the entire 1850 federal census (the first one to list names of all residents of a household) into small and inexpensive paperbound volumes of great usefulness. Index Publishing<sup>44</sup> has produced microfiche and paper indexes to the 1860 and 1870 censuses. The West Florida Genealogical Society has published an eighty-page Every-Name Index to the 1870 U.S. Census of Escambia County, Florida.<sup>45</sup>

#### LAND RECORDS

#### Spanish Land Grants

The Archives holds a vast body of records created about 1820–22 for the use of the federal government in affirming or denying earlier Spanish grants of land. In many cases these are the only surviving references to some of the pre-territorial residents of the area. The indexed documents are filed by claimant, and the amount of information they contain varies greatly; but the

affidavits often tell when an individual arrived in Florida and how many were in his family—including names and ages; the acreage granted often depended on the number of "heads" in the family.

The fragile originals—largely in Spanish—are extant, but the WPA made a five-volume transcript, Spanish Land Grants in Florida, which is available at the Archives and in a number of libraries, as well as in an inexpensive microfiche edition from the Archives.

#### Armed Occupation Act Records

In 1842, during the Second Seminole War, the federal government granted lands south of the line dividing townships nine and ten south (a line running east and west about three miles north of Palatka) to individuals who agreed to claim, populate, and hold—by force of arms, if necessary—some of the undeveloped lands of East Florida. More than 1,000 persons responded, cleared the minimum five acres of their 160-acre grant, and lived on the property for the required five years. The records give such useful information as the date an individual arrived in the territory, marital status, and location of the grant. A strict alphabetical index compiled by Nora S. Michaels was published in the *Florida Armchair Researcher*, and a copy is held by the custodians of the records.<sup>46</sup>

#### Division of State Lands Records

The U.S. Land Ordinance of 1785 decreed a land-survey system known as the rectangular system, and Florida was the first state—and remains the only state on the Eastern Seaboard—to be surveyed in orderly squares rather than under the old English system of *metes and bounds* utilized in the thirteen original state-land states. The original surveyors' field notes and plats are scheduled for transfer to the State Archives beginning in August 1988, <sup>47</sup> as are the original tract books and records of all grants of land from the state to the initial grantee, whether by purchase or otherwise. A fascinating and valuable resource, the notes and other files depict for the careful researcher the topography, settlements, and even the houses of the early territorial period and beyond.

#### Homestead Files

The original homestead applications filed by Florida settlers from 1881 to 1905 have been transferred recently to the Archives. Information contained includes name of applicant, place of residence at time of application, tract description, and number of acres granted. There is a surname index. Other homestead records in the State Archives Record Group (RG) 598 include tax receipts required to prove that claimants were paying taxes on their claims, unindexed miscellaneous and legal records concerning homesteads, and correspondence of the State Land Office, 1858–1913. A number of other land records, including the "Florida Donation Entry Files" and "Private Land

Claims," are held by the National Archives and include records from Florida. Some are indexed by card files.<sup>48</sup>

#### MILITARY RECORDS

#### The Revolutionary War

Because Florida remained loyal to the Crown during the Revolution, Fritot's Pension Records of Soldiers of the Revolution Who Removed to Florida remains among the few genealogically valuable references to later Floridians who had served during that conflict.<sup>49</sup>

#### Soldiers of Florida

In 1903 the Florida Board of State Institutions published an unindexed and somewhat flawed volume entitled Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian, Civil, and Spanish-American Wars. The P. K. Yonge Library (previously discussed) has a WPA index to the Civil War section, but the volume's chief usefulness is as a lead to original source materials.

#### Indian War Service Records

The Archives holds a reference copy of the 63-roll NARA microfilm Compiled Service Records of Volunteers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Florida During the Florida Indian Wars, 1835–1858 (M1086). The National Archives is the only source for the original files.

#### The Mexican War

Florida had recently been through the Second Seminole War and had been a state just over a year when "Polk's War" with Mexico began. Yet the five-company quota assigned to Florida was quickly filled. Very little attention has thus far been paid to the new state's part in the Mexican War, but one excellent account—including rosters of the five companies—has appeared in the Florida Historical Quarterly.<sup>51</sup> There is also a microfilmed alphabetical master index (NARA M616) to compiled service records which can prove helpful.

#### Home Guard (State Militia) Records

Florida has had a militia since its earliest territorial days. When voters lined up to register for the young state's first election, every able-bodied man over twenty and under forty-five was enrolled in the militia before being allowed to vote. Only age and infirmity excused the prospective voter from his military obligation.

Home-guard units were under state command during the Civil War, and their personnel and other records never were provided to Confederate officials.

Most of the records that survived the war were placed in the State Arsenal, which recently transferred them and other treasures to the State Archives. Including records as early as the 1820s, as well as muster rolls from the Second Seminole, Mexican, and Civil wars, this new accession constitutes a major source for Florida researchers. Later records include documents of the Florida Militia, Florida State Troops, and Florida National Guard covering the period 1870s–1917. World War I induction lists and a card roster of Floridians who served 1917–19 add to the value of this State Archives record group (RG197).

As in so many other areas, there are some militia rolls and related files which never reached the State Archives. They can sometimes be found—often to the amazement of their custodians—in the miscellaneous courthouse files and county-commission minutes of the older counties. Again, a personal search is the only way to find them.

An important and newly discovered list of territorial militia officers compiled by Nadine Doty-Tessel of the Archives staff appeared in the Fall 1987 issue of the *Florida Genealogist*.<sup>53</sup>

#### Confederate Service Records

Florida seceded from the Union on 10 January 1861, remained an independent nation until 22 April, and ended the Civil War with the only Confederate capital east of the Mississippi not captured and occupied by federal forces. More than 16,000 Floridians served in the Civil War (15,000 Confederate and 1,290 Union). Florida troops served in all of the great battles; and 6,700 served for the duration or until they were disabled, killed, or captured. More than 1,000 were killed outright, and by the spring of 1865 more than 5,000 Florida Confederates were dead.<sup>54</sup>

The State Archives has reference copies of the NARA microfilm M253, a consolidated index to compiled service records of Confederate soldiers, as well as the Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Florida (M251; index: M225) and the index and files of Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Florida (M225 and M400). These may be consulted at the State Archives, but copies of the records must be requested from the National Archives (on Form NATF-80).

#### Confederate Pension Records

Florida granted pensions to Confederate veterans and their widows under laws passed in 1885, 1887, and 1889. In 1915, a peak total of 5,134 veterans and widows were on the rolls. The State Archives has a collection of some 12,775 approved and rejected pension applications. The files are indexed by both veterans' and widows' names.<sup>55</sup> Inquirers—in person or by mail—may order copies of pertinent files, which generally include original and supplemental applications, full name, date and place of birth, service unit, wounds received, date and place of enlistment and discharge, county of residence when

applying, and length of residence in the state. Widows' records add maiden name, date and place of marriage, and date and place of the veteran's death. The Archives' central reference unit will report whether a pension is on file and quote copy costs (typically for four to ten pages).

## The Spanish-American War

Most of the Florida volunteers in the infantry units of what John Hay called this "splendid little war" moved smartly about the state—into and out of training camps and guard detachments—but never left it. Several hundred of them are listed, with capsule unit histories, in Part III of Soldiers of Florida (previously discussed). The section is unindexed but can serve to alert researchers to further resources. A 13-reel NARA microfilm publication (M1087), Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served in the Florida Infantry During the War with Spain, is generally more reliable. Access to the records is facilitated by the 126-roll nation wide index to service in that war (M871).

#### MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES

#### Territorial Papers

Volumes XXII-XXVI of The Territorial Papers of the United States<sup>56</sup> list the names of thousands of Florida residents between 1821 and 1845 in hundreds of letters, reports, and petitions (memorials) of the territorial period. Information varies, but the wide coverage and excellent index make the volumes essential to a full understanding of the people and their era. Most large libraries in the United States have these, as do college and university collections.

Not all territorial papers are included in the above volumes, however. The Territorial Papers of the United States Senate, 1789–1873: Florida 1806–1845 (NARA M200, rolls 9–11); State Department Territorial Papers, Florida, 1777–1824 (M116, 11 rolls); and Territorial Papers of the United States: The Territory of Florida, 1821–1845 (M721, rolls 14–16) are also potential sources, but many of the territorial papers generated have never been filmed. Research in the largely unindexed territorial files of the National Archives is challenging, but treasures await the patient researcher.

#### Florida Place Names

There are three ready sources on Florida place names and locations. Allen Morris's Florida Place Names,<sup>57</sup> Bertha E. Bloodworth and Alton C. Morris's Places in the Sun,<sup>58</sup> and Booth's brief "A Listing of Florida Cities, Towns, and Villages by County."<sup>59</sup> The first two are book-length treatments of origins as well as locations; the last is a compilation from modern maps. Highly useful also are various Florida state gazetteers (1886–87, 1911–12, 1918–25) located in the Florida Room of the State Library. They give lists of prominent

businessmen and farmers as well as brief sketches of all towns and cities then active.

## Biographical Compendiums and "Mug Books"

Who Was Who in Florida<sup>60</sup> provides short (undocumented) sketches of Florida notables, and a number of historical compilations over the past century have devoted parts or individual volumes to biographical information of varying reliability. See Filby's bibliography for citations to a number of these very useful items.<sup>61</sup>

## Early Election Records

The State Archives has 2,000 folders of important early election records. Voter rolls have an advantage over deeds—if an individual voted in a jurisdiction, he lived there. Land records can be misleading on absentee owners, but election records were sworn documents requiring proof of residence—usually six months in the county, two years in the state. The files are arranged by year, and thereunder by county, but they must be used in person; there is no index in existence or planned. These voter rolls and returns list the names of candidates, clerks, and inspectors in local, state, congressional, referendum, and militia elections from 1824. Until 1865 each voter's name and precinct of residence are listed. A discussion and county-by-county availability listing (1824–1926) by Donald Draper Campbell appeared in 1985 in the Florida Genealogist. Not all such records have reached the Archives, although many courthouse deputy clerks are unaware that some remain in their custody and may have to be cajoled into locating and producing them or allowing the researcher to do so.

Among the most-useful records for those tracing individuals who lived at the time of statehood are the returns of the first statewide election, held on 26 May 1845, indexed and published by the Florida State Genealogical Society in Florida Voters in Their First Statewide Election.<sup>63</sup>

Another voter record of genealogical significance is the 1868 Voter Registration, which required an oath of allegiance to the U.S. government. It was also the first voter enrollment open to blacks. While it is not indexed or complete for all counties, this important re-registration for the postwar constitutional-convention election includes name, date qualifying, race, length of residence, nativity by state, and naturalization. The rolls are arranged by county and thereunder by the date of individual registration. These records compiled in the turbulent times of Reconstruction help to determine in many cases that an individual survived the Civil War (though absence of a particular man is not proof of the contrary). They can also aid in backtracking migrants from other states.

# Passenger, Immigration, and Naturalization Records

Florida immigration records, as such, are rare. Most of her early settlers came overland from the neighboring states to the north but below the

Mason-Dixon Line—and the majority of them were from Georgia.<sup>64</sup> There were some seaports through which immigrants came into the territory and state, but most of the recorded activity was at the turn of this century. There are copies and transcripts of customs passenger-lists for Key West (1837–52, 1857–68), Saint Augustine (1821–24, 1827, 1875), and Saint Johns (1865) on NARA microfilm M575, for which the 188 rolls of M334 are an alphabetical index.<sup>65</sup>

National Archives Microfilm Publication T940 offers forty-one rolls of Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Key West, 1898–1945, and T517 comprises a twenty-six-roll Index to Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Miscellaneous Ports in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina, 1890–1924. Fortunately, the latter is arranged alphabetically by name of the passenger rather than by the port. A number of post-1899 Florida lists are noticed in Table 8 of NARA's Guide to Genealogical Research in the National Archives.<sup>66</sup>

The National Archives Atlanta Branch has naturalization petitions and records from the U.S. District Court at Key West (1867–1948) and Miami (1913–48).<sup>67</sup> Naturalizations prior to 1907 can be found in the files of some circuit courts (e.g., in Escambia [1821–1903], Hillsborough [from 1899], and Putnam [1853–1906] counties) and they often are not indexed separately.<sup>68</sup> Dated but potentially still useful is the WPA volume *Naturalization Records in Florida* (Tallahassee, 1940).

## The Florida Pioneer Papers

Proof of lineal descent from an individual—male or female—who settled in Florida before 3 March 1845 entitles one to recognition by the Florida State Genealogical Society (address above) as a "Florida Pioneer Descendant." Since 1977 1,098 Florida Pioneer lineages have been documented. Lists of pioneers, biographical sketches, and pedigree charts have been published in most issues of the *Florida Genealogist*, and a fully indexed set of the original papers has been placed in the State Archives, where it is available for research in person or by mail.

# Special Research on Blacks

Most of the foregoing records are germane to black genealogical research, but, other valuable guides and record collections also exist. Voluminous records of various aspects of black life in Florida have been surveyed for *The Black Experience: A Guide to Afro-American Resources in the Florida State Archives.* Ocmpiled by Delbra D. McGriff, former curator of the Archives' Genealogy Collection, and available from the Archives, this invaluable new resource gives record groups and series titles, coverage dates, and descriptions for a vast array of primary sources for research on the blacks of Florida.

The Archives' public-record and manuscript holdings include slave books; Negro church membership lists; governors' administrative correspondence; Black Teacher Association papers; and the papers of Judge Joseph Lee, a prominent black Republican of Duval County. Interspersed throughout the Archives' county-records microfilm collection are black-marriage records, deeds documenting black ownership of land, and probate files containing wills and appraisement inventories that include lists of slaves. A few counties (Gadsden, Leon, and Gulf) provide postbellum indexes for "Negro" or "Colored" marriages, but there are no segregated indexes for black deeds or probates. Chancery case files, cattle marks and brands, mortgages, guardianships, and court-order books can also be useful to the black genealogist.

The State Library's Florida Collection has clipping files on prominent Florida blacks, a card file on black legislators, black newspapers, the 1850 and 1860 slave schedules, the microfilmed papers of Mary McLeod Bethune (founder of Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach), and the 646-piece J. G. Gavin family papers of Wakulla County. Other manuscript sources (e.g., the John T. Bryan and the George A. Dekle papers) include bills of sale for slaves. There are a number of printed sources in the Florida Collection, and the periodical literature and the records in the National Archives should not be overlooked.<sup>70</sup>

Federal census records 1870–1910 are very useful for black research, as are the 1885, 1935, and 1945 Florida state censuses mentioned above. The 1868 voter records list each registrant's name, race, length of residence in the county and state, nativity (by state), naturalization (where, when, how), and the date of registration. Another useful source for some families is the Spanish Land Grants compilation mentioned above; files occasionally include lists of slaves by name and age, with designations such as "Negro" and "Mulatto." Some of the state's ubiquitous black midwives eventually were licensed by the state. The Archives has midwifery files, 1924–75 (Record Group 894, Series 904), which contain a few applications for licensing of black midwives under the state midwifery program.

A number of federal microfilm publications exist for black research, including M817, Indexes to Deposit Ledgers in Branches of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, 1865–1874. The researcher who knows an individual's Florida city of residence can use this source to determine account numbers and locate the appropriate entry in the registers themselves on the twenty-seven rolls of M816.<sup>71</sup>

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, the state's historically black university, maintains a Black Archives and Museum Research Center on its Tallahassee campus; and the University of Florida, Gainesville, is home of the Black Culture Institute. Research into black genealogy is not easy in Florida, but neither is it without surprisingly substantial resources.

# Special Research on Native Americans

In 1980 Florida boasted 24,714 American Indians representing thirty-four different tribes. Today's true "Florida Indians," however, constitute three separate but historically related groups—the Seminole, the Miccosukee, and the Creek tribes.<sup>72</sup>

The Seminoles originally comprised the Yamasee, who fled the Carolinas in the second decade of the eighteenth century; the Oconee; and the Creeks. Thousands of them were transported during the mid-1800s to Oklahoma, where they formed one of the "Five Civilized Tribes." Many still live on federal and state reservations in or near the Everglades. The Seminoles have three substantial reservations—Big Cypress, Brighton, and Hollywood—with a total population of approximately 3,350.

The Miccosukee have a reservation at Forty-Mile-Bend on the Tamiami Trail (population 275) and a large uninhabited state reservation. Today, Miccosukee and Seminole Indians are scattered through large cities and small towns, and strong family bonds have enabled them to adapt to the modern world without losing their cultural identity.<sup>73</sup>

The Florida Creeks, descendants of the Poarch Band of Creeks in Alabama, the Apalachicola River Creeks of Calhoun County, and others who resisted removal to the West reside primarily in the northwestern part of the state between the Apalachicola River and the Florida-Alabama line. Escambia County, Blountstown in Calhoun County, and Bruce in Walton County are their three centers of major activity. Most of the early Creeks survived by living in small isolated groups apart from whites, but that has changed in more-modern times.<sup>74</sup>

"You will not find that Indian research is easy—if you find that it is easy, you are the exception." E. Kay Kirkham might have been speaking of Florida, for research into the Indians of the territorial period is hampered by a scarcity of accurate records on these native peoples who were obliged to shun the white man and his penchant for record keeping. Even a cursory overview of Indian research methodology would require a more-lengthy treatment than is possible in an article of this kind. Kirkham's two-volume *Our Native Americans* lists a number of helpful resources, as do several National Archives microfilm publications; but many sources are not indexed, and those that are require more knowledge of Indian beliefs and customs than most nonspecialists can provide. Federal and State Indian Reservations and Indian Trust Areas<sup>76</sup> will provide reservation and other addresses, and the Board for Certification of Genealogists<sup>77</sup> will, for a nominal fee, provide a list of Certified American Indian Lineage Specialists.

The Source: A Guidebook of American Genealogy<sup>78</sup> has an excellent chapter on Native American research, citing Creek and Seminole census records, emigration lists, annuity payrolls, and miscellaneous rolls. Among the best sources on American Indians generally are Swanton's The Indian Tribes of North America<sup>79</sup> and the eight-volume Biographical and Historical Index of American Indians and Persons Involved in Indian Affairs.<sup>80</sup> Indispensable are Hill's massive Guide to Records in the National Archives Relating to American Indians<sup>81</sup> and the two-volume Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.<sup>82</sup>

Perhaps the most-common starting place for Native American research on the pertinent tribes is the 213-roll NARA microfilm publication T529, Final Rolls of the Five Civilized Tribes in Indian Territory: Choctaw, Chickasaw,

Cherokee, Creek, Seminole. A full set of these films is at the Valparaiso Community Library in Okaloosa County.

Individual research into Florida Indian ancestry can be successful without long study or professional assistance, but it can be a difficult and frustrating experience, too. The researcher will probably save time and money by consulting early on with an expert in the field.

#### V: CONCLUSION

Florida, like all Southern states—indeed, like all states—has its frustrating record gaps and resultant genealogical "brick walls." Generally, however, much more information has survived than is commonly supposed; and careful research into even the early days of Florida can be interesting and rewarding.

#### **NOTES AND REFERENCES**

- \*P. O. Box 1305, Palatka, FL 32078. An English professor and curator of the Florida Collection at the B. C. Pearce Learning Resources Center of Saint Johns River Community College, member of the Florida State Historical Records Advisory Board, past president of the Florida State Genealogical Society, and editor of the Florida Genealogist, Mr. Michaels is a frequent writer and lecturer on Florida records and resources.
- 1. As quoted in Brian E. Michaels, *The River Flows North: A History of Putnam County, Florida* (Palatka, FL: Putnam County Archives and History Commission, 1986), xix (Randolph and Emerson quotations) and 41 (Clay quotation).
- 2. Allen Morris, The Florida Handbook, 1987-1988 (Tallahassee: Peninsular Publishing Co., 1987), 569
  - 3. Ibid., inside rear cover.
- 4. The best modern history of Florida—with an excellent bibliography—is Charlton Tebeau's A History of Florida (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1971). A brief and popular but authoritative treatment is Rembert W. Patrick, Florida under Five Flags, 3d ed. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1960). An indispensable source for articles, references, and book reviews is the Florida Historical Quarterly. Back numbers are available on film, and their usefulness is further enhanced by the Florida Historical Quarterly Index, Volumes I—XXXV (1908–1956 with hiatus), Julien C. Yonge and F. W. Hoskins, eds. (Gainesville: Florida Historical Society, n.d.); and Karen Lee Singh, The Florida Historical Quarterly Volume Indexes, XXXVI—LIII (1957–65) (Tampa: Florida Historical Society, 1976). Dated but not superseded and still useful is Michael. H. Harris, Florida History: A Bibliography (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1972).
- 5. Readers should also find useful Clinton P. King's earlier overview, published as "Florida," in *Genealogical Research: Methods and Sources*, II, Kenn Stryker-Rodda, ed., rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: American Society of Genealogists, 1983), 266–82.
- 6. Patrick, Florida under Five Flags, 2-13; "A Toehold on the Florida Wilderness," in Morris, Florida Handbook, 1987-88, 373-75. See also Charles E. Bennett, Laudonnière and Fort Caroline: History and Documents (Gainesville: Univ. of Florida Press, 1964); and Bennett, Settlement of Florida (Gainesville: Univ. of Florida Press, 1968).
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  - 8. Ibid., 15
- 9. Ibid., 16-17; J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Florida in the American Revolution (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975).
  - 10. Tebeau, History of Florida, 74; Patrick, Florida under Five Flags, 19.
- 11. Samuel Proctor, ed., "Introduction," Eighteenth-Century Florida: Life on the Frontier (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976), v.
- 12. On the period generally, see Cecil Johnson, *British West Florida*, 1763–1769 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1943); and Charles L. Mowatt, *East Florida as a British Province*, 1763–1784 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1943).

- 13. See Louis De Vorsey, Jr., De Brahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971); and De Vorsey, "De Brahm's East Florida on the Eve of Revolution: The Materials for Its Recreation," in Samuel Proctor, ed., Eighteenth-Century Florida and Its Borderlands (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975), 78-96; and Jeanne Bellamy, "Naming the Land." in Morris. Florida Handbook. 1987-1988, 396-97.
- 14. William Bartram, The Travels of William Bartram, Francis Harper, ed. [Naturalist's Edition] (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958); Helen Gere Cruickshank, ed., John and William Bartram's America: Selections from the Writings of the Philadelphia Naturalists; and Michaels, River Flows North, 21-38.
- 15. Wright, Florida in the American Revolution, 103 and passim. A brief list compiled by Robert Scott Davis, Jr., "East Florida Emigrants to the United States, 1780s," appeared in National Genealogical Society Quarterly 75 (September 1987), 226-27.
- 16. See Renee Pierce, "From the Bahamas to Florida," Florida Genealogist 11 (Fall 1987): 19-25, which includes an extensive bibliography.
- 17. "Pinckney's Treaty," in Wayne Andrews, ed., Concise Dictionary of American History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962), 731.
- 18. Rembert W. Patrick, Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1810-1815 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1954).
  - 19. Tebeau, History of Florida, 119, 121; Morris, Florida Handbook, 1987-1988, 401, 572.
  - 20. Patrick, Florida under Five Flags, 46; Tebeau estimates "about 70,000" in History of Florida, 180.
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# David Finley (1754–1848): Correcting the Record

By CARMEN J. FINLEY\*

Most Finley researchers rely heavily on the pioneer work of Major Albert Finley France<sup>1</sup> and that of Admiral Herald F. Stout,<sup>2</sup> who used and expanded the work done by France. Stout's second edition of Clan Finley was published in 1956. In it he states, "Facts, at the chronological distances involved in genealogy, are sometimes controversial." Anyone involved in serious research appreciates this, and any work as ambitious as his is bound to encounter problems. In attempting to verify the line of James Finley, the immigrant, identified by Stout as (2–02), the writer encountered problems not only in locating some of the cited references but also in verifying parent-child relationships and vital data. Once such discrepancies are found, the process of correcting them involves both disproving what has become established and handed down—in this case, for over forty-five years—and proving the correct relationships and vital data where they exist.

The focus of this paper is Stout's David Finley (5-02-114),<sup>5</sup> whom he presents as great-grandson of the immigrant James Finley, through James's son John (3-02-1)<sup>6</sup> and grandson John (4-02-11).<sup>7</sup> It will be shown that David is not the son of John Finley (4-02-11) but of another contemporary John Finley, and that all but one of the vital dates given by Stout for David and his family are contraindicated by cemetery and family-Bible records. Because John Finley is such a common name, the process of proof, in this case, relies heavily upon placing David and his parents in the context of other family members and upon tracing their movements over an eighty-six-year period, from 1765 to 1851. This involves establishing linkages between four locations: Prince Edward and Montgomery (formerly Fincastle, later Wythe) counties, Virginia; Lincoln County (later Garrard County), Kentucky; and Orange County, Indiana. It further involves being able to demonstrate, through primary documents, that those persons who lived in one location are the same people who are found in the new location.

In order to lay the proper foundation, it is necessary to go back to the arrival in America of James Finley and his seven (or eight) sons.

#### **BACKGROUND**

According to Stout, based on the earlier work of France, James Finley, the immigrant, was baptized 4 December 1687[88?] at Saint Peters Church in Dublin; married Elizabeth Patterson 10 January 1706[07?] also at Saint Peters; and immigrated to America in 1720—where he settled, first, in Nottingham township, Chester County, Pennsylvania (now Cecil County, Maryland). He was a member and elder of Rock Presbyterian Church there in 1733, then moved on to Lurgan Township, Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, in the early 1740s. He died in Green Township (now Franklin County,

Pennsylvania) in 1753. He had eight children (seven, according to France), all males. A key document is quoted by France:

Petition of Samuel Finley of Petersburg township, Cumberland County, Penn. one of sons of James Finley late of Greens township, setting forth that the said James Finley lately died leaving a widow Elizabeth Finley and seven sons, to wit: Samuel the petitioner, Robert, Thomas, Alexander and George of Pennsylvania, John and William of Virginia. The petition was to divide a tract of land in Lettykeney [sic] township by lands of Fred Hess and by lands of John Finley, and the said James Finley had died February 10, 1753 (Orphan's Court Book A, page 417, April 1, 1763).

Unfortunately, this document, along with others relating to the early years at Rock Presbyterian Church in Chester County, cannot be located in Pennsylvania.

For the purposes of this paper, the focus is on the sons John and William, who went to Augusta County, Virginia, about 1740, and their respective families. According to Stout, John married Thankful Doak in 1724<sup>10</sup> and William married Mary Wallace in 1734.<sup>11</sup> Both brothers carried on the family given names, as did their children. As a result, by the 1780s and 1790s there was a preponderance of John, Robert, James, George, and William Finleys. In fact, there were four John Finleys listed on the Augusta County tax lists of 1784 and 1786,<sup>12</sup> and three John Finleys left wills in Augusta County in the years 1791, 1802, and 1807.<sup>13</sup> According to Stout, the John Finley who left the 1791 will is the father of David Finley, subject of this paper.<sup>14</sup>

#### THE PROBLEM

In tracing the origins of David Finley of Garrard County (previously Lincoln), Kentucky, the trail led first to Montgomery County (now Wythe), Virginia. Clearly, a John Finley was living there during the period 1773<sup>15</sup> to about 1782, one that closely matched the Augusta County John who left the 1791 will. Both had a son David; and both Davids had a wife Elizabeth.

It can be proved, through existing primary documents, that the David assigned by Stout to the Augusta County John Finley is really the son of the John Finley of Montgomery/Wythe County. There is also strong circumstantial evidence that Stout's William Joseph (4–02–16), <sup>16</sup> George (5–02–112), <sup>17</sup> and Thomas (5–02–116) <sup>18</sup> also belong to the Montgomery/Wythe County family and are brothers of David (5–02–114).

# PROOF OF TWO EXISTING FAMILIES: JOHN OF MONTGOMERY/WYTHE AND JOHN OF AUGUSTA (1791 WILL)

In November 1773, John Finley bought 327 acres in Montgomery County on Salley Run, waters of Reed Creek, from John McFarland. In 1779, John Finley and Mary, his wife, gave this property to David and Samuel Finley in exchange for life care. While these documents do not name David and

Samuel as sons, subsequent documents regarding the sale of the property do refer to their deceased father. In addition, the New River tithables compiled by Kegley list "John Finley and sons David and Thomas" for 1773.<sup>21</sup> John died prior to 19 August 1782<sup>22</sup>; and on 13 January 1783, 140 acres were surveyed for Thomas Finley adjacent to "John Finley's decd patent land" on Sally Run.<sup>23</sup> Therefore, it is established that there was a John Finley in Montgomery County (now Wythe) who died before 19 August 1782 and who had sons David, Samuel, and Thomas.

Meanwhile, in Augusta County, on the tax lists for 1786 and 1787<sup>24</sup> one David Finley appears for the first time—listed under John Finley, beside whom is the notation "self and son David." This is undoubtedly the John who left the will of 1791 and is identified by Stout as 4–02–11. (David is not a common given name among the Finleys in Augusta County nor among Finleys generally). This David is named executor of his father's will; and subsequent land transactions tie him to his sister, Margaret Shields, who was also named in the will. Another distinguishing feature of this John is that he does not name a son Samuel in his 1791 will; and, since primogeniture had been abolished in Virginia by this date, it cannot be argued that an eldest son did not have to be named.

# THE DAVID WHO MIGRATED TO KENTUCKY AND INDIANA

Stout claims that David, son of the Augusta County John Finley who left the 1791 will, was granted 1000 acres on the Dix River in Kentucky and died in Orange County, Indiana. However, this David was actually the son of the Montgomery/Wythe County John Finley. Consider the following pieces of evidence.

The earliest written record involving David Finley in Kentucky states:

At a court continued and held for adjusting disputed titles to the Kentucky lands, 26 October 1779:

David Finley this day appeared and claimed a right of settlement and pre-emption to a tract of Land lying on the N.E. side of Dicks River about 3 or 4 Miles below the mouth of Falling Creek including two small Springs by building a Hut and raising a crop of Corn on the premises in the year 1776. Wm Frazer contested the claim by Joseph Frazer and alleged that the said Frazer has a prior improvement to the said land. Sundry Witnesses were sworn and examined in consideration of which the Court are of the Opinion that the said Finley has a right only to a pre-emption of 1000 Acres of Land including said improvement and that a Certificate issue for same and that the said Finley recover of the said Frazer his Costs. 26

It is helpful, at this point, to know something about the development of the Kentucky frontier. Kentucky did not become a state until 1792. In December 1776 the area that had been explored by Daniel Boone was designated as Kentucky County, Virginia. In 1780 it was divided into three counties, Fayette, Jefferson, and Lincoln. Further subdivision in 1790 added Madison and Mercer counties, among others. These are in the Dix River area; and

documents involving David were found in Lincoln, Mercer, and Madison counties in subsequent years as the counties were formed. Records for David on the Dix River were found in Garrard County after it was formed in 1797. So when David planted his corn along the Dix River, that area had just been designated Kentucky County, Virginia.

The next significant document was found in Lincoln County, Virginia (Kentucky):

On 27 August 1784, David and Samuel gave power of attorney to friend, William Finley of Montgomery County, Virginia to transfer 327 acres on Salley Run waters of Reid Creek "delivered to us . . . by our beloved father John Finley, dec'd."<sup>27</sup>

David and Samuel, of Mercer County, Kentucky, sold the Wythe County property on 14 August 1792.<sup>28</sup> (Meanwhile, John Finley's Augusta County will of 1791 did not name a Samuel as an heir). These documents demonstrate, then, that the David Finley who settled along the Dix River was the David who came from Montgomery (Wythe) County and not from Augusta.

#### REMOVAL OF DAVID FROM KENTUCKY TO INDIANA

An examination of the tax rolls for Kentucky was helpful in determining the time of David's move to Indiana. Garrard County, Kentucky, was formed in 1797 from portions of Lincoln, Madison, and Mercer counties and contained that portion of the Dix River where David had settled. From 1797 to 1811 David was listed on the Garrard County rolls (with the exception of 1810), along with a few other Finleys.<sup>29</sup> For the years 1812 through 1820, no Finleys appeared on the Garrard County tax lists. According to the History of Orange County [Indiana], David Finley bought land in 1811 and 1813 in Orleans, Northeast Township, and at Stampers Creek.<sup>30</sup> In 1817, David Finley deeded a quarter-section of land to each of five children: Samuel, Jesse, Cyrus, and Hervey Finley and Mary Maxwell.<sup>31</sup> A will was found for David, dated 25 March 1834.<sup>32</sup> In it he left all personal estate to his wife Elizabeth but directed his executors to see to the education of three grandchildren, whose father (Jefferson) had died at a young age. His wife preceded him in death, and in 1845 David made an agreement with his son Cyrus. 33 When Cyrus prepared David's final settlement in 1851,<sup>34</sup> David's children, left \$1 each, were named as follows:

John Findley
Jane Smith
Edmund Findley
Samuel Findley's heirs
Jesse Findley
Hearvey Findley's heirs
Polly Maxwell's heirs
Elizabeth Sneed
Cyrus, who "for and by order of the court, retains his own legacy"

The remainder of David's estate went to the children of his son Jefferson, who received \$887.90 each. The names listed above agree with those of Stout (except Stout confuses Elizabeth Sneed and Polly Maxwell) as children of David Finley (5-02-114). However, it has been presently demonstrated that the David Finley who settled along the Dix River came from Wythe County and not from Augusta.

#### DAVID FINLEY'S FAMILY: CORRECTING THE RECORD

Once the children of David and Elizabeth were identified properly, the task of verifying the vital data given by Stout began. Cemetery records were found for David and his wife Elizabeth—as well as for their children Jane Ann, Harvey, Cyrus, and Jefferson. In addition, Bible records exist for Samuel<sup>35</sup> and Jesse.

David Finley, born 1 June 1754, died 19 April 1848<sup>36</sup> Elizabeth Finley, born 4 January 1763, died 9 January 1835<sup>37</sup> Jane Ann Finley, born 9 November 1785, died 12 May 1871<sup>38</sup> Edmund Finley, born ca. 1787<sup>39</sup> Samuel Finley, born 14 February 1790, died 15 September 1835<sup>40</sup> Jesse Finley, born 17 May 1792<sup>41</sup> Harvey Finley, born 11 February 1795, died 26 May 1832<sup>42</sup> Cyrus Finley, born 25 November 1799, died 31 January 1874<sup>43</sup> Elizabeth Finley, born 8 February 1802, died 25 September 1889<sup>44</sup> Jefferson Finley, born 16 May 1805, died 19 November 1829<sup>45</sup>

It is interesting to note the discrepancies between Stout's dates and those given above. An analysis is given in Table 1 below.

	Birth Year		Death Year	
	Stout	Finley	Stout	Finley
David	1748	1754	1843	1848
His children:				
Jane Ann	1785	1785	1878	1871
Edmund	1771	ca.1787		
Samuel	1776	1790		
Jesse	1774	1792		
Harvey	1779	1795		
Cyrus	1781	1799		
Elizabeth	1788	1802		
Jefferson	1783	1805		

TABLE 1
Comparisons between Stout's Data<sup>46</sup> and the Present Author's

This concludes the proof necessary to correct the records for David Finley (1754–1848), whom Stout mistakenly represents as the son of John Finley (4–02–11). However, there is additional information on the family prior to their arrival in Montgomery/Wythe County, Virginia, that needs to be documented for future Finley researchers.

#### PRE-MONTGOMERY RESIDENCE OF JOHN FINLEY

John Finley lived in Prince Edward County, Virginia, from about 1765 to 1772–73. This is demonstrated by seven property transactions executed in that county, along with a number of other documents that tie his associate William Finley first to Prince Edward County and then to Montgomery/Wythe County. The important documents in Prince Edward County are as follows:

Grantor/Grantee	Date	Bk/Pg	Acres
Jacob & Honour Garrett to John Finley	15 June 1765	3:1	400
John Caldwell to William Finley	19 Aug. 1765	3:21	430
Thomas Fulton to son-in-law, George Finley	28 Apr. 1769	3:487	200
William Finley to Charles Smith	29 June 1772	5:54	175
John Finley to Stephen Pettus	20 July 1772	5:63	400
George Fenley to Alexander Garden	20 Dec. 1773	5:184	200
William Finley & Mary, his wife, of			
Montgomery County to Joseph Fore	10 July 1787	7:297	50

All of the above property was described as being on Vaughan's Creek. Note that John and William Finley buy and sell within a month or two of each other; George buys almost four years after John and sells about a year and a half after John. It is reasonable to presume a strong relationship among these three Finleys of Vaughan's Creek, but these records do not say what that relationship is. Since these Finleys sell about the same time, one would not be surprised to see them grouped together in their next location. However, note that William did not sell all his property in 1772, while both John and George did sell their total acreage.

It has been shown already that John Finley of Montgomery/Wythe, father of David of Kentucky and Indiana, bought property in Montgomery County from John McFarland in November 1773.<sup>47</sup> And it is John Finley and sons David and Thomas who appear on Kegley's list of New River tithables in 1773 in Captain Crockett's area. 48 George Finley appears that same year on Captain Doack's list of tithables. 49 A settlement map of Wythe places that captain's area on Black Lick, within eight miles southwest of the Sally Run property of John Finley. 50 The earliest property record found for William does not appear until 1785. 51 His property, according to the settlement map, is approximately 4 miles to the northeast of the Sally Run property, adjacent to that of Caspar Radar who is named in his survey. The order books for Montgomery County list James; James, Jr.; and Samuel Finley prior to the first listing for John that occurs in 1773 when he first buys property.<sup>52</sup> William Finley is first listed in 1785 when he serves on a grand jury of inquest.<sup>53</sup> For the years 1774–1782, there is mention of Samuel, James, John, David, and Robert Finley.<sup>54</sup> William Finley is mentioned again in 1788.55 It would appear that William either did not settle in Montgomery County in 1773 or that he kept a low profile.

However, there is other unmistakable evidence that the William Finley of Prince Edward County did eventually settle in Montgomery/Wythe County. Consider this:

 Dabney Pettus, in his will in 1788 in Charlotte County, refers to a son, "Stephen Pettus of Prince Edward" and a daughter Mary Finley.<sup>56</sup> Prince Edward and Charlotte are adjacent counties. Recall that John Finley sold his Prince Edward property to Stephen Pettus. In addition, William Finley and Mary, his wife, of Montgomery County sold property in Prince Edward in 1787.<sup>57</sup> It may well be that William and Mary (Pettus) Finley continued to live in Prince Edward near her brother and father after John and George left—until their survey of property in Wythe in 1785.

- 2. In 1794, Dabney Finley of Lee County, Virginia, brings suit against his father, William Finley, to recover slaves owned by his mother, Mary Pettus, at the time of her marriage to William Finley.<sup>58</sup>
- 3. In 1801, William Finley, Sr., of Wythe County, names son John Pettis [sic] Finley in his will. He also provides for his second wife, Judith, and children Mary Ann, Esau, William, Rhoda, Margaret, and an unborn child.<sup>59</sup>

The above profile should be compared to Stout's William Joseph Finley (4–02–16). Stout claims this William Joseph was born 1743, was baptized at Tinkling Springs in Augusta, removed to Prince Edward and died in Wythe. He had children James, William, Asa, Margaret, John P., Elizabeth, Thankful, Mary, and one other daughter. Stout presents him as the son of John and Thankful (Doak) Finley (3–02–1). If this is true, he would be one of the younger children of the pioneer couple. But he kept close company with John of Montgomery/Wythe from at least 1765 until the end of his life.

George, who is the third member of the three Finleys on Vaughan's Creek in Prince Edward County, has not been found in any land transactions in Montgomery/Wythe. However, a George is found listed among participants in Dunmore's War of 1774, from Fincastle County, along with James and John Finley—and Fincastle was the county from which Montgomery was created in 1776. In addition, both John and George Finley signed a petition from the "Western part" of Fincastle, 1774–76.62

The ties between Montgomery/Wythe County and Prince Edward County are significant. While these might be considered circumstantial evidence, it most certainly appears that the John and Mary Finley who deeded property to David and Samuel in Montgomery County moved there from Prince Edward.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The temptation is always great to accept published genealogical works as a means of shortening the time needed to trace one's ancestry. However, it has been demonstrated here that verification is absolutely essential before accepting the work of others. In the case of this David Finley, errors were made not only in correctly identifying his parents but also in recording birth and death dates for him and his children, ranging up to twenty-two years in the case of his son, Jefferson. Correcting the record in cases such as these involves both disproving the previously established relationships and correctly tracing the family constellation over both time and various geographical locations.

The correct identity of David's father as John Finley of Montgomery/ Wythe County should now be established—along with a relationship to other Finleys in the area. It is hoped that this correction and amplification of past information will provide a base for further research that might more conclusively document the parentage of David's father, John. Perhaps the trail may yet lead back to Augusta County.

#### **NOTES AND REFERENCES**

- \*Carmen J. Finley, 4820 Rockridge Lane, Santa Rosa, CA 95404. Dr. Finley wishes to acknowledge the assistance of Sharon B. Hamner C.G.R.S., of Charlottesville, Virginia, and Pearl Wilson of Paoli, Indiana, in gathering documentary materials for this essay.
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  - 24. Augusta County Personal Property Tax Records, 1786.
  - 25. Augusta County Will Book, 7:404.
- 26. H. V. McChesney, ed., "Certificate Book,," Kentucky State Historical Society Register 21 (January 1923): 20.
  - 27. Lincoln County Deed Book, A:338.
  - 28. Wythe County Deed Book, 1:84.
  - 29. Kentucky Tax Records, GSU films no. 007988 and no. 007989.
- 30. History of Orange County (Paoli, Ind.: Stout's Print Shop, 1965), reprinted from History of Lawrence, Orange, and Washington Counties (published 1884; no author, editor, or publisher indicated on reprint), 383, 405, 408.
  - 31. Orange County Deed Book, A:70-75.
  - 32. Orange County Will Book, A:147.
  - 33. Orange County Deed Book, 13:205.
  - 34. Orange County Probate Book, 4:111.
  - 35. Samuel is the great-great-grandfather of the writer.
- 36. Orange County, Indiana, Cemetery Records (Paoli, Ind.: Lost River Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution [DAR], 1943), 224 (Finley Cemetery at Orleans).

- 37. Ibid.
- 38. Kentucky Cemetery Records 1 (Frankfort?: Kentucky Society, DAR, 1960), 171 (Burnt Tavern Cemetery at Bryantsville, Garrard County).
- 39. Estimated from age given on 1850 federal census, population schedule, Hopkins County, Texas, p. 22; residence of Lewis Finley.
- 40. Bible record in possession of author. Samuel died in Decatur, Macon County, Illinois, and is probably
- 41. Bible record in possession of Jeanne Branom, 1310 Aldridge Street, Commerce, TX 75428; copy verified by author.
  - 42. Orange County Cemetery Records, 5 (Trimble Cemetery).
- 43. Green Hill Cemetery at Orleans, Orange County, Indiana; data read from tombstone marker described as "tall, substantial stone . . . letters very clear," November 1987. The published DAR reading of this marker is in error.
- 44. Information provided by Robert Morton, 2307 West 229th Place, Torrance, CA 90501, who has picture of tombstone marker; verified by author.
  - 45. Orange County Cemetery Records, 224 (Orleans, Finley Cemetery).
  - 46. Stout, Clan Finley, 105.
  - 47. Montgomery County Order Book, 1:142.
  - 48. Kegley, New River Tithables, 27.
  - 49. Ibid., 29.
- 50. F. B. Kegley and Mary B. Kegley, "A Settlement Map of Wythe County, Virginia" (Wytheville?: Roanoke Valley Historical Society, 1974).
  - 51. Montgomery County Survey Book, 220.
  - 52. Montgomery County Order Books, 1:2, 3, 69, 78, 94, 97, 115.
- 54. Ibid., 2:41, 47, 139, 177, 181, 192, 197, 261, 264, 266, 269-70, 283, 285, 298-99, 308-310, 316, 320-21, 338.
  - 55. Ibid., 4:17.
- 56. J. G. Herndon, "Some of the Descendants of the Rev. John Thomason (1690-1753)," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 51 (October 1943): 394-404; reprinted in Genealogies of Virginia Families, 5 vols. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1981), 5:454-64.
  - 57. Prince Edward County Deed Book, 7:297.
  - 58. Wythe County Deed Book, 2:477.
  - 59. Wythe County Will Book, 1:202.
  - 60. Stout, Clan Finley, 62.
  - 61. Ibid., 37.
- 62. Richard B. Harwell, ed., Proceedings of the County Committees, 1774-1776, the Committees of Westmoreland & Fincastle (Richmond: Virginia State Library Publications no. 1, 1956), 103-04.

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# Jacob Rieser of Cumru, Berks County, Pennsylvania (1726–1793), and His Descendants

#### By THERESA COYNE STRASSER

The Rieser/Reeser family of Berks County, Pennsylvania, settled in the colony early during the eighteenth-century influx of German-speaking emigrants from Switzerland, Wuertemberg, Alsace, and the Palatinate. They claim Swiss origin, although the claim has not been thoroughly investigated. Nellie Wallace Reeser, in tracing the ancestry of the David Reeser who died in 1877 in Pulaski County, Indiana, to the immigrant Jacob Rieser of Berks County, Pennsylvania—through Jacob's son John—asserts that her Berks County kin have traditionally considered Canton Bern their home; and indeed Bern was the name of their first home in their new land. An early-twentieth-century biographical compendium of the county has nineteen separate entries for Rieser/Reeser families or individuals in its biographical index; and scores of other Riesers appear in its various articles; in every case where origin is named, it is Switzerland. The name Rieser (Riser) does appear in Les Noms de Famille Suisses—in at least eight communes of Canton Thurgau prior to 1800, as well as in cantons Aargau and Saint Gallen.

The present paper will discuss the probable paternity and contemporary relatives of Jacob Rieser of Cumru Township in Berks and describe, somewhat, the background of the various Riesers in that county. Jacob's descendants will be traced through the third generation, to every extent possible, with an attempt to dispel some of the confusion resulting from the misidentification of several related John Riesers.

A word about spelling: at least sixteen variants of the surname Rieser appear in Berks County records, the most common being Rieser (German) or Reeser (English). First names may appear in German or in English; e.g., Heinrich/Henry, Johannes/John. In general, all names are given here as they are written in the particular records consulted. Rieser is the preferred surname spelling otherwise. Following Pennsylvania-German custom, many individuals were baptized under the first name Johann or Anna or Maria and were thereafter known by their middle names. At least one record (the baptism of Jacob's son Abraham) gives Jacob's name as Johann Jacob; but since he is called simply Jacob in most references, he will be called Jacob in this paper.

#### EARLY RIESERS OF PENNSYLVANIA

Riesers are in fact among the earliest arrivals found in the published passenger-ship lists for Pennsylvania. Jacob and Ulrick Riser (the German signature of the latter appears as *Ulrich Rieser* on List 4B) are listed among the "Palatines Imported in the Ship *Adventure*," which arrived in Philadelphia on 2 October 1727.<sup>4</sup>

Riesers of the Berks County area appear in land records as early as 24

January 1733, when Thomas and Richard Penn warranted to Henry Reezer 300 acres on "a small branch of the Schuylkill." The land was surveyed six days later, and a patent was issued to Henry on 24 July 1735. This land, and several additional neighboring tracts warranted and/or patented over the next ten years to Henry and Jacob Reezer, was initially part of the Tulpehocken settlement in Lancaster County and later became part of Bern Township, Berks County.

Naturalization records for this period include Henrick and William Reezer of Lancaster County (Berks being formed from Lancaster in 1752). The two men, and Ulrick Reezer of Bucks (later Lehigh) County, are listed together as "Quakers, or such who Conscientiously scruple to take an oath," at a Supreme Court session held in Philadelphia on 11–13 April 1743. A Jacob Reiser of Lancaster County was similarly listed without oath on 10–11 April 1746, as were Jacob and Philip Rezer/Reezer of Bern, Berks County, 10–11 April 1761. The same 1761 list includes a Philip Reezer of Alsace among those who took the oath of allegiance. John Reeser of Maiden Creek Township (affirmer) was naturalized 24 September 1753, and another William Reaser (Reeser), of Reading (Quakers, etc.), appears on the list for 24–25 September 1761. Relationships among these various Riesers have not been definitely established, although there is evidence that the William who was an early and prominent resident of Reading and Ulrich, of nearby Lehigh County, were brothers.

#### RIESERS OF BERKS COUNTY

The only comprehensive work to date which attempts to account for the early Riesers of Berks is Nellie Wallace Reeser's "A Charted Record of the Jacob, Ulrich and Philip Rieser Families in America," a manuscript compilation of family-group sheets deposited in the Library of Congress. It is a massive labor which must be used with care. Miss Reeser identifies Ulrich and Jacob as brothers, along with Philip, Johannes (who settled in Lebanon County), and Peter (questionable), without convincing evidence for any of these relationships. She does not mention William (Wilhelm) or Henry (Heinrich) of Bern, although the latter was almost certainly Jacob's brother. 10

Other Riesers appearing in early Lancaster (later Berks) records include Isaac, to whom 197 acres were warranted in 1741 and who then disappears from county records, 11 and the John who witnessed the will of John Kershner of Bern on 19 April 1742 and who may be the same John who had 196 acres surveyed 23 October 1735 and warranted 30 May 1747. 12 Several of the Riesers of Berks were staunch members of the Reformed Church. They became caught up, for a time, in the grand campaign of Nicholas Ludwig, Count von Zinzendorf, to unite all the Protestant churches and sects in Pennsylvania. Zinzendorf had offered the Moravians refuge on his estate in Saxony in 1722 and was banished with them in 1736 for fostering beliefs contrary to the established church teaching, although he considered himself a Lutheran.

Jacob Rieser of Bern (probable father of the Jacob of this essay) is

mentioned in the report of the Reverend Jacob Lischy to the Moravian Bishop Spangenberg, dated 8 December 1744.<sup>13</sup> Lischy, at the time an itinerant Moravian preacher, was suspected of having designs on the Reformed congregations. He called a large council of elders to appear on 29 August 1743 at Heidelberg, and he invited the group to discuss their thoughts with him. He later wrote, "Jacob Riser, of Berne Township, arose and said that it had made him angry that Count Zinzendorf had said to me in his house, that I should take charge of the Reformed and if possible bring them over to him." Further in the same report, Lischy says of the Bern congregation, "The most influential people there are the Riesers, who at first fought against me most bitterly and acquired a bad reputation by it, but now, as they see that my only aim is their conversion, they are quiet and allow the work to proceed." <sup>14</sup>

Heinrich Rieser of Berks also appears in contemporary religious accounts. John Christian Rauch, another Moravian who traveled with Lischy, wrote in his diary that on 10 February 1745, Brother Lischy preached in the Bern church, and that afterward, "we took dinner at Heinrich Rieser's. He is an intelligent and sensible man. The Lord has convinced Lischy that he is in our favor, and, if he will be cared for, he will be with us. He was very affectionate towards us. He rode with us to Heidelberg, where I preached at Wagner's." Heinrich (or Henry) evidently remained one of the "stiff Reformed," however—on 30 November 1748 he was issued a patent for 15 acres 33 perches "as Trustee for the Religious Society of Calvinists residing in and about the townships of Bern, Heidelberg and Cumrue." 16

The Riesers who settled in Bern Township had numerous progeny. The Bern families gave rise to two other major branches of Riesers, in Maiden Creek and in Cumru. Others lived in Alsace and in Reading itself, and eventually Riesers could be found scattered all over the county. The progenitor of the Cumru Riesers, Jacob, was most probably the son of Jacob, Sr., of Bern, although conclusive proof is lacking. It is certain that the Cumru Jacob was originally a resident of Bern, as shown by the deed from James Davis of Cumru, dated 3 May 1763, to "Jacob Reeser the Younger, Yeoman, of Bern, for 188 acres along the Cacusi Creek.<sup>17</sup>

#### JACOB RIESER OF CUMRU IN BERKS COUNTY

1. Jacob¹ Rieser of Cumru was born 3 March 1726,¹8 possibly in Switzerland. If we accept him as the son of Jacob, Sr., he was probably "imported" along with his parents and perhaps an older brother, Philip, on the ship Adventure in 1727. At least two other brothers, John and Henry, were born later.¹9 Tax records for Bern township in 1752 show both Jacob Rezer, Sr., and Jacob Rezer, Jr.²0 In 1759 they are listed as married men along with Henry Reeser, Jr., also married, and Henry Reeser, a single man.²¹ Jacob's son John was already settled in Maiden Creek Township at this time.²²

Jacob, Jr.,'s first wife was Maria Levan, identified in a published Levan genealogy as the daughter of Abraham Levan and Catherine Weimar.<sup>23</sup> A sister to Elizabeth Levan, John Reeser's wife, Maria was born in Oley township in 1727 and died shortly after giving birth to son Abraham in 1750.<sup>24</sup> Jacob

married for a second time, about 1753, choosing Maria's cousin—Anna Barbara Levan, daughter of the innkeeper Daniel Levan of Maxatawny township by his first wife.<sup>25</sup>

Jacob and Barbara were living in Cumru by the mid-1760s, on acreage purchased from James Davis; and Jacob appears in the Cumru tax records in 1766 and thereafter. In 1787, he and Barbara divided most of their original land and some additional tracts between their sons Jacob (who was, by that time, called Jacob, Jr.—the first Jacob of Bern having died) and John, in a series of extraordinarily detailed and scrupulously even-handed documents designed both to benefit the sons and to secure the welfare of the aging parents. The younger Jacob received two tracts of 10 and 127 acres of farmland on the Cacoosing (Cacusi) Creek and the waters running into a dam across the creek from Saturday evening at sunset until Tuesday evening at sunset. His brother John received three tracts of 17, 33, and 59 acres, respectively, and water rights from Tuesday at sunset until Saturday at sunset. John and Jacob were jointly to maintain the dam in proper repair. Their father Jacob reserved a small parcel of land for himself, as well as access to two other dams across the Cacoosing (the races and ditches from which would water his reserved land).

Each son was provided with cash, for which he agreed to pay the parents an annuity or yearly rent charge. Jacob, Jr., received 850 pounds in exchange for a 70-pound annuity, <sup>29</sup> and John 750 pounds for a 50-pound annuity. <sup>30</sup> Jacob, Jr., also agreed to permit his parents to live in the stone house on the premises deeded to him, allowing them two rooms on the lower floor, two on the second, and half of the cellar and garret. In case the elder Jacob or his wife Barbara "through age or sickness should become helpless and in need of assistance," then son Jacob should "furnish assistance and comfort to them." These agreements continue for several pages, giving particulars of fence repair, hay to be cut for the parents' use, firewood, and similar items. In this way it is learned that Jacob's land supported wheat, rye, oats, buckwheat, and Indian corn; apples and peaches were grown and cider made; and sheep, hogs, and cattle were raised.

The 1790 census enumerates Jacob, Sr., in Cumru, with one male age sixteen-and-over and two females (presumably Barbara and daughter Magdalena). Next door is Jacob Reeser, Jr., also with one male over sixteen and two females (presumably wife Christina and an unidentified child who died young).<sup>31</sup>

Jacob¹ died in June 1793. His will was dated 22 March 1793, at which time he was "sick and weak but of sound and disposing mind and memory." His wife Barbara inherited his entire estate, as well as the annuity from their sons Jacob and John. After Barbara's death, his son Abraham was to receive five pounds in gold or silver money, Jacob having in his lifetime advanced him his full portion of the estate. All his other children would be provided for from the sale of his estate after Barbara's death, and they are mentioned by name: Jacob, John, Henry, and Daniel Rieser; Elizabeth Reder; Catherine Fesig; Maria Petry; Susanna Hiester; and the youngest, Magdalena Rieser.<sup>32</sup>

On 3 September 1793, Henry Ruth and Benjamin Spyker, Jr., inventoried

Jacob's personal estate. The most-valuable item listed was a black mare worth over seventeen pounds, followed by a thirty-hour clock and case valued at six pounds. Jacob also had a ten-plate stove, a "spectacle" and case, three hives with bees, a large German Bible, and "other German books"—among other household and farm items. The estate, including bonds, totaled over 408 pounds.<sup>33</sup>

Barbara Rieser is probably the female past age forty-five enumerated with Jacob<sup>2</sup> in the 1800 census for Cumru.<sup>34</sup> She died before 7 November 1807; on that day the legatees of Jacob each signed a release declaring that they had received their respective shares from his executor, Francis Ruth. Represented were Jacob, John, Henry, and Daniel Reeser; George Reder and Elizabeth his wife; Conrad Fesig and Catherine his wife; Jacob Petry and Maria his wife; Christian Hiester and Susanna his wife; and John Ketner and Magdalena his wife.<sup>35</sup>

Children of Jacob<sup>1</sup> and Maria (Levan) Rieser were as follows:

+ 2 i. Abraham<sup>2</sup> Rieser, born 31 October 1750,<sup>36</sup>

## Children of Jacob<sup>1</sup> and Anna Barbara (Levan) Rieser were as follows:

- Elizabeth<sup>2</sup> Rieser, born 7 January 1755; married ca. 1773, George Roeder; took First Communion at Epler's Reformed Church, 24 April 1768; buried 24 June 1818.<sup>37</sup> No children known.
- 4 ii. Catherine Rieser, born ca. 1757; married Conrad Fesig of Reading; died before 14 February 1817. Apparently Catherine had issue (see 1790 Census of Reading), but none have been identified. Neither she nor Conrad left a will.
- + 5 iii. Jacob Rieser, born ca. 1758.39
  - 6 iv. Maria Rieser, born ca. 1760; married 8 August 1782, Jacob Petry. 40 Known children: (a) Unidentified, born 29 February 1789; died young. 41 (b) Heinrich Petry, born 9 December 1793; baptized 26 December 1793; sponsors, Heinrich Reser (no. 9) and wife. 42 (c) Anna Maria Petry, born 3 January 1797; baptized 24 January 1797; sponsors, Daniel Rieser (no. 10) and wife Juliana; 43 married Amos Moyer (see will of Daniel<sup>2</sup> Rieser below).
  - v. Susanna Rieser, born ca. 1762; married 19 December 1780, Johann Christian Hiester. See Genealogy of the Hiester Family for more information.<sup>44</sup>
- + 8 vi. Johannes Rieser, born ca. 1764.45
- + 9 vii. Henry Rieser, born February 1767.46
- + 10 viii. Daniel Rieser, born October 1770.47
  - ix. Magdalena Rieser, baptized 20 February 1773; sponsors, Frantz Ruth and Mary Catherine Haack; 48 married 24 November 1795, John Kentner/Kettner. 49 Children: 50 (a) Sara Kettner, born 11 May 1796; baptized 20 August 1796; sponsor, Anna Maria Petri. (b) Catherine Kettner, baptized 29 October 1799; sponsors, Jacob Rieser (no. 5) and wife Christina. (c) Jacob Ketner, born 22 January 1804; baptized 19 May 1804; sponsors, Jacob Petri and wife Anne Marie (no. 6). (d) Maria Ketner, born 13 January 1808; baptized 30 March 1808; sponsor, Maria Jaeger. (e) Magdalena Kettner, died 13 May 1851.
- 2. Abraham<sup>2</sup> Rieser, son of Jacob<sup>1</sup> and Maria (Levan) Rieser, was born 31 October 1750 and was baptized in Zion (Moselem) Church in Richmond Township, 13 February 1751. Johannes Rieser (probably his paternal uncle) and his wife Elisabetha stood sponsor.<sup>51</sup> He took First Communion at Epler's Reformed Church in Bern on 24 April 1768, along with his half-sister

Elizabeth.<sup>52</sup> About 1772, Abraham married **Catherine** [—?—]; he appears as a married man in the Cumru tax lists from 1772 to 1775<sup>53</sup> and lived in Bern from at least 1778 until his death on 24 November 1813.<sup>54</sup>

Abraham's will, dated 10 September 1813 and probated 24 December 1813, was signed in German script. Catherine was left "whatsoever she may think proper to take" of his household goods, including the house clock, farm animals, and grain. His farm was to be rented, with Catherine retaining the use of two rooms in the house, half the garret, and cooking privileges. The tenant was to take the grain to the mill for Catherine and bring the meal home to her, then haul the excess to Reading for sale. Son John was to pay, in installments, the sum of 200 pounds to Abraham's two daughters, Maria (wife of Jacob Bollman) and Susannah (wife of John Bechtel). John was to receive only 30 shillings; evidently he already had received his share of the estate. Abraham's wife Catherine and his brother John Reeser (no. 8) were named executors. 55

Children of Abraham<sup>2</sup> and Catherine [—?—] Rieser were as follows:

- + 12 i. Johannes<sup>3</sup> Rieser, born 27 February 1776.<sup>56</sup>
  - ii. Anna Maria Rieser, born ca. 1778; married 25 October 1796, Jacob Bollman. Children: (a) Catherine Bollman, born 18 April 1799; baptized 13 May 1799; sponsors, Abraham Rieser (no. 2) and wife Catherine; buried 28 August 1803. (b) Adam Bollman (apparent son), born 25 September 1801; baptized 18 October 1801; sponsors, Christian Ruth and wife Barbara; buried 25 April 1803. (c) Magdalena Bollman (apparent daughter), born 17 February 1804; baptized 18 March 1804; sponsor, Maria Magdalena Fischer. (d) Johannes Bollman, born 22 August 1808; baptized 11 September 1808; sponsors, Johannes Bollman and wife Elizabetha. (e) Susanne Bollman, born 2 December 1811; baptized 5 January 1812; sponsor, Magdalena Kaiser. (f) Anna Barbara Bollman, born 8 November 1814; baptized 11 December 1814; sponsors, George Gernant and wife Anna Barbara.
  - iii. Susanna Rieser, born 25 January 1782; baptized 7 August 1782; sponsors, Johann Christ. Hiester and wife Susanna (no. 7);<sup>64</sup> married 5 April 1801, John Beohtel.<sup>65</sup> Apparent children: <sup>66</sup> (a) Lydia Bechtel, born 12 September 1811; baptized 26 January 1812. (b) Benjamin Bechtel, born 24 January 1816; baptized 4 April 1816. (c) Ann Bechtel, born 4 April 1818. (d) Elizabeth Bechtel, born 2 October 1820; baptized 4 November 1820. (Note that the Schwartzwald Reformed Church records contain baptisms for six other children born to at least two contemporary John Bechtels; but the wife's name is not given, and sponsors' names do not provide enough information to distinguish between them.)
- 5. Jacob² Rieser, son of Jacob¹ and Anna Barbara (Levan) Rieser, was born ca. 1758. He married Christina Bechtel on 9 December 1787,<sup>67</sup> two months after the execution of the reciprocal deeds in which Jacob¹ presented him with land and cash in return for an annuity and other considerations, as previously described. He appears on the Cumru tax lists as Jacob, Jr., beginning in 1788.<sup>68</sup> A daughter was born to Jacob and Christina on 17 July 1789, who died in 1794.<sup>69</sup> While the Schwartzwald church records indicate the birth of at least one son (who died young) to a Jacob Rieser, it is impossible to identify this Jacob with certainty. There were apparently no other children. Jacob's will, written in German, was dated 16 August 1817; but he did not die until May 1822, in his sixty-third year. His obituary describes him as a hotel-keeper of Reading,<sup>70</sup> indicating that his career as a farmer came to an end

sometime after the 1800 census, which enumerated him in the neighborhood of the family landholdings. In his will, Jacob mentions his wife Christina and his brothers and sisters (Maria Petri; Susanna Hiester; Hannes [Johannes or John], Henry, and Daniel Rieser; and Malie [Molly or Magdalena] Ketner). Christina and his brother Daniel were named as executors. George Snell and Jacob's brother Henry were witnesses.<sup>71</sup>

8. Johannes<sup>2</sup> Rieser, son of Jacob<sup>1</sup> and Anna Barbara (Levan) Rieser, was born ca. 1764. He married, ca. 1786, Leah Adam (daughter of Bernhard Adam and Anna Margaret Doerr), born 16 April 1765 in Lancaster County.<sup>72</sup> By 1773 Leah's family was living in Cumru, as apparent from the tax lists of this community.

For most of his married life John (or Hannes) Rieser appears on the tax lists for Heidelberg Township (1787 onward)<sup>73</sup> and is listed there in the censuses of 1790–1820,<sup>74</sup> although the land deeded to him by his father Jacob¹ was described as part of Cumru. The explanation seems to lie in the location of the deeded property on the Cacoosing Creek, part of which ran through the eastern portion of Jacob¹ Rieser's land. This creek formed the border between Cumru and Heidelberg townships during this period<sup>75</sup> (and later between Spring and Lower Heidelberg). The individuals named in the deed from Jacob¹ to John² as adjacent landowners were variously listed in assessment and census records as in Cumru or Heidelberg.<sup>76</sup> Jacob's friend and neighbor, Frantz (Francis) Ruth, was taxed in 1792 in Heidelberg for sixty acres, with a note entered by the tax collector: "The gristmill to be with the land in Cumru."

It should be noted here that John<sup>2</sup> Rieser has been confused with both his nephew John<sup>3</sup> (Abraham<sup>2</sup>) Rieser and his kinsman John Rieser (son of Philip) of Bern. Nellie Reeser gives the same marriage record (i.e., to Elizabeth Rieser in 1796) for John, son of Philip (to whom it belongs), and for John<sup>2</sup> (Jacob<sup>1</sup>). The assigns four children to John<sup>2</sup> (Catherine, born 1787; Anna Marie, born 1788; Isaac, born 1793; and Sarah, born 1795) and a hypothetical first wife, to account for the early birth dates. Naming Elizabeth Rieser as his second wife, she assigns to him, in addition to his own five children born after 1796, three which belong to John<sup>3</sup> (Abraham<sup>2</sup>)—nos. 32, 33, and 34 below. Anna Marie, allegedly born 1788, actually appears to have been born 1789 as the daughter of Jacob<sup>2</sup>. Finally, Leah and John's actual children Rachel, John, Magdalena, Anna, and William are not included in Miss Reeser's account.

John<sup>2</sup> Rieser died intestate on 14 March 1837 at the age of seventy-three.<sup>80</sup> At this time he was a resident of Cumru Township (the 1830 census records a John Reeser of the right age and family in Cumru, not Heidelberg, although he still appears on the Heidelberg tax list for that year).<sup>81</sup> John's son Gabriel was made administrator of his father's estate on 31 March 1837, the widow having renounced her right of administration.<sup>82</sup>

An inventory of John's personal estate was made on 8 April 1837. Among the usual household goods, livestock, and farming implements were a clock and case valued at \$25, a turnpike share valued at \$5, and this evidence of blacksmith activity: "bellows, anvill, two vices & buttress," and a "lot of old iron." The total was \$233.37 1/2.83 When John's personal estate was adjudged

insufficient to pay his debts, Gabriel was directed by the court to sell two tracts of his father's land at public vendue—doing so on 28 July 1837. Nicholas Seidle (Seidel) bought 39 acres for \$2,000, and William Reeser bought a ten-acre tract for \$253.84

On 30 January 1839, Gabriel filed an account showing how the money from the sale of the land was distributed among his father's creditors. This account indicated that Rebecca Moyer, a sister (no. 23), as well as William Reeser, presumably his brother (no. 27), were both involved in the purchase of the ten acres. Among the others on the list were Reverend William Pauli (\$3, "for delivering sermon of deceased") and Leah Rieser (\$2, for paying funeral expenses). An auditors' report of the account of Gabriel Reeser was presented to the orphan's court in Reading on 9 August 1839. The auditors distributed a balance of \$1871.61, remaining in Gabriel's hands, to various creditors—including Gabriel himself, Rebecca Moyer, and Charles Spohn (probably son of no. 17, Rachel [Rieser] Spohn). Also noted was Henry Reeser's bond, the second largest debt on the list, for \$532.27.

The 1840 census shows the widowed Leah Rieser as head of a household in Heidelberg; the family members probably included her widowed daughter Matilda Priestly and the latter's children. Hon Leah's death on 26 August 1842, Matilda was appointed administrator of her mother's estate. Hon Leah's estate.

Children of Johannes<sup>2</sup> and Leah (Adam) Rieser were as follows:

- i. Unidentified male child, indicated by census records; born ca. 1786.88
- ii. Catharina<sup>3</sup> Rieser, born 23 December 1787; baptized 12 January 1788; sponsor, Conrad Fresig,<sup>89</sup> married 5 July 1807, George Hahn,<sup>90</sup> One known child: Jeremias Hahn, born 6 May 1813; baptized 31 July 1813; sponsor, Isaac Rieser.<sup>91</sup>
- iii. Rachel Rieser, born 7 September 1789; baptized 2 December 1789; sponsor, Ra[c]hel Adam; 2 married 27 October 1808, Adam Spohn. 3 Known children: (a) Charles Spohn, born 19 July 1811; baptized 30 August 1811; sponsors, Hannes Rieser and Lea. 4 (b) Josiah Spohn, born 19 October 1819; baptized 3 July 1820; sponsors, John Reeser and Leah. 5
- + 18 iv. Johannes Rieser, born 4 April 1791.96
  - v. Isaac Rieser, born 5 September 1793; baptized 29 September 1793; sponsors, Jacob Rieser (no. 5) and Christina; buried 9 December 1817.
  - vi. Sara Rieser, born 23 August 1795; baptized 13 October 1795; sponsors, Heinrich Rieser (no. 9) and wife Christina.
  - vii. Magdalena Rieser, born 25 September 1797; baptized 29 October 1797; sponsors, Peter Petri and wife Magdalena; married ca. 1815, John Ziegler; died 14 June 1834. One known child: Joseph William Reeser Ziegler, born 17 May 1834; baptized 16 June 1834; sponsor, William Reeser.
  - viii. Elisabetha Rieser, born 5 December 1799; baptized 5 January 1800; sponsors, George Roeder and wife Elizabeth (no. 3);<sup>102</sup> living with sister Matilda (Reeser) Priestly on 1850 census;<sup>103</sup> died unmarried 1873, leaving a will that mentioned her sister Matilda (as deceased) and the latter's two children, Obadiah William and Eliza Jane Priestly.<sup>104</sup>
  - ix. Rebecca Rieser, born 2 August 1801; baptized 23 September 1801; sponsors, Daniel Rieser (no.10) and wife Judith [error for Julianna]; married [—?—] Moyer (see will of Daniel<sup>2</sup> Rieser, discussed below).
  - 24 x. Gabriel Rieser, born 5 July 1803; baptized 31 August 1803; sponsors, his parents; 106 married Polly [Seidel?] ca. 1826; died 3 January 1873. 107 No issue. Gabriel resided in Cumru (later Spring) Township. As administrator of his

- father's estate, he sold to Nicholas Seidel (then later repurchased) a tract of about 39 acres in Cumru, which he kept until April 1856; at that time it finally passed out of Rieser hands. 108
- 25 xi. Anny (Anna) Rieser, born 18 October 1805; baptized 8 December 1805; sponsors, her parents; died unmarried, 28 August 1828. 110
- xii. Elisa Mechtilda (Matilda) Rieser, born 19 August 1808; baptized 23 February 1809; sponsors, her parents; 111 married 1 June 1830, Francis Priestly; 112 died 8 October 1852 of consumption. 113 Children: (a) Eliza Jane Priestly, born 25 February 1831; baptized 14 August 1831; sponsor, Rebecca Moyer. 114 (b) Obadiah Priestly, born 12 September 1832; baptized 15 May 1833; sponsors, Joh. Reeser and Lea. 115 (c) Uriah William Priestly, born 10 July 1834; baptized 10 July 1836; sponsor, William Reeser; 116 probably died young, since he is not mentioned in Elizabeth Reeser's will (see no. 22 above).
- 27 xiii. Wilhelm Rieser, born 17 April 1811; baptized 30 August 1811; sponsors, his parents; 17 died 27 January 1850; buried at Spring. 118
- 9. Henry<sup>2</sup> Rieser, son of Jacob<sup>1</sup> and Anna Barbara (Levan) Rieser, was born February 1767<sup>119</sup> and married 27 February 1791, Christina Huener.<sup>120</sup> A constable in Reading,<sup>121</sup> he appears to be the Henry Reeser listed in the 1806 Directory of Reading between King and Queen (Third and Fourth) streets northwest from the courthouse.<sup>122</sup> Henry died, at the age of seventy-two, in January 1840,<sup>123</sup> his wife having predeceased him. His will, dated 7 March 1839 and probated 14 January 1840, mentions (among others) his brother Daniel Reeser; Eliza, a daughter of his deceased brother John; his sister Mollie (Magdalena) Ketner; and his deceased sisters Mary Petree and Susannah Hiester. He left Eliza \$25 "as an acknowledgement for the kind attention" given to his deceased wife during her last illness, and added, "in case the said Eliza shall continue to abide with me during my life, she shall receive fifty dollars." Benjamin Weitzel and Amos Moyer of Reading were named executors.<sup>124</sup>
- 10. Daniel<sup>2</sup> Rieser, son of Jacob<sup>1</sup> and Anna Barbara (Levan) Rieser, was born October 1770.<sup>125</sup> Married twice, the identity of his first wife is unknown. His second was Juliana Weitzel, whom he married on 5 July 1796.<sup>126</sup> This Daniel also lived in Reading and was listed in the 1806 directory between Penn and Richard (Franklin) Streets next to William Fesig.<sup>127</sup> Apparently he had no issue by either wife. Daniel's will was signed on 24 February 1842 and probated 27 July 1842. He names several nieces as his legatees: "having stood sponsor for Rebeccah Moyer, a daughter of my deceased brother John Rieser, and Mary Moyer the wife of Amos Moyer, she being a daughter of my deceased sister Margaret [sic] Petry . . . to each of them . . . one third part . . . and the other third part thereof to my two nieces . . . Elizabeth Rieser, and Matilda Brisley [sic], two daughters of my deceased brother John Reeser." <sup>128</sup>
- 12. Johannes<sup>3</sup> Rieser, son of Abraham<sup>2</sup> and Catharine [—?—] Rieser, was born 27 February 1776.<sup>129</sup> He married 16 July 1799, Elizabeth Scharf, <sup>130</sup> and lived in Lower Bern Township. He died there intestate on 12 December 1818, only five years after the death of his father.<sup>131</sup> On 19 February 1821, his widow Elizabeth Rieser and his "friend" John Rieser were named administrators of John's estate.<sup>132</sup> In November 1821, Abraham<sup>4</sup> Rieser, eldest son of John<sup>3</sup>, petitioned the court for a partition of his father's lands. "Petitioner's said

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father died in about two years since, leaving a widow, to wit, Elizabeth, since intermarried with Henry B. Sage, and issue four children to wit, the Petitioner, Elizabeth, John and Samuel, the three last named are still in their minority." The document describing the above petition also names the guardians of John's minor children: Henry Reeser (probably no. 9) for John<sup>4</sup>, and George Scharff for Samuel and Elizabeth. The final disposition of John's property, which could not be divided equitably among his heirs, is recorded in another orphan's court document dated 10 November 1826, by which time the land had been sold piecemeal (mostly to Abraham Reeser) by administrators John Reeser and Elizabeth Sage (now Reeser again). 134

Children of Johannes<sup>3</sup> and Elizabeth (Scharf) Rieser were as follows:

- i. Abraham<sup>4</sup> Rieser, born 24 April 1800; baptized 27 May 1800; sponsors, Abraham Rieser (no. 2) and wife Catharina;<sup>135</sup> married Anna Feather;<sup>136</sup> died 18 October 1849.<sup>137</sup> Had issue.
- 29 ii. John Rieser, born 13 September 1806; baptized November 1806; sponsors, Johannes Suder and wife Dorothea. 138
- 30 iii. Samuel Rieser, born 9 March 1808; baptized 13 May 1808; sponsors, Jacob Rieser (no. 5) and wife Christina. 119
- 31 iv. Elisabeth Rieser, named in the partition of her father's estate; no further information known.
- 32 v. Daniel Rieser, born 24 July 1811; baptized 26 September 1811; sponsors, Daniel Rieser (no. 10) and Juliana; died 12 August 1815. 141
- vi. George Rieser, born 20 March 1816; died 25 December 1819. 142
  - vii. Sara Rieser, born 22 November 1818; died 2 January 18[—]. 143
- viii. Unidentified child, died before November 1821 (not listed in orphan's court petition). 144

18. Johannes³ Rieser, son of John² and Leah (Adam) Rieser, was born 4 April 1791 and baptized 18 June 1791; sponsors, Johannes Adam and wife Anna Maria. He is probably the John Rieser who married 7 August 1813, Hanne Beyer (Hannah Boyer), He daughter of John Nicholas Beyer (or Boyer) and his wife Catharine Wentzel, Hanily members corresponding to John and 1840 show a John Rieser, with family members corresponding to John and Hannah's known children, in Heidelberg Township. On the 1820 enumeration, he is listed adjacent to John², and the record shows that he is engaged in manufacturing. John Rieser, blacksmith, appears in the 1832 tax list for Heidelberg. The 1850 census finds John Riser, age sixty-two, with wife Hannah, age fifty-five, and daughters Catherine, age thirty, and Amanda, age ten, in North Heidelberg Township, in the same dwelling as his son Isaac, with wife Priscilla and children Amanda, Mary Ann, and Rebecca E. Heidelberg and residence distinguish John³ and Hannah from another John Rieser and his wife Hannah (Himmelberger) of Center Township.

Lacking supporting evidence of kinship from baptismal records, however (all children of John<sup>3</sup> were sponsored by their parents), it is perhaps important to note that the Riesers of Heidelberg and the Boyers of Alsace were well acquainted before John and Hannah were married. Susanna Hiester (no. 7) and John Reser stood sponsor for Anne Marie—daughter of Samuel Boyer, Hannah's eldest brother, and his wife Magdalena—on 12 November 1809.<sup>151</sup> In the 1810 census, John<sup>2</sup> Reeser is listed in Cumru adjacent to Daniel Boyer,

probably another brother of Hannah's. <sup>152</sup> On the Rieser side, there is the suggestive fact that John and Hannah Rieser gave the name Isaac to the son born on 13 September 1818, nine months following the untimely death of Isaac<sup>3</sup> Rieser (no. 19). John<sup>3</sup> Rieser died 26 August 1850, near Womelsdorf in Heidelberg township, survived by his wife and thirteen children. <sup>153</sup> Hannah Rieser, age sixty-four and daughter Kitty, age thirty-eight, were living in Lower Heidelberg as of the 1860 census. <sup>154</sup> No further record of Hannah or Kitty has been found.

Children of John<sup>3</sup> and Hannah (Boyer) Rieser were as follows:

- Augustus<sup>4</sup> B. Rieser, born 7 March 1817; baptized 1 October 1817;<sup>155</sup> married 24 August 1842, Louisa Miller;<sup>156</sup> died 5 December 1880.<sup>157</sup> Had issue. (The deaths of four young children of this couple during the month of September 1858 are all recorded in the First Reformed Church of Reading, Burials, 1825–59).
- 37 ii. Isaac Rieser, born 13 September 1818; baptized 12 January 1819;<sup>158</sup> married 4 February 1844, Priscilla Moyer;<sup>159</sup> died between 1853 and the date of the 1860 census, at which time his widow is enumerated with a seven-year-old child. Had issue.<sup>160</sup>
- 38 iii. Kitty (Catherine) Rieser, born 25 January 1820; baptized 7 November 1820. 161
- iv. Josiah Rieser (apparent son), born 18 July 1822; 162 married 27 September 1845,
   Catherine Mather; 163 died 23 December 1893. 164 Had issue.
- v. Hannah Rieser, born 12 December 1827; baptized 24 May 1829. 165
- vi. William Rieser (possibly), born ca. 1834. 166
- 42 vii. Rebecca Rieser, born 1 March 1836; baptized 2 December 1838. 167
- 43 viii. Amanda Rieser, born 6 March 1840; baptized 1 October 1842. 168

Another five children, referred to in the obituary of John<sup>3</sup>, have not yet been identified.

#### **NOTES AND REFERENCES**

- \*207 Mount Hope Drive, Albany, NY 12202. Senior librarian in Data-Base Services at the New York State Library, Mrs. Strasser was the winner of the first NGS Family-History Writing Contest. Her winning essay, "Peter Decker (ca. 1711–1773) of Sussex County, New Jersey, and Some of His Descendants," appeared in the December 1984 issue (vol. 72, no. 4) of this journal.
- 1. Nellie Wallace Reeser, "A Charted Record of the Jacob, Ulrich and Philip Rieser Families in America" (MS.; Indianapolis, 1969). While Miss Reeser cites source material liberally, in some cases evidence is lacking or misinterpreted for early families.
- 2. Morton L. Montgomery, comp., *Historical and Biographical Annals of Berks County, Pennsylvania*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Beers, 1909). Hereinafter cited as Montgomery, *Annals of Berks*. This work, typical of its kind and period, contains no citations of sources.
- 3. Les Noms de Famille Suisses/Familiennamenbuch der Schweiz (Zurich: Polygraphisch Verlag A.-G., 1940), 637. Recent correspondence from James R. Bright of North Edgecomb, Maine, concerning some records in the Bern Staatsarchiv, indicates a possible connection between "the brothers Ryser" from the village Huttwill in the canton of Bern, who left that district to go to the Palatinate in 1724, and the Riesers who came to America in 1727. This will be further investigated.
- 4. Ralph B. Strassburger and John W. Hinke, *Pennsylvania German Pioneers* (Norristown, Pa.: Pennsylvania German Society, 1934), 4, 15.
- 5. Lancaster County, Warrant A-84-58 and Patent A-7-271, Land Office, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg.
- 6. William Henry Egle, ed., "Warrantees of Land, Lancaster County (1733-1896)," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 3d ser., 24 (Harrisburg: William Stanley Ray, State Printer, 1897), 505-17; this series hereinafter cited as *Pennsylvania Archives*, (year). Egle, ed., "Warrantees of Land, Berks County (1752-1890)," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 3d ser. (1899), 26. See also note 10.

- 7. John B. Linn and William H. Egle, eds., "Persons Naturalized in the Province of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 2d ser. 2 (1876), 357, 371, 418-19. Also see M.S. Giuseppi, ed., *Naturalizations of Foreign Protestants in the American and West Indian Colonies*, vol. 24, *Publications of the Huguenot Society of London* (Manchester: The Society, 1921), 20, 28, 62, 69; townships mentioned on p. 69.
  - 8. Giuseppi, Naturalizations, 49, 76.
- 9. William Reeser (ca. 1713-85) was a justice of the peace in Berks County whose name appears frequently in court records; see, e.g., abstracts from Will Book 1, 1752-62, and Will Book B, 1779-84. published in successive issues of Berks of Old: The History and Genealogy of Berks County, Pennsylvania from vol. 1 (May 1983) through vol. 4 (May 1986). William was one of the fifteen members of the Committee of Observation chosen on 5 December 1774; see Linn and Egle, "Muster Rolls and Papers Relating to the Associators and Militia of the County of Berks," Pennsylvania Archives, 2d ser., 14 (1890). 255. He presided over a Reading meeting of Berks County inhabitants who were conscientiously scrupulous against bearing arms on 1 September 1775 and sent a copy of the resolutions to the Committee of Safety, indicating in his letter that—despite their reservations—they were sensible of the justice of the cause and were willing to contribute to its support; see Morton L. Montgomery, History of Berks County (Philadelphia: Everts, Peck & Richards, 1886), 151. In his will, William stipulated that his house on the north side of Penn Street in Reading should be sold by his nephews Andreas (Andrew) and Caspar Reezer, after the death of his wife Mary Elizabeth, and that his nephews John, Andreas, Caspar, and William should each have one-fourth of the proceeds. He left all his English books to John Faesig of Reading and directed that no epitaph or gravestone should be set on his grave. The four nephews named above are the sons of Ulrich Reeser in birth order; see "Tombstone Inscriptions of Lower Milford Township, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania," transcribed by Charles R. Roberts, Paper V, supplement to Pennsylvania German 10 (February 1909), 14 (data for Great Swamp Church).
- 10. Henry and Jacob Rieser held neighboring patents in the Bern township area. John Reeser of Maiden Creek was son of Jacob, Sr., and was described by Henry Reeser in his will as his (Henry's) nephew. Jacob, Sr., also named one of his sons Henry. See also notes 1, 6, and 18.
- 11. The map and early patent records of Berks County (Bern Township area has been kindly furnished by the Recorder of Deeds, Berks County).
- 12. Ruth Bownds Kershner, vol. 2, in Mary Kershner Maxwell, *The Kershner Families of Maryland*, 1731–1977 (Houston, Texas: Kershner Family Association, 1978); see particularly 212–13 for typescript of the will of John Kershner. The author says that the original will "appears to be in the handwriting of the first witness, John Reesar, the only person to sign in English script." See also "Early Land Warrants, Penn Township, Berks County" in *Berks of Old* 4 (May 1986): 2.
- 13. William J. Hinke, trans. and ed., "Report of the Rev. Jacob Lischy to Bishop Augustus G. Spangenberg," Reformed Church Review 9, ser. 4 (October 1905): 526.
  - 14. Ibid., 533.
- 15. William J. Hinke, trans. and ed., "Diary of Lischy's and Rauch's Journey Among the Reformed Congregation in Pennsylvania, in the Month of February, 1745," *Reformed Church Review* 11, ser. 4 (January 1907): 76,
- 16. Lancaster County, Patent A-15-107, cited in Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717-1793*, 2 vols., Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, vols. 13 and 15 (Breinigsville, Pa.: The Society, 1980), 1: 240.
  - 17. Berks County Deeds, A5:344 (1763).
- 18. Baptisms, 1781–1810; Marriages, 1781–82, 1788–1810; Burials, 1782–1807, Schwartzwald Reformed Church Records, Exeter Township; transcript in Collections of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadephia. Genealogical Society of Utah (GSU) film no. 387,844. Burials, p. 12, shows Jacob Rieser, born 3 March 1726, buried 27 June 1793, "age 67/3/23."
- 19. Philip and Henry were both identified as sons of Jacob, Sr., of Bern and his wife Elizabeth in two deeds dated 6 August 1765. The land deeded to Philip (three tracts of 80, 28, and 37 acres and 118 perches) included that patented to Jacob, Sr., in 1760; see Berks County Deeds, B1:318, and Berks County Patent A-19-366. The land granted to Henry (168 acres) was part of the same patent; see Berks County Deeds, A6:202. Philip's 37-acre tract was originally warranted to Jacob Reezer on 5 October 1743 (see note 11 above), while the elder Henry Reezer, who died ca. 1764, was the warrantee for the other three tracts.
- John Rieser of Maiden Creek is identified as a son of Jacob, Sr., in the will of his own son John (Berks County Wills, B:405, 1795) when he mentions, in addition to his late father John, his "kinsman John Jacob Rieser son of my uncle Philip Rieser." (This John Jacob Rieser of Bern [1755–1815] has been identified in various Berks County sources as a Revolutionary War veteran. No record of military service for Jacob, Jr., of Cumru or for any other Cumru Rieser has been found.)

Philip, John, and Henry Rieser (the younger) are, by these documents, established as brothers—and sons of Jacob, the elder. In addition, Henry Rieser (Risser), the elder (of Maiden Creek at this time), made his

"nephew John Risser" his sole heir in his will dated 7 March 1763 and probated 3 March 1764 (Berks County Wills, 1:153). This clearly refers to the elder John, and indicates that Henry, Sr., and Jacob, Sr., were brothers.

- 20. Daniel I. Rupp, History of the Counties of Berks and Lebanon (Lancaster, Pa.: G. Hills, 1844), 128.
  - 21. Berks County tax records, as cited in Montgomery, History of Berks, 1128.
  - 22. Montgomery, History of Berks, 1023.
- 23. Warren Patten Coon, Genealogical Record of the LeVan Family, Descendants of Daniel LeVan and Marie Beau (Huguenots), Natives of Picardy, France, Who Settled in Amsterdam, Holland, 1650-1927 (Newark, N.J.: Privately printed, 1927), 16-18. This work was evidently well researched. However, even though it contains scattered citations to wills, church records, and other sources, it cannot be regarded as adequately documented by today's standards.
- 24. C. W. Unger, trans., "Zion (Moselem) Church Records, Richmond township, Berks County" (typescript; Historical Society of Berks County, Reading), 75. According to this source, Abraham Rieser, son of Johan Jacob Rieser and deceased wife Maria, née Levanin, was born 31 October 1750 and baptized 13 February 1751. Sponsors were Johannes Rieser and wife Elizabetha [Levan], which fact provides additional evidence that Jacob and John were brothers and sons of Jacob, Sr., along with Philip and Henry (see note 19).
- 25. Jacob's second wife, Anna Barbara Levan, was mother of all his children but Abraham, the eldest. She is identified as the daughter of Daniel Levan and Susanna Siegfried of Maxatawny Township in Coon, LeVan Family, 17—although their children are not listed. Daniel Levan's will mentions his daughter Barbara Reeser; see Berks County Wills, 2:312 (1776). Berks County Orphans Court proceedings for 15 February 1783 name Elizabeth (wife of Philip Reeser) and Barbara (wife of Jacob Reeser) as daughters of the late Daniel Levan and further identify the late Susannah Levan as their mother; see Orphans Court 3:64–65. However, the 1778 will of Susannah (Siegfried) Levan herself clearly states that Barbara Reeser and Elizabeth Reeser (as well as Annelisa Priestly) are her stepdaughters; see Berks County Wills, 2:331. The first wife of Daniel Levan has not been identified, as far as this author knows.

Two contemporary accounts of the inn kept by Daniel Levan describe the landlady in less than flattering terms, although it seems that English travelers' views of the accommodations offered by "Dutchmen" were often negative and reflect, at least in part, a cultural bias. See Elizabeth Drinker's diary, dated 29 August 1771, and the notes of an anonymous traveler dated 1773, both in J. Bennett Nolan's Early Narratives of Berks County (Reading, Pa.: Historical Society of Berks County, 1927), 38–39, 55–56.

- 26. Cumru tax lists, GSU film no. 020827; also William Henry Egle, "Proprietary Return for the County of Berk for the Year 1768," *Pennsylvania Archives*, 3d ser., 18 (1898): 119. See also note 53.
  - 27. Berks County Deeds, 10:49 and 10:51 (1787).
  - 28. Berks County Deeds, 10:25 and 10:27 (1787).
  - 29. Berks County Deeds, 10:55 (1787).
  - 30. Berks County Deeds, 10:30 (1787).
- 31. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1790, vol. 8, Pennsylvania (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1908), 32 (enumeration of Cumru, Berks County).
  - 32. Berks County Wills, B:355 (1793); for burial date, see note 18.
- 33. Berks County Probate Papers; photocopy supplied by Register of Wills, Berks County, without citation of file number. Scott T. Swank, in *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans* (New York: Norton, 1983), 43–60, compared several hundred inventories of eighteenth-century residents of Berks and Lancaster counties to develop a picture of Pennsylvania German domestic life. Jacob Rieser's inventory is typical of a prosperous farmer, from the expensive clock so prized by all Pennsylvania Germans to the German-language books and interest-bearing bonds.
  - 34. 1800 U.S. Census, Cumru Township, Berks County, 168.
  - 35. Berks County Deeds, 22:422 (1807).
  - 36. Unger, "Zion (Moselem) Church Records," 75.
- 37. Burials, 24 June 1818, Trinity Lutheran Church Records, Reading, Pa., Collections of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania. According to this source, Elizabeth (nee Reeser), wife of George Raeder, was born 7 January 1755; and died "aged 63-5-15." A George Rader appears in the 1806 Directory of Reading, reprinted in Journal of the Berks County Genealogical Society 7 (July-August 1986): 5-8, residing between King (Third) Street and the Schuylkill River. See also Thomas Lynch Montgomery, ed., and Luther R. Kelker, trans., "Records of Rev. John Waldschmidt, 1752-1786," Pennsylvania Archives, 6th ser., 6 (1906): 274.

38. Conrad Fesig, husband of Catherine Rieser, was the proprietor of Fesig's Tavern in Reading, situated on the north side of Penn Street above Fourth. The 1806 Directory of Reading lists him between Queen and Callowhill (Fourth and Fifth) streets, northwest from the courthouse. The history of Fesig's Tavern is traced by Alfred S. Jones in "Reading's Inns of Long Ago," a 1901 address published in Transactions of the Historical Society of Berks County 1 (Reading: The Society, 1904), unpaginated. Jones spoke of old-timers who could remember the place as it was around the beginning of the nineteenth century—a place where traveling teams hauling merchandise would stop, the wagons with "white canvas covers, high bodies painted blue and the running gear read." One old resident said that the first circus ever held in Reading was exhibited on the rear lot of Fesig's Tavern.

Fesig, also a clockmaker, acquired his property from Andrew and Caspar Reeser in 1790; it belonged originally to their uncle William Reeser (see note 9). Conrad Fesig died before 1 August 1815, when letters of administration were granted to Catherine (widow and relict) and to William Fesig, a brother of the deceased; see Berks County Administrations, 8:28. His wife Catherine died before 14 February 1817, when letters of administration were granted to her brother John Rieser; see Berks County Administrations, 8:114.

- 39. Birth year calculated from obituary, Reading Adler, 13 May 1822.
- 40. Records of Rev. John William Boos (1780–1809), translated by Laurel Miller, Berks County Genealogical Society, 1984, from the original German manuscript in the Evangelical and Reformed Church Archives. Lancaster.
  - 41. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Burials, 8.
- 42. First Reformed Church of Reading, Pennsylvania, Church Records 1798-1820, 1829-52, GSU film no. 387,855; microfilmed from original, German-language records in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadephia. Hereinafter cited as First Reformed Church of Reading.
- 43. Jacqueline B. Nein, comp., First United Church of Christ (First Reformed), Reading, Pennsylvania, Vol. 1, An Alphabetized Compilation of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths from 1771-1863 (Reading, Pa.: Jacqueline B. Nein, 1986), unpaginated. Hereinaster cited as Nein, First Reformed Church, Reading, vol.
- 44. Boos Records, (see n. 40). Valeria E. (Clymer) Hill, A Genealogy of the Hiester Family (Lebanon: Report Publishing Co., 1903), 22. This work draws heavily on entries in a family-Bible for early Hiesters but lacks other documentation. Hill assigns seven children to this couple, who lived in Bern (data in brackets supplied by present author): (a) John Hiester, married Christian Huyett [Christine Huyert, 29 November 1808; see Nein, First Reformed Church, Reading, vol. 1; had issue]. (b) Catherine Hiester married Jonas Ruth [18 January 1807 (Nein, vol. 1); had issue]. (c) Susan Hiester, married Isaac Huyett. (d) Isaac Hiester, married Mary Spengler. (e) Joseph Hiester married Mary Rose. (f) Daniel Hiester [born 21 October 1801; see Schwartzwald Reformed Church Baptisms], married Eliza Gift. (g) Mary Hiester, married Abraham Moyer. Schwartzwald Reformed Church records also include the following data which apparently pertains to this family: (h) Ester Hiester, born 29 April 1789; baptized 30 June 1789; sponsors, Conrad Fesig and wife Catherine (no. 4). (i) Unnamed son, buried 9 April 1800 at six months of age.

Johann Christian Hiester was the son of immigrant Hiester brothers who "lived an uneventful farm life"—unlike his younger brother Daniel, who became involved in Berks County politics and sired a number of Hiesters prominent among the so-called "democratic elite." See Edward Mitchell's article "The Hiester Family in Pennsylvania," Historical Review of Berks County 51 (Winter 1985-86): 26-29, 34-35, 37-38.

- 45. Calculated from age at death, as given in obituary; see Reading Adler, 21 March 1837.
- 46. Calculated from age at death as given in burial registration, First Reformed Church of Reading, Burials (1829-52), 336.
- 47. Calculated from age at death as given in burial registration, First Reformed Church of Reading, Burials (1829-52), 381.
- 48. Hoehn's Church Records (also known as St. John's or Cacusi Reformed), 1745–1805, Heidelberg Township, Berks County; translations by J. W. Early, reprinted in: *Pennsylvania Vital Records*, 3 vols. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1983), 1:439.
  - 49. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Marriages, 40.
- 50. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Baptisms, 86 (Sara), 96 (Catherine), 166 (Maria); Nein, First Reformed Church, Reading, Baptisms (Jacob) and Deaths (Magdalena), vol. 1.
  - 51. See note 24.
  - 52. See note 37.
- 53. Warren G. Faust, "Index to Berks County Tax Records, 1770-1789" (typescript, Berks County Historical Society, Reading), 565-66.
- 54. Ibid. See also 1790, 1800, and 1810 U.S. censuses for Bern Township, Berks County, 29, 146, and 100 respectively. Abraham Rieser's death record appears in the First Reformed Church of Reading, Burials

- (1798–1820), 272, "von der Auszehrung [probably TB] gestorben," and his death notice in the *Reading Adler* for 14 December 1813. Note that his age, given as 64 years, 3 weeks, 1 day, does not exactly coincide with his birth date of record, but there seems to be no reason to doubt the identification. Ages given in death records do frequently err.
  - 55. Berks County Wills, D:77 (1813).
- 56. Epler's Church Records and Gravestone Inscriptions, Bern township, GSU film no. 387,834, p. 18, no. 406.
- 57. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Marriages, 43. Montgomery, Annals of Berks, 1370, has a biographical article on Jacob Bollman's grandson Lewis which includes a son George in the list of Jacob's children. Magdalena is not mentioned.
  - 58. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Baptisms, 105, and Burials, 23.
  - 59. Ibid., Baptisms, 120, and Burials, 22.
  - 60. Ibid., Baptisms, 139.
  - 61. Ibid., 168.
  - 62. Nein, First Reformed Church, Reading, Baptisms, vol. 1.
  - 63. Ibid
  - 64. "Records of Rev. John Waldschmidt," 6:188.
  - 65. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Marriages, 56.
  - 66. All in Nein, First Reformed Church, Reading, Baptisms, vol. 1.
  - 67. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Marriages, 4.
- 68. Cumru tax lists, GSU film no. 020,827; U.S. Censuses of 1790 and 1800, Cumru township, Berks County, 32, 168.
  - 69. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Burials, 12.
  - 70. Reading Adler, 13 May 1822.
  - 71. Berks County Wills C:205, 1822.
- 72. Leah Adam, wife of John<sup>2</sup> Rieser, was the granddaughter of Nicolaus Adam, who emigrated from Eichtersheim in the Kraichgau area of what is now Germany. This family has been traced by Annette Burgert in Eighteenth-Century Emigrants from German-speaking Lands to North America, vol. 1: The Northern Kraichgau (Breinigsville, Pa.: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1983), 34–35. Nicolaus was a passenger on the ship William and Sarah, in 1727. Leah was the seventh child of Bernhard Adam<sup>2</sup> (Nicolaus<sup>1</sup>) and wife Margaretha Derrin (Anna Margaret Doerr). Leah was born 16 April 1765 (Bergstrasse Lutheran Church Baptisms, Lancaster County, according to Burgert, Eighteenth-Century Emigrants, 35). She is named in her father's will as the wife of John Reeser; see Berks County Wills, B:570, (1810).
- 73. Heidelberg tax lists, GSU film no. 020,829. See also Faust, "Index to Berks County Tax Records." He appears variously as John, Johannes, or Hannes Rieser and is taxed on 120 acres of land. An older John, son of one Gabriel, whose surname of Roescher is occasionally spelled Rieser in these lists, was apparently unrelated
- 74. U.S. Censuses of 1790, 1800, 1810, and 1820, Heidelberg Township, Berks County, 34, 204, 122, and 41 respectively.
  - 75. Montgomery, Annals of Berks, 1107, 1161.
  - 76. 1790 U.S. Census, Cumru and Heidelberg townships, Berks County.
  - 77. Heidelberg tax lists, GSU film no. 020,829.
  - 78. Reeser, "A Charted Record," 123, 1085, 1087.
  - 79. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Marriages, 39.
  - 80. Reading Adler, 21 March 1837.
  - 81. 1830 U.S. Census, Cumru Township, Berks County, p. 41.
  - 82. Berks County Administrations, 13:66 (1837).
- 83. Berks County Probate Papers; photocopy supplied by Register of Wills without citation of file number.
  - 84. Berks County Orphan's Court, 12:559 (1838).
- 85. Account and auditors' report among Berks County Probate Papers; photocopy supplied by Register of Wills without citation of file number.
  - 86. 1840 U.S. Census, Heidelberg Township, Berks County, p. 445.
- 87. Reading Adler, 30 August 1842, records the death, "last Thursday" of Lea Rieser, age "76/3/10," widow of Johannes Rieser of Reading. Berks and Schuylkill Journal, 3 September 1842, reports her death

as "the 26th ult., in Reading, consort of John Rieser, in the 77th year of her age;" see abstract in Vital Statistics card file, Historical Society of Berks County. First Reformed Church of Reading, Burials (1829–1852), 381 (burial at Sinking Spring).

- 88. Berks County Administrations, 15:169 (1842).
- 89. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Baptisms, 24.
- 90. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Marriages, 76.
- 91. Nein, First Reformed Church, Reading, vol. 1.
- 92. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Baptisms, 40.
- 93. Schwartzwald Reformed Church marriages, in Donna R. Irish, *Pennsylvania German Marriages* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1982), 92.
  - 94. First Reformed Church of Reading, Baptisms (1796-1820), 97.
  - 95. Nein, First Reformed Church, Reading, Baptisms, vol. 1.
  - 96. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Baptisms, 51.
- 97. Ibid., 68; see also Early, "Hoehn's Reformed Church Records," 469. First Reformed Church of Reading, Burials (1796-1820), 279.
  - 98. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Baptisms, 82.
  - 99. Ibid., 95.
- 100. Reading Adler, 24 June 1834, reports the 14 June death of Polly [Magdalena] Ziegler, aged thirty-seven, wife of John Ziegler, who died in home of her father, John Rieser of Cumru Township.
  - 101. First Reformed Church of Reading, Baptisms (1829-43), 48.
  - 102. Early, "Hoehn's Reformed Church Records," 479.
  - 103. 1850 U.S. Census, Reading, Berks County, dwelling 411, family 396.
  - 104. Berks County Wills, 12:610 (1873).
  - 105. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Baptisms, 119.
  - 106. Ibid., 136.
  - 107. Reading Adler, 7 January 1873.
  - 108. Berks County Deeds, 64:270 (1856).
  - 109. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Baptisms, 152.
- 110. Reading Adler, 3 September 1822, reports: "Died last Wednesday Anna Rieser, daughter of Mr. John Rieser of Heidelberg, this county, in her 17th year."
  - 111. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Baptisms, 171.
  - 112. First Reformed Church of Reading, Marriages (1829-43), 167.
  - 113. Nein, First Reformed Church, Reading, Deaths, vol. 1.
  - 114. First Reformed Church of Reading, Baptisms (1825-59), 6.
  - 115. Ibid., Baptisms (1829-43), 48.
  - 116. Ibid., Baptisms (1825-59), 86.
  - 117. First Reformed Church of Reading, Baptisms (1796-1820), 97.
  - 118. First Reformed Church of Reading, Burials (1829-52), 336.
  - 119. Ibid., 376, reports the 13 January 1840 death of Heinrich Rieser, "aged 72/11/19," of Reading.
  - 120. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Marriages, 18.
- 121. "Quarter Sessions Abstracts, Berks County, Minute Book 1805-1809," in Berks of Old 2 (August 1984): 20, and other issues.
  - 122. See also 1800 and 1830 U.S. censuses, Reading, Berks County, 650 and 317 respectively.
  - 123. First Reformed Church of Reading, Burials (1829-52), 376.
  - 124. Berks County Wills, 8:208 (1840).
- 125. First Reformed Church of Reading, Burials (1829-52), 381, reports the 22 July 1842 death of Daniel Rieser, "aged 71/9/9."
  - 126. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Marriages, 42.
  - 127. See also 1820 and 1830 U.S. censuses, Reading, Berks County, 189 and 290 respectively.
  - 128. Berks County Wills, 8:429 (1842).
- 129. Epler's Church Records and Gravestone Inscriptions, Bern Township (GSU film no. 387,834; page 18, no. 406), reads: "Hier ruhet/—Johannes Rieser/er wurde geboren/den 27—1776/und verheirathete sich mit Elizabeth Scharf/den 16 July 1799/und zeugte 8 kinder/und starb den 12 December 1818/—den alter auf 42 jahre/9 monat und—tage/."

- 130. Also in Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Marriages, 51.
- 131. Reading Adler, 24 November 1818, reports the death as "last Sunday, aged 42 years." See also First Reformed Church of Reading, Burials (1796–1820), 281, and Epler's tombstone records.
  - 132. Berks County Administrations, 8:338 (1821).
  - 133. Berks County Orphan's Court, 7:519, 1822.
  - 134. Ibid., 9:127 (1826).
  - 135. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Baptisms, 112.
- 136. Montgomery, Annals of Berks, 652, has the biography of Abraham F. Rieser of Reading, son of Abraham S.<sup>4</sup> Rieser and wife Annie Feather. However, Montgomery erroneously states that Abraham F.'s great-grandfather (Abraham<sup>2</sup>) was a John Rieser who emigrated from Bern.
  - 137. Epler's Gravestone Inscriptions, 16, no. 349.
  - 138. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Baptisms, 158.
  - 139. Ibid., 175.
  - 140. First Reformed Church of Reading, Baptisms (1796-1820), 97.
  - 141. Epler's Gravestone Inscriptions, 18, no. 407.
  - 142. Ibid., 18, no. 408.
- 143. Ibid., 18, no. 409. The inscription, as copied herein, seems to contain one or more errors, as the death date of "2 January 1829" does not fit with the age of "13 Jahr 1 Monat 10 Tag" and the birth date of "22 November 1818." Since this child is not mentioned in the Orphans Court lists of heirs of John<sup>3</sup>, it is reasonable to assume that she died before November 1821.
  - 144. Epler's Gravestone Inscriptions, p. 18, no. 406.
  - 145. Schwartzwald Reformed Church, Baptisms, 51.
- 146. First Reformed Church of Reading, Marriages (1800–1820), 213. Note also that there is recorded here the marriage of another John Rieser to Sarah Leist of Alsace Township, 9 October 1814; this individual has not been identified. He may have been one of the Riesers who actually resided in Alsace; the relationship of the Alsace Riesers to the Cumru Riesers (assuming such exists) remains to be clarified.
- 147. Nicholas Boyer identifies his daughter Hannah as the wife of John Rieser in his will; see Berks County Wills, C:236 (1823). The descendants of Nicholas Boyer (as Johannes Nicholas Beyer) have been traced to some extent in various editions of *American Boyers*.
- 148. 1820 and 1840 U.S. censuses, Heidelberg Township, Berks County, 41 and 441 respectively. Heidelberg tax lists, GSU film no. 020,829.
  - 149. 1850 U.S. Census, North Heidelberg, Berks County, dwelling 15, families 16 and 17.
  - 150. Montgomery, Annals of Berks, 1371.
  - 151. Nein, First Reformed Church, Reading, vol. 1.
  - 152. 1800 U.S. Census, Heidelberg Township, Berks County, 122.
  - 153. Reading Adler, 3 September 1850, reports the 26 August 1850 death of John Riser, age sixty.
  - 154. 1860 U.S. Census, Lower Heidelberg, Berks County, dwelling 1028, family 1159.
  - 155. First Reformed Church of Reading, Baptisms (1796-1820), 146.
  - 156. Nein, First Reformed Church, Reading, Marriages, vol. 1.
- 157. Gravestone Inscriptions of Reading, Collections of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, GSU film no. 385,054; see Sinking Spring Cemetery, Spring township, showing Augustus Reeser as born 7 March 1817; died 5 December 1880, age 68 years, 8 months, 28 days.
  - 158. Nein, First Reformed Church, Reading, vol. 1.
- 159. P. C. Croll, trans., "Christ Lutheran Church Records, 1742-1850, Stouchsberg, Pennsylvania," (typescript; Historical Society of Berks County), Marriages: 380.
- 160. Isaac<sup>4</sup> Rieser and Priscilla Moyer, his wife, had Amanda Rieser, born 4 June 1845 (Croll, "Christ Lutheran Church Records, 1742–1850," Baptisms: 273); Mary Ann, born 7 October 1845 (First Reformed Church of Reading, Baptisms, 1825–59, 37); Rebecca, born ca. 1849 (1850 federal census of North Heidelberg, Berks Co., Dwelling 15, Family 16); William, born ca. 1851 (1860 federal census of Womelsdorf, Berks Co., Dwelling 574, Family 655); and Sarah, born 2 September 1853 (William Hinke, trans., Trinity Tulpehocken Reformed Church [Jackson township, Lebanon County], vol. 1, 1741–1864, GSU film no. 383,519; sponsored by mother). Isaac disappears from tax lists at this time and Priscilla is head of family in 1860 census of Womelsdorf. Mary Ann Rieser married John Anderson, an Irish immigrant stonemason, on 18 September 1864 at St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church of Reading (certificate of marriage, sans citation of record book and page, supplied in 1981 by the church pastor). John and Mary Ann Anderson are the author's maternal great-grandparents.

- 161. First Reformed Church of Reading, Baptisms (1796-1820), 175.
- 162. Cemetery Records for Myerstown (Lebanon County) United Brethren (typescript; Lebanon County Historical Society, Lebanon, Pa.), shows: Josiah Reiser, died 23 December 1893, "age 71-5-6."
- 163. Berks and Schuylkill Journal, 11 October 1845, shows Josiah Reeser, married on the "27th ult.," by Reverend William Pauli, to Miss Catherine Mather of Heidelberg.
  - 164. Cemetery Record for Josiah Reiser, op. cit.
  - 165. First Reformed Church of Reading, Baptisms (1829-43), 4.
- 166. Confirmed at Sinking Spring in 1853, at the age of nineteen; see First Reformed Church of Reading, Confirmations (1842-63), 346 (no. 10).
  - 167. Nein, First Reformed Church, Reading, Baptisms, vol. 1.
  - 168. First Reformed Church of Reading, Baptisms (1829-43), 154.

On August 6, 1988 the "Kingston Area Genealogical Fair" is planned to be held in Kingston, New York. We will disseminate genealogical information on families whose American roots began in this area, as well as help those who do not know how to search for their ancestors.

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#### Documentation for Afro-American Families: Records of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company

By ROBERT SCOTT DAVIS, JR.\*

Afro-American (or black) genealogy is uniquely hindered in several respects. When American slavery ended, just one and a quarter centuries ago, only one out of every nine Afro-Americans was free; records of that enslaved majority provide only limited information regarding family relationships, and an extensive knowledge of resources and specialized techniques is needed in order to successfully identify ancestors and link generations.

Moreover, when public records began to be kept on Afro-American family units, immediately after the Civil War, the units that were recorded were not always those that had existed prior to emancipation. In her reminiscences of 1908, Eliza Frances ("Fanny") Andrews recalled that freed persons in Wilkes County, Georgia, used the encouragement of obtaining officially recorded marriages as an excuse for changing spouses. More-scholarly efforts to document family patterns among freedmen show a somewhat more positive regard for the sacredness of slave unions, but from a genealogical standpoint the figures are woefully discouraging.

Aggravating these problems is the issue of onomatology. The surnames by which Afro-Americans are identified on post-Civil War records often hold no clue to their pre-1865 identity. Andrews pointed out:

I notice that the negroes seldom or never take the names of their present owners in adopting their "entitles," as they call their surnames, but always that of some former master, and they go as far back as possible. It was the name of the actual owner that distinguished them in slavery, and I suppose they wish to throw off that badge of servitude. Then, too, they have their notions of family pride.<sup>4</sup>

More-recent scholarship has not significantly altered Andrews's impressionistic view. John W. Blassingame states that slaves used their "actual" name among themselves prior to manumission and adopted it after they had been freed, but failed to explain how an "actual" name was derived. A recent genealogical study of the surnames of freedmen, based upon 696 testimonies given by ex-slaves who identified their prior masters, reports that 71 percent used the name of the man they identified as the last master, 2 percent used the name of a previous master, and 25 percent used a surname for which origins were not indicated.

No less important, Afro-American genealogists face the problem of dealing with fictive kin, or "swap-dog kin" as Black Historian Herbert Gutman termed it. According to Gutman:

Teaching Afro-American children to call all adult slaves (not just blood kin) "aunt" and "uncle" converted plantation non-kin relationships into quasi-kin relationships binding together slave adults (fictive aunts and uncles) in networks

of mutual obligation that extended beyond formal kin obligations dictated by blood and marriage.... Community ties based on quasi-kin connections emerged.... Obligation toward nonslave kin was most powerfully expressed during and just after the Civil War in the attention ex-slaves gave to black children orphaned.... Some were absorbed into extended kin groups, and others found places with non-kin.<sup>7</sup>

These are but some of the problems (albeit major problems) confronted by the typical student of Afro-American genealogy. His or her line can be traced back easily enough through conventional research to the 1870 census—but then the 1870 ancestor has to be properly transposed into a pre-1865 family unit that might have not only a different mother, different father, and different apparent-siblings but also a different name. It is problems such as these that make research in black family history seem something between difficult and impossible.

Fortunately, there is a body of records from that era of transition (1865–70) which provides, possibly, more family information on former slave families, as a group, than is given in any other records on any other Americans of that or any earlier time. These records are the registers of signatures of the depositors of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, 1865–1874, providing detailed family information, sometimes extending decades into slavery, on tens of thousands of the new freedmen. For most of these families, these records are the earliest recorded family histories or the earliest reliable data. Curiously, these records are seldom used. On those rare occasions when they do find their way into manuals or resource books, they more commonly are just mentioned in passing, while records less likely to help on any particular family (such as slave bills of sale) are often discussed at great length, as well as abstracted and indexed.

#### ORIGINS OF THE FREEDMAN'S BANK

This institution began during the Civil War with military savings banks established at Norfolk, Virginia, and Beaufort, South Carolina, for the depositing of savings of black soldiers in the Union Army. The success of this first effort led Congress to create the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company by act of March 3, 1865, for the purposes stated below:

That the general business and object of the corporation hereby created shall be to receive on deposit such sums of money as may from time to time be offered therefore, by or on behalf of persons heretofore held in slavery in the United States, or their descendants, and investing the same in the stocks, bonds, Treasury notes, or other securities of the United States.<sup>8</sup>

The bank was not part of the Freedman's Bureau, nor were its assets protected by the federal government—contrary to what most of the depositors believed. The first president—and author of the bank's charter—however, was John W. Alvord, supervisor of the Freedman's Bureau schools; and General Oliver O. Howard, head of the Freedman's Bureau, was an influential director of the

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Cashier.

Advertisement for the Savannah branch of the Freedman's Bank from the 1870 Savannah City Directory. (Courtesy Carl A. Anderson)

bank. Other bank officers were also members of the bureau. Alvord reported to Congress, on 1 January 1866, his vision of the greater good that the bank could sponsor:

Pauperism can be brought to a close; the freedmen made self-supporting and prosperous, paying for their educational and Christian institutions, and helping to bear the burdens of government by *inducing habits of Saving* in what they earn.<sup>10</sup>

The freedman was also painted a glorious picture of what his thrift could accomplish. Each depositor was issued a bankbook, stating the regulations that he or she was to observe. Prominently featured on the cover was a savings table to show just how much one might accumulate from putting in a mere ten cents a day at 6-percent interest: in one year, \$36.99; within ten years the thrifty depositor could boast \$489.31—all from a daily dime.<sup>11</sup>

The Freedman's Bank grew slowly from 1865 to 1870 because of heavy operating costs and limited deposits. After 1870, however, a heavy advertising campaign (aided by the American Missionary Association, the hiring of black employees, and the increasing willingness and ability of blacks to make

deposits) greatly expanded the bank's operations. From deposits of \$305,167 and withdrawals of \$105,884, in 1866, to deposits of \$19,952,647 and withdrawals of \$17,497,111 in 1871, the bank had \$59 million in deposits and \$45 million in withdrawals in 1874—in thirty-three branches in seventeen states and the District of Columbia. Frederick Douglass would later relate the massive effort to draw in depositors as follows:

There was something missionary in its disposition, and it dealt largely in exhortations as well as promises. The men connected with its management were generally church members, and reputed eminent for their piety. Some of its agents had been preachers of the "Word."... Like snowflakes in winter, circulars, tracts, and other papers were, by this benevolent institution, scattered among the sable millions, and they were told to "look" to the Freedman's Bank and "live."

The bank was in serious trouble, however. The Panic of 1873 exposed some of its weaknesses. In 1874 the bank closed, and Alvord resigned as president. Frederick Douglass was persuaded to serve as his replacement and even to invest \$10,000 of his own money in the bank. He discovered, however, that he had been intended as only a figurehead and that the bank officers and directors who were claiming that the bank could still be saved had withdrawn their own investments. Douglass reported his discoveries to Congress and succeeded in saving what was left of the bank's assets for the depositors.<sup>14</sup>

In 1876, a joint bi-partisan committee of Congress investigated why, in Douglass's words, "this splendid institution was compelled to close its doors in the starved and deluded faces of its depositors." They found that "it [had] degenerated into a monstrous swindle" and was "merely a scheme of selfishness under the guise of philanthrophy, and to its confiding victims, an incorporate body of false pretenses." Alvord had written the bank's charter so that a quorum could be made of only nine of the fifty (largely distinguished) trustees. The Committee found this document to be:

... so utterly and entirely without safeguards or protection for those who were to become its patrons and depositors that it is hard to believe that its author, whatever might have been his other deficiencies, did not thoroughly understand how to organize cunning against simplicity and make it pay for the pleasure of being cheated.<sup>17</sup>

The bank was overstaffed with overpaid employees, including cashiers who cheated the depositors. An amendment to the charter in 1870 allowed the bank to invest in real estate; and with this provision the Freedman's Bank invested heavily in the Washington, D.C., public-works land speculations—frauds so severe that Congress would disenfranchise the black and white voters of Washington until 1974. Congress found the bank's books confused to the point of being unintelligible—with false entries, pages ripped out, and pages obviously doctored. No proper indexes or guides existed to these records. Moreover, the situation had been this bad almost from the beginning of the bank. Assets had been drawn off to finance "the personal interest of the political-jobbers, real-estate pools, and fancy-stock speculators." An act of Congress on 20 June 1874 began dissolving the bank with a commission to

Check Nº 854	Commissioner Fred	dmans
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6.5	Tay with ordered Jase pline Wilson	MATERIA
1	Savamah manch	
2/// 0//	Basel Claims Not 3/11/83 July July	mmissioner.

Josephine Wilson's Final Payment

Josephine Wilson of Savannah did not receive her share of the remains of the Freedman's Bank's assets until 1883, according to the check above in the possession of Carl A. Anderson. Wilson personifies some of the pitfalls of using the indexes to the records of the depositors of the Freedman's Bank. Her name does not appear in the index to the Savannah branch. The account number above leads only to another number. However, the second number (3349) leads to detailed information in the Savannah branch's surviving register of signatures of depositors. In that record, made 29 March 1870, Wilson stated that she was born and raised in Savannah but resided in that year in Orange, near Ann, South Carolina. Josephine was aged twenty-five at the time; dark complexioned; a seamstress; widow of Robert Wilson; mother of Robert (aged eight), Elisabeth (aged three), and Ellen (aged two); daughter of Joshua Burke (deceased) and Elisabeth (who died in Savannah); and the sister of the following Savannah residents: Joshua, Samuel, James, David (?), Lemuel, Sarah, Alethea, and Francis.

Joshua Burke and his family, including Josephine, appear on the 1860 census of Savannah as free persons of color.

oversee the assets. Eventually the depositors received sixty-two cents on the dollar. The commission went out of existence in 1920, finally ending any hope that the federal government would assume the bank's losses.<sup>19</sup>

#### THE BANK'S RECORDS OF GENEALOGICAL VALUE:

While financial record-keeping may have been intentionally lax, the personal information gathered on depositors was fantastically explicit. The Freedman's Savings and Trust Company began with the unclaimed deposits left over in the two previously created military savings-banks established for the black soldiers. Past that point, extensive records were created on each depositor, not only as personal identification but also because the bank was required by law to protect the interests of the heirs of depositors.

The exact information that was asked of depositors did vary over time. In a few of the early records, the new freedmen were required to give even the names and locations of their former masters or current employers—information of value to white as well as black genealogy. Other information commonly found for each individual, in the registers of signatures of depositors, include

account number, name of depositor, date of entry, place of birth, place brought-up, residence, age, complexion, name of spouse, names of children, name of father, name of mother, names of brothers and sisters, other information useful in identification, signature, and height. Whether the relatives listed were alive or dead was often recorded, and sometimes in providing the above data freedmen also gave even more information than that which was specifically requested.

The following is an example of family information compiled from the accounts of three related depositors at the Charleston Branch—recorded on the same page on 7 January 1870.<sup>20</sup>

#### Oscar Green

(No. 4012) age 60; born Tookadoo; son of Frank Macenhenny (deceased) and Jennie (deceased); farmer; residing at Henry Swinton Place, Saint Paul Parish; previously married to Clarinda (deceased) and now married to Amelia. "James Green his son deposited the money." Brothers and sisters of Oscar Green (all deceased) were Lander, Jack, Mary, Lydia, and Maria. Children of Oscar Green:

- James Green (No. 4011); age 23; born Saint Paul Parish; brought up at the Henry Swinton Brick House Place; mother was Clarinda (deceased); farmer working for himself; residing at the Sidney King place in Saint Paul Parish; married to Peggy Simmons Green. "Perry Simmons came with him." Children of James Green:
  - A. Henry Green
  - B. Frank Green
- 2. Mary Green (deceased)
- 3. George Green (deceased)

#### **Perry Simmons**

(No. 4010); age 27; born Saint Paul Parish; brought up on Major King's Plantation; son of Hamlet and Flora; farmer working for himself; resides at the Sidney King plantation in Saint Paul Parish; married to Amy. "James Green came with him." Brothers and sisters of Perry Simmons were Robert (age 10), Peggy Green (see James Green above), Milly Manigault, Nelly Mack, Julia Simmons, and Venus. Children of Perry Simmons:

- 1. Flora Simmons
- 2. Jane Simmons
- 3. Perry Simmons, Jr.

The surviving records of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company are in Record Group 101, Records of the Comptroller of the Currency, at the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, D.C. Registers of signatures of depositors survive at least in part for twenty-nine of the thirty-three branches and have been microfilmed as part of NARA Micropublication M816. Crude indexes survive for some of the branch records; but even among those still extant, some pages are missing, some names are omitted, and some citations are meaningless. The surviving indexes are microfilmed in NARA, M817. The journals and minutes of the Freedman's Bank are microfilmed in NARA Micropublication 874. A list of the branches of the

Freedman's Bank, with information on surviving ledgers and indexes, is appended to this article.<sup>23</sup>

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

- \*Rt. 2, Box 67, Jasper, GA 30143. Mr. Davis is the compiler of *Research in Georgia* (Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1981) and numerous other genealogical works on that state.
- 1. The 1860 federal census enumerated four and a half million Americans of African descent, of which almost a half million were free. Slightly more than half (261,918) of the free Afro-Americans resided in the Southern states, slightly less than half (226,152) were found in the North. For studies of the free black population, see: Ira Berlin, Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974); Leon F. Litwack, North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790–1860 (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1961); H. E. Sterkx, The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Louisiana (Rutherford, N.J.: Farleigh-Dickinson University Press, 1972); Marina Wikramanayake, A World in Shadow: The Free Black in Antebellum South Carolina (Columbia, S.C.: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1973); John Hope Franklin, The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790–1860 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1943); and Gary B. Mills, "Miscegenation and the Free Negro in Antebellum 'Anglo' Alabama: A Reexamination of Southern Race Relations," Journal of American History 68 (June 1981): 16–34. Professor Mills's ten-year study of free blacks in Alabama is the first such work based upon a genealogical reconstruction of each of that state's identifiable free people of color (5,614 total). Statistics on free and enslaved Afro-Americans of 1860 are drawn from Berlin, pp. 136 and 397.
- 2. Eliza Frances Andrews, The War-Time Journal of A Georgia Girl (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1908), 347.
- 3. In North Carolina, only 47 percent of the probable slave unions of 1860 (within studied counties) were registered in 1866 when the North Carolina legislature ordered the registration of "continuing slave marriages." In studied counties within Virginia, the figures ranged from 30 to 64 percent. See Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom*, 1750-1925 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976), 414-16.
  - 4. Op. cit., 347.
- 5. Blassingame, The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South, rev. ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 181-83.
- 6. Elizabeth Shown Mills, "Ethnicity and the Southern Genealogist: Myths and Misconceptions, Resources and Opportunities," in Robert M. Taylor, Jr., and Ralph J. Crandall, eds., Generations and Change: Genealogical Perspectives in Social History (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1986), 102–03. For more on the origins of black surnames, see Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr., "A Note on the Pitfalls of Black Genealogy: The Origins of Black Surnames," Georgia Archive 6 (Spring 1978): 22–30.
  - 7. Gutman, Black Family, 222.
- 8. As quoted in Black Studies: A Select Catalog of National Archives Microfilm Publications (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Trust Fund Board, 1984), 10.
- 9. While this federal agency popularly went by the above name, its full title is more descriptive of its responsibilities: Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands.
- 10. Walter L. Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, 2 vols. (Cleveland, Ohio: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1906), I: 283.
- 11. Ibid., I: 452-53. In Alabama, the three branch banks were located at Huntsville, Montgomery, and Mobile.
  - 12. Ibid., I: 384-85.
  - 13. Ibid., I; 386.
  - 14. Ibid., 386-89.
  - 15. Ibid., 387.
  - 16. Ibid., 389.
  - 17. Ibid., 390.
  - 18. Ibid., 391
- 19. Carl R. Osthaus, "Freedman's Bank," in *The Encyclopedia of Southern History*, David C. Roller and Robert W. Twyman, eds. (Baton Rouge: Univ. of Louisiana Press, 1979), 489.
- 20. Microfilm publication M816, Registers of Signatures of Depositors in Branches of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, 1865–1874 [27 rolls], Reel 22, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

- 21. Indexes to Deposit Ledgers in Branches of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, 1865-73 [RG101, 27 rolls].
- 22. Journal of the Board of Trustees and Minutes of Committees and Inspectors of The Freedman's Savings and Trust company, 1865-74 [RG101, 2 rolls]
- 23. For more information on the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company, see Charles V. Kemp, Jr., "The Freedman's Savings Bank," *Paper Money* 14 (spring 1975): 73-75, and the various sources cited in Osthaus, "Freedman's Bank."

Other aids for research in these and similar records, which students of black genealogy will want to study, are: Debra L. Newman, *Black History: A Guide to Civilian Records in the National Archives* (Washington: National Archives Trust Fund Board, 1984); and *Guide to Genealogical Research in the National Archives* (Washington: National Archives and Records Service, 1982).

APPENDIX

Branch Banks of the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company
Availability of Microfilmed Registers and Indexes

Branch	Year Created	M816 Registers Inclusive Dates	Reel #	M817 Index Reel #
Atlanta, Ga.	1870	15 Jan 1870-02 Jul 1874	6	None
Augusta, Ga.	1866	23 Nov 1870-29 Jun 1874	7	2
Baltimore, Md.	1866	03 May 1866-23 Jun 1874	13	3
Beaufort, S.C.	1866	20 Jun 1868-03 Jul 1874	20	4
Charleston, S.C.	1866	19 Dec 1865-02 Jul 1872	21-23	4
Columbia, Tenn.	1870	None survive		None
Columbus, Miss.	1870	01 Aug 1870-16 Jun 1874	14	None
Huntsville, Ala.	1865	28 Nov 1865-21 Aug 1874	1	1
Jacksonville, Fla.	1866	None survive		2
Lexington, Ky.	1870	21 Mar 1870-03 Jul 1874	11	2
Little Rock, Ark.	1870	27 Feb 1871-15 Jul 1874	3	1
Louisville, Ky.	1870	15 Sep 1865–08 Jul 1874	11	2
Lynchburg, Va.	1865	08 Jul 1871–22 Aug 1871	26	None
Macon, Ga.	1868	None survive	-	None
Memphis, Tenn.	1865	28 Dec 1865-01 Jul 1874	24	5
Mobile, Ala.	1866	18 Jun 1867–29 Jun 1874	2	None
Montgomery, Ala.	1870	None survive		None
Nashville, Tenn.	1870	23 Dec 1871-23 Jun 1874	25	5
Natchez, Miss.	1865	29 Mar 1870-18 Jun 1874	14	3
New Bern, N.C.	1866	02 Nov 1869-25 Jul 1874	18	4
New Orleans, La.	1866	20 Jun 1866-29 Jun 1874	12	3
New York, N.Y.	1866	20 Feb 1871-06 Jul 1874	17	3
Norfolk, Va.	1865	04 Dec 1871-29 Jun 1874	26	5
Philadelphia, Pa.	1870	07 Jan 1870–26 Jun 1874	19	4
Raleigh, N.C.	1868	09 Apr 1868-20 Apr 1868	18	4
Richmond, Va.	1865	18 Jul 1867-29 Jun 1874	26-27	5
Savannah, Ga.	1866	10 Jan 1866-01 Sep 1874	8-10	2
Shreveport, La.	1868	11 Feb 1871–29 Jun 1874	12	3
St. Louis, Mo.	1870	06 Apr 1869-08 Oct 1869	16	3
Tallahassee, Fla.	1866	25 Aug 1866-15 Jan 1872	5	2
Vicksburg, Miss.	1865	28 Jul 1868-29 Jun 1874	15	3
Washington, D.C.	1865	11 Jul 1865–22 Jul 1874	4–5	1
Wilmington, N.C.	1868	03 Sep 1869-30 Oct 1869 &		
<u> </u>		11 Dec 1872–26 Aug 1873	18	4
Unknown		-		5

#### Notes and Documents

## Gold-Rush Wagon Trains: 1849–1850 Migrants to California

Contributed by Myrtle Stevens Hyde\*

Two events occurred in 1848 that forever changed the course of American history and the lives of tens of thousands of American families: the United States wrested California from its Spanish owners; and word leaked out that gold had been discovered there on the farm of John Augustus Sutter. Entrepreneurs and gold seekers poured in by land and sea, from all of the American states and territories as well as South America and Europe. Most Americans west of the Alleghenies took the overland trails, gathering to form wagon trains at such new towns along the Missouri as Independence and Saint Joseph, in Missouri, and Kanesville (or Council Bluffs), on the western frontier of Iowa.

From Kanesville, a seemingly endless train of wagons took the Mormon Trail, charted only two years earlier. Following the Platte River (and the Oregon Trail) to Fort Laramie, they crossed modern Wyoming to Fort Bridger, then struck the California Trail that dropped southwestwardly to Sacramento—a new town that had sprung up on Sutter's grant as a supply center for the goldfields.

"Forty-niners" were an economic fixture of Kanesville in this period—even for the local newspaper. Its enterprising editor offered to register the names of westward-moving migrants in his paper, then mail copies to friends and relatives "back home"—for a mere ten cents per name. It is clear from the 1849 to 1851 issues that he did a healthy business; and it is from two of the issues in this period that the present pair of lists is drawn.

With regard to the first of these lists (the Knoxville Company), historian Carl I. Wheat, in a 1940 issue of the Historical Society of Southern California's *Quarterly*, observed: "Apparently several of the original company left the group at Salt Lake, or (as in the case of Lorton) joined groups on the journey south from that point.... Several persons not originally of the group were added to it later, or wandered across the desert along with the [m] ... and thus became members of the company for the purposes of reunions in after years."

The present extracts are taken from copies of Kanesville's Frontier Guardian, available in the Historical Department Archives—not the Family History (Genealogical) Library—of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Salt Lake City.

#### (Frontier Guardian, 20 May 1849)

Editorial: The Knoxville Company, taking in several other small companies and increasing their own, left this town to cross the Missouri river on Tuesday the 22d last. This is a very fine company. The members of it appear to be honorable, whole souled men. We could say the same of many others also, that have passed through here. The portion of this company that are from Fulton county, Ills., under the command of Major J. R. Parker, left in good spirits and in good health, and we presume all the rest of the company did likewise; but we happened to see Major Parker just as he was going out of town and exchanged the last words with him. If we are not much mistaken, he is the right sort of a man to go to that country. He is like salt that has not lost its sayor.

#### Knox County, Illinois Company

#### Constitution

- Art. 1. The officers of this company shall consist of one Captain, one Lieutenant, four Sergeants and one Clerk. To hold their offices until the arrival of the company at its destination, to be elected by ballot, by a vote of a majority of the company.
- Art. 2. It shall be the duty of the Captain to take the command of the company and direct its movement—determine the number of men to be detailed on guard—direct as to the time of turning out—herding and yoking cattle, and see that all the provisions of the constitution are strictly complied with.
- Art. 3. It shall be the duty of the Lieutenant to perform the duties of the Captain, in case of his absence or inability.
- Art. 4. It shall be the duty of the 1st Sergeant to keep an alphabetical roll—call the same each morning, and detail the guard and sergeant of the guard for the following night.
- Art. 5. It shall be the duty of the clerk to prepare a roll of the company for the First Sergeant and record the proceedings of the company.
- Art. 6. A committee of three shall be elected whose duty it shall be to inspect all the teams, wagons and outfits of the company before leaving the Missouri river, and none shall be permitted to start with the company unless found sufficient in these respects. It shall also be their duty to report to the captain any abuse or mismanagement of teams while on the route.
- Art. 7. No one shall be considered a member of this company until his name is signed to this Constitution and code of By-Laws.
- Art. 8. Other persons may become members of this company by a vote of a majority of the same, and signing the Constitutution /sic/ and By-Laws.
- Art. 9. This Constitution and By-Laws may be altered or others substituted in their place by a vote of two-thirds of the company.

#### **Bv-Laws**

- Art. 1. No fire-arms shall be discharged within forty rods of camp, except under the directions of the sergeant of the guard.
- Art. 2. No loaded guns with caps on shall be permitted in camp except by the directions of the Captain, and never in wagons while travelling.
  - Art. 3. [Omitted in the newspaper draft of these by-laws.]
  - Art. 4. No spirituous liquors shall be used in the company except as a medicine.
- Art. 5. The Captain may call a meeting of the company at any time—and it shall be his duty to do so upon the request of five members of the company.
- Art. 6. A horse shall be furnished for the use of the guide by the company—to be ultimately disposed of [f]or the benefit of the company.
- Art. 7. For the first wilful violation of any of the provisions of the above Constitution and By-Laws by any member of the company, he shall perform extra duty in the discretion of the

do.

Captain. For repetition of the same offence—for refusal to obey orders or intoxication, any person may be expelled from the company by a vote of majority of the same.

Art. 8. Any person selling or giving spirituous liquors to an Indian shall be expelled from the company.

company.			
Names:			
(Col. 1)		Chatterton, John	do.
Woolsey, J. L.	Knox, Ill.	Lawrence, John	do.
Hurlbut, Nath.	do.	Shannon, F. B.	do.
Grooscup, J.	do.	Walker, H. D.	do.
Davison, Ubia P.	do.	Cunningham, R.	do.
Clark, Oren	do.	Orville Jones	do.
Frans, H. B.	do.	Dunn, James	do.
Mecum, C. B.	do.	(Col. 2)	
Colten, J. B.	do.	Whaley, Wm.	do.
Edgerton, M. P.	do.	Wallace, J. B. V.	do.
Morse, N. D.	do.	Short, John	do.
Hale, J. E.	do.	Berkshire, Otho	do.
Clay, A. C.	do.	Baldwin, R.	Erie Co., Pa.
Cole, John	do. do.	Surmeier, H.	Adams, Ill.
Semple, J. W.	do. do.	Surmeier, J. B.	do.
Ewing, Alex	do. do	Lake, John	do. do.
Price, R. C.	do.	Muer, F.	do. do.
Taylor, E. N.	do. do.	Roth, John A.	do. do.
		Ketzler, Fred	do. do.
Montgomery, L. D.	do. do.	Specs, John	do. do.
Arms, Cephus	do. do.		
Ewing, John H.	do. do.	Campbell, J. D.	Washington Co., Iowa do.
McGowan, Ed.	do. do.	Fidler, D. L.	do. do.
Haynes, Asa		Buck, Peter	
Plummer, J. W.	do.	Cooper, J. H.	do. do.
Allen, George	do.	Sandilan, Alex	do.
McGrew, Thos.	do.	Buck, Geo. W.	
West, John I.	do.	Hasbrook, J.	Rock Island [III.]
Doty, Edward	do.	Shelhammer, S.	do. do.
Byram, Bruen	do.	Herald, John	
Rude, W. B.	do.	Petre, Wm.	do.
Larkin, Aaron	do.	Miller, C. W.	Mercer, Ill.
Palmer, Alex.	do.	Evans, John	do.
Shannon, Thos.	do.	Langford, L. F.	do.
Kimble, Robert	do.	Gordon, Thos.	do.
Ward, H. J.	Warren, Ill.	Merrified, James	do.
Thompson, Jno. D.	do.	Ellis, James H.	[blank]
Mackey, J.	do.	Ellis, Joseph	[blank]
Kellogg, F. S.	Peoria, Ill.	Barton, A.	[blank]
Bartholomew, L.	do.	Baxter, Henry, Cap	
Bartholomew, E. F.	do.	Fayette Rovers of	
Kellogg, Edw.	do.	Halsted, G. W., Lie	
Kellogg, Wm.	do.	Platt, H. W., Sec'y.	do.
Lorton, Wm. B.	N. Y. City	Lewis, J. S., Treas.	do.
Edgerton, S. P.	Galesburgh [no state]	Ralph, C. R.	do.
Norton, D. C.	Knox, Ill.	Welch, A. S.	do.
Parker, J. R.	Fulton, Ill.	Cooley, G. C.	do.
Grimm, Jacob	do.	Baker, A. J.	do.
Anderson, J. B.	do.	Latham, Ira	do.
Wise, S.	do.	Dibble, A. M.	do.
- 1 1 Th 1	ما لہ	Hartman Androw	do

do.

Hartman, Andrew

Ingersol, Theodore

Underdenk, J. F.,	M.D. do.	Taylor, Robert	Knox, Ill.
Acker, P. P.	Kalamazoo, Michigan	Wells, Ira (Surgeo	n of the
Gale, G. A.	do.	company)	Rock Island Co., Ill.
Cobb, C. L.	do.	Wells, Luke	do.
Gregory, Henry	do.	Wells, Alex	do.

At a meeting of the Company on the 12th of May, this Constitution and code of By-Laws were adopted and the following persons elected under it, as provided by the Constitution, viz: Asa Haynes, Captain—Cephas Arms, Lieutenant—Thomas Shannon, First Sergeant—Edward Doty, E. N. Taylor, and Charles B. Mecum, second, third and fourth sergeants—R. C. Price, Clerk, Committee of Inspection—J. L. West, F. S. Kellogg, and J. R. Parker.

#### (Frontier Guardian, 17 April 1850)

#### List of California Emigrants that have Arrived on this Frontier

They are all apparently in good health and spirits, and eager for the mines. Persons receiving this number who are not regular subscribers to the paper, will please run over this list of names, and they will probably find their husband's name, the name of a son or brother, cousin, friend, or old acquaintance. There are many emigrants who have arrived here whose names are not in this list. They can all have their names registered in the next number of the Guardian if they wish, and a copy sent back to any friend, for one dime each.

From Michigan	Davis, Andrew	Barlow, Joseph
9	Chapman, John C.	Roe, Silas
Fox, Lauren F.	Lamphere, Judson	Smith, Laertes S.
Day, O. J.	Thompson, L. S., Dr.	Patterson, E. H. M.
Doan, R.	Forward, Joseph R.	Martin, James
Cooly, Benj.	Rockwell, Alfred H.	Hultz, James
Saunders, Ira J.	Cunningham, Theodore A.	Monroe, Edwin
	Brown, Cyrus E.	Parker, Zacchus
From Indiana	Plummer, Wesley D.	Brownson, Reuben
De Frees, Wilkinson	Robinson, Moses	Hulse, S. B.
Butler, Thomas	Blackman, John W.	Wynkop, John H.
Shenabarger, Miller	Lally, Edward	Yates, John P.
Shondourger, winter	Minchell, G. R.	Orsborne, T. C.
From Illinois	Miller, H. B.	Merryfield, J. C.
From Illinois	Guild, John E.	Cothrin, W. S.
King, John A.	Chapman, John C.	Harold, J. M.
Cunningham, Theodore A.	Patterson, M. R.	Plummer, S. C., M.D.
Brown, Cyrus E.	Glover, Wm. M.	Shook, Martin L.
Shaffer, John W.	Babbitt, Horace F.	Butler, John
Martin, Nelson	Wright, Jacob	Plumbner, James
Cutler, L. H., Dr.	Rockwell, James B.	Shaffer, Henry
Niver, Geo. J.	Erskine, H. W.	Hubbard, Wm. T.
Guiltner, Ira.	Justice, F. M.	Fletcher, Andrew
Smith, Wm. T.	Culter, Edmund S.	Crayton, Peter
Waters, Geo. M.	Nobles, J.	Campbell, A. W.
Rlandin, J. C.	Andrews, Lewis	Dexter, A. A.
Brooks, J. C.	Hill, Isaac	Brock, J. A.
Brooks, Edwin	King, Leicester, Jr.	Blanchard, L.

From Iowa Barker, Reuben Barker, John McMullin, J. Eaton, Robert T. Dillon, Moses Revnolds, Russell S. Jones, Wm., Jr. Dillion, Daniel Jones, James Jinkin, Matthew J. Jones, Thompson Parker, Samuel J. McKenney, John A. Cleary, D. C. Schenck, Jackson Brasher, Thomas R. de Lorimier, Geo. G. G. Brasher, Robt. Robert, Damas Risk, Wm. Foster, Geo. Pence, O. W. Faucher, Nelson Blanchard, J. M. Hall, Isaac C. Mead, M. B. From Wisconsin Rodgers, Morris Patterson, Joseph C. Aldrich, Garner Stewart, A., Jr. Dodge, M. R. Burton, M. J. Theuring, Fohanu Jenks, O. A. [Johann?] Frederick Creole, E. Post, Stephen Steffey, C. H. Lacey, R. J. Harger, A. E. Lowe, Byron N. Stauts, Joseph P. Owen, Martin P. Patterson, Joseph C. Sarles, Simeon B. Gilmore, Lyman Higgins, Beni. McDowell, Alex Rice, Josiah Conger, Gary Woodhouse, Levison Blackburn, Amos Conger, Harace Guyer, Joseph F. Teetshorn, Marcellus Heart, Joseph P. Bassett, Edgar Barnes, David Mann, Zenos

Rodington, E. S.
Jones, Wm. E.
Dodge, Francis
Conger, O. H.
Stewart, J. M.
Williams, Richard
Weed, O. F.

Harton, Benjamin T. D. L. Prosser, W. F.

Cole, L. L.

From New York

King, E [B?] W. Burlingame, Orson

From Vermont
Vaughan, Dr.
Kimball, Marvin

From Texas

Richards, J. W. and family

From Maine
Tibbetts, James A.

From Ohio

Wackman, Harrison Bills, Sherman

The following persons compose the Union Company from Fairfield, Iowa:

Wilkinson, Geo. M. Colvin, Alfred

Shaffear, C. W. Ramsay, David P.

Rea, James Slagle, James M.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

\*3628 Iowa Avenue, Ogden, UT 84403. Ms. Hyde is a contributing editor of *The American Genealogist* and has published frequently in a number of other journals.

1. Carl I. Wheat, "The Jayhawkers at the Missouri," *The Quarterly: Historical Society of Southern California* 22 (June 1940): 103–08; see p. 104 especially. The reader will also want to consult Wheat's "The Forty-Niners in Death Valley (a Tentative Census)," *The Quarterly* 21 (December 1839), for the Death Valley adventures of a portion of this Knoxville Company.

#### Tracing your Irish ancestors?

Contact David McElroy of Irish Genealogical Services 121 Saintfield Rd, Belfast, BT8 4HN, Northern Ireland. Fees A\$20 per hour.

All I.G.S. genealogists are accredited by AGRA and/or The Association of Professional Genealogists in Ireland.



Pitfalls in Genealogical Research. By Milton Rubincam, C.G., F.A.S.G. Published by Ancestry Publishing, Post Office Box 476, Salt Lake City, UT 84110, 1987. vi, 74 pp. Paper, \$5.95.

Were a poll to be taken among genealogists as to who is their favorite genealogist—as a lecturer and person—at the top of most lists would be the author of this slim but most-valuable booklet. Ancestry, the creative publisher in the field, has persuaded Rubincam to put on paper a favorite theme of many of his lectures—pitfalls in genealogical research—with copious, illustrative case histories derived from the author's encyclopedic knowledge of genealogy. The result is a work that no would-be genealogist dare ignore, especially if he or she intends publishing genealogy for public or private consumption.

Like Moses at Mount Sinai, Rubincam supplies a number of succinct "shalts" and "shalt nots," spicing each command with delicious anecdotes that prove his point. He urges us to suspect what is in print until proven accurate and to take family traditions as clues, not facts. He helps us to evaluate the accuracy of dates, recounting the history of European calendar changes. He raises consciousness about differentiating individuals with the same name who lived in the same place at the same time and discusses the changing meanings of such terms as yeoman, husbandman, gentleman, Mr. and Mrs., brother, uncle, cousin and son. A favorite butt of Rubincam (and other knowledgeable genealogists) is those who claim royal or noble ancestry—and even more so those who use and abuse coats of arms. The author offers pithy advice on these subjects as well as on fraudulent genealogies. He urges us to know the history of where our ancestors lived, since changing rulers and borders often affected what we can discover about our forebears; and he concludes the book with a review of many useful genealogical periodicals and a splendid bibliography of case histories.

Rubincam writes the way he lectures: with wit and gentle sarcasm but, invariably, with helpful solutions to problems. Those who have heard him can hear again his unprinted chuckle as he reports, for example, the boast of the Hungarian Esterhazy princes that it was the *third* Adam Esterhazy for whom God created the world! To avoid each of the pitfalls he mentions, Rubincam refers his readers to the guidance of other reliable works in print.

It is regrettable that Ancestry permitted far too many typographical errors to appear; hopefully, later editions will remedy this. Two very minor points: (1) On page 5, the author refers to the Genealogical Coordinating Committee, "composed of the presidents of a number of genealogical organizations." This committee is actually composed of up to three representatives from each of the nation's five major genealogical organizations. (2) At the bottom of page 12, the author fails to note that the chapter on "Huguenot Migrations" appears in volume 2 of Genealogical Research: Methods and Sources, edited by Kenn Stryker-Rodda. (Rubincam himself edited volume one!)

Everyone in the field of genealogy, whether experienced or tyro, will be forever grateful to Rubincam and to Ancestry Publishing for putting in print this sage and helpful work.

New York City	Malcolm H. Stern, F.A.S

Civil War Manuscripts: A Guide to Collections in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. By John R. Sellers. Published by the Library of Congress, Washington, DC 20540, 1986. xvii, 391 pp. Index. \$20.00.

The Library of Congress possesses one of the largest collections of Civil War materials in the United States. Seller's guide is a welcome addition to the history of this conflict, providing much

information for the genealogist. It lists and describes 1,064 separate collections held by the Manuscript Division of the library which relate in whole or in part to this war. Entries are arranged alphabetically, most often by personal names. Each includes a statement as to the character of the collection (whether personal papers, diaries, memoirs, etc.), its inclusive dates and approximate size, and a brief description.

Among the family papers which include Civil War materials but which chronologically go far beyond the period, mention may be made of Biddle (1733–1886), Blair (1755–1940), Clay (1782–1865), Forbes (1768–1931), Habersham (1787–1892), Low-Mills (1795–1959), Montgomery (1771–1974), and Shaw (1648–1923). In addition to papers of individuals, the Division has papers of a few organizations, such as the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics (1783–1962) and Pinkerton's National Detective Agency (1861–1883), which contain Civil War materials. The guide is illustrated with photographic portraits from the Civil War period—collected by John Hay, President Lincoln's private secretary.

Sellers points out (p. xiii): "The most noticeable weakness in the Manuscript Division's Civil War holdings is the imbalance in materials from the opposing sides, the ratio being at least three or four to one in favor of the North. The reasons that this situation exists cannot all be addressed here, but the larger number of Union soldiers, the higher literacy rate among northerners, and the survival of personal and public papers in a region relatively untouched by the war are obvious factors." Historians and genealogists of black families will find much of particular interest in the Black History Miscellany collection, including a list of officers and men of the Second U.S. Colored Cavalry. Other collections give much information about blacks and slavery during the period covered.

West Hyattsville,	Maryland
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Milton Rubincam, C.G., F.A.S.G.

The Genealogists' Dictionary. By Frances Dunfee Larson. Published by the compiler, 10005 Northeast Twenty-second, Bellevue, WA, 98004. 129 pp. Paper; price not stated.

The compiler describes her work as "a collection of terms frequently used in genealogy and encountered in the genealogical research areas of law, medicine, religion, migration, heraldry, and social interaction along with their applicable definitions and selective abbreviations." Hers is an admirable objective—but one which the book does not fully achieve.

There is little in this small compilation of terms which could not be found in most home dictionaries. Most of the terms defined should already be quite familiar to experienced genealogists and, frankly, may well be superfluous to all but the most inexperienced novice. The following sequence of terms from page 47 demonstrates the point: grant, grantee, grantor, gratuity, great aunt, great grandparents, great uncle, green mountain boys, Gregorian calendar, and grist mill.

The accompanying list of abbreviations commonly used is of moderate usefulness; but it is not nearly as complete as it could have been. There are also a number of inaccurate, imprecise, or questionable definitions provided for such genealogically important terms as quadroon, manumisson, certified genealogist, mulatto, and bounty-land warrants, to mention a few; and inexplicable omissions, such as the five other categories of certification offered by the Board for Certification of Genealogists in addition to the one that the compiler chose to mention. The most troubling aspect of this book is that it went to press as a valiant effort for a first draft of a more complete volume.

Springfield,	Massachusetts
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Joseph Carvalho III, C.G.R.S.

Frederick County, Maryland, Genealogical Research Guide. By Donna Valley Russell, C.G., F.A.S.G. Published by Catoctin Press, 709 East Main Street, Middletown, MD 21769, 1987. 63 pp. Index. \$12.00 (plus \$1.00 postage and handling).

Frederick County was created 11 June 1748, from part of Prince George's County. The new county comprised all of Western Maryland. Three counties were later formed from it:

Montgomery and Washington (1776) and part of Carroll (1837). In her guide to old Frederick County, Mrs. Russell provides a "Quick List," designed to tell at a glance what records are available—as well as where and for which years. This is a two-page spread (pp. 4–5) in five columns, labeled *Record*, *Agency* (court), *Courthouse* (years available there), *Maryland State Archives* (years available there), and *Latter Day Saints* (Mormon, Genealogical Department, Salt Lake City; years available there on microfilm). This is a unique way of showing quickly the available records, dates, and locations.

The balance of the book is devoted to the classes of records. Among the circuit-court records covered are deeds, surveys, rent rolls, court minutes, criminal dockets, descentsi (i.e., an equitable division of property, made by the court, when heirs were unable to agree), equity records, estray books, insolvent dockets, judgments, naturalizations, test books, tobacco inspections, and plats. Orphan's court records include wills, administrative accounts, inventories, and guardian records. Among other resources treated in the volume are vital records, censuses, newspapers, maps and atlases, and libraries; records of county commissioners, churches, the military (colonial wars through the Civil War); and such miscellaneous resources as diaries and oaths of allegiance. Related publications are given for each of the classes of records, and the guide is illustrated with pictures and maps.

West Hyattsville, Maryland

Milton Rubincam, C.G., F.A.S.G.

How to Research American Indian Blood Lines. By Cecelia Svinth Carpenter. Published by Heritage Quest, Post Office Box 40, Orting, WA 98360, 1987. 108 pp. Paper, \$6.95 (plus \$1.00 postage).

If your Indian princess is lost now, the unfortunate odds are that she still will be after reading this how-to book. The author's own experience gave her much insight into the problems of Indian genealogy, and through this book she attempts to guide others; but the product falls short of her goals. The title is misleading. It is not a comprehensive guide to the Amerindian tribes in general; aside from lists of addresses, the text focuses upon records from the Old Northwest and extreme West—where the author's experience seems to lie. Effective research on Indians in other parts of the United States requires many types of applied methodologies not covered in this little manual.

Basically, the author tries to cover too many nonessential subjects in too few pages. Much space is wasted on information that would be more appropriate in a manual for beginning genealogy—i.e., sections on recording forms, information sheets, and filing systems. Many good and pertinent materials (original resources) for Indian research are *listed*, but there is no adequate discussion of any of them. Other research guides, some of which are mentioned, are already available with excellent details on these sources.

Rash or erroneous statements also mar the work. Page 14 admonishes that all information will have to be documented with birth, marriage, and death records. If such records were found on all of the author's ancestors, she is fortunate indeed; few Indian researchers are so lucky. Problems exist in the author's evaluation of materials. Enrollment records, for example, are called a primary source. However, much of the information on enrollment records is only hearsay evidence of ancestry, which cannot be considered a primary source. Likewise, one well-documented book is labeled primary—while documentation is mandatory for any respectable compilation in genealogy, it does not turn a book into a primary source.

The author's familiarity with federal census schedules also stands in question. The 1880 enumeration did not—as stated—ask for position (i.e.: whether chief, leader, etc.) or one's blood quantum, or one's Indian name, or whether one wore civilian dress. The author further states that the 1890 federal census-reports "are said to have been destroyed by fire"—doesn't she know? (Indeed, the author's frequent use of such qualifiers as might, would seem to be, and most likely in describing sources leads the reader to wonder just how well she really knows the material she is discussing.) No mention is made of the 1900 and 1910 census schedules, both of which carry special enumerations labeled *Indian Population* at the end of each ward in which Indians resided. In addition to conventional census data, the second page of these omitted

schedules ask for information on blood quantum, name of tribe, name of father's tribe, name of mother's tribe, and much more.

Regrettably, the mechanical production of the book is of similar quality. Print is fuzzy, ink is blurred, pages are duplicated and inconsistently arranged, typographical errors occur too frequently (even to the misidentification of authors), and illustrations are incompletely identified in their captions. New publishers in the field of genealogy are much appreciated; but it is hoped that Heritage Quest will pay closer attention to editorial detail with its future products.

T 1	T . 1.1	
Jonesboro.	Louisiana	

Sharon Sholars Brown, C.G.

Black Baltimore: 1820-1870. Compiled by Ralph Clayton. Published by Heritage Books, 3602 Maureen (Suite 327); Bowie, MD 20715, 1987. 199 pp. Paper, \$12.00.

Free Blacks of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, 1850. By Ralph Clayton. Heritage Books, 1987. 51 pp. Paper, \$6.50.

With the publication of *Black Baltimore* and *Free Blacks of Anne Arundel*, Ralph Clayton has provided genealogical researchers with concise abstracts of a series of valuable, original, source materials. Adding to the growing body of published source records for Afro-American genealogical studies, Clayton's first volume contains a list of free black households—with slaves—compiled from the 1820, 1830, and 1840 federal population-census schedules; an index to advertisements for runaway slaves in the *Baltimore Sun* from 1834 to 1864; a list of interments at the "colored" Laurel Hill Cemetery from 1852 to 1958; a list of slaveholders of Baltimore from the slave schedule of the 1860 federal census; and a substantial list of black families from East Baltimore, compiled from the population schedule of the 1870 federal enumeration. Clayton's second volume provides similar data from the population schedule of the 1850 census returns for Anne Arundel County at large, as well as Baltimore.

Most of these lists had already appeared in articles compiled by Clayton for the *Flower of the Forest, Black Genealogical Journal* and for the *Maryland Genealogical Society Bulletin.* However, the present volumes bring this information conveniently together for the researcher.

Springfield, Massachusetts

Joseph Carvalho III, C.G.R.S.

Genealogical Records in Texas. By Imogene Kinard Kennedy and J. Leon Kennedy. Published by Genealogical Publishing Company; 1001 North Calvert Street; Baltimore, MD 21202; 1987, v, 248 pp. No index. \$35.00.

This book is essential to any person tracing his ancestors in Texas. It is divided into twelve chapters. Six cover jurisdictions, laws, and terminology: i.e., early Spanish municipalities (from 1731); Mexican laws concerning colonization; Spanish terms used in land grants and early deeds; original colonies (under Mexican rule, 1823–32, and the Republic of Texas, 1842–43); land districts; and the formation and organization of counties. Six cover records in the major repositories: county courthouses; the State Library; regional historical-resource depositories; the State Archives; the General Land Office; and other libraries with resources for genealogical research. Eighteen outline maps illustrate the work, covering municipalities, original colonies, land districts, and the original thirty-six counties of the Republic.

In the various chapters, readers will find a breakdown of available records. For example, the county-courthouse records are those of the commissioners' court, county clerk, district court, justice of the peace, sheriff, tax assessor-collector, county treasurer, auditor, superintendent of schools, and surveyor. In the State Library, the researcher will find a large collection of genealogical works, tax rolls, vital statistics from Mexican archives (some as early as 1726), county histories, and periodicals published by major genealogical societies throughout America. The State Archives, located at Austin like the State Library, holds bonds and oaths (1836–

1920); colonial records (1760–1836); colonization papers (1836–46); records of the commissioner of deeds (1846–1912); Confederate claims (1861–65); other Confederate records (including pensions, from 1900–1975); election registers and returns (1836–1960s); military records (1835–1902; but none for the War with Mexico, 1846–48, because Texans did not serve in that war); muster rolls of men who served in Texas military units (1836–1917); scholastic census records (1854–55); muster rolls for the Texas navy (1839–43); and a host of other records. In 1972 the regional historical depositories were created to provide a uniform, statewide system for the retention and preservation of historical resources. Each of the twenty-six depositories contains microfilms of county-level records from its respective area. These records date primarily through 1885, although some probate and marriage records date through 1915.

As many of the counties of Texas are of Spanish-Mexican origin, a helpful guide to pronunciation is given. For instance, Atascosa is pronounced Ah tass co' sa; Bexar is Bay'er; Bosque is Baws'key; and Hidalgo is He dal'go. The pronunciation of some English county names is also given, such as Bowie (Boo'ee) and Burleson (Burr'luh son).

West Hyattsville, Maryland

Milton Rubincam, C.G., F.A.S.G.

In My Father's House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community Life in Edgefield, South Carolina. By Orville Vernon Burton. Published by University of North Carolina Press, Post Office Box 2288, Chapel Hill, NC 27514, 1985, 480 pp. Hardcover, \$29.95. Paper, \$9.95.

In My Father's House is a careful examination of the relationships between whites and blacks (both slave and free) in Edgefield County between 1850 and 1880. Using a wealth of source material, the author describes the occupations, family relations, social class, education, religion, and marital practices among several strata of families in both racial groups. Dr. Burton has carefully examined a wide range of primary and secondary sources, including the federal censuses, newspapers, various archival materials, well-recognized academic publications, family records, church histories, and local tradition.

For genealogists interested in this geographic area, the book is a gold mine; but it offers, for all genealogists, considerably more. First, Burton illustrates the careful methodology used to examine a community and its people. More and more genealogists wish to explore the environment in which the ancestor and family lived; they seek more than a name existing in a random place in time. In My Father's House serves as a role model for the accumulation of a wealth of information about a community and its inhabitants.

Second, the author's notes and bibliography demonstrate the breadth and abundance of information available for research. Too often, the genealogist—following in the footsteps of other disciplines—seeks material only within his own field, failing to delve into the research already completed by demographers, historians, geographers, church leaders, sociologists, and anthropologists. An examination of Dr. Burton's broad approach and his extensive notes will offer the genealogist many ideas to pursue, no matter what the community of interest.

Third, In My Father's House serves as a caveat to researchers who are compiling genealogy "only for the family" or who "don't want to bother a reader with all those footnotes." Other scholars are now taking the work of the genealogist more seriously than many genealogists themselves do. On page 119, Dr. Burton makes a rather provocative statement: "Cousin marriage, although assumed to be common in southern culture, especially among the elite, rarely occurred in Edgefield, and was even more unusual after the Civil War." His note to this statement reveals that he bases his opinion on such family histories as Hammonds of Redcliffe, South Carolina Genealogies, and Hard Labor Section. Readers familiar with the latter source in particular are well aware that it relies solely on oral tradition and is notoriously unreliable. Moreover, since marriages in South Carolina were not recorded at the state level until 1911, they are difficult to document; and kinships are quite complicated—first cousins can bear entirely different surnames. How, then, can the historian accurately appraise marital customs, if the work of the genealogist—published or unpublished—often becomes the source for scholars from various

fields who wish to support or dispute a particular theory—and that it is therefore incumbent upon the genealogist to carefully scrutinize each step of his research and document each finding.

A counterpoint to the foregoing must also be noted. The fact that Dr. Burton's study of family ties begins in 1850 (the first year for which U.S. censuses enumerate every family member) illustrates the limitations which scholars in other fields often place upon their research when they are not particularly schooled in more-sophisticated genealogical methodology. Despite this limitation, however, there is much to be gained from *In My Father's House* for any genealogist interested in broadening his family study.

Springfield, Missouri	Marsha Hoffman Rising, C.G.

Thomas Cooke of Rhode Island. By Jane Fletcher Fiske, F.A.S.G. Published by the author, 44 Stone Cleave Road, Boxford, MA 01921, 1987. Two volumes, 980 pp. Index in volume 2. \$65.00 (plus \$3.00 shipping).

Fiske's Thomas Cooke *alias* Butcher of Portsmouth was baptized as Thomas Boucher in Netherbury, county Dorset, England, in 1600. Arriving in Taunton, Massachusetts, in 1637, he settled in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, in 1643; and it was there that he died at an advanced age in 1677. The removal of one son and several grandchildren to New Jersey qualifies the family to be considered among the earliest settlers of this third colony as well.

Like most genealogical studies, Fiske's pursuit of this Thomas and his descendants evolved from her personal interest in her family's ancestry. Unlike many family histories, Fiske has offered a substantial work of modern genealogical scholarship. She demonstrates how effective the logical use of genealogical evidence can be. Proper citations permit the reader to evaluate her interpretations and also enable the reader to track the critical pieces information, and abstracts from the original source material flesh out a large number of key individuals. This reader found himself entranced by the biographical details provided—particularly for the earlier generations. Unlike many New England genealogists, Fiske has not limited herself to a mere collection of vital records; the breadth of her resources is extremely impressive. Indeed, it was her thorough use of land records which turned up the one American document identifying Cooke's alias—and it was that clue which led to the eventual discovery of his baptismal record, under the gallicized spelling of Boucher, in English parish registers.

The book is also well illustrated with such enhancements as photographs, maps, and reproductions of documents. Fiske has presented a well-organized and well-indexed set that deserves to stand as a model for the work of all serious genealogists.

Springfield, Massachusetts

Joseph Carvalho III, C.G.R.S.

#### **Books in Brief**

The Germans in Colonial America. By Lucy Forney Bittinger. Reprinted by Heritage Books, 3602 Maureen (Suite 327); Bowie, MD 20715, 1986. 314 pp. Index. \$19.50.

Originally published in 1901, this interesting work provides a broad survey of German accomplishments and culture from the founding of Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1683 to the end of the Revolutionary War a century later. The author's "List of Works Consulted" (pp. 300–305) shows that the book was based on a wide range of reading. However, the modern student of German culture should bear in mind that turn-of-the-century scholarship on the subject has been surpassed during the past eighty-seven years.

Going to America. By Terry Coleman. Published by Genealogical Publishing Company, 1001 North Calvert Street, Baltimore, MD 21202-3897. 317 pp. Index. \$14.95.

A reprint of a work first published in 1972, Coleman's study is the tale of thousands of British and Irish immigrants who came to America's shores from 1846 to 1855. The author's bibliography reveals a heavily documented work. Unfortunately, the publisher saw fit to reprint the six individual, topical indexes from the original edition; by present standards, there should be an updated, consolidated name index.

Tombstone Inscriptions: Shenandoah County, Virgina and Bordering Counties, Frederick-Rockingham-Fauquier-Rappahannock and Hardy County, West Virginia. By Duane L. Borden; 5995 West Arizona Avenue; Denver, CO 80226, 1986. xiv, 334 pp. Index. \$25.00.

One hundred twenty-three cemeteries in the above-mentioned counties are covered in this volume, the eighth of a series of works on tombstone inscriptions transcribed by the compiler. Mr. Borden gives exact locations of the cemeteries so that interested persons may visit the graves. Of historical interest in Rockingham County are two Lincoln cemeteries containing the remains of members of President Abraham Lincoln's family. In his coverage of three Borden cemeteries, the compiler gives much information about his kinsmen in addition to the data provided by the tombstones. He performs the same service for Bordens buried in the Keller and other cemeteries. There are numerous Rosenbergers in this volume, descendants of eighteenthcentury Erasmus Rosenberger (the pioneer ancestor of the late Francis Coleman Rosenberger, past president of the National Genealogical Society) and his contemporary, George Rosenberger. There are short sections on several slave cemeteries. In addition to tombstone inscriptions, Mr. Borden includes a long list of deaths, in alphabetical order, from the diaries of a certain Levi Pitman (the original manuscripts of which are in the Alderman Library, University of Virginia, at Charlottesville). Mr Borden comments: "Researchers, genealogists, family historians, and others interested in the lower part of the Shenandoah Valley, in particular the Northern Half of Shenandoah County, and the Southern half of Frederick County, should not pass up this valuable reference material contained in the Levi Pitman diaries." Mr. Borden has also transcribed the names of men who gave their lives in World Wars I and II from a plaque on the front of the courthouse at Woodstock in Shenandoah County.

Inhabitants of Baltimore County, 1692–1763. Complied by F. Edward Wright. Family Line Publications; 13405 Collingwood Terrace; Silver Spring, MD 20904; 1987. Introduction by Robert C. Barnes. v, 116 pp. Index. \$11.00.

The thirty lists in this volume were gathered from various sources by a number of genealogists, antiquarians, and indexers. Included are tax lists for 1692, 1694, 1695, and 1737 and levy papers of 1737; lists of contributors to the building of Garrison Church, St. Thomas Parish, in 1743; convicts in 1722; cattle brands and hog marks; Quaker contributors to sufferers of the Boston fire; lists of bachelors taxes in Saint Paul's, Saint Thomas's, and Saint George's parishes, 1756–63; and similar items. The value of the material is explained by Mr. Barnes: "Genealogists have long known that very few of our forebears left wills, and indeed many of them did not own land, attend a church regularly, or leave any estate worth administering. They often moved from place to place before settling down. For those peripatetic individuals whose lives and activities are not mentioned in church, probate or land records, it may be only the recording of their name in an 'occasional' list that places them in a specific locality in a precise time."

Worcester County [Maryland] Wills, JW-3, 1759-1769. Abstracted by Sharon A. Jones. Published by Family Lines Publications; 13405 Collingwood Terrace; Silver Spring, MD 20904, 1987. 83 pp. Indexes. \$9.00.

Wills are arranged in chronological order with all essential data given: testators' names, dates on which the wills were drawn up and probated, names and relationships of legatees, and names of executors and witnesses. Occasionally, areas other than Maryland are mentioned, as in 1761 when Anthony Wright bequeathed to a son all his land and marshes of Staten Island. That same year, Robert Nairns got quite vehement about his spouse; he bequeathed an old feather bed, a pair of blankets, and a pair of sheets to his "unnaturall cruell tyrannicall and barbarous wife Jannet... because she has refused to cohabit with me for the space of four years and has refused to take care of me in my sickness and been very barbarous and unmerciful to me." Indexes are to tracts of land and surnames.

Marriages of Chatham County, North Carolina, 1773-1868. Compiled by Brent H. Holcomb. Published by Genealogical Publishing Company, 1001 North Calvert Street; Baltimore, MD 21202-3097; 1987. 126 pp. Index. \$15.00.

This is the tenth volume of Mr. Holcomb's series of North Carolina marriages. It contains abstracts of all extant marriage bonds issued in Chatham County from 1773 to 1868, when marriage bonds were discontinued. They are arranged alphabetically by groom's name, each entry further providing the bride's name, the date of the bond, and the bondsmen's names. The volume also includes abstracts of the more-numerous marriages listed in the marriage register for the years 1851–68.

1770-1790 Census of the Cumberland Settlements: Davidson, Sumner and Tennessee Counties (In What is Now Tennessee). Compiled by Richard Carlton Fulcher. Published by Genealogical Publishing Company, 1001 North Calvert Street; Baltimore, MD 21202; 1987. 253 pp. No index. \$20.00.

The purpose of this book is to identify the early inhabitants of these Tennessee counties. The three studied counties were originally part of North Carolina; from them some forty Tennessee counties have been created. The first settlers arrived in 1779; yet the earliest-surviving federal censuses consist of the 1810 census of Rutherford County and an incomplete 1820 enumeration. Mr. Fulcher has compiled a directory of individuals living in these jurisdictions between 1770 and 1790, drawn from wills, deeds, court minutes, marriage and military records, and many other documents. Under each of the three counties the individuals are listed alphabetically, with essential information about each. The documentation for each entry follows the list of individuals. A bibliography and an appendix conclude the work.

Western Maryland Newspaper Abstracts, 1806–1810. Compiled by F. Edward Wright. Published by Family Line Publications, 13405 Collingwood Terrace, Silver Spring, MD 20904, 1987. iv, 174 pp. Index. \$13.00.

This is the third in a series of abstracts covering the newspapers of Western Maryland. Journals included in the present volume are three Hagerstown papers (Weekly Advertiser, Maryland Herald and Hagerstown Weekly Advertiser, and Hagerstown Gazette) and five Fredericktown papers: Herald, Bartgis's Republican Gazettee, Hornet, Republican Advocate, and Independent American Volunteer. Contents of the papers include such items as lists of nonresident landowners, crime reports, estray notices, election returns, marriage and death notices, and lists of letters remaining in the local post offices.

#### Bible Records of Benjamin and Kitty (Price) Strother Berkeley County, Virginia

[as copied by John Bailey Calvert Nicklin]

(Brumbaugh Collection, Box 13, File 12, National Genealogical Society Library)

Benjamin Strother, son to Anthony & Bethland Strother, b. June 1750
Kitty Strother, w. of Benjamin Strother & dau. of William & Jane Price of Westmoreland Co. was b. Dec. 10, 1753
Benjamin Strother and Kitty Price were m. Oct. 31, 1778.

#### Their Children:

Behethland Storke Strother, b. Nov. 12, 1779 William Strother, b. Oct. 22, 1781 Elizabeth Strother, b. Dec. 22, 1783 Kitty Strother, b. Feb. 24, 1786 Peggy Strother, b. Aug. 13, 1788 Mary Storke Strother, b. Sept. 24, 1790 John Strother, b. Nov. 18, 1792 Storke Thornton Strother, b. Nov. 27, 1795

#### Deaths:

Benjamin Strother d. Oct. 22, 1807, Park Forrest, Berkeley Co. Va. Kitty Strother d. June 9, 1805
Storke Thornton Strother d. Sept. 8, 1796
Behethland Storke Strother d. July 3, 1798
William Strother d. Mch. 14, 1807
Elizabeth Pendleton d. Nov. 12, 1822
John Strother d. Jan. 16, 1862

#### Marriages:

Elizabeth Strother and Benjamin Pendleton were m. Oct. 31, 1805
Kitty Strother and Joseph Crane were m. Jan. 8, 1807
Mary Storke Strother and Richard Duffield were m. June 7, 1814
Peggy Strother and Cato Moore were m. Apr. 26, 1814
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Submitted by Mary Williams, 912 Hawthorne Avenue, Morgantown, WV 26505

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IRA A. GLAZIER and P. WILLIAM FILBY, editors

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# NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY



September 1988

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#### NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

#### 4527 SEVENTEENTH STREET NORTH ARLINGTON. VA 22207-2399

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Purpose. The National Genealogical Society, established in 1903 and incorporated as a nonprofit organization under the laws of the District of Columbia in 1904, was created to collect and preserve genealogical, historical, and heraldic data; to inculcate and promote interest in research; to foster careful documentation and promote scholarly writing; and to issue publications relating to the field of genealogy.

Journal. The society in 1912 founded its journal, the National Genealogical Society Quarterly, which is issued in March, June, September, and December. The Quarterly is included on the list of American learned journals compiled by the American Council of Learned Societies and is indexed in the Genealogical Periodical Annual Index. It publishes compiled genealogy; essays on new methodology and little-known resources; case studies; and previously unpublished source materials from American public, private, and family archives—as well as records from foreign repositories which treat early-American settlers. An effort is made to publish materials from all parts of the United States, with emphasis upon the earlier years of settlement in each area. Manuscripts must be sent to the editors. See page 170 for guidelines for submission

Special Publications. From time to time the society publishes works in its fields of interest. See inside back cover for current list.

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Library. The society maintains an expanding library of books, magazines, pamphlets, and manuscripts. The library is open to members and the public at the times and days designated by the librarian and printed in the current program. The accessions depend mainly on gifts of members and friends. Members may borrow books by mail for a small fee.

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#### NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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## **EDITORS' CORNER**

## In Search of Princess Whee-No-Not-Hoo

Indian princesses weave in and out of family trees in all parts of America—to the frequent frustration of genealogists who attempt to track them on paper. Family tradition is adamant. Certain ancestors were *plainly* of Indian descent—just look at their pictures! Anyone can see there the proud features of the original Americans.

Seldom, though, can a family *identify* their "princess" by name; and therein lies the rub. Of course, we have the unwavering word of our elders that great-grandmother was one-quarter Chippewa (or Choctaw, or Cheyenne, or whatever). By presumption, then, *her* grandmother becomes the princess. But *which* grandmother, and what was her name? Does it really matter that we don't know—when everyone knows how hard it is to identify most females?

The search begins. Tribal reservations have rolls; but alas, great-grandma is not listed. Should we be surprised? After all, rolls were generally created on those who remained Indian—not those who married out of the tribe and put their past behind them. The National Archives? Of course! Within those hallowed halls are records on umpteen tribes and all sorts of people who came and went. There, surely, we can document the family story about the horse trader who swapped off a fine bay mare for a wife—our Indian princess. But where among those endless records do we find Whee-No-Not-Hoo—when we have not only no name but also no date, no place, and no real guarantee that the Indian ancestor was great-grandma's grandma. Maybe it was her grandma's grandma. Indeed, maybe it is not a princess we seek at all—nor any female. Indian males could take other spouses also.

Even if we are one of the "lucky" ones—a genealogist whose Indian family never left the tribal environment or did so only recently—we still face a quagmire of frustrations. Never would we have believed that there could be too many records and too few records at the same time. But that is the conundrum every Indian researcher faces.

Stewart Rafert, in this issue, offers advice to those who seek Indian forebears, guiding us through a maze of records that may or may not have the answers we seek. Especially should we note one caution: efforts to find Princess Whee-No-Not-Hoo are far more successful if we "do our homework" in conventional records before plunging into those labeled *Indian*. Step-by-step we must proceed with "ordinary" research on great-grandmother's family, identifying each of her forebears by conventional means—until we arrive at a person of a specific name, at the right place and time, with the proper associates to have been a member or a dropout of a certain tribe. Jenny Jones, alias Push-ma-ta-ha-nette, is always much easier to find in Indian records than Princess Whee-No-Not-Hoo.

—The Millses

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## NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

VOLUME 76 SEPTEMBER 1988 NUMBER 3

# The Domingan Kettle: Philadelphian-Émigré Planters in Alabama

By KENT GARDIEN\*

Beginning with the slave insurrection of 22 August 1791 in the Plaine du Nord of France's richest colony, Saint-Domingue, refugees began congregating in Philadelphia and other American coastal cities. For the main part destitute, they joined a colony of émigrés in flight from the revolution in the mother country. In 1793 the French Benevolent Society (which would still flourish almost two hundred years later) was founded to help alleviate hardship among the refugees. Many Domingans remained in the United States; and Philadelphia benefited from a permanent immigration of industrious French who, over the generations, merged into the general population. Some refugees, however, returned to their estates and businesses in the Antilles during the 1790s—only to perish or flee again before 1804, when Saint-Domingue ceased to exist and Haiti became the hemisphere's second independent republic. Once more a wave of immigration passed over Philadelphia.

By 1816 and the successful imposition of the Restoration in France, the Domingo-Philadelphian bourgeoisie was by and large well established. At this time still-another wave of French émigrés swept over the city. They were Bonapartist refugees, many of them from the military, whose careers were at least temporarily at an end. Most were without employment and with little money. A number of émigrés of all sorts, including many Domingans and their adult children, banded together to form an association they called the Colonial Society of French Emigrants. It was their purpose to lobby in Congress for a grant of land in one of the western territories. In March 1817 the society achieved its objective when Congress granted it four townships—a bit under one hundred thousand acres—in that part of the Mississippi Territory soon to become Alabama. Toward the end of the year a drawing was held, and each associate was alloted his grant of Alabama land in what came to be called the Vine and Olive Colony.<sup>2</sup>

The lower part of the four townships lay at the confluence of the Tombigbee and Black Warrior rivers. There at the Ecor Blanc, or White Bluff, the colonists founded the town of Demopolis, which prospers today. In the beginning the colony was dominated by the Bonapartist element and was led by General Charles Lefebvre-Desnoëttes; but around 1820, as the political climate in France improved for Napoleonic refugees and as business fell on hard days in Philadelphia, the French émigrés slipped home, and a number of Domingo-Philadelphians began to establish themselves in the colony.<sup>3</sup>

Both historians and genealogists have an interest in studying the Domingan families that emigrated to the United States. Those which settled in Alabama are of particular interest because of what appears to be their attempt to recapture the sort of life they had in Saint-Domingue. These people brought their family stories with them, and their descendants today have well-formed ideas about how their families lived in the Antilles. It is useful to research the families in Domingan records and to compare what they were with what their descendants think they were and what they became in the United States.

#### RESOURCES FOR SAINT-DOMINGUE RESEARCH

Fortunately for researchers, French law under the ancien régime required that duplicates of parish registers, notarial acts, and other records of Saint-Domingue be sent to France. The major part of colonial records are to be found in the Section Outre-Mer of the Archives Nationales, which until July 1986 was located in the rue Oudinot in Paris. However, the archives is currently in the process of being transferred to Aix-en-Provence. Although not every record has survived, many—perhaps most—have.

The sine qua non of genealogical investigation in Saint-Domingue is a thorough search of the état-civil. This category of records consists of parish registers of baptisms, marriages, and burials—and, for the period of the First Republic, the records of births, marriages, and deaths kept by the officiers publics. The index of these records is called the tables décennales, organized according to parish and to year.

Next in importance to the parish registers are the notarial minutes. A helpful article by Robert Richard on the utilization of these records was published in 1951 in the Revue d'histoire des colonies, and in the same issue appears a list of all the notaries in the collection arranged by parishes. Mademoiselle Marie-Antoinette Menier, recently retired conservateur-enchef of the Section Outre-Mer, is the author of an article in another issue of the same review on the use of real-estate archives—such as surveyors' records and property censuses. These issues are still in print and may be obtained from the Société d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer in Paris.<sup>5</sup>

Yet-another important resource is the *indemnity records* created in the 1820s and 1830s by the French government. Refugees who had lost rural estates and urban property in Saint-Domingue—or heirs of former proprietors who had lost such property—filed claims against their former mother country for financial reimbursement. The Section Outre-Mer has in its collection

printed, indexed volumes listing all indemnified claimants, usually establishing the relationship of heirs to a deceased proprietor. There are six volumes in quatro entitled État détaillé des liquidations opérées par la commission chargée de repartir l'indemnité attribuée aux anciens colons de Saint-Domingue running from 1828 to 1834. There are also similar volumes in octavo entitled Liquidation des colons de Saint-Domingue. Often three generations of a family can be established in these volumes—as well as the place, nature, and extent of the former proprietor's holdings.<sup>6</sup>

Today one does not need to travel to Aix-en-Provence to study the Etat détaillé des liquidations [de] l'indemnité, as copies are now in the collection of the library of the University of Florida at Gainsville. The library also holds the Jeremie Papers, eighteen boxes of wills, inventories, marriage contracts, and records of property transactions from the Grand' Anse (the southwestern tip of the southern peninsula of Saint-Domingue), with supplementary microfilm of other notarial records of the same area from the Section Outre-Mer. The same library is also the depository of the Rochambeau Papers, which contain a few letters, passports, and other documents relating to Domingo-Americans. The university has published a calendar to the papers. The Archives Nationales in Port-au-Prince also has late colonial records pertaining to people who were subsequently refugees in the United States. In France the Centre de Généalogie et d'histoire des Isles d'Amérique, 30 rue Boissière, 75116 Paris, publishes a cahier in which regularly appear archival gleanings made by contributing members. Much of the material relates to Saint-Domingue and some of it to the ancestry of Domingo-Americans.9

The classic reference work for those who wish to become acquainted with Saint-Domingue as the colony was in the years just before the Revolution is Médéric-Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry's Description topographique, physique, civile, politique et historique de la partie française de l'isle de Saint-Domingue, originally published in Philadelphia in 1796. The three volumes have been edited by Blanche Maurel and Etienne Taillemite and were published in Paris in 1958; in 1984 a facsimile edition was printed by the Société d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer, from which the books may be ordered. The third volume contains hundreds of capsule biographies of every individual named in passing in the original work, an index of cantons indicating the parish in which each was situated, and other helpful features.

#### DOCUMENTING DOMINGAN TRADITIONS

This rich trove of resources enables the diligent researcher to identify the origins of most Domingan émigrés to North America. In addition, one can extend lineages, reconstruct lives in the homeland, and often document (or disprove) much of the lore which has sprung up around these émigré families. The Ravesies, Bouttes d'Estival, and Bayol families serve as useful examples.

In the first two decades of the nineteenth century, Frederick Ravesies was a prominent businessman in Philadelphia. He was a grantee in the Vine and Olive Colony and bought up several allotments of others in the grant. When the

firm of Garesché and Ravesies failed in the business panic at the end of the decade, he developed his property in Alabama into an immediately successful plantation, eventually employing a large labor force of Negro slaves. He founded the town of Arcola in Marengo County and had his residence there for many years. At the time of his death in 1856, he was living in Mobile. His second wife survived him, as well as a son, daughter, daughter-in-law, grandchildren in Alabama, and three grandsons in Philadelphia.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to these provable and well-known facts, family tradition accounts for Frederick's life prior to his arrival in the United States. He was born, it is said, in Bordeaux and for safety's sake was taken as a child by his royalist parents to Saint-Domingue at the time of the Revolution. During a slave revolt in the colony, so the tradition goes, Frederick witnessed the murder of his mother and sister. It was only through the faithfulness of a family servant named Sono, or Lono, who hid Frederick and his father under an inverted sugar kettle, that they were able to escape to a sailing vessel which carried them to Philadelphia, where the father soon died.<sup>11</sup>

Curiously, the inverted kettle appears in other family stories in the Vine and Olive Colony. Jean-Paul Bouttes d'Estival was a nobleman and the son of an avocat-en-parlement. He and Marie-Périne Noël were married in Philadelphia in 1793. They were probably refugees from Saint-Domingue, to which they returned. Family tradition holds that their daughters Joséphine and Adèle were born in Saint-Domingue and that during a slave insurrection the father was killed. On the night of the massacre the children's black nurse hid them in the backyard by inverting a washpot over them. They and their mother fled to Charleston.<sup>12</sup>

The widow Bouttes d'Estival afterward married her secretary, Honoré Bayol. During a massacre of whites in Saint-Domingue, this gentleman's life was saved by a faithful servant who hid him under a large sugar kettle, where he remained for several days before escaping on a ship bound for the United States. The Bayol family and the families of the Bouttes d'Estival daughters, who both married Domingan refugees, eventually lived in the Vine and Olive Colony—a settlement that clearly owed a great deal to the concept of the inverted metal pot.<sup>13</sup>

In the case of the Bouttes d'Estival and Bayol families, the Domingan kettles so far remain stubbornly upside down, concealing the family past. But what about Ravesies? Would an investigation into the records of Saint-Domingue confirm or deny the family tradition?

A search of the état-civil, fleshed out by notarial records and combined with a glance at a map, reveals a story different from the Ravesies family tradition. At the northwestern tip of Haiti there is, and there was in Saint-Domingue, the village of Môle Saint-Nicolas. During the last days of 1782, a merchant and officer in the militia there, Frédéric-Guillaume Musculus, traveled a short distance up the coast to the town of Jean Rabel to serve as godfather at the baptism of a friend's infant son and to give the child his name. Frédéric-Guillaume-Marie Ravesies was born on 11 March 1782, the son of Musculus's friends Jean and Marguerite (Ducongé) Ravesies.<sup>14</sup>

Jean Ravesies had settled at Jean Rabel, a parish noted for racial harmony, no later than the mid-1770s, two decades before the Terror which caused the family flight from France to Saint-Domingue in the family legend. Marguerite Ravesies was from a family well established at Jean Rabel. It included her parents, Pierre and Marguerite (Peau) Petiton-Ducongé; an uncle and aunt, Nathanael and Blanche (Peau) Compère; an uncle, Pierre Ducongé; an uncle, François Ducongé, the local churchwarden, and his wife, Françoise de Merle; a brother, Jean-François; and a sister and brother-in-law, Charles-Auguste-Jean-Baptiste and Catherine-Marthe (Ducongé) Locquet Dechateaudassy. Frederick had no less than four elder sisters, two of whom were certainly born at Jean Rabel, and one elder brother. At least two more boys and another girl were born to his parents before the end of the ancien régime. Three of the children died when Frederick was four years old.<sup>15</sup>

What of the tradition that only Frederick and his father escaped the massacre? The indemnity records tell a different story. There are, actually, no indemnities for property owners named Ravesies, but there are for Ducongé. In 1831 the heirs of Frederick's grandfather, Pierre Petiton-Ducongé, were indemnified. Frederick is listed (as Frédéric-Guillaume) with his brother Jean and his sisters Marie-Angélique Plaideau and Marguerite-Jeanne Richard, At least these four emigrated safely from Saint-Domingue; perhaps they hid under more than one kettle. They and other relatives inherited from Petiton-Ducongé and his uncle Pierre Ducongé four coffee plantations for which they were indemnified, all in Jean Rabel; three, including one called Le Prunier. were in the quartier or district of Montagne de Jean Rabel. Three persons who could be Frederick's brother and the husbands of his sisters appear in conjunction with him in the United States. John E. Ravesies of Bordeaux was married in Philadelphia in 1821 to a close relative of Frederick's wife. François Plaideaut (an alternate spelling for Plaideau) and Georges Richard had Vine and Olive Colony allotments. Their identities have not otherwise been established.16

In the état-civil Frederick's father was described as a planter. Why were his heirs not indemnified. A notarial act reveals why—there was no plantation to indemnify. On 8 January 1787 Ravesies, a planter of Montagne de Jean Rabel, and his wife sold to her uncle, Pierre Ducongé (a planter of the same quartier), their plantation Le Prunier—consisting of 106 carreaux, 17 35 of which were planted in coffee. The property had, among other structures, a grande case (main house) of poteaux en terre (vertical posts in the ground) sheathed with mahogany planks, a coffee warehouse and a mill for winnowing the coffee, an octagonal millhouse, two dovecotes, and fifteen houses for slaves. Among the furniture sold were six double beds with mattresses, two mahogany armoires, a desk, and a wheelchair. Included in the sale were sixty-nine "head of nègres, négresses, négrillons ou négrettes." In comparison, the 1830 census of Marengo County, Alabama, shows the son Frederick Ravesies, as proprietor of forty-five slaves; and in 1850, six years before his death, he owned eighty-three. 18

#### CULTURAL FABRIC OF THE DOMINGAN EXILES

Domingan records are useful not only in establishing lineage but also in revealing the fabric of human lives. More often than not, an ancestor's life had a somewhat different quality than his descendants have come to believe. The type of inverted pots which reputedly hid both Ravesies and Bayol is a clue to the refinement that family tradition works on history. These pots are sugar kettles. The implication is that the Ravesies and Bouttes d'Estival families were part of the Domingan aristocracy of sugar planters. In absence of further evidence, it must be admitted that the Bouttes d'Estivals may have been; but if they were, their descendants are unique among Domingo-Alabamians.

The pattern of the successful planter in eighteenth-century Saint-Domingue—with prominent exceptions, of course—was for a young bourgeois or mariner, or occasionally a bourgeois family, to arrive in the colony with little or no capital but with an ambition to own a plantation. In early years, this would have been a sugar plantation; later it might have been one of coffee, indigo, or cotton. The acquisition of African slaves was essential to the pattern. As in the American South, the planter class was constantly incremented by persons of lesser means who acquired human property to catapult them up the economic and social ladder. Although in Saint-Domingue (as in the South) illustrious lineage was an ornament worthy of displaying for all to see, without wealth it gave no social standing. "It was wealth which gave each man his place in society," and it was wealth that the new arrivals sought. Those who came out first from France, came to have most on the island. They became grands blancs with highly productive sugar plantations along the coastal plains. "Yet grands seigneurs is how they thought of themselves." Not merely well-to-do whites but great lords.

None of the Vine and Olive colonists in Alabama whose Domingan past has so far been uncovered had been a part of the plutocracy of sugar-rich grands blancs. At most, as in the case of the family of Marc-Antoine Frenaye, they were wealthy coffee planters from the inland uplands and occasionally had members of the family who were conseillers du roi and avocats-en-parlement. A number had no rural property at all but were respectable petits blancs goldsmiths such as the elder Alexandre Fournier, marchands or small tradesmen such as the Herpins and Hurtels, merchants such as Thomas Noël, or physicians like Pierre-Frédéric Fontage's father. Those who accomplished their ambitions to become Domingan planters—the watchmaking Stollenwerck family was typical—did so as a rule bit-by-bit in the coffee-producing mountains of the interior. They first succeeded in trade in a coastal town and, as they became planters, retained their bourgeois values and aptitude for commerce. Here they differed from the Domingan grand blanc as well as from the self-made American Southerner—who usually began life as a yeoman farmer and yearned after aristocratic values once he had become a planter. Although the Saint-Domingue Franco-Americans were not insensible to the cachet of a country estate, they remained at heart a bourgeoisie with rural property. In Alabama these French were attempting to repeat the pattern of the Antilles.20

#### AMERICAN RESOURCES ON THE DOMINGAN REFUGEES

The bourgeois base of the Domingo-Alabamians was Philadelphia, and later Demopolis and Mobile. The first place to look in the United States for Vine and Olive French is in the Philadelphia city directory, from the beginning of the directory's existence until at least 1820. The 1818 directory shows (for example) Curcier, Ravesies & Co., merchants, at 73 and 164 High Street and Frédéric Ravesies, merchant, at the same address with a dwelling house at the corner of Minor and Fifth. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia has most of the early years of the directory. The society also holds many documents relating to Domingo-Philadelphians.

A search of Philadelphia's Roman Catholic parish registers is productive, especially those of Holy Trinity and Saint Augustine. The early registers have been published in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, although one should be aware of the numerous mispellings of French names and words, owing to the inexperience of early transcribers—and the fact that they omitted signatures that were difficult to read.

Also in Philadelphia is Girard College—the beneficiary of Stephen Girard, a business tycoon whose last years coincided with the Vine and Olive Colony. This institution has microfilmed all of the magnate's correspondence. Girard made a practice of conserving everything, and he received letters from a large number of Domingan refugees and other French. The film may be reviewed both at the college and at the library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. The Philosophical Society Library also has in its collection a complete run of L'Abeille américaine, a weekly newspaper which was edited by Jean-Simon Chaudron, the noted Domingo-Philadelphian silversmith who became a Vine and Olive colonist. The paper was published during the years of Bonapartist immigration to Philadelphia, and it printed some of the minutes of the Colonial Society of French Emigrants. Other newspapers of the period are also worth investigating.

During the same restoration epoch, the French minister to the United States and the consuls in Philadelphia and other cities made regular reports to the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères in Paris. Copies of much of this correspondence are kept by the Library of Congress in Washington and are available on interlibrary loan.

For Vine and Olive colonists, it is essential to consult the property and probate records of Greene and Marengo counties, Alabama, and to a lesser extent those of Hale County, which was cut from Greene. An examination of the probate records of Mobile is also helpful, as well as similar records in Philadelphia. However, many of the property-transfer documents that are not found in the county-level deed records are conserved in the Suitland, Maryland, branch of the National Archives and Records Administration—as part of the Tombeckbee Association records in Record Group 49 (Records of the Bureau of Land Management). This is a rich mine of émigré information.

The Eleutherian Mills Historical Library in Greenville, Delaware, also has a great number of documents, especially business correspondence, concerning

early French- and Domingo-Americans. The archives has correspondence received by E. I. DuPont de Nemours and Company from Curcier, Ravesies and Company during 1817, 1818, and 1819, for example. Indexes to the library's holdings as of 1975 have been published.<sup>21</sup>

Several secondary publications and projects are also useful. A product of archival research done in the United States is a 1954 doctoral dissertation by Winston Chandler Babb. Entitled "French Refugees from Saint Domingue to the Southern United States: 1791–1810" and offering a helpful bibliography, it can be obtained from University Microfilm International (Post Office Box 1346, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106). Other secondary sources are published family histories and the "mug" books familiar to all genealogists. The best of the histories is Holland's Garesché, De Bauduy and Des Chappelles Families and the Stollenwercks' genealogy, Stollenwerck, Chaudron and Billon Families in America.<sup>22</sup> A future secondary source on French immigrants of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries is a compilation currently in preparation by Francis James Dallett, F.A.S.G., centering on the lives of the early members of the French Benevolent Society of Philadelphia, many of them Domingan. It is anticicipated that the work will appear in 1993 for the society's bicentennial.

#### MISCELLANEOUS RESOURCES

Government records and public and private archives form a substantial source for future genealogical investigation and social-history research on this subject. For instance, records and documents pertaining to the cousins John M. Chapron and Stephen F. Nidelet are particularly appropriate and abundantly available—as the following sketches indicate.

## Alabama Department of Archives and History: Chapron Family

Alabama's State Archives (624 Washington Avenue, Montgomery 36130) has personal papers of Chapron, who was baptized Jean-Marie Chapron in 1788 at Port-de-Paix on the northern coast of Saint-Domingue. In 1800 at the age of thirteen, he and Nidelet (his younger first cousin) were sent to a boarding school in Germantown, Pennsylvania. The Alabama archives has translations of three letters of Chapron's father to the son, the last letter written in 1804 from Cuba, where the family was in refuge. The archives also has Chapron's business letter book (his own copies of letters written in Philadelphia from 11 July 1838 to 23 October 1841), including some accounts of 1836 and 1837. This writer has transcribed the letters and translated those written in French, also extracting all passages relating to slavery and to sericulture. These were the years of the morus multicaulis craze in the United States, especially in Philadelphia, and Chapron was caught up in the alluring cocoon of silkworm production. The letter book alone is a mine for future scholars.<sup>23</sup>

Not only did Chapron leave a rich record in the United States, but his family for several generations before him left its print in Domingan records. Chapron's mother, a sister of Stephen F. Nidelet's mother, was a Forge and her mother a Gabet. Both the Gabets and Forges were intricately intermarried with the Chamceaulmes; the town of Chansolme memorializes the family in modern Haiti. These were basically coffee planters of Port-de-Paix—although the Chamceaulmes also had a sugar plantation, and they and others of the family grew indigo and cotton as well. This family's complex genealogy and records of its affairs can be easily extracted at the Archives d'Outre-Mer.<sup>24</sup>

John M. Chapron's wife was from a Domingan family which had found refuge in Norfolk, Virginia, and later in Philadelphia. In 1782 Mme. Chapron's father, François-Hyacinthe Teterel, had bought a bakery in Cap-Français. The notarial act recording the purchase describes the bakery in detail and lists the sixteen African slaves employed in the kitchens by name, age, and the nation in Africa from which they had come—mainly the Congo. Forty years later Teterel and his partners purchased twelve slaves in James City County, Virginia, for use on their plantation in the Vine and Olive Colony. These Afro-Americans are also listed by name in Greene County, Alabama, deed records. The transplanted bourgeois Teterel, months away from his death, was on his way to becoming a planter at last.<sup>25</sup>

## Missouri Historical Society: Nidelet Family

This facility in Saint Louis has the original letters that Stephen F. Nidelet wrote to his mother from the time he arrived at school in Germantown until 1827, when Mme. Nidelet finally went to live with her son in Philadelphia. The Nidelet family, as well as the Forge and Ravesies families, conforms with a frequently observed pattern in Saint-Domingue. Young men came out from France to make their fortunes and marry daughters of established families. Nidelet's father, Étienne, was the son of a bourgeois of Nantes. He was already a coffee planter at Port-de-Paix at the time of his marriage to Marie-Elisabeth Forge and became an artillery captain of militia and commandant of the battery at Pointe d'Isaque. Nidelet's father-in-law, Antoine Forge, in his turn, had come to the colony as a mariner. His father was a tradesman of Bayonne, and in 1753 Antoine had married Marie-Anne Gabet, the daughter of a merchant of Port-de-Paix. Four years later, Forge began to be characterized as a planter in public documents. He acquired an indigo plantation that was still in family hands at the end of the colonial period.<sup>26</sup>

#### OTHER ROOTS

There was no scarcity of young men from France looking for dowered brides in Saint-Domingue, but there was a scarcity of Creole ladies. Any woman held an advantage in the marriage market, but a woman of property was blessed indeed. For this reason, among others, Domingo-American genealogy sometimes leads not only back to France but also to Africa. In the 1770s in Jean Rabel, the same parish where the Ravesies and Ducongés were settled, Thomas Goimbert, a free quadroon, had a plantation. His wife Marie-Anne was apparently white. If so, their daughter Marie would have been acceptably

Gallic in appearance. Jacques Arnauld, a native of Bordeaux, contracted to marry Marie in 1777. Her dowry was a pair of newly imported Africans. Arnauld contributed two thousand livres. His witnesses were friends from the town of Jean Rabel, a tailor and a tradesman. One of Marie's witnesses was her paternal uncle, apparently white. This was in no way an unusual situation in Saint-Domingue. Within two years Arnauld himself was described as a planter. It is not known what happened to his family during the birth pangs of Haiti, but they quite possibly found refuge in the United States. If not the Arnaulds, then most certainly other petits blancs of similar ancestry did find their way to the mainland and perhaps have American descendants today. More than a sugar kettle, the Carribean caldron was a melting pot.<sup>27</sup>

Research into Domingo-American genealogy is especially rich in its rewards. Ordinary French genealogy can seem poor in comparison. This writer's investigation into his own *laboureur* ancestry near Paris, easy as it was, resurrected bare bones of names, dates, and places with little attachment to what was happening to the nation and to the locality. In contrast, Domingan genealogy often comes imbedded in the fabric of social life, which stimulates the researcher in the midst of his discoveries.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

- \*Rinconada Las Casas, 9; 62000 Cuernavaca; Morelos, Mexico. Mr. Gardien is the author of several published studies examining various aspects of the Saint-Domingan-émigré experience. He wishes to acknowledge, with gratitude, the extensive assistance, advice, and encouragement given him over the years by Francis James Dallett, F.A.S.G.
- 1. Francis James Dallett, "The French Benevolent Society of Philadelphia and the Bicentennial," Records of the American Catholic Historical Society 90 (March-December 1979), 61–68; Dallett, "France and the Penn Country," Pennsylvania Traveler (January-February 1960): 56. The latter article in its entirety is a good introduction to the French presence in Philadelphia.
- 2. Kent Gardien, "The Splendid Fools: Philadelphia Origins of Alabama's Vine and Olive Colony," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 104 (October 1980): 491-504.
- 3. Winston Smith, Days of Exile: The Story of the Vine and Olive Colony in Alabama (Tuscaloosa: Privately printed, 1967), 38-39, 69-71.
- 4. M[arie]-A[ntoinette] Menier, "Archives du Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer: Saint-Domingue, abornements, domaines, recensements des biens domaniaux et urbains," Revue d'histoire des colonies 155 (January 1958): 223.
- 5. Robert Richard, "Les Minutes des notaires de Saint-Domingue aux Archives du Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer" and A.-Y. Bolloc'h and M.-A. Menier, "Dépôt des papiers publics des colonies: Saint-Domingue, notariat"—both in *Revue d'histoire des colonies* 135 (April 1951): 281-338 and 339-358, respectively. See also Menier, "Archives du Ministère," 223-50. The address of the Société d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer is 1 et 2, rue Robert-de-Flers, 75015 Paris, France.
- 6. The files from which the État détaillé des liquidations [de] l'indemnité was drawn are manuscript claims entitled Dossiers dits de l'indemnité. This writer has not personally consulted these files. According to correspondence received from historian David Geggus, who has consulted them, they fill several scores of boxes but the dossiers are easy to consult. Gabriel Debien, the doyen of Saint-Domingue researchers, has told Geggus that a large portion of the papers of the claims commission was destroyed during the Commune. Dallett points out in correspondence that the dossiers include not only the thousands of claimant cases which were successful and which are listed in the État détaillé but also an enormous number of small and sometimes incomplete files of people who were not recompensed owing to insufficient proof of loss or even false claims.
- 7. See David Patrick Geggus, "Unexploited Sources for the History of the Haitian Revolution," Latin American Research Revue 18 (No. 1, 1983): 101.

- 8. Laura V. Monti, comp., A Calendar of Rochambeau Papers at the University of Florida Libraries (Gainesville: University of Florida Libraries, 1972).
- 9. See, for example, Cahier no. 20 (1987), which carries two articles on Saint-Domingue: Kent Gardien, "Wine [sic] and Olive Colony in Alabama," and Colonel Étienne Arnaud, "Saint-Domingue notes généalogiques."
- 10. Dorothy Garesché Holland, Garesché, De Bauduy and Des Chapelles Families: History and Genealogy (St. Louis: Schneider Printing Co., 1963), 82. American State Papers: Documents Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the United States, 38 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Gales & Seaton, 1832–1861), Public Lands (8 vols.), 3:397. Explicitly, see Louis René Jeannet to Ravesies, 1 December 1817, in Patent Certificate (PC) File 15; Ambroise Jourdan to Ravesies, [day missing] December 1817, PC File 138; and John B. Campardon to Ravesies, 8 and 9 December 1817, PC File 158; all in Records of the Tombeckbee Association Lands, Record Group 49 (Bureau of Land Management), National Archives and Records Administration—Suitland Branch, Suitland, Md.

See also letter of Stephen F. Nidelet to Marie-Elisabeth (Forge) Nidelet, 1 December 1820, Pratte Family Papers, Envelope: 1771–1839, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis; and letter of Henri-Dominique Lallemand to Stephen Girard, 20 September 1821, Letters Received 1821:669, Girard Papers, (microfilm at the Library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia). The family appears on p. 444 of the population schedule, 1850 federal census of Mobile County, while Ravesies's slaves are enumerated on frame 82 of the slave schedule of that year's census of Marengo. Also useful is Mobile County Will Book 2:452 (Judge of Probate's Office, Mobile) and Smith, Days of Exile, 77–78.

- 11. John Witherspoon DuBose, "Chronicles of the Canebrake, 1817–1860," Alabama Historical Quarterly 9 (Winter 1947): 489–90; J. W. Beeson, "Vine and Colony History: Frédéric Ravesies," Demopolis Times, 12 April 1962, reprinted from Demopolis Express, 4 April 1895. Dr. Beeson's principal source was Charles C. Soullier Hause, grandson of Frederick.
- 12. Marriage of John Paul Bouthy de Esthrial [Jean-Paul Bouttes d'Estival] and Mary Perina Noël [Marie-Périne Noël], 18 November 1793, Holy Trinity Church, Philadelphia; Smith, Days of Exile, 70-71.
  - 13. Smith, Days of Exile, 70.
- 14. Baptism of Frédéric-Guillaume-Marie Ravesies, 28 December 1782, Registers of Jean Rabel, État-civil: Saint-Domingue, Archives Nationales-Section Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence.
- 15. David Patrick Geggus, Slavery, War, and Revolution: The British Occupation of Saint Domingue, 1793–1798 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 71. The Notariat de Saint-Domingue, Section Outre-Mer, should be consulted for the following: marriage contract of Charles-Auguste-Jean-Baptiste Locquet Dechateaudassy and Catherine-Marthe Ducongé, 2 March 1783 (notary: LeBlanc of Jean Rabel); marriage contract of Pierre Petiton-Ducongé to Blanche Peau, veuve Nathanael Compère, 1 January 1784 (ibid); conveyance, Jean Ravesies and Margueritte Ducongé to Pierre Ducongé, 8 January 1787 (ibid.); and conveyance, François Ducongé to Louis Gueydon, 12 July 1788 (notary: Gaudin, Port-de-Paix).

État-civil: St. Domingue, Section Outre-Mer, should be consulted for the following entries, all recorded in the registers of Jean Rabel: baptism of Jean-François Ravesies, 25 May 1780; baptism of Margueritte-Jeanne Ravesies, 24 May 1780; baptism of Françoise-Olimpe Ravesies, 30 August 1778; baptism of Jean-Baptiste-Eugène Ravesies, 10 June 1784; baptism of Thérèse-Euphemie Ravesies, 26 May 1785; burial of François-Olimpe Ravesies, 1786; burial of Jean-Baptiste-Eugène Ravesies, 1786; and burial of Thérèse-Euphemie Ravesies, 1786.

- 16. Liquidations des colons de Saint-Domingue, 1831: numéro d'ordre de l'état de paiement 5883; The Freeman's Journal, Philadelphia, 13 January 1821; American State Papers: Public Lands, III: 398.
  - 17. Two and one half Saint-Domingue carreaux equal about one English acre.
- 18. Jean Ravesies and Margueritte Ducongé to Pierre Ducongé, 8 January 1787 (notary: LeBlanc of Jean Rabel), Notariat de Saint-Domingue, Section Outre-Mer. See also Ravesies household data on p. 342, 1830 federal census, Marengo County; frames 390-91, Slave Schedule, 1850 federal census, Marengo County (which enumerates young Ravesies's seventy-six plantation slaves); and frame 82, Slave Schedule, 1850 federal census, Mobile County (which enumerates the family of seven domestic servants at his town home).
- 19. Richard, "Les Minutes des notaires de Saint-Domingue," 328-29 (first quotation); Geggus, Slavery, War, and Revolution, 6 (second quotation).
- 20. Liquidations des colons, 1831: numéros d'ordre de l'état de paiement 1638, 2020; marriage of Gabriel Frenaye de Fontenille and Marie-Anne-Magadeleine-Claire Lalaue, 20 May 1782, État-civil: Section Outre-Mer; marriage of Alexandre Fournier and Marthe Herils, 31 March 1788, État-civil: Port-au-Prince; baptism of Jean-Baptiste-André Herpin, 26 April 1796, ibid.; marriage of Pierre-Hyacinthe Hurtel and Ursule Hervé, 9 April 1793, ibid. For the birth registration of Elizabeth Noël on 5 jour complémentaire, an 9

- (22 September 1801), at Port-au-Prince, see Epoque Coloniale, Archives Nationales d'Haiti (Port-au-Prince). Also useful is the correspondence of Pierre-Frédéric Fontanges et al to Bizat, 9 September 1815, in the Peter S. Du Ponceau Notes of the manuscript collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia); Frank and Dixie Orum Stollenwerck, The Stollenwerck, Chaudron and Billon Families in America (Baltimore: Privately printed, 1948), 8; and Eugene D. Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), 296-98.
- 21. John Beverley Riggs, A Guide to the Manuscripts in the Eleutherian Mills Historical Library (Greenville, Del.: Eleutherian Mills Historical Library, 1970), and the compiler's Supplement Containing Accessions for the Years 1966 through 1975 (1978).
  - 22. Stollenwerck, op. cit.; Holland, Gareschê, De Bauduy and Des Chappelles Families, op. cit.
- 23. Baptism of Jean-Marie Chapron, 29 February 1788, État-civil: Le Cap, paroisse L'Assomption; [Julien-François] Chapron to [Jean-Marie] Chapron, 30 December 1800 and 31 July 1804, Maps and Manuscripts Division, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery.
- 24. Baptism of Jean-Marie Chapron, 29 February 1788, État-Civil: Port-de-Paix; baptism of François-Étienne Nidelet, 6 September 1789, ibid.; marriage of Julien-François Chapron and Marie-Magdeleine-Adelaïde Forge, 27 April 1786, ibid.; marriage of Étienne Nidelet and Marie-Elisabeth Forge, 1 April 1771, ibid.; marriage of Pierre-Thomas-Desgraves Chamceaulme and Marie-Anne-Aimée Forge, 26 July 1790, ibid. See also Liquidations des colons, year 1829: numéro 3508; 1830: numéros d'ordre de l'état de paiement 4125, 4408-4411, 4874-4875; and 1831: numéros 6157-6159.
- 25. Étienne F. Nidelet to [Marie-Elisabeth (Forge)] Nidelet, 16 April 1814, Pratt Family Papers; Thomas Gibert to François Teterel, 18 October 1782 (notary: Rivery of Jean Rabel), Notariat de Saint-Domingue, Section Outre-Mer. The notary Rivery was the step-father of John M. Chapron's father]. See also Greene County, Ala., Deed Book B:22-6, 40-3 (Judge of Probate's Office, Eutaw).
- 26. Pratt Family Papers. État-civil: Port-de-Paix, should be consulted for the baptism of François-Étienne Nidelet, 6 September 1789; the marriage of Étienne Nidelet and Marie-Elisabeth Forge, 1 April 1771; the baptism of Marie-Anne Forge, 26 December 1757; and the marriage of Antoine Forge to Marie-Anne Gabet on 6 February 1753. Useful family information also appears in *Liquidations des colons*, 1829: numéro d'ordre de l'état de paiement 2974; and 1830: numéros 4408-4411, as well as the conveyance from Widow Villenisan to Antoine Forge, 17 June 1777 (notary: Gaudin of Port-de-Paix), Notariat de Saint-Domingue.
- 27. Marriage contract of Jacques Arnauld and Marie Goimbert, 23 November 1777 (notary: LeBlanc of Jean Rabel), Notariat de Saint-Domingue; and baptism of Marie-Henriette Arnauld, 9 December 1779, État-Civil: Jean Rabel.

#### **APPENDIX**

## Persons from Saint-Domingue Connected with Vine and Olive Colony

Allard, Henri [unconfirmed]

Bailly, Michel

Bailly, Reine, née Robin (Mme. Michel Bailly)

Barbaroux, Joseph

Bayol, Honoré

Bayol, L.-Edouard

Bayol, Marie-Périne, née Noël (Mme. Honoré Bayol). First married to Jean-Paul Bouttes d'Estival.

Bayol, Sylvanie, née Stollenwerck (Mme. L.-Edouard Bayol)

Belair, Louis Descoins

Beylle, Marie-Madeleine-Louise-Thérèse, née Lemaistre (Mme. Joseph Beylle). First married Jean Godichaux.

Binsse de Saint-Victor, Louis-François-de-Paul

Bourlon, Louis-Edmond

Bouttes d'Estival, Adèle (Mme, Alexandre Fournier)

Bouttes d'Estival, Josephine (Mme. Jules-Marie-l'Amitie Chasseloup de la Martiniere)

Brugière, François-Annet-Charles

Bujac, Alfred

Bujac, Mathieu-Jules

Butaud, Victoire, née George (Mme. Issac Butaud)

Canonge, Pierre-Auguste

Carre, Jean-Thomas

Chapron, Emilie-Catherine, née Teterel (Mme. Jean-Marie Chapron)

Chapron, Jean-Marie

Chaudron, Jean-Simon

Chaudron, Pierre-Edouard

Chevinet, Barbe-Victoire, Widow,

Chieusse, Eugenie, née LeGrand de Boislandry (Mme. Lazare Chieusse)

Constantine, F.-L. [uncertain]

Coquillon brothers.

Coquillon, Jeanne-Marie-Elise-Françoise (Mme. Maturin Reingeard)

Coquillon, Louise (Mme. Louis-Pierre-Joseph Marchand)

Dagneaux, Françoise, née Geussy (Mme. Jean-Baptiste Dagneaux)

Demerest, Constance, née Oge. Widow.

De Sevre, Louise-Agnes-Gertrude dit Adèle (Mme. Henri David; Mme. Frédéric-Guillaume-Marie Ravesies).

Drouet, Marie (Mme. François-Hyacinthe Teterel)

Drouet, Pierre

Dubarry, Jean-Marie

Dubocq, Guillaume

Ducoing, Pierre

Dumas. Antoine

Farrouilh, André

Faures, Placide-Laurent

Follin, Auguste-Firmin

Fontanges, Pierre-Frédéric

Fontanges, Thérèse-Antoinette-Marguerite dit Virginie (Mme. Anne-Gilbert-Marc-Antoine Frenave: Mrs. R. W. Sykes)

Fournier, Adèle, née Bouttes d'Estival (Mme. Alexandre Fournier)

Fournier, Alexandre

Fournier, Honoré-François

Frenaye, Anne-Gilbert-Marc-Antoine

Frenave, Jean-Pierre

Frenaye, Thérèse-Antoinette-Marguerite dit Virginie, née Fontanges (Mme. Anne-Gilbert-Marc-Antoine Frenaye) [married second to R. W. Sykes]

Galabert, Louis

Gallard, Pierre

Garesché La Poterie, Jean-Pierre

Garesché Maisonneuve, Vital-Marie

George, Catherine Victoire, née LeGrand de Boislandry (Mme. Pierre-Edouard-Côme George)

George, Pierre-Edouard-Côme

George, Victoire (Mme. Issac Butaud)

Geussy, Françoise (Mme. Jean-Baptiste Dagneaux)

Godemar, Jean-Baptiste

Godichaux, Ursule-Cephise (Mme. Alexis Tardy)

Guesnard, Théodore [unconfirmed]

Guesnard, Zéline, née Herpin (Mme. Théodore Guesnard)

Guibert, Henry [unconfirmed]

Herpin, Jean-Baptiste

Herpin, Jean-Baptiste-André

Herpin, Marie-Françoise-Angélique, née Stil (Mme. Jean-Baptiste Herpin)

Herpin, Zéline (Mme. Théodore Guesnard)

Hurtel, Anne-Deolice (Mme. Thomas Noël)

Hurtel, Eliza, née Noël (Mme. Jean Hurtel)

Hurtel, Jean

Hurtel, Pierre-Hvacinthe-Baptiste

Jamet [uncertain]

Jeandrau, Jean, père (the father)

Jeandrau, Jean, fils (the son)

Jeandrau, Marie-Louise (Mme. Jean Jeandrau, père)

Lacomb, Pierre

Lallemand, François-Antoine dit Charles, Baron

Lallemand, Marie-Charlotte-Henriette, née Roberjot-Lartique (Mme. François-Antoine Lallemand)

Latapie, Antoine

Lavaud, Jean-François-Sully

LeGrand de Boislandry, Catherine Victoire (Mme. Pierre-Edouard-Côme George)

LeGrand de Boislandry, Eugenie (Mme. Lazare Chieusse)

Lemaistre, Marie-Madeleine-Louise-Thérèse (Mme. Jean Godichaux; Mme. Joseph Beylle)

Lepine, Jean François [unconfirmed]

Marchand, Louise, née Coquillon (Mme. Louis-Pierre-Joseph Marchand)

Martin du Colombier, Joseph.

Martin du Colombier, Prosper

Martinet, Pierre-Louis

Martinière, Joséphine Chasseloup de la, née Bouttes d'Estival (Mme. Jules-Marie-l'Amitié Chasseloup de la Martinière)

Martinière, Jules-Marie-l'Amitié Chasseloup de la

Morel de Guiramand, Jean-Marie

Nartigue, Jean-Juste

Nidelet, Étienne-François

Noël, Anne-Deolice, née Hurtel (Mme. Thomas Noël)

Noël, Eliza (Mme. Jean Hurtel)

Noël, Marie-Périne (Mme. Jean-Paul Bouttes d'Estival and Mme. Honoré Bayol).

Noël, Théodore

Noël, Thomas

Ogé, Constance (Widow Demerest)

Pastol, Julie. Widow [unconfirmed]

Payen, Auguste, fils cadet (the younger son) [unconfirmed]

Payen, César, fils aîné (the older son) [unconfirmed]

Payen, Claude, père (the father) [unconfirmed]

Pfister, Amand

Pfister, Marie-Joséphine, née Reis (Mme. Amand Pfister)

Plaideau, Marie-Angélique, née Ravesies

Pothier, Simon

Prudhomme, Charles

Ravesies, Émile

Ravesies, Frédéric-Guillaume-Marie

Ravesies, Louise-Agnès-Gertrude dit Adèle, née de Sevre (Mme. Frédéric-Guillaume-Marie Ravesies). First married to Henri David.

Ravesies, Marie-Angélique (Mme. Plaideau) [uncertain]

Ravesies, Marguerite-Jeanne (Mme. Richard) [uncertain]

Reingeard, Jeanne-Marie-Elise-Françoise, née Coquillon (Mme. Maturin Reingeard)

Reis, Marie-Josephine (Mme. Amand Pfister)

Rivière, Amedée

Robertjot-Lartigue, Marie-Charlotte-Henriette (Mme. François-Antoine Lallemand)

Robin, Reine (Mme. Michel Bailly)

Saint-Felix, Jean-Baptiste-Gilles Reynaud de

Salaignac, Julien-Leon

Sanderson, Lemuel G. [uncertain]

Sevelinge, Joseph de

Stil, Marie-Françoise-Angélique (Mme. Jean-Baptiste Herpin)

Stollenwerck, Sylvanie (Mme. L.-Edouard Bayol)

Tardy, Alexis

Tardy, Ursule-Cephise, née Godichaux (Mme. Alexis Tardy)

Teisseire, Antoine [uncertain]

Teterel, Emelie-Catherine (Mme. Jean-Marre Chapron)

Teterel, François-Hyacinthe

Teterel, Marie, née Drouet (Mme. François-Hyacinthe Teterel)

Texier, Jean [uncertain]

Tulane, Louis-Étienne

Tulane, Victor

## ANNOUNCEMENT

#### FORMATION OF

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(American Revolution)

Organized to bring together descendants of Loyalists and Royal Supporters in order to gain more knowledge of the lives and deeds of those who supported the Crown, and to give recognition and respect to those who, even to this day, remain largely the hidden and lost half of that part of our history.

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## Migration along the Maine-New Brunswick Frontier: A Case Study of Colonial Shaws

By RUSSELL F. SHAW, C.G.

In 1797 the John Shaw family was living on a 128-acre farm in the village of Clinton, a small settlement on the Kennebec River in central Maine. They owned two cows, were rearing six children, and to all appearances were a typical New England farm-family. However, their lives were reasonably-good mirrors of the turbulence, mixed loyalties, and family disruptions that occurred along the Maine-New Brunswick frontier during that transition period from British colonialism to American republicanism. Their story could be repeated many times over, as individual families came to grips with the consequences of the American War for Independence.

John Shaw, Jr., the eldest son of John and Mary (Burrell) Shaw of Abington, Massachusetts, was born 26 January 1761.<sup>2</sup> This Shaw family was descended from Abraham Shaw of Dedham (1588–1638) through Abraham's son John Shaw of Weymouth (1630–1704).<sup>3</sup> Young John Shaw's father had just returned from a six-month-long military campaign that proved to be part of the final blow against the French in Canada.<sup>4</sup> This mission took Shaw and his fellow Abingtonians all along the Eastern Seaboard from Fort Western, Maine, to Halifax, Nova Scotia.<sup>5</sup> When the war was over, a group of sixty veterans from the Abington area petitioned the Massachusetts government for a land grant in the unoccupied lands east of the Penobscot River in Maine Territory.<sup>6</sup> Although the provincial government was willing, the bureaucrats in London procrastinated and finally, in 1765, flatly turned down the proposition as being illegal.<sup>7</sup>

Not able to settle any new areas in the Maine territory, the Abingtonian veterans elected to migrate in several different directions. Some decided to move into the newly opened Berkshire Hills area of Western Massachusetts. Others opted to move into some of the already-settled areas on the Maine coast, while a few—such as the John Shaw family—ended up in one of the newly established townships on the Saint John River in New Brunswick. The Massachusetts government, working in concert with the British Privy Council in London, was anxious to settle this land in western Nova Scotia, which had been taken from the Acadians in the recent war. The main body of settlers were mustered-out veterans. The company that decided to settle on the Saint John River was from Essex County, Massachusetts; but it soon was joined by other veterans from various eastern-Massachusetts counties. Each founding family was allowed to settle on and improve a 500-acre plot of land. John Shaw's lot was Number 63, a narrow piece running from the river back across the rich bottom-land opposite Oromocto Island.

By 1767 the community had grown to approximately eighty families. At first, religious services were held regularly in the homes of these settlers; but by 1774 a church had been built and a permanent minister had been hired.<sup>12</sup> The

new pastor, Seth Noble from Westfield, Massachusetts, was a political activist; so when the Revolutionary War began, he wrote to the Massachusetts Assembly to offer the services of the citizens of the new town of Maugerville in fighting for the cause of American liberty. John Shaw, Sr., signed this petition—as did most of his fellow townsmen.<sup>13</sup>

It wasn't long before the war actually penetrated the Saint John River Valley. A group of militiamen, under the command of Jonathan Eddy, enlisted twenty-seven men from Maugerville in their campaign against nearby Fort Cumberland. There is no "official list" of men who participated in this raid, since the men of Maugerville were somewhat loathe to be identified as rebels in the eyes of the British authorities. However, by the end of the war John Shaw and some twenty other men from his community were well known as "rebels," and—since this raid was the only military action of the war that involved Saint John River Valley men—there is good reason to conclude that John Shaw, Sr., was a member of this Fort Cumberland raiding party. 15

Eddy's forces were severely hampered by a lack of artillery and other supplies, so their valiant attempt to take the fort failed. The company returned to Maugerville to spend the winter. The next spring, John Shaw's family was among several in Maugerville who moved across the river to gain the protection of the blockhouse located at Burton. Evidence has not emerged to determine whether this move was motivated by fear of Indian raids on the settlers' homes or by fear of British troops burning the homes of rebels in retaliation for the Fort Cumberland raid. 17

John Shaw, Jr., a nearly grown lad of sixteen in 1777, was drawn into the conflict when he accompanied John Allen's American troops into action against the British forces at Portland Point, New Brunswick (formerly Nova Scotia). Following the successful completion of this raid, the Americans started to march up the Saint John River Valley, hoping to recruit militiamen as they went. However, they did not realize that a British man-of-war was at that very moment poised ready to attack their position from the rear. A timely warning by young John Shaw, who "gave intelligence to the rebels at Oak Park [Aukpaque] that the King's troops were pursuing them up the river," enabled the American forces to escape safely to Maine. The records are silent as to what John, Jr., did during the remainder of the war. 20

In 1783 the War of Independence officially came to an end, and life for the Shaw family should have returned to normal. John, Jr., was twenty-two years old, married, and just starting to clear some of his own farmland.<sup>21</sup> But again politics interfered with the private lives of the Shaws—this time in the form of disbanded British troops and their Tory companions, who would compete for land titles in the rich river-valley of the Saint John. In trying to decide who should get title to this land, the provincial government needed to determine who had been loyal to the Crown. Accordingly, a survey was taken of all inhabitants, in June of 1785, noting especially their loyalty and suitability as good British subjects.<sup>22</sup>

As a result of this survey, both of the John Shaws, senior and junior, were labeled "rebels," and their petitions for land titles in 1785 were ignored by the

provincial government.<sup>23</sup> The elder John and six of his sons ultimately decided to move onto unoccupied land much farther up the Saint John River Valley. By 1803 they all were farming in Wakefield Parish, New Brunswick—parcels of 200 to 500 acres each.<sup>24</sup>

On the other hand, John Shaw, Jr., made a totally different decision. When his bid for title to land in Burton Township was turned down, he opted to return to what had become the United States, seeking out his father's former comrades-in-arms. Colonel Eddy and many of the militiamen who had served under him had petitioned Congress in 1785 for bounty land in Maine; and this grant soon became a reality on the Penobscot River, Maine Territory. The daybook of Robert Treat, a trader to these settlers, shows the John Shaw family, along with his Bradley in-laws, living with many other former Maugerville citizens in settlements at the mouth of the Penobscot in the late 1780s.

Not surprisingly, the Penobscot Indians were disturbed by this invasion of their lands. The development of farms and communities along the Penobscot infringed on territorial claims by the local tribe; this caused much uneasiness and, occasionally, open warfare.<sup>27</sup> Faced with the prospect of being a "squatter" once again, John, Jr., decided to move his family to a place where he could purchase land and thus guarantee possession by title. So one more time the family moved, this time to a settlement called Hancock Plantation (later incorporated as Clinton) on the Kennebec River of Maine.<sup>28</sup> Here John was able to support his family in peace and safety—while some distance away, on the upper reaches of the Saint John River in Canada, his brothers were also able to settle down and farm with reasonable assurance of being left alone by aborigines, politicians, and soldiers.<sup>29</sup>

Given this background, the family history of John, Sr., and Mary (Burrell) Shaw's children can be traced from Abington, Massachusetts, to the various communities in which they settled following the Revolutionary War. Those children have been identified as follows:

- i. John, Jr., born 26 January 1761 in Abington; married Mary, daughter of John and Mary (Heath) Bradley, in Burton, New Brunswick, about 1783; settled at Hallowell (present Clinton), Maine, by 1790.<sup>30</sup>
- ii. Ziba, birth date uncertain; reputed to have been lost at sea.31
- iii. Daniel, said to have been born about 1765—apparently at Maugerville, since his parents are known to have resided there at the time—and to have married Elizabeth, daughter of Zopher Phillips. He was farming 500 acres in Newburg, New Brunswick, in 1802–1803.
- iv. Elijah, an alleged son; no further information known.<sup>33</sup>
- v. Ammi, born about 1770 in Maugerville; married Hannah Dean on 24 June 1792; moved up the Saint John River with his brothers and took up farming on the Old Wakefield Grant in 1803.<sup>34</sup>
- vi. Elisha, born 7 May 1771 in Maugerville; married Susan, daughter of Israel and Susannah (Hood) Kenny, on 6 March 1793; obtained a 500-acre land grant near his brother Daniel at Newburg, under a petition dated 1802.<sup>35</sup>
- vii. Jonathan, born in May 1777 in Maugerville; married Abigail, daughter of Alexander and Sarah (Hood) Tapley, on 12 February 1799; moved to Lower Wakefield with his brothers by 1802; became a Baptist minister sometime after 1806.<sup>36</sup>

- viii. Advardus, born about 1781 in Burton, New Brunswick; married Lydia, daughter of Benen and Deborah (Kenny) Foster, on 19 October 1802; was granted 225 acres of farmland near his brothers in Lower Wakefield in 1802.<sup>37</sup>
- ix. Henry, born November 1784 in Burton; married Abigail, daughter of Israel and Susannah (Hood) Kenny, about 1800; was farming 345 acres in Lower Wakefield in 1802. On his property was located the homestead of John Shaw, Sr., and the Shaw family cemetery. This homestead, now designated a historical site and known as "Pioneer Farm," is still standing.<sup>38</sup>

The tale of American soldiers in the Revolutionary War returning to a hero's welcome in their community is often told.<sup>39</sup> Likewise, stories of those who remained loyal to the king, and their treatment by "rebel" neighbors, often appear in print.<sup>40</sup> Another dimension to the total picture can be appreciated by considering the plight of those American patriots, like the Shaw family, who lived in British territory and were persecuted by a loyal majority. Most of these families reacted by migrating—some to lesser-populated areas of their adopted country, others to American soil. In either case, reconstruction of the genealogies of these families is well-nigh impossible if the historic events taking place around them are not well understood and taken into consideration, so that migration patterns can be anticipated and incorporated into an overall research plan.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

- \*433 Estante Way, Los Alamos, NM 87544. A certified genealogist and past president of the Los Alamos Genealogical Society, Dr. Shaw has excerpted the above account from his ongoing study of colonial Shaw families. The assistance of Daniel Turner of Cranston, Rhode Island, and George Hayward, of Fredericton, New Brunswick (both fellow Shaw researchers), is gratefully acknowledged.
- 1. Inventory of the Real and Personal Estate of the Inhabitants and Proprietors of the Town of Clinton, dated 1 May 1797, in "Clinton Town Meeting Records" 12 (microfilmed as no. 10620 by the Genealogical Society of Utah [GSU]; original manuscript at Maine State Library, Augusta).
- 2. Abington, Maine, Town Records (births, marriages, deaths, 1745-1777), II:11 (GSU microfilm no. 904376; original in Abington Town Clerk's Office); also published as *Vital Records of Abington, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850* (Boston: Daughters of the American Revolution, 1912), 1:205.
- 3. Daniel Turner, Shaw: a Genealogy of the Descendents of John Shaw and Mary Burrell (Cranston, R.I.: Privately published, 1973), summarizes the available records on the ancestry of John Shaw, born 1738 in Abington MA.
- 4. The original muster rolls, which specify by name those who went on each of the expeditions to Canada from Abington, are available at the Massachusetts Archives in Boston; see also *Massachusetts Archives Manuscripts*, 98:323, which names everyone who enlisted for a six-month tour of duty in the Maritime Provinces during 1760.
- 5. Fortunately, the diary of a cousin of John Shaw, from Abington, still survives; see Joseph Shaw Papers, 1752–1789, Massachusetts Historical Society Library, Boston. This diary goes into detail about the 1760 expedition, including its stopover on the Saint John River, which very likely influenced John Shaw to settle there after the war.
- 6. Elisha Hersey, "Petition for a Grant of Land in Maine," Journal of the House of Representatives, Massachusetts Bay, M. Freiberg, ed. (Boston: Mass. Historical Soc., 1969), 39:132.
  - 7. Mass. Archives Manuscripts, 22:383.
- 8. See William Streeter and Daphne Morris, The Vital Records of Cummington, Massachusetts, 1762-1900 (Cummington: Privately published, 1979), for an extensive discussion of the migration of colonists from eastern Massachusetts to the Berkshire Hills area following the French and Indian War.
- 9. For example, there are records showing the presence of Abington Shaws in Cumberland, Maine, in 1762 (Cumberland Vital Records, Town Clerk's Office) and in North Yarmouth, Maine, in 1765 (Confessions of Faith and Covenant of the First Church in North Yarmouth, Maine [Portland, ME: Privately published, 1848]).

- 10. The best overall discussion of these settlements can be found in Lillian B. Maxwell, A History of Central New Brunswick (Sackville, Nova Scotia: Tribune Press, 1937), while specific details of the settling of Maugerville are contained in James Hannay, "The Maugerville Settlement, 1763–1824," Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society 1 (1894): 63–88.
- 11. Information here is derived from Charles Morris's "Survey of the Maugerville Grantees' Lots (1785)," MS. map in the New Brunswick Crown Land Office, Fredericton, N.B., and reproduced in Maxwell, History of Central New Brunswick.
- 12. The Reverend Noble's background is well described in G. O. Bent, "Parson Noble," Acadiensis 7 (January, 1907): 46-57. Many of the original papers dealing with the search and final selection of a minister for Maugerville can be found in the *Pickard Papers*, No. A-395, Loyalist Material, New Brunswick Provincial Archives, Fredericton, Canada.
- 13. See Seth Noble's "Petition from Sunbury County to the General Assembly of Massachusetts" in Mass. Archives Manuscripts, 141:147.
- 14. In January 1777, Colonel Eddy wrote an extensive and detailed report of his raid, which took place in the fall of the previous year; see "Report of Raid against Fort Cumberland," Mass. Archives Manuscripts, 144:164.
- 15. Interesting background on how these men were labeled "rebels" can be gleaned from the letter of Ebenezer Foster et al. to Major Studholme and the major's report of this letter, published as "Sunbury County Documents," Coll. of the N.B. Hist. Soc. 1 (1894), 100–118. This source is generally known to researchers as the Studholme Report.
- 16. In John Shaw's land petition, dated 1785 at Burton, he states that he had been "an inhabitant of the River St. John 20 years" and had farmed his present piece of land "this eight year past," which would imply that he had settled in Maugerville about 1765 but had moved across the river to Burton in 1777. See Sunbury County Land Petition No. 135, Record Group 19, Series 108, Prov. Arch. of N.B.
- 17. Eddy's account of the Fort Cumberland raid mentions the burning of houses by the British, if the occupants were suspected of having been involved in the raid; see *Mass. Archives Manuscripts*, 144:164. Another contemporary document mentions frequent Indian attacks on the Maugerville settlement during the war years; see "Quinton Diary," Folder 9, Archives of the New Brunswick Museum, St. John, N.B. Also, "Diary of Mary (Coy) Bradley," (MS., New England Historic Genealogical Society Library, Boston) gives a detailed account of the harassment of the Maugerville rebels by the British troops.
- 18. A day-by-day account of this expedition can be found in Colonel Allen's journal, which was included en bloc in Frederic Kidder, *Military Operations in Eastern Maine and Nova Scotia during the Revolution* (Albany, N.Y.: Munsell and Co., 1867).
- 19. Foster et al. to Studholme, Studholme Report, 107-8. The writers of this report did not mince words, calling one person "a very great rebel" and another "a very troublesome fellow."
- 20. Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War (17 vols.; Boston: Secretary of the Commonwealth, 1906), 14:53, offers John Shaw's service record.
- 21. The identity of John Shaw's wife is documented in the special census taken at Clinton in 1799; see Clinton Town Meeting Records (unpaginated) for that year. The 1783 Studholme Report notes that he is married, living with his parents, but beginning to clear land nearby for his own farm. Mary Bradley's family had moved from Portland Point, N.B., to Maugerville to escape the attacks of privateers during the war (also noted in the Studholme Report).
  - 22. Studholme Report, 100-118.
- 23. Land Petition No. 35 for Lot #5, "above the blockhouse," in Burton; see Sunbury County Land Petitions, Record Group 10, Series 108, Prov. Arch. of N.B.
- 24. Wakefield Land Grant, No. 497 (1809), in Index to Descriptions of Land Grants (indexed by year and county), Prov. Arch. of N.B.
- 25. Frederic Kidder, "Rebels in Nova Scotia during the Revolutionary War," Maine Historical Magazine 9 (April-June 1894): 61-70.
- 26. Anonymous, "Names from Major Robert Treat's Day Book, Bangok [sic], 1786-1790," Bangor Historical Magazine 5 (October-November 1889): 93-95.
- 27. See Joseph Porter, Memoirs of Col. Jonathan Eddy (Augusta, Me.: Sprague, Owen, and Nash, 1877), for mention of marauding Indians of the Penobscot. The statement of Orono, an Indian, complaining about the settlers' coming and taking tribal lands is quoted in Joseph Williamson, "The Penobscot Indians," Bangor Historical Magazine 7 (July-September 1891): 149.
- 28. Carleton E. Fisher, *The History of Clinton, Maine* (Winthrop, Me.: Privately published, 1970), 73, especially.
- 29. Fred Burnett, "The Old Parish of Wakefield," Newsletter of the New Brunswick Genealogical Society (June 1979), unpaginated, unnumbered issue.

- 30. See Carleton Fischer, Clinton, Maine, Vital Records to 1892 (Augusta: Maine Historical Society, 1967), which is based, partly, on the Clinton Town Meeting Records. This compilation contains not only the record of vital events that occurred within the township of Clinton but also the birth records of those inhabitants who were living in Clinton as of the 1799 census; page 151 provides vital records of the John Shaw family. The birth record of John Shaw, Jr., was originally recorded in Abington; see Abington VR 1:205. The 1790 enumeration of this Shaw family appears in Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1908), 39; the area which later became Clinton was, in 1790, Hallowell in Lincoln County.
- 31. This information is said to have appeared in a diary kept by Darius Shaw, a grandson of John Shaw, Sr., who died at an advanced age in the early twentieth century. The diary entries were recorded (or, perhaps, recopied) into a set of notebooks containing extensive reminiscences by Darius and other family material. In the 1930s, the Shaw-Turner Notebooks were viewed by Daniel Turner (presently at 408 Comstock Parkway, Cranston, RI 02920); and the notes he took at that time form the basis of much of his 1973 publication, Shaw: A Genealogy. Soon after Turner's notes were taken, Darius Shaw died; the whereabouts of the notebooks since that time cannot be accounted for. The present writer has attempted to find original documentation for all relevant material attributed to the Shaw-Turner Notebooks; while it has not been possible to verify all such information, the accuracy rate has proved to be commendably high.
- 32. This birth and marriage information appears in Turner, Shaw: A Genealogy, 18-20, and was taken from the Shaw-Turner Notebooks. Supporting evidence has not been found elsewhere. Daniel's residence as of 1802 is established by his land petition of that date (see Index to Descriptions of Land Grants, Prov. Arch. of N.B.); it correlates well with the census of Wakefield Parish taken one year later (as published in Burnett, "Old Parish of Wakefield").
- 33. This child was attributed to the family in the Darius Shaw Diary, together with an implication that he died as a child. A gravestone for one Elijah Shaw—with no genealogical information thereon—appears in the Victoria Corner, N.B., Cemetery; but the Shaws did not move to this area until 1801 or so—well past the period of infancy attributed to this child.
- 34. Ammi's marriage is recorded in the Memorandum of Marriages, 1787–1803 (unpaginated, entries in chronological order), Maugerville Anglican Church, Archives of Christ Church Cathedral, Fredericton, N.B.
- 35. For the marriage of Elisha, see Maugerville's Memorandum of Marriages, 1787–1803. Useful genealogical information on this Shaw family also appears in the Kenny Genealogy (Bell Genealogical Collection, File MYY 236, Manuscripts Collections, Prov. Arch. of N.B.), since two Kenny females and a third Kenny offspring married three sons of John Shaw, Sr.
- 36. Jonathan's birth date is calculated from the following data on his gravestone in Pioneer Cemetery, Lower Wakefield, N.B.: "Reverend Jonathan Shaw, d. Mar. 18, 1855 ae. 77 y 10 m." His marriage record is found in Maugerville's Memorandum of Marriages, 1787–1803. Like his brothers, he has a land grant recorded in the Index to Descriptions of Lands, Prov. Arch. of N.B. For documentation of his religious affiliation, see numerous entries in minutes of the First Baptist Church of Wakefield (MS., Maritime Baptist Library, Acadia University, Wolfsville, Nova Scotia).
- 37. Advardus was married in Maugerville (see Memorandum of Marriages, 1787-1803) in 1802 but was granted land in Lower Wakefield that same year (Index to Descriptions of Land Grants, Prov. Arch. of N.B.) and also showed up on the 1803 census of Wakefield Parish (Burnett, "Old Parish of Wakefield").
- 38. The birth date of Henry Shaw was also calculated from gravestone data (Pioneer Cemetery, Lower Wakefield), as follows: "Henry A. Shaw, d. Dec. 15 1865, ae. 81y." He evidently moved upriver from Burton to Wakefield about 1801, the date of his land-grant petition; see Index to Descriptions of Land Grants, Prov. Arch. of N.B.
- 39. See, for example, Fighters for Independence: A Guide to Sources of Biographical Information on Soldiers and Sailors of the American Revolution, J. Todd White and Charles H. Lesser, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), which has 538 entries of diaries, journals, and autobiographies, both published and in manuscript form.
- 40. Wallace Brown, The Good Americans: The Loyalists in the American Revolution (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1969), is the classic in this area of American history, while Esther Clark Wright, Loyalists of New Brunswick (Fredericton: Privately published, 1955), occupies the same position for their Canadian counterparts.

## Genealogical Research in California

By SANDRA K. OGLE, C.G.\*

California's past? One need only read a map. Toulumne Meadows, Hetch Hetchy Falls, Siskiyou County, and numerous other intriguing names of Indian origins remind us of the region's first settlers. Melodious Spanish names are in evidence everywhere, from the missions of Santa Barbara or San Juan Capistrano to El Camino Real, the King's Highway; their very names evoke romantic images of sprawling ranchos, colorful costumes, and cavalier lifestyles from the region's Spanish and Mexican days. Bawdy, rowdy, descriptive names dot the Mother Lode, leftovers from the gold-rush era—Rough and Ready, Chinese Camp, Hangtown, Grub Gulch, and even a Mormon Bar. Awe-inspiring Death Valley and tranquil Donner Lake are tragic reminders of trips long past, ancestors long dead. Reconstructing the lives these ancestors built for themselves in this anything-but-pacific land of conquests and contrasts is a challenge—but one that the informed genealogist can usually meet. This essay aspires to provide at least the fundamentals which researchers need to mine the rich lode of personal records found in California repositories.

#### PART I: THE PEOPLE

#### GEOGRAPHICAL INFLUENCES UPON SETTLEMENT

The bold adventurers who peopled California found a land of extremes. The continent's lowest point and its second-highest point are both located here, only sixty miles apart. Some of the country's wettest and driest regions lie within this state. Her length is tremendous—824 miles. Her maximum width, 262 miles, pales in comparison; yet the geographic distinctions which played such a role in determining California's settlement patterns lie in her slender width, not her extreme length. California grew in long and narrow tiers, one event at a time.<sup>2</sup>

The long coastline, forming the entire western border, lured the earliest non-Indians—explorers and missionaries. Its temperate weather was appealing; but with no snow, few frosts, and little or no rainfall in the summer, water management was a constant source of concern for its settlers. Ranching, not farming, developed as the economic base.

The great Sierra Nevada range and its western watershed hosted the next major influx in the population—the gold-rushers. These awesome mountains, running generally parallel to the coast down most of the eastern edge of the state, are some of the highest in the nation and have served as a barrier to travel for centuries.

The San Joaquin Valley, between the Coastal and the Sierra Nevada ranges, began to attract farmers in the mid-to-latter nineteenth century; but—in spite of the fact that this was California's most-fertile region—it did not fully develop

until the twentieth century. Some 400 miles long but only 50 wide, its heat and lack of summer rainfall made dry-land farming a necessity until more-modern irrigation methods could be developed. Chinese agricultural workers were prevalent in the 1860s and later, Americans came there from the dust-bowl regions of Oklahoma and Texas during the 1930s, and now migrant workers from Mexico are predominant.

The Southern inland region, at the tip of the Sierra Nevada range, is desertlike, a great hindrance to immigrants who tried to make their way around the formidable mountains. Part of the desert region, now called Imperial Valley, bloomed in the current century when water was channeled in via a great canal system.

The Los Angeles basin is the final major area which influenced California's settlement. Isolated from the northern part of the state by the Transverse Range that crosses from the coast nearly to the foot of the Sierras, the basin enjoys more-tropical weather than is found to the north. In the modern era, it has been the center of the state's greatest population explosion.

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Spanish Period: 1533-1821

Spanish explorers, pushing eastward out of Mexico, visited California periodically between 1533 and 1602; but it was not until 1769 that Spain finally decided to colonize California by means of the inventive, irrational mission system. Franciscan priests were selected to Christianize the native population and assimilate them into Spanish culture—whereupon the Indians were expected to gratefully serve as laborers for the *gente de razón* or "people of reason" (i.e., the "civilized" European-American).<sup>3</sup>

Between 1769 and 1823, twenty-one missions were built in a chain up the coast of California, none more than one day's ride from the last. Adjoining each mission was a *presidio*—a military base for the soldiers who assisted and protected the missionaries, as well as a settlement for military families or other colonists. As the missions became self-sufficient, the presidios evolved into colonial centers—including San Diego, founded 1769; Monterey, 1770; San Francisco (Yerba Buena), 1776; and Santa Barbara, 1782.<sup>4</sup> These missions and their presidios were the first major record-repositories in California.<sup>5</sup>

The mission system was a less-effective and far-slower means of colonization than had been anticipated. The Indians were little inclined toward European values; the work ethic imposed by the Spanish was culturally alien, incomprehensive, and unnecessary as far as the Indians were concerned. In addition, the Spanish introduced new diseases to the area. The results of the mission system were devastating, reducing the estimated native population of the mission area from seventy-two thousand in 1769 to eighteen thousand by the end of the Mission Period.<sup>6</sup>

Attempts at further colonization were begun between 1777 and 1781, when a few soldiers and their families were sent to settle the new *pueblo* (town) of San José de Guadalupe and a few other Spanish families were enticed to the more-southern settlement, El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los

Angeles del Río de Porciuncula (understandably shortened to Los Angeles). It soon became apparent, however, that few Spaniards were willing to move so far from Mexican civilization. Colonization efforts were further stymied by the political, social, and economic problems that created the Mexican Revolution of 1810. Both Spain and Mexico were too preoccupied with internal strife to do much more than ignore their outlying colony. Inevitably, on a continent in which three European powers and two new American nations were vying for control, Spain lost its claim to the area.<sup>7</sup>

For researchers working on this period of California history, a wealth of resources exists; but few will be easily mined. Immediate use should be made of the various publications of Marie Northrop, C.G.<sup>8</sup> When ready to progress into primary materials of this era, the researcher will want to consult Bolton's classic Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico, as well as the more-recent guide by Beers, Spanish and Mexican Records of the American Southwest.9 which contains an invaluable discussion of California's Spanish records. Many of the resources once held in the various Mexican archives were acquired or transcribed in the twentieth century by Hubert Howe Bancroft, a San Francisco publisher and book-dealer whose collections form the nucleus of the University of California's Bancroft Library. A useful guide to that facility is available. <sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, the bulk of the "Spanish Archives," amounting to more than 300 volumes of material which American officials managed to capture, finagle, or purloin during the transition of California from Spanish control to that of the United States, was destroyed in the San Francisco fire of 1906.11

#### Mexican Period: 1822-1849

The Mexican period was little more productive for California, despite a liberal and forward-thinking constitution. During one five-year span, eleven different governors served the colony. Mexican rule also spelled an end to the mission system. The constitution of Mexico espoused full rights for all Indians, including the right to vote; and mission properties were secularized. Neither plan, however, gave California's native population the rights that were envisioned. Indian participation in the polls never materialized, and mission lands quickly fell to non-Indian ownership. By 1845 California boasted a non-Indian population of 7,000, of which 1,000 were adult males. The statewide Indian population, the labor force for the missions and ranchos, was estimated at 150,000 in 1845—down from 300,000 in 1769.<sup>12</sup>

Despite the political unrest of the Mexican period, or perhaps because of it, the number of rancho land grants in California accelerated. At a time when land was plentiful, when dozens of acres were needed to maintain one cow, and when cattle farming was the only major industry, the rancho grants were necessarily enormous. A maximum limit was set at fifty thousand acres (seventy-six square miles), but several grants could be issued to one person and huge estates were established. On such large holdings, only casual boundaries were necessary—a rock pile here, a cactus there.

During the previous Spanish period, the government had issued titles to only twenty such tracts; by contrast, some five hundred were granted during the short span of the Mexican era. Nor were the rancho grants limited to settlers of Mexican or Spanish origin. Several large land grants were issued to Americans who claimed Mexican nationality and Mexican brides—and embraced Catholicism at least nominally. Thus one finds such names as Bale, Gilroy, and William Dana alongside Vallejo, Ortega, and Carillo.<sup>13</sup>

Up to this time most Americans had arrived by sea, but by the early 1840s non-Spanish settlers were pushing overland. The Bidwell-Bartleson party of 1841 led the initiative, starting a trail of wagons filled with settler families who took up residence on the rancho lands. Some received grants, many purchased tracts from the rancho owners, but many others just squatted in a likely spot. The Grigsby-Ide party of 1845 brought more than 100 settlers in a year that saw 250 American immigrants come overland. The next year brought twice as many, including the ill-fated Donner party which started across the Sierras too late in the season.<sup>14</sup>

By 1846 American newcomers were also chafing under "foreign" rule, and a series of revolts and skirmishes erupted. The Bear Flag Revolt, instigated by Americans from the Sacramento and Napa areas who marched on the unmanned garrison at Sonoma, accomplished the "arrest" of the Mexican general by representatives of the discontented settlers, whom he had invited into his home to discuss their grievances. Mexico's subsequent attempt to retake Sonoma brought more action by the Americans and was quickly followed by the conquest of the undefended San Francisco presidio, led by the soldier-explorer John Charles Fremont. By July 1846, when Commodore John D. Sloat raised the American flag in Monterey, the California Revolution had been accomplished with the loss of only seven or eight lives. When the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed in February 1848, officially ending the war with Mexico and ceding California to the United States, the area was just a breath away from the news of the gold discovery near Sutter's Fort—news which spelled the demise of the Rancho Period. 15

#### The Gold Rush: 1848-1852

As word of the gold strike reached the world, a tide of humanity began pouring into California, swelling the population literally beyond control. In 1849 the number of non-Indians jumped from some 26,000 to 115,000, centering around the gold-bearing region and its supply route. San Francisco was the port for most of the men and supplies that came by sea and rapidly emerged as the business and banking center for the gold region. From a hamlet of 812 persons in March 1848, it grew to over 25,000 in 1850. Sacramento and Sutter's Fort, the inland hub of activity, experienced similar growth—as did all of the settlements in between.

While the Americans were the first miners to arrive in large numbers, by 1849 many adventurers were also pouring in from Mexico, Chile, Peru, and Hawaii—as well as a few from China, the beginning of the great migration to come. The arrival of so many other ethnicities prompted many of the Americans to adopt restrictive laws that excluded anyone considered to be a threat to American interests—particularly the Mexicans from Sonora and the Asians.<sup>17</sup>

#### Statehood: 1850 to Present

The gold rush also brought greed, violence, and a push for statehood. Many gold rushers planned to take their gold and run, leaving nothing in return. Others were entrepreneurs who came and found that the way to wealth was not in panning for gold but in panning the miners—selling implements, foodstuffs, and clothing at much-inflated profit margins. Some came to California because of a past they wanted to forget; and it became an unwritten law that one did not ask from whence a person came if the person did not offer that information. Many of those who planned to stay were at their point of last resort. They had traveled west as far as the continent would allow, and it was "make it here or never make it at all."

A few came to make themselves famous in the political arena, knowing that a new territory and state would need leaders of experience to guide it during its early years. Initially, they were thwarted by politics a continent away. The United States Congress was deadlocked over the free-state-slave-state issue, and proponents of neither side wanted to admit California as a territory that would disturb the present balance. Impatiently, California's new leaders (miners excluded, almost totally) banded together and adopted an innovative constitution that, among other things, rejected slavery and gave women the right of separate property.<sup>18</sup>

## Reconciling Land Claims

Once statehood was achieved (September 1850), one of the most-difficult issues that California's leaders had to confront was the problem of existing land grants. The new settlers especially had difficulty in accepting one guarantee of the cession treaty—that Mexican-American citizens would be allowed to retain their holdings. The fact that many of the ranchos had no clear-cut boundaries was incomprehensible to Americans; and, as more settlers poured in wanting top-quality land, the rancho holdings became ever more in jeopardy. Bogus claims to grants also emerged. Under the Land Act of 1851, the United States put into effect a system for "proving up" the grants, but the process was time consuming; seventeen years was the average, with some claimants taking their actions all the way to the Supreme Court before proof was established. In the end, approximately three-fourths of the original grants were proved, but the cost to their owners was ruinous. While ownership was in doubt, the land was all but worthless and could not be sold. All the while, the squatters squatted, lawyers prospered, and the rancho owners went broke. 19

## Railroads, a New Economy, and New People

The next major impetus to settlement in California was thought to be railroads, but the outcome was disastrous. When gold production declined and the long-standing cattle industry was wiped out in the droughts of the early 1860s, agriculture began to develop—especially when it was discovered that wheat was well suited to the dryland farming methods necessary in the central valley. However, California was far removed from its Eastern markets, and it

was hoped that a transcontinental railroad would spur the state's faltering economy by opening new markets for California products. In reality, the completion of the railroad in 1869 had just the opposite effect. Products came from the East and competed with local industry; real-estate prices dropped, overinflated by speculators; and thousands of Chinese railroad workers were released to compete in an already-meager job market (by the 1870s, this ethnic group would represent a tenth of the total population). The state was thrown into a depression that lasted through the 1870s. <sup>20</sup>

The eventual stabilization of California's economy, after a new constitution in 1879, saw both new crops and new people introduced to the state. Wine grapes were found to do well and were planted extensively in the central and northern areas, while the citrus-fruit industry (made possible by irrigation canals) encouraged settlement in southern California. Adding to the large numbers of Irish-Americans who had settled in the 1870s, many Italians arrived by the 1890s (particularly in the San Francisco region); and the Swiss, German, French, and Portugese came to be well represented within the state. <sup>21</sup>

#### PART II: THE RECORDS

Despite California's imaginative ideas of statehood and laws, its people took a lesson from their Eastern counterparts and filed their papers in an orderly and thankfully unimaginative manner. The coverage that is found in surviving records is also excellent, in no small part due to the fact that the history of the region is comparatively short. Barring a few isolated fires, floods, and one noteworthy earthquake and fire in San Francisco in April 1906, most records are still intact. Generally speaking, the records are open to the public; and state and county personnel are willing to help. As in all states, time constraints upon staffs are a major problem. Government employees cannot do research for the public, but they usually will try to fulfill requests for copies of specific documents that are available. In general, the larger the city, the busier the office, and the less time staff will have to devote to research matters; so genealogists are well advised to make their requests simple and to do their homework first.

#### STATE-LEVEL MATERIALS

#### Vital Records

Since 1 July 1905, when statewide registration was initiated, copies of all birth, marriage, and death records have been sent to and managed by the state registrar (410 N Street, Sacramento, CA 95814). Divorce records are also available through this office, but only for the period June 1962 through 1985. For a fee, this office will provide a copy of any requested document which it can locate; and the fee will include a search spanning ten years if the date span is indicated in the letter of request. An inquirer should provide as much

information as is known—including name, date (or date span) of the event, place, and any other information that might make the correct document recognizable. (Typically helpful in a death-record request, for example, would be the inclusion of the date—or approximation thereof—of birth, spouse's name, and names of parents.) The records of the state registrar are open to the public. The only restrictions are upon certain medical data and adoptee information.

Of major importance to the researcher are the statewide indexes to births, deaths, and marriages, which are quite accessible in comparison to many states. Birth and death indexes begin with the year 1905, marriage indexes with 1960, and all types are subdivided into different indexes for different time spans. Copies of all indexes can be viewed at the state registrar's office by calling for an appointment (no letters, please). Limited reader space is available, and appointments are sometimes booked long in advance; the researcher who plans to visit should call early. No search fee is charged to study the indexes, but the applicable fee is charged for each actual document viewed.

Because of the time and space limitations, many researchers find it more convenient to use the death and marriage indexes elsewhere before contacting the state registrar. They exist in two separate forms; the early ones are in books, the later ones on microfiche. Copies of the indexes are available in the California Room of the State Library on Capital Mall and various other repositories in the state; some of the county-recorder offices have copies. Individuals also may purchase copies of the fiche indexes from the state registrar. The early indexes that are in book form are available at the State Library but cannot be photocopied. They can be viewed at will, being housed on shelves. The out-of-state researcher who needs to utilize this source can write to the California Room (Post Office Box 2037, Sacramento, CA 95809), briefly describing the needed record; if time is available, the staff will locate and hand copy the entry.

## Records of the State Hospitals

The state-hospital system in California—institutions for the insane and retarded—dates almost to statehood. The earliest site, Stockton State, opened in 1852. The records are classified medical and private; but scanty (yet vital) information can sometimes be obtained on patients by next of kin. Care will be taken to protect privacy, even for those long deceased. Hospitals might be able to provide or confirm birth information, parents' names, and cause of admittance; they can usually supply a death date (if it occurred within the hospital) and the place of removal for burial, since these facts are not considered confidential. Researchers should write to the records director at the specific hospital, state the need and the reason for the request, and provide a brief statement as to how they qualify as next of kin. Once a death date is established, the death certificate may be ordered from the state registrar or from the county in which the death occurred. To assist the researcher in identifying the proper state hospital, table A is provided.

TABLE A

State Hospital Agnews	Location Santa Clara County	Date of First Admittance		Comments
		October	1888	
Atascadero	San Luis Obispo County	June	1954	
Camarillo	Ventura County	November	1936	
Dewitt	Placer County		1946	(1)
Fairview	Orange County	January	1959	( )
Pacific Colony	Los Angeles County	March	1921-1923	(2)
Pacific State	Los Angeles County	May	1927	. ,
Mendocino	Mendocino County	December	1893	(3)
Norwalk/Metropolitan State	Los Angeles County	February	1916	(4)
Modesto	Stanislaus County	<b>,</b>	1946	(5)
Napa	Napa County		1875	` '
Patton	San Bernadino	August	1893	
Porterville	Tulare County	June	1953	
Sonoma	Sonoma	December	1885	(6)
Stockton	San Joaquin County	May	1852	(-)

#### Comments

- (1) Dewitt was established in an old World War II hospital building and closed in 1972. Its records were transferred to Stockton.
- (2) Pacific Colony had insufficient water and closed in 1923. It moved and reopened in 1927, at which time its name was changed to Pacific State. In 1978 the name was again changed to Frank D. Lanterman Hospital.
- (3) Mendocino closed in July 1972; records were transferred to Napa.
- (4) Norwalk's name was changed to Metropolitan State in July 1953.
- (5) Modesto was established in a World War II hospital building and closed in 1970. Records were transferred to
- (6) Sonoma was known as the Sonoma State Home until 1953.

## Veterans' Home of California

The Veterans' Home of California, in Yountville (Napa County), is a state-operated home for wartime veterans. Founded in 1882, it has served aged and infirm veterans from every conflict since the Civil War. In 1912, the home had over nine hundred residents. Excellent records are available here. The released records date from 1882 to approximately 1947. Records generated after 1947 are considered private because of their medical information, and they cannot be used for research. All other records are available, without restriction on contents.

The Veterans' Home maintains its own archives. Mail requests are accepted and should be addressed to Museum Workshop, Attention: Assistant Curator, Veterans' Home of California, Yountville, CA 94599. The inquirer should include a check or money order (\$15.00 is the present fee) and briefly state whatever pertinent information is known about the veteran—especially the name (with all variations), birth date (or approximation), birth-place, and approximate dates of residency in the home. The fee is charged for a successful search or refunded if the record is not found. Collected fees serve as a fund-raising project for the library and museum. Information generated by a search will be provided on a typewritten abstract form and may include the following information: name; age; disability; next of kin; length of California residency; amount of pension, if any; place and date entered service; branch and unit of service; rank; discharge information; wounds; battles served in; medals; and (if death occurred at the home) date of death and place of burial.

The home also maintains its own cemetery, with nearly five thousand graves. It may be visited, and the security guard will have a grave register. Another register is available at the main library, which is open on weekends; it is staffed by resident volunteers who will not be able to assist in further research. A cemetery list—possibly incomplete—was filmed by the Genealogical Society of Utah, an adjunct of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (LDS), and is available through LDS branch libraries.

When seeking information from the Veterans' Home, the researcher should remember that it is not a public-records facility. Its records are available only because the home has a commendable sense of history. A stamped, self-addressed envelope should accompany all mail inquiries. If hands-on research is desired, an appointment must be made in advance by mail or by telephone. The researcher should also be aware that this home is *state*-operated. It is not a federal institution. (A federal Old Soldiers' Home was established in 1888 at Sawtelle in southern California, but it has since closed. Records of this home will be in the National Archives and Records Administration in Washington, D.C.)<sup>22</sup>

#### FEDERAL AND STATE CENSUS RECORDS

Federal population censuses exist for California from 1850. Some schedules from that first census are lost—Contra Costa, San Francisco, and Santa Clara counties. In addition, a state census was taken in 1852. Auxiliary schedules of the federal census (mortality, agriculture, manufacturing, and mining) are extant for 1850–1880; but the slave schedules which were taken in 1850 and 1860 do not exist for California, since her first constitution prohibited slavery. Several special Indian censuses were taken (1914–1918, 1928, and 1935). The original records are available at the National Archives (RG 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs). They have been microfilmed by NARA as part of M595, *Indian Census Rolls*, 1885–1940; and microfilm copies are available for use outside the District of Columbia through the LDS libraries.<sup>23</sup>

The various schedules of the regular federal enumerations through 1910 are also available on film at many locations. They can be borrowed, by in-state researchers only, from the State Library through the interlibrary-loan system; out-of-state researchers may elect to use the LDS branch libraries, the National Archives Microfilm Rental Program, or a commercial lending-library. The population schedules for 1850 and 1860 have been indexed at least twice each; copies of the indexes are widely available. Researchers might also use the computerized search program available through the LDS branch libraries. The 1852 state census was transcribed and indexed by members of the Daughters of the American Revolution; copies of their work are available at the State Library; at the Washington, D.C., Library of the National Society, DAR; at the Bancroft Library in Berkeley; and at various other locations. The transcription has also been filmed by LDS.

#### MILITARY RECORDS

Californians have played a role in all of the major military conflicts that have embroiled America since the mid-1800s and in many of the more-minor

ones. The most-valuable records will be those maintained by the National Archives, especially the following:

#### Mexican War

M351, Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served During the Mexican War in Mormon Organizations. Particularly see Roll 3, for Capt. Davis's Company A, Mormon Volunteers, who enlisted at Los Angeles, for six months, in July 1847. Also valuable is T317, Index to Mexican War Pension Files, 1887–1926 (14 rolls).

#### **Bear Flag Revolt**

Military records, per se, do not exist for this mini-revolution. However, a convenient list of those participants who could be identified some four decades later appears in a footnote within Bancroft's *History of California*.<sup>26</sup>

#### Civil War

M533, Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Union Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of California (7 rolls); and M594, Compiled Records Showing Service of Military Units to Volunteer Union Organizations (see rolls 2 and 3).<sup>27</sup>

#### **Indian Wars**

This designation actually applies to various campaigns, skirmishes, and uprisings occurring through the end of the nineteenth century. Most participants were local militiamen or regular-army personnel stationed at one or another of California's forts. While the federal government does not maintain militia records per se, a wealth of records were created on regular-army personnel; much of it is now microfilmed. For a list of materials available on film, researchers will want to comb NARA's 1985 publication Military Service Records: A Select Catalog of National Archives Microfilm Publications (pages 167–232 especially). Valuable records on men who fought in these conflicts, particuarly militiamen—and who lived long enough to file for a pension or had a widow who filed—are available in T318, Index to Indian Wars Pension Files, 1892–1926.

#### Spanish-American War (1898)

M871, General Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served During the War with Spain (126 rolls).

#### Philippine Insurrection (1899–1902)

M872, Index to Compiled Service Records of Volunteer Soldiers Who Served During the Philippine Insurrection (24 rolls).

#### Regular-Army, 1861-1900:

T289, Organization Index to Pension Files of Veterans Who Served Between 1861 and 1900 (rolls 7-9, particularly), is also useful for documenting military service for U.S. Army regulars in the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, and the Philippine Insurrection.

For identification of state-level resources on file at the California State Library, the researcher will want to consult the guide to that facility which is discussed under *Libraries*, below.

#### COUNTY-LEVEL RECORDS

A place of major importance to the researcher, the county courthouses contain records that are generally complete, available, and accessible. Clerks cannot do research but will usually supply a copy of an available document if the inquirer provides necessary information. The busier the office, the less accessible the records will be for a hands-on search—particularly vital records. Land records and indexes to many other record categories are readily available. A researcher's identification slip may be requested upon entering the records room. No fee is imposed to search an index or to transcribe records; a copy fee is assessed if photocopies or certified copies are made. Addresses of the various county offices are available in Everton's Handy Book for Genealogists or Sanders's Searching in California.<sup>28</sup>

Most California counties subdivide their record keeping into two main offices, those of the county clerk and the county recorder. The prevailing distribution of records is as follows:

County Clerk
Wills and estates
Court records
Voter records
Divorces (some)
Licenses (marriage, business, medical, professional)
Naturalization papers

County Recorder
Vital records (births, recorded marriages, deaths, and some divorces)
Land records (deeds, mortgages, mining claims, grants, patents)
Brand-registration books (cattle)
Military-discharge books
Wills (if recorded)

Some smaller counties have combined the two offices into one, while larger counties find it necessary to maintain more than just these two divisions. Voter records, which are frequently handled by the *registrar of voters* under the direction of the county clerk, may be housed separately. Similarly, in the larger counties a *health department* usually manages the current vital records. The genealogist might also find useful material in the tax rolls maintained by the county *auditor* and *tax collector*.

A complete listing of the holdings of all county offices is contained in two useful publications, the Inventory of County Archives (a series of guides to record offices in each county, produced by the depression-era Work Projects Administration) and Coy's Guide to the County Archives of California, published in 1919.29 The Coy guide, although older, may be easier to locate; and all information appears in a single volume. The other guides are compiled by county. Both of the works are now outdated. Records extant at the time of their compilation may no longer be available; they may have been transferred to a storage facility, given to another repository, shoved to the back of a dark storage area and "lost," or even destroyed. Knowing that these records did exist, however, supplies the researcher with valuable information as well as the incentive to search more determinedly for them. If a needed record is not in the county office, one should try nearby repositories—including county historical and genealogical societies, museums, and public and academic libraries. If an item actually has been destroyed, it is still possible that the record was abstracted or filmed (in-house or by LDS) prior to its destruction.

#### Vital Records (County Level)

Each county recorder also maintains copies of every birth and death record sent to the state registrar since July 1905. In addition, counties sometimes have records predating statewide registration—one-line entries in registers giving name, date of event, and certain other data. Age, nativity, and cause of death generally appear in the early death records; and a birth register might include the name of one or both parents. The county also maintains copies of its extant marriage records, with both bride and groom indexes. While the applications for marriage licenses were made in the clerk's office, these applications frequently were not retained. The actual licenses and returns were filed with the recorder. To order copies of vital records from a county office, researchers should enclose the same fee assessed by the state.

Delayed and amended birth certificates can also be found at the county level. The delayed certificates are those created when individuals need to prove details of birth, for a passport, legal aid, benefits or other reasons, and no original is on file. These delayed certificates are filed in the county of birth, by issue date rather than birth date. They offer the basic information found on a regular birth record, in addition to evidence required to prove that the event occurred. School records, affidavits of relatives, and other important genealogical material may be included. Amended birth certificates are created when individuals prove certain information on the originals to be incorrect or when adoptions occur. The amended certificates for adoptees in California are placed over the original record in the file, permanently changing the record.

#### Court Records

Both civil- and criminal-court records are maintained by the county clerk. Such files have been generated since the creation of each county, but they may no longer be accessible in their original form. Transcripts of early cases were often recorded onto rolls of paper. A long trial would produce a transcript that resembled a huge piano roll. With time, the paper turned brittle; and access to these fragile files is often restricted. Indexes to the different court proceedings (civil, district, county, and superior) are available to guide the researcher to the appropriate date and court. If the records are not accessible, the researcher might have an alternate source of information in the area newspapers; many sensational cases have been covered by the press, and a condensed version of the transcript might be found in published form.

#### Probate Files

Probate packets and wills have been filed separately, although a copy of each will (when one exists) is usually found in the corresponding probate file. Packets are identified and filed by a consecutive numbering system; then indexed by surname of the deceased. Researchers should also watch for additional packets relating to the closing of an estate, particularly for children who were minors at the time of the parent's death. Such packets may be filed under the names of the children, and the filing dates may be separated by many

years. For some counties, the loose papers comprising the probate packets have been filmed, although it is not always possible to determine from the film exactly which documents were originally part of a set. Copies of documents from the packets can be ordered from the county clerk by written request, if the inquirer knows exactly what is needed or is willing to accept the judgement of the clerk.

## Naturalization Papers

Prior to 1906, naturalization proceedings could take place in any court of law—city, county, district, state, or federal. After that date, the process was confined to the federal courts. The earlier records generated in California courts (declarations of intent, applications, and certificates of citizenship) will be found in the county clerk's office, and each office will vary in its holdings. The researcher should bear in mind that a person may have filed an application or declaration at one courthouse and completed the process at another court or in a federal court. Many of the federal records have been gathered and placed on file at the San Francisco and Los Angeles federal records-centers of the National Archives. Also, many of California's naturalization documents have been filmed by LDS.

#### Land Records

So many land records exist in California that the state is alleged to have the largest number of land-title companies per capita of any in the Union. Transactions involving the transfer of land are available through the county recorder's office and are open to the public. In general, the researcher can expect to find the usual deed and mortgage records; but in California, they will also normally find a series of volumes recording the original patents issued to the first owner of each tract of federally dispensed land. Using the information supplied in these patents, the researcher can then proceed to obtain the supporting land-entry files, of whatever type, from the National Archives.<sup>30</sup> Also in California, researchers may find a miscellaneous-records series with some property transactions, although they are generally less convenient to work.

## Quiet-Title Actions for San Francisco

San Francisco lost many records in the devastating earthquake and fire of April 1906. Although not all of the land records were destroyed, enough were lost that the chain of title to most tracts was broken—making deeds of limited value for establishing clear title. In order to perfect these titles, landholders were permitted to file an ownership statement. If no one disputed the claim, then the claim was deemed good by quiet title. This body of records came to be known as the McEnerney Papers. A useful discussion of this collection was published in 1984 by Carlton Smith in the California State Genealogical Alliance's newsletter.<sup>31</sup> Filmed by LDS, the papers form a mammoth collec-

tion—over 800 reels were cataloged in August 1987, at which time filming still was not complete. City and county staffs are not allowed—nor do they have the time—to research these papers in response to a request. Therefore, consulting the film through a branch library of LDS is the most-expedient method of utilizing this source.

#### OTHER REPOSITORIES

#### Libraries

The State Library in Sacramento collects vast quantities of materials relating to the history of California. Its newspaper collection attempts to maintain at least one long run for every area of the state. Films of many of these newspapers can be borrowed through interlibrary loan.<sup>32</sup> In addition, the State Library has a large collection of county histories, voter registers, city directories, telephone books dating from 1897, DAR-collected sources, federal and state censuses (population and mortality schedules, which are available on interlibrary loan for in-state researchers only), maps, photographs, a biographical index, and death and marriage indexes—and much else. The staff is very limited; but simple mail requests can be handled or a list of researchers supplied. A guide to the library is also available.<sup>33</sup>

University of California's Berkeley Library System (including the Bancroft Library) houses an impressive collection of Californiana, including newspapers, histories, maps, and manuscripts.<sup>34</sup>

Los Angeles area libraries offer many important collections—including those of the city's public library (which is temporarily closed because of fire damage) and the Huntington Library at nearby San Marino, for which a useful guide has been prepared.<sup>35</sup>

San Francisco's Sutro Library, a branch of the California State Library, specializes in genealogical material for areas outside the state but also houses a large collection of city directories, telephone books, local newspaper runs, and census records for California itself. The previously discussed guide to the State Library covers Sutro also.

Miscellaneous collections of value are found in most of the state-college libraries (principally collections of local materials); but perhaps the most impressive of all, and the most difficult to locate, are the many small collections housed in local libraries, museums, and organization offices. These cover a vast array of cemetery records; newspaper holdings, clippings, and indexes; collections of private manuscripts; and locally printed histories. Finding aids exist to several of the various library collections.<sup>36</sup>

#### Cemeteries and Funeral Homes

Cemeteries in California are more apt to be formal, cared-for, organizational plots than those found in other parts of the country. Small and untended farm plots do exist, but they are not numerous. Many cemeteries have been

cataloged and abstracted, and their records filmed. San Francisco researchers need to be aware that burials for the city also have taken place in the neighboring county of San Mateo, particularly in the cities of Colma and San Mateo. Landlocked on a crowded peninsula, San Francisco can ill afford to use its land for cemeteries; earlier remains of its citizens have been moved to suburban areas. Some removal records exist and are available on film through the LDS branch libraries.

Funeral-home records also can be helpful. The homes have frequently been in business for many years (although business names might have changed) and may house records which are even more informative than the official death certificate. Funeral homes can be located by means of the Yellow Book of Funeral Directors and Services or the American Blue Book of Funeral Directors,<sup>37</sup> one or the other of which can be found at any funeral home across the nation. Mortuary firms are listed therein by state, county, and city; and most will respond to a letter politely inquiring the name of a predecessor which was in business at the time in question.

Californians take a delight in their state's rather-flamboyant history; and many individuals and groups collect, preserve, and disseminate historical information. The state's library system is excellent. Its governmental agencies are helpful, and the private sector interested. The informed researcher who seeks out historical material on California's settlers and citizens will usually be well rewarded.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

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general information. See also Philip M. Hamer, ed., A Guide to Archives and Manuscripts in the United States (New York: Yale Univ. Press for the National Historical Records Publications Commission, 1961); pages 10-45 of Hamer's guide pertains to California, listing twenty-eight locations around the state which house collections. The researcher will also find useful the Library of Congress series National Union Catalog—Manuscripts Collections, a guide to archival holdings across the country, which is available at all major research or academic libraries.

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# ANCESTORS AND KIN by Robert Walden Coggeshall

As the author states in his Introduction: "All of [the book's] lines are of direct ancestral interest to no one. But the fact that each line has been traced as far back as [available] sources permit, with citation of sources, should make a varying number of lines of interest to many. . . ."

The book covers 140 lines of descent, many of which originated in

The book covers 140 lines of descent, many of which originated in England and developed in South Carolina; and the Introduction includes outlines of England's early history, surnames, peerage, arms and heraldry, land tenure, area and population; South Carolina's early history, economy, and geography; and inflation (present value of old money amounts). The following outline, by chapters, shows in CAPITALS many of the lines covered. The organization of chapters and sections brings together lines in the same localities; and brief summaries of their History introduce each chapter and some sections.

Chapter 1, COGGESHALL. Antecedents to 1149 of President John COGGESHALL 1601-1647, his involvement in the Antinomian Controversy; and Early Rhode Island. The THROCKMORFON ancestry provides 24 peerage and royal lines accepted by the "Royal Bastards" (see below). The COLLIN and CAHOONE lines have sections on Frenchiown [R.1.] and on The Scots Prisoners [of Cromwell's Commonwealth].

Chapter 2, PAWLEY. Descendants of George PAWLEY 1632–1695; and South Carolina's Upper Coast. A major concern was to correct the many errors in Joseph A. Groves '1901 book The Alstons and Allstons of North and South Carolina. For S. C. ALISTONS, provides 33 peerage and royal lines accepted by the Royal Bastards (see Eugene A. Stratton, "The Validity of Genealogical Evidence," NGSQ Dec. 1984, 273-84).

Chapter 3, WILDS. Descendants of Samuel WILDS who came from Pa. to *The Welsh Tract* in S.C. 1735; related lines LIDE, KOLB, TERREL, PLEDGER, ALLISON, JAMES.

Chapter 4, WALDEN. Descendants of Henry WALDEN who was in S.C. 1790, and of John CALDWELL who came from co. Antrim to S.C. c. 1766; and *The Spartan District*.

Chapter 5, THOMAS. Descendants of Thomas THOMAS, d. Charles Co., Md., 1670; related Md. lines WAILES, COVINGTON. DENWOOD, HOWARD, DENT, WILKINSON, BRISCOE; Ga. lines HOGUE, FULLWOOD, GRAY; and Early Maryland and Early Georgia.

Chapter 6, PENNINGTON. Descendants of John PENNINGTON 1777-1838; and *The Piedmont Backcountry*. The chapter attempts to resolve controversies regarding the descendants of Abraham Pennington who came from Va. to S.C. c. 1750.

Chapter 7, CHAPLIN. Descendants of John CHAPLIN who came to Charles Towne 1672; related lines LADSON, STANYARNE, SAXBY, FRIPP, TOOMER, SCOTT; and South Carolina's Lower Coast.

Chapter 8, PALMER. Antecedents of John Sams Palmer of St Heiena Parish, b.c. 1790; with his Bellinger, Sams, Brewton, Barnwell, NORTON, FITZ, DOWTHWAITE lines; and Carolina's Early Indian Wars.

Chapter 9, HANSON. Descendants of Byorn Jacobson SKAALBONES of Bodo, Norway, 1737–1803; related early French-American families LUPIENT, CRELLY PILET, PREVOT; Irish family CUSHING; German family BENTER; and Norway, France in America, and Early Wisconsin.

Chapter 10, EBBETT. Descendants of Phineas BARNES 1781-1810; related lines FRYE, BUTLER, HEARD, PAYNE, PUTNAM (incl. Salem witch trials), RICHARDSON, IRISH, PHINNEY, DEANE, and the Mayflower Madam's ROCERS line; and Early Maine.

An original publication: over 600 pages 9\%x6\%"; buckram bound; illustrations, maps and charts; bib, notes, and index. Price \$30 to Dec. 31, 1988, \$40 thereafter; postage \$2 one copy, 50e each additional; S C residents add 5\% sales tax.

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# American-Indian Genealogical Research in the Midwest: Resources and Perspectives

#### By STEWART RAFERT\*

The states of the Old Northwest offer a rich field for the researcher interested in American-Indian genealogy. A number of tribes and groups of Indian descent remain in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin some of which have extensive reservations and full federal status—while other groups are in the process of documenting both their tribal status and their genealogy. Even greater is the number of Americans with Indian ancestry in this area whose forebears left the tribal environment and assimilated into the dominant population. In most of the latter cases—given the political and social climate of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries—their offspring felt compelled to shed their Indian identity. Consequently, modern genealogists who seek to document a family tradition of Indian ancestry face a double challenge: they not only have to contend with the usual genealogical problems of locating adequate records but they also must uncover that trail of ethnic clues which their forebears tried, more or less intently, to camouflage. Regardless of the reason for initiating Indian-related research in the Midwest, the resources are extremely varied; and genealogical research can be quite rewarding—if it is properly approached and organized.

#### BACKGROUND

The Midwest was well populated with major Indian tribes, representing a loose confederation of villages having a great deal of individual autonomy. The period of the American Revolution created strife between various tribes and the American government, resulting in decades of turmoil that lasted until the conclusion of the War of 1812. Following the latter conflict, the amount of land held by the various Indian groups was greatly reduced through a number of treaties. After 1830, the United States government removed all or portions of many tribes to new lands west of the Mississippi River.

The intimate involvement of the federal government in the affairs of Midwestern tribes until the mid-nineteenth century created a wealth of useful information for genealogical researchers. Every act of war, every peace treaty, every land cession, and every removal were chronicled. With such an embarrassment of riches, how can one most effectively use these resources and correlate them with the very-different kinds of records kept by local officials in the nineteenth century? This paper aspires to offer some useful suggestions.

#### IDENTIFYING RESEARCH PROBLEMS

The major problem faced by great numbers of genealogical researchers is an uncertainty as to how Indian ancestry enters into their pedigree. The family tradition is there. Identifying details are not. Corroborative evidence has been

even harder to find. Particularly is this so if the tradition which declares great-great-grandmother to be an Indian princess does not also identify her tribe—properly. Where does research begin?

If family memorabilia do not provide the genealogist with documentary evidence of membership in a specific tribe, one rule of thumb prevails: research must begin in the same resources used to explore any family of that region—and proceed to use the same methodology. The researcher will not merely search for names, dates, and specific statements of ethnic identity. Instead, one must study each ancestor in the context of his or her community and environment. Associates and in-laws need to be identified on all sides. It is in this process that the first sound clues to Indian connections will begin to emerge. When the pedigree has been extended to the point that specific ancestors have been identified as residents of an area in which Indians and whites coexisted, then the researcher has reached the time at which it is feasible to study the so-called "Indian records" created in that area. And again, at this point research will need to include the names not only of specific ancestors but also those of all known neighbors and associates.

A major stumbling block for many researchers is a failure to clarify which Native American group they need to study. Often, knowing the name of a tribe is not enough, for the American government wanted to divide as well as conquer and usually dealt with bands or village subgroups of tribes. For example, federal agents dealt with the Miami-speaking Indians of Indiana and Illinois as five different entities: the Eel River Miami, the Miami proper, the Piankeshaw, the Peoria, and the Wea. In a similar fashion, separate records were kept for many village groups of the Potawatomi, Chippewa, Delaware, Shawnee, Wyandot, and other tribes.

Consequently, it is suggested that students of Indian genealogy begin their quest with an exploration of published materials and not with original records. Even seasoned researchers should make use of the Smithsonian's *Handbook of North American Indians*. The individual articles and the many excellent maps therein explain tribal subgroups and show tribal movements. Once the proper tribe has been identified, researchers also should consult a good tribal history before beginning detailed research. Many tribal histories are published by the University of Oklahoma Press and are available at state historical-society libraries or university libraries. Without some familiarity with tribal history, even the best-motivated researchers can become lost and discouraged in a maze of records.

#### PART ONE: LOCAL RECORDS

#### **PERSPECTIVES**

Local records are familiar territory for all readers of this journal. Therefore, comments here need only cover the complexities introduced by differences between European-American and American-Indian family life and culture.

Indian tribes were distinctly non-European in their social structure, and—where a tribe or band stayed intact—many traditional features of aboriginal society were retained until the late-nineteenth century and even the early-twentieth century.

# Marriage, Divorce, Adoption, and Name Changes

Indian-style marriages, sanctioned by tribal leaders, usually were not recorded in county courthouses—although in many areas of the Midwest this did begin to change in the late-nineteenth century. Elite tribal leaders sometimes had plural marriages (two wives) as a sign of their status. To further complicate matters, divorce and remarriage were both acceptable and common among Indian groups. High death rates also ended marriages. Older adult Indians commonly had two to four marriage partners during their lifetimes. Households were often composite families. Informal adoptions were extremely common. Children frequently kept the surname of the mother. Additionally, children were sometimes referred to by their native names until adolescence. These cultural differences are daunting but can be overcome with patience and careful research.

#### Vital Records

Birth and death records, a major source for modern genealogical research, are not of much use for Indian communities until the early-twentieth century; they are obviously of even-lesser value to genealogists attempting to document remote Indian descent. Those Indian tribes or bands that did remain intact in the Midwest were separate medical communities, with their own midwives, medicine people, and buriers of the dead. Therefore, many births, communicable diseases, deaths, and burials were never reported. If the researcher is lucky, a federal Indian roll (to be discussed later in this paper) or court deposition may help fill in the gaps.

# Newspapers, Mugbooks, and Community Informants

Again, with regard to this type of material, the Indian researcher is at a distinct disadvantage. Newspapers largely ignored local Indian communities and individual Indians—except for instances of legal infractions or occasional obituaries of tribal leaders (usually portrayed as the "last full-blood"). County histories may provide helpful information on the period of early settlement by European-Americans, but they generally ignored Indian communities and individual Indians of later years. Similarly, the modern interest in oral-history gathering is thwarted. Within the Indian tribes or bands still intact in the Midwest, there are very few living informants who can give reliable information on nineteenth-century family data—even late-nineteenth-century data.

#### USEFUL COUNTY-LEVEL RECORDS

In a more-positive vein, there do exist certain county-level records that can be of value in reconstructing families who have been clearly identified as members of one or another Indian group.

# Guardianship Records

Recorded among probate records in the county courthouses, this category of records is relatively common for Indian children in the late-nineteenth century. In this period, many minors were heirs to land that had been divided among tribal members, and many received annuity payments from the federal government. Because parents were not citizens or lacked education, white guardians usually were appointed. Some were honest in handling the affairs of their wards, other guardians plainly were not. Guardianship records are an exciting source because they contain so many details of everyday life, from purchases of clothing to medical expenses to farm improvements. Seldom do researchers find, in one single place, as much detailed information on an Indian's daily life.

#### Wills and Estate Records

By contrast, this category of probate records is disappointing more often than not. Some tribal leaders were granted large tracts of land as part of treaty settlements, and tribal members in later years may have received allotments of land from the federal government. For various reasons, however, the Midwestern Indian usually did not retain ownership of such land. Few left any estate to probate. However, since estate records are generally well organized and easy to survey, the researcher should not omit this category of records. To do so is to miss rare jewels.

# Marriage Licenses and Returns

As previously noted, this category of records can be useful for reconstructing families of the late-nineteeth century and later. Outside social and legal pressures had, by this time, made Indian marriages a matter of concern within the larger community. Also, in some tribes there was a large male-deficit (many fewer men than women), meaning that a large number of women had to marry non-Indians if they were to marry at all.

# Conveyances and Other Transactions

While the Midwestern Indian is less likely to appear in county conveyance records than his white neighbor, these files still offer potential that cannot be ignored. As Indian land allotments were sold, copies of the deeds were normally filed with the county recorder. (See also the discussion of deeds under

Federal Records.) Midwestern Indians also acted as both the primary and secondary parties in sundry types of leases and contracts. Working with the Miami tribe, this writer accumulated fifteen Indian-white building contracts for houses, fences, stables, and other outbuildings. The descriptions provided in these legal documents gave a much clearer idea of the living arrangements in a typical Indian homestead of the 1850s to the 1880s.

#### Court Records

Judicial proceedings in both the civil (circuit and chancery) and criminal courts should also be combed by the Indian researcher. Once an Indian tribe officially ceded its lands, those tribal members who chose to remain behind—rather than move westward—lost their immunity from the laws that governed all American citizens. Consequently, any infractions of the law, from public intoxication to murder, could result in their appearance before the local courts. Conversely, a significant number of Indians came into court as plaintiffs—suing whites in an effort to recover land allotments which they felt they had lost unjustly. In this regard, researchers should be aware that a significant number of such cases won or lost by Indians in the county or district courts were subsequently appealed to the superior courts of the state; and the latter files should be examined also.

#### PART TWO: FEDERAL RECORDS

Federal records concerning American Indians in the Midwest form a unique and extensive source of information unavailable for any other ethnic group in the region. As a by-product of their work, Indian agents, commissioners, and other officials kept records of trade, land transactions, education, vaccinations, population, and many other items—often enumerating individual Indians. As a rule of thumb (at least in the present writer's experience), federal records relating to Indians provide more-complete and more-accurate identification of individuals than do local records.

The records of discontinued nineteenth-century superintendencies from the Midwest were sent to Washington, D.C., and were subsequently transferred to the National Archives when that facility was created. As a general rule, the documents of the early agencies associated with tribes which were removed in the 1830s and 1840s are still in Washington today—while the late-nineteenth and twentieth-century records for tribes which still have reservations in the Midwest (particularly in Michigan and Wisconsin) are now housed at the Chicago Field Branch of the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA).

#### **GUIDES**

NARA has provided a series of publications to guide researchers through their exploration of federal Indian records. The most-comprehensive guide and the best starting place is Hill's 1981 Guide to Records in the National Archives Relating to American Indians.<sup>3</sup> Hill explains each type of record concerned with Indians and how to use it. Especially important for the researcher tackling tribal groups of the Midwest is the author's general survey of records on pages 13 through 211.

A second convenient publication on the subject, which supplements Hill's Guide, is American Indians: A Select Catalog of National Archives Microfilm Publications.<sup>4</sup> This inexpensive, ninety-page catalog gives the microfilm-roll numbers for many of the records mentioned in Hill's Guide, accompanied by greater detail on those specific records. While the National Archives Microfilm Rental Program does not cover federal Indian records, the materials itemized in the Select Catalog can be purchased from NARA at a reasonable cost per roll. The more widely used series are available on loan through the branch libraries of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (LDS) and through at least one commercial lending library.<sup>5</sup>

A better understanding of the various federal records which are subsequently described in this paper—their content and their accessibility—can also be gleaned from three other NARA-related publications. Hill's two-volume Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs<sup>6</sup> inventories BIA holdings, category by category, with a discussion of the material that often provides a different perspective from that which appears in his 1981 guide. Similarly, Kelsay's Cartographic Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs<sup>7</sup> identifies maps and plats that are available to help with the identification and location of early reservations and private claims—as, for example, the 1810 map of the Island of Michilimackinac (Mackinac) in Michigan or the plat of Illinois reserves under the Potawatomi Treaty of 1832. Finally, the researcher will also want to consult Szucs and Luebking's recent guide, The Archives: A Guide to the National Archives Field Branches, for a more-specific inventory of the holdings of the Chicago branch of NARA.<sup>8</sup>

#### MAJOR RECORD CATEGORIES

#### Census Records

Of all the records available for Indian genealogy, this one category is probably the first to which most researchers turn. It can also be the most rewarding and the most frustrating—depending upon the time period of the research problem and the degree to which the researcher's expectations match reality.

Population Censuses of the United States (Record Group [RG] 29) are the mainstay of genealogical research and are useful for Indian study; but they require extra patience and skillful handling to yield good results. Indians moved frequently, death rates were often extremely high, and divorce was common. Often only Indian names were recorded, making it difficult to determine just who the person was who later acquired a Caucasian-style name. Census takers frequently garbled native names, making them difficult to recognize. Indians often made months-long visits to kinspeople out of state,

and were not counted; or they were not included on the census because their citizenship status was not clear. Fortunately, with many tribal groups one can supplement federal census information with the tribal-annuity or claims-payment rolls (discussed subsequently in this paper).

The 1870 population schedule is the first that clearly calls for the enumeration of Indians; however, in various places and years they can be found prior to this time. On the 1850 census for Indiana, for example, Indians were listed with an I in the "color" column—in counties where there was a significant Indian population. In 1860 this state's Indians were again enumerated, although instructions to census takers did not mention Indians under "color." Even after the 1870 mandate to include Indians, compliance was spotty. Many who were off reservations were still not citizens, and there was probably an undercount of those whose legal status was not clear.

The instructions to enumerators for the 1880 census addressed the ambiguity that had allowed many Indians to go uncounted in 1870. Specifically, it was stated that Indians not living on reservations "who are found mingled with the white population, residing in white families, engaged as servants or laborers, or living in huts or wigwams on the outskirts of towns or settlements . . . are to be embraced in the enumeration." The 1880 census also called for a separate roster of the Indian population on reservations, but it was made primarily on certain reservations near military installations in the West; this researcher has found none for Midwestern-reservation populations.

The 1890 census also tallied off-reservation Indians as part of the general population. However, enumerators were also asked to note non-reservation Indians on a special schedule—giving name, tribe, sex, age, and occupation. The latter circumstance is fortunate, since the regular population schedules of the 1890 census were destroyed by fire. From the 1890 data, prior to its destruction, the Census Bureau also prepared a *Report on Indians Taxed and Non-Taxed*, which can be useful to the genealogical researcher who needs confirmation of the size and location of the Indian population in a particular area.<sup>11</sup>

The 1900 and 1910 schedules continue the general format, with the important addition of "language spoken." With some small, non-reservation groups of the Midwest, these two censuses may be the only sources showing the size, location, and economic and educational status of the community.

Agricultural Schedules of the federal censuses are an often-overlooked auxiliary source for Indian research. These schedules, which were kept from 1850 through the early-twentieth century, are extant only through 1880—and then not completely. As many Indians of this period had small tracts of land or were tenant farmers, these records provide information on the economic lives of Native Americans in white society—a type of information which cannot be gleaned from other sources. Additionally, the discovery of an Indian forebear on one of these schedules also serves as a signal to the researcher that other records may exist for that farmer's acquisition or disposal of land.

The agricultural schedules are not as widely available as the federal population returns but can still be fairly easily accessed. Prior to the creation of

the National Archives, the federal government offered these schedules to the respective states, and some states of the Midwest accepted and preserved them. Indiana is one such state. Most of the remaining schedules are now owned by the archives departments of Duke University (Durham, North Carolina) and the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill); these institutions will make interlibrary loans of the microfilmed schedules.

Indian Census Rolls (RG 75, microfilm publication M595) were made in the Midwest from 1885 until the 1940s and included only federally recognized tribes located in Michigan and Wisconsin. Groups of Shawnee, Miami, Potawatomi, Cherokee, Chippewa, and others—which lost or never had federal status—are not included. For these latter groups, the researcher must turn to the federal population and agricultural schedules (above) or the annuity, allotment, and claims-payment rolls (below).

#### Annuity, Allotment, and Claims-payment Rolls

Large and cumbersome but extremely valuable genealogical tools, these original records remain mostly unfilmed and must be examined at NARA in Washington, D.C. Normally, a researcher's first clue to the appropriateness of consulting these files will be gleaned from a tribal history; when well done, these histories will reference exactly where such rolls for a particular tribe can be found. The previously discussed volumes by Edward Hill are also useful in accessing these files. Since the three types of rolls are often confused, one with the other, the following distinctions may help researchers to determine the proper type(s) to study for their particular problems.

Annuity Rolls, of which NARA has a large collection spanning the years from 1841 to 1949, are records of annual payments of goods, money, or both to Indian tribes or individuals by the federal government as a result of treaty stipulations or congressional legislation.

Allotment Rolls, on the other hand, were drawn up when tribal land was divided—or "allotted." Often, specially appointed commissioners took detailed depositions from all claimants to tribal land and then made a determination of those eligible for a share of land. An exceedingly rich source, the original allotment rolls are kept in bound volumes and are sometimes included in congressional reports (q.v.).

Claims-payment Rolls were made of tribal members eligible to share in awards from the United States Court of Claims as a result of suits which various tribes brought against the federal government. These rolls are often maintained in RG 75 (Bureau of Indian Affairs) and are at times duplicated in RG 123 (the Court of Claims files). They were often created in the latenineteenth and early-twentieth centuries and frequently became base rolls for determining eligibility for awards from the Indian Claims Commission during the 1950s to 1970s. Midwestern tribes are well represented in these documents, and their treaty claims were quite large. Typical files are Claims of Delaware Indians for Depredations Committed by Whites, 1862-63; Financial Affairs of the Miami Indians, 1839-54; and Wyandot Enrollment and Claims, 1855-82.

# **BIA-Agency Correspondence**

Letters Received, 1824–1881 (RG 75, microfilm publication M234), is one of the most-valuable groups of records for the genealogist. This huge collection of records consists of correspondence from many sources concerning Indian lands, treaty negotiations, subsistence payments, annuity payments, depredations (Indian destruction of non-Indian property or non-Indian destruction of Indian property), traders' claims, agriculture, health conditions, and many other items of day-to-day life. Of particular interest to the genealogist are the emigration records, which are listed separately in the agency files. These contain correspondence concerning removal of tribespeople west of the Mississippi, along with lists of tribal members removed, and sometimes lists of those permitted to remain in their homeland.

The great bulk of *Letters Received* consists of agency files relating to particular tribes or geographic areas. Several files are of particular help to persons looking for information on well-known groups that later lost their federal status in the Midwest and became "hidden communities." Particularly recommended are the files of the Chicago Agency, 1824–47; Fort Wayne Agency, 1824–30; Mackinac Agency, 1828–80; various Miami Agency files, 1824–53; Michigan Superintendency, 1824–51; Ohio Agency, 1831–43; Wisconsin Superintendency, 1836–58; and Wyandot Agency, various files, 1843–72.

The Quapaw Agency files serve as an outstanding example of the breadth of material available. While the agency was located in Indian Territory, portions of many other Midwestern tribes fell within its jurisdiction in what is now northeast Oklahoma. Many of the tribal people who remained in the Ohio Valley visited relatives in Indian Territory; and, because their own tribes were not recognized by the federal government, many of their papers were filed with the Ouapaw agent.

Researchers who attempt to use these files should be aware that NARA has prepared (as for most of its microfilmed publications) an accompanying Descriptive Pamphlet, which describes in general terms the content of each individual roll within that group of microfilm. When attempting to use a collection of film that consists of more than one roll, it is advisable to consult the accompanying pamphlet first. When still in print, these pamphlets are generally available free of charge from NARA. Those out of print may still be consulted, in many cases, in the government-documents repository sections of major research libraries (large urban and university libraries).

When making general use of Letters Received, the researcher should examine the Registers of Letters before going to the letters themselves. The registers—which contain the name of the writer, the date of the letter, and a brief summary of its contents—have been microfilmed separately as publication M18. An auxiliary collection, Responses to Letters Received, 1824–1881, is available as M21. The official responses, while interesting, are less useful than the incoming letters from Indians or their representatives.

If correspondence was voluminous and concerned with a particular issue,

such as a trader's claim against a tribe, letters and documents were often gathered into a "Special File." Microfilm publication M574 describes the 303 Special Files of the Office of Indian Affairs, 1807–1904. Midwestern tribes are especially well represented in this series, as described in detail in the pamphlet covering M574. Traders' claims against tribes often contain detailed information on villages, families, and individuals.

Numerous other situations sparked problems that are represented in these special files. The period from the 1820s to the 1880s was one of rapid change for the tribes of the Midwest. Most tribal land was ceded to whites, portions of tribes were moved west under military escort, and the remnants of the tribes remaining in their homelands were reduced to great poverty while being expected to assimilate with the non-Indian population. As tribal leaders gained some education, they contested the loss of legal status and other privations. They, or their attorneys, frequently wrote to the federal government for assistance. Interesting information on individuals is frequently included, particularly in the form of depositions.

Some of the Special Files were printed as congressional reports, another potential source for the advanced researcher. Congressional reports on tribes usually concern legal matters, but sometimes the testimony includes depositions concerning individuals or factions within a tribe. All such Indian reports have been indexed by tribe and year in Johnson's American Indian Documents in the Congressional Serial Set, 1817–1899.<sup>12</sup> They are also covered by the Congressional Index Series (CIS). The actual reports are bound in another vast series of government documents, the Senate and House Reports. All of these publications are available in the government-documents repository section of major research libraries. A glance at Johnson's guide and the brief description provided for each report can give researchers an idea of whether they should locate and examine a particular document itself.

Emigration Records may also be found in many of the microfilmed agency collections, usually grouped in a few rolls at the end of the collection. These files can be extremely helpful, because they contain tribal rolls of the people who removed and (sometimes) those permitted to remain behind. Other important information concerning delays, legal actions, illnesses, and deaths, as well as births occurring during removal, may be found in these files.

#### Other Federal Records

The foregoing discussion of records created by the United States government has focused upon those which have been microfilmed and are more-easily accessible. Every researcher should be aware that countless other records exist, and that they should be examined if the preceding fails to resolve all of the researcher's Indian-related genealogical problems. Typical among these would be deed records maintained by BIA, documenting the conveyance of property from Indians to outside parties. Covering a range of such legal activities as railroad rights-of-way, logging contracts, powers of attorney, and grazing or mineral leases, this collection has an almost-complete card index and includes

such Midwestern tribes as the Potawatomi, Kaskaskia, Miami, Peoria, Piankeshaw, and Wea. Identification of, and access to, these myriad records is gained via Edward Hill's previously discussed guides—particularly the two-volume inventory.

#### PART THREE: MISCELLANEOUS RESOURCES

Numerous university and private libraries across the country—even outside the Midwest—have rich historical resources relating to Midwestern Indians and their white countrymen who fathered part-Indian children. For the identification of additional libraries and archives, the researcher would want to consult the Library of Congress's National Union Catalog: Manuscripts Collections, a series available at all research libraries of significant size. Representative of these prime repositories would be the Newberry Library (Chicago), with its famed Edward E. Ayer Collection of Americana and American Indians; and the Henry E. Huntington Library (San Marino, California), which holds such materials as the nineteenth-century papers of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company and the Fort Nisqually papers of the Hudson Bay Company.<sup>13</sup>

# Glenn A. Black Laboratory of Archaeology

A facility of Indiana University (located at Ninth and Fess streets, Bloomington, Indiana 47405), this laboratory holds the collections of the Ohio Valley-Great Lakes Ethnohistory Archives. Included are all the microfilms, papers, maps, and books collected as exhibits in various land claims of Midwestern tribes before the Indian claims commissions. Virtually every source on Midwestern tribes is brought together here, organized, and indexed for easy use. Its holdings are divided into four collections, as follows:

The Tribal History Documents Collection comprises 807 notebooks containing key documents of Indian-white relations for sixteen tribal groups. The information was transcribed or copied from published material, microfilm, and other sources. Documents are organized by tribe and chronologically from the time of first white contact until the late-nineteenth or early-twentieth centuries.

The Microfilm Collection contains complete runs of many of the microfilm publications mentioned earlier in this paper, as well as many items in Midwestern historical-society libraries, the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, the British Museum, and private papers. The collection is almost completely indexed—with entries referring to tribes, individuals, and lands.

The Indian Claims Commission Collection consists of claims histories (detailed tribal histories) accompanied by volumes of exhibits—including copies of specific documents and secondary sources, which are footnoted in the histories. The Garland Publishing Company has reprinted the claims histories; and their editions can be found, along with a guide, in large university libraries.

The General Collection of the archives contains documents transcribed from the microfilm collection. They are arranged by the collections from which they originated and are indexed separately. Researchers are encouraged to consult this file before resorting to microfilm. There is also a miscellaneous file of such items as secondary material copied from journals and magazines, oversize items such as maps, and a number of pamphlets and documents concerning Moravian-Indian relations.

The Glenn Black Laboratory has published a detailed guide that is available for a modest sum. <sup>14</sup> Researchers who are interested in using the archives should write ahead to the director. However, they are strongly encouraged to exhaust local resources before applying to the archives for research privileges, due to staff restrictions and other reasons.

The Old Northwest is clearly an area which offers rich resources for the genealogist interested in American Indians. In the past, genealogical researchers have largely ignored many types of federal records, while students of Indian history have neglected many local records. Both of these resources must be utilized if historians and genealogists are to deepen existing knowledge of Indian families and Indian communities in general.

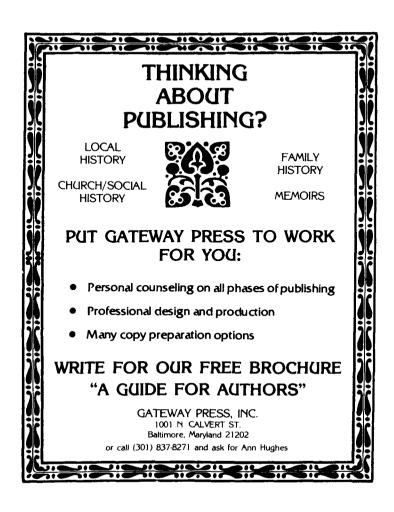
#### **NOTES AND REFERENCES**

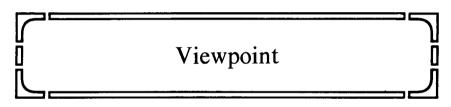
\*948 Devon Drive, Newark, DE 19711. Dr. Rafert is an ethnohistorian who has worked for a number of years with the Miami Indians of Indiana to document their tribal continuity as a basis for federal recognition.

Readers who are specifically interested in the Miami will want to consult the published text of an address which Dr. Rafert gave on the subject at the 1986 annual conference of the National Genealogical Society, at Columbus, Ohio; see "Ohio Region Ethnic Groups: American Indians in the Midwest," in the Journal of the Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society 7 (Winter 1986): 147-56.

- 1. Bruce G. Trigger, *Handbook of North American Indians*, 7 vols. to date (Washington, D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution, 1978—). For Midwestern research, one should particularly consult vol. 15, *Northeast* (1978). Researchers interested in the whole series should note that the planned volumes are being published randomly, not sequentially.
- 2. A useful, although far from complete, bibliography by tribe is available in E. Kay Kirkham, Our Native Americans: Their Records of Genealogical Value, vol. 1, Federal Government Records, Oklahoma Historical Society Records, Genealogical Society of Utah Listings (Logan, Utah: Everton Publishers, 1980). Also very useful, but less known to genealogists, is the bibliographical series being compiled by the Newberry Library Center for the History of the American Indian (Chicago), with some two dozen volumes to date that focus upon specific tribes or geographically related groups.
- 3. Edward E. Hill, Guide to Records in the National Archives of the United States Relating to American Indians (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1981).
- 4. American Indians: A Select Catalog of National Archives Microfilm Publications (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Trust Fund, 1984).
  - 5. American Genealogical Lending Library, Post Office Box 244, Bountiful, UT 84010.
- 6. Edward E. Hill, comp., Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Preliminary Inventories No. 163, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: General Services Administration, 1965).
- 7. Laura E. Kelsay, comp., Cartographic Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, NARS Special List 13 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1977); see especially pp. 20, 27.
- 8. Loretto Dennis Szucs and Sandra Hargreaves Luebking, *The Archives: A Guide to the National Archives Field Branches* (Salt Lake City: Ancestry Publishing, 1988); see especially pp. 185–87.
- 9. These points are well-illustrated by cases presented in Sharon Sholars Brown, "The Jena Choctaw: A Case Study in the Documentation of Indian Tribal Identity," NGS Quarterly 75 (September 1987): 180-93.
- 10. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Twenty Censuses: Population and Housing Questions, 1790-1980 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1978), 22.

- 11. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States (Except Alaska) at the Eleventh Census: 1890 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894).
- 12. Steven L. Johnson, Guide to American Indian Documents in the Congressional Serial Set, 1817–1899 (New York: Clearwater Publishing Co., 1976). Other published federal documents relating to Midwestern Indians and their white in-laws appear in American State Papers: Documents Legislative and Executive of the Congress of the United States, 38 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Gales & Seaton, 1832–1861), Public Lands Series, 8 vols., and Indian Affairs Series, 2 vols.; in Clarence E. Carter, ed., The Territorial Papers of the United States, 27 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1934–1969); and in NARA M200, Territorial Papers of the United States Senate, 1789–1873, particularly rolls 1, 4, 6, 12, 14
- 13. Two important guides have been created to facilitate research in these repositories: Newberry Library, Dictionary Catalog of the Edward E. Ayer Collection of Americana and American Indians in the Newberry Library, 16 vols. and 2 supps. (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1961-80); and Mary Robertson and Jean F. Preston, Guide to American Historical Manuscripts in the Huntington Library (San Marino, Cal.: Huntington Library, 1979).
- 14. David R. Miller, Guide to the Ohio Valley-Great Lakes Ethnohistory Archive (Bloomington, Ind.: Glenn A. Black Laboratory of Archaeology, 1979).





# Computers and Genealogical Scholarship: Have the Twain Yet Met?

By Marsha Hoffman Rising, c.g.\*

To determine if genealogical computer programs and genealogical scholar-ship have yet merged, there must first be a clear understanding (if not agreement) of the issues involved. This discussion will focus on three areas: What elements are necessary for good genealogical scholarship? Does a computer—and specifically, a genealogical computer program—contribute to genealogical scholarship? And finally, what is the "state of the art" in both genealogical scholarship and genealogical software?

#### A POPULAR VIEWPOINT

A recent article defined four functions that a genealogy computer program must fill to meet the needs of the "serious genealogist": search, store, organize, and disseminate." The author argues that the computer and genealogy software programs help the genealogist in each of these steps, although he admits that certain compromises in each area must be made.

The needs identified in this earlier article do not adequately address the issue. Perhaps the real dilemma lies not just in what the genealogist requires in a good genealogical program but in defining (or agreeing upon) what constitutes "serious genealogy" and scholarship. In the opinion of the present writer, one point is clear: accepting the compromises dictated by much of the existing genealogy software inhibits sound and reliable research.

#### **DEFINING SCHOLARSHIP**

Good scholarship in any field requires several elements. There must be a detailed presentation of theory. There must be a gathering of extensive data together with complete documentation of how all that data was obtained. Finally, there must be built an acceptable academic argument as to how the data supports or refutes the initial theory. This has nothing to do with computers or software programs. No genealogical software purports to meet the above requirements of scholarship. In fact, the computer itself and the programs it runs are only tools which aid the scholarly genealogist in searching and managing information. No matter how powerful the machine or how sophisticated the computer program, neither will create a good scholar. No one

can yet enter into a personal computer the ability to reason, to hypothesize, or to weigh evidence.

A scholar is defined by Webster as "one who by long, systematic study has gained a high degree of mastery in one or more of the academic disciplines; one who has gained the knowledge in some special field along with accuracy and skill in investigation and powers of critical analysis in the interpretation of such knowledge." It is also generally agreed that one of the obligations of the scholar is to transmit the information attained in the above quest through publication and careful documentation.

#### APPLYING COMPUTER FUNCTIONS TO SCHOLARSHIP

What, then, are the requirements which are specific to genealogical scholars? They need the means to access existing sources and data in the genealogical field. They need readily to locate existing knowledge and the research already completed. They need to develop their powers of analysis and interpretation. Does a computer now aid genealogical scholars in any of these areas? Do computers and genealogical programs facilitate the interpretation and critical analysis of data? Can a computer build a case of descent or ascent based on the principle of the preponderance of the evidence?

Genealogists sell themselves and their field short if they believe that the work necessary to become an acceptable genealogical scholar can be accomplished by a computer. The dedication, effort, and intelligence necessary for good genealogical scholarship are offered by no computer program. Genealogy software has tried to meet the basic need of the genealogist "to get organized" and to be able "to find things." Fine, but this is not scholarship.

Perhaps by asking the question upon which this essay is built ("Computers and genealogical scholarship—have the twain yet met?") one falls into the age-old trap of comparing apples to oranges. Assume for a moment that all genealogists agree on the following premise: A computer does not develop the scholar but can be eminently useful for the genealogical scholar. If the human being remains the essential provider of the brainpower for good scholarship, the computer can certainly ease the more-tedious aspects of genealogical work. It helps manage, organize, and locate data entered into the files; and it aids in the easy transmission of the hard work which has been accomplished.

At present, genealogists are primarily engaged in data entry and management of information. When that stage is completed, researchers will want to exchange those data bases. As Paul Andereck warns, "Quality control is the major, future problem of swapping computerized files." From this standpoint, several questions must be raised before genealogists begin trading those data bases. Where is the documentation? What is the basis for linkage of identity? What are the arguments for and against the proposed relationship? What reservations does the researcher have about his or her conclusion?

Publishing (and sharing) our theories can only be recommended *if* they can be shown to be *theories* and not fact. But a computerized genealogical program only organizes data; it does not have room for the arguments for and against a

particular theory. The essence of scholarship is not to issue dictatorial statements which others are expected to accept. To the contrary, exposing our ideas (regarding relationships, identity, or whatever) to scrutiny by others is part of the intellectual process that promotes accuracy in our work. The researcher cannot do this within a genealogical program—as they are currently structured.

#### PRESENT STATE OF GENEALOGICAL SCHOLARSHIP

What is the current status of genealogical scholarship? Positive strides have been made, but the race is not yet won. Genealogists are becoming more critical of the evidence presented to them. Researchers are giving citations for the dates and connections stated in their family histories. Writers in the field are publicly critical of other published works which lack documentation. Genealogy is gaining some acceptance as an academic field on college campuses—one that can be beneficially coupled with work done in various other research fields, from history to genetics to anthropology. Genealogists who are educators now tell their beginning classes, from the first day,

When I look at your family sheet or pedigree chart and ask "How do you know that?" you must be able, without hesitation, to tell me exactly where you obtained that piece of information. I want to be able to evaluate your source.

Moreover, new students now understand and see how important that is. Yes, strides are being made in the state of genealogical scholarship.

#### RETROGRESSION

It is therefore sad to admit that the development of some genealogical computer programs is actually retarding the progress of genealogical scholarship. When a program will churn out, in five minutes, reams of paper with cascading pedigree charts and dozens of family sheets without one shred of documentation, this literally reverses the progress that has been made. When genealogy computer programs tout themselves as "sophisticated, advanced, comprehensive, and powerful" and yet their functions are restricted to producing lists, charts, and indexes—sans any proof of accuracy—these programs reverse the progress of genealogical scholarship.

# ELEMENTS OF AN ADEQUATE PROGRAM

What are the elements needed in genealogy software programs in order to enhance the development of good scholarship—and what factors inhibit it?

First, it is vital that no genealogical computer program compromise or restrict the manner by which scholars organize and document their research data. There should be a capacity for reference notes of unlimited number and length; and it should be possible to individually reference every statement of fact that appears on the group sheet or chart, keying that piece of information to the specific reference note which proves its validity.

Second, one of the real strengths of a genealogical program—as compared with an ordinary data-base program—is its ability to make linkages; but presently there exists an all-or-nothing situation. A possible father or alleged father, if inserted into the program, will be shown as a definite linkage. There should be some method for marking relationships as possible, probable, or proved.

Third, when using a computerized program, a genealogist usually must choose between depth and breadth. Since researchers often feel they are in a race with time, some writers argue that making linkages and similarly "organizing" one's mass of collected data are essential contributions to those who follow. How can this be if it misleads future genealogists into believing that speculation (or an erroneous conclusion) is fact? A genealogical program must go beyond the entering of data collected over the years. All that data must be documented—and otherwise supported.

The nation's leading writer on genealogical computing argues that if one does feel pressed by a time limitation, it is a good idea to finish the initial data entry of the family—if nothing else. Should computer genealogists feel defensive when critics point out a lack of documentation on the computer, he suggests, they can invite the critics over to look in their drawers for the still-on-paper data that supports the computer files. That is impractical and unrealistic. With justification the critic might also ask: Will that documentation be mailed to all inquiring correspondents or will it just be easier merely to print the family-group sheet or pedigree chart and stick that in the sacred SASE (self-addressed, stamped envelope, of course) that the inquirer supplied? Doesn't this entry-only approach to computerizing family records contribute to the problem of quality control in record-swapping? There is also reason for concern that the bare bones (or the "hatch, match, and dispatch" data), with no documentation, may well be the only thing that gets saved when the time comes for the "culling of grandma's genealogy files."

Apologists for the present genre of genealogy programs also contend that documentation can be keyboarded into a separate word-processing file. Practically speaking—if the essential documentation cannot be entered easily at the beginning, it is more often not entered at all. Forced footnoting is the ideal. Each entry should be required to have a footnote or endnote to be accepted by the computer. Of course, the genealogist can get around this requirement by typing something such as *unknown*; but at least it will be obvious to the reader of his chart that the data is not based on solid evidence.

The present writer would make several additional requirements of a genealogy software package:

- 1. It needs to have maximum and flexible search capacity. One should be able to search an unlimited number of fields using various combinations of data.
- Recognizing that few genealogy programs can or will contain as sophisticated a
  word processor as is already available in other programs, there should be easy
  access between the genealogical-data files and text files in the word-processing
  program.

- 3. The indexing of data should be complete and allow for a variety of combinations.
- 4. There should be a minimum amount of keyboarding necessary. This can be done by making it possible to duplicate fields and entire screens through the use of function keys.
- 5. There should be a maximum ability to block and move data from one report format to another.
- 6. There should be a minimum of display restrictions—free-form report writing with as many customized options as feasible.
- 7. There should be a print-to-disk option rather than just sending the report to a printer.

It is also germane to raise the following question: Has the time come for genealogical scholars, computer interest groups, and software vendors to acknowledge that genealogy is a complex area of study that cannot be reduced to data organized and manipulated by a \$25 software package? The demands of the discipline are complex; its needs, multifaceted. As genealogists become better scholars, requirements become more complicated. Perhaps it is genealogists, as well as software programmers, who should stop expecting one program to do it all. This area of study is plainly too broad to have all its needs fulfilled by one software program. Writing software for the genealogicalcomputing market is a thin market, and competition is stiff. Combining a data base and a word processor appears to be an attractive alternative, but there are two immediate problems apparent. First, most users have acquired and mastered good word-processing programs which offer multitudes of options and enhancements, and they will be reluctant to change to a word processor which severely limits those features. Second, there is the price to consider. Can a \$250 program compete?

Perhaps it would be eminently more practical and more scholarly for genealogists to agree that software within this field is suited to organizing, manipulating, searching, and indexing selected pieces of family information. No more, no less. It is only one part of what a genealogist will require as part of a computer package.

# NOTES AND REFERENCES

\*6058 Primrose Lane, Springfield, MO 65804. Editor of Ozar'kin, Ms. Rising is co-chairman of the NGS Instructor Development Committee; serves on the faculty of Samford University's Institute of Genealogy and Historical Research; and sits on the board of directors of the Federation of Genealogical Societies. The present paper is adapted from an address of the same title presented by Ms. Rising at the 1988 annual conference of the National Genealogical Society, Biloxi, Mississippi.

- 1. Robert Selden Barrows, "Computer Programs for Genealogy," The Connecticut Nutmegger 20 (September 1987): 226.
  - 2. Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 16th ed., s.v. "scholar."
- 3. Paul Andereck, "Mills on POE [Preponderance-of-the-Evidence]," Genealogical Computing 7 (July-September 1987): 4.
- 4. Andereck, "How You Do It Makes a Difference," Genealogical Computing 7 (July-September 1987):

# Notes and Documents

# Genealogical Gleanings in the British Isles

By Peter Wilson Coldham, F.A.S.G., AND DAVID DOBSON, F.S.A.\*

#### **ENGLAND:**

London Commissary-Court Records (Coldham)

The recent publication of indexes to the probate records of the London Commissary Court for the period 1571 to 1625 and of the London Archdeaconry Court for the years 1661 to 1700 (British Record Society, Publications Nos. 97 and 98), both compiled by Marc Fitch, has led to the identification of several items of American interest. The following are summaries. The records of both courts are held in the Manuscript Room at the London Guildhall. By a legal fiction, citizens dying abroad were regarded as resident in the parish of Saint Botolph, Aldgate, and sailors dying abroad as residents of Saint Dunston, Stephney. Some caution needs to be exercised, therefore, in interpreting references to both parishes unless made by the testators themselves. In the notes which follow, citations to these two locales which were imposed by the court (not the testator) are in brackets.

#### COMMISSARY-COURT WILLS

Arthur Prett [of Stepney, Middlesex], Master of the Unity of London but now lying sick aboard the Blessing of Plymouth (Robert Adames of Limehouse, master), now riding at anchor before St. James Town, Virginia. Dated 30 August 1609. To my mother, now wife of Richard Nottingham, some plate, etc. To my brother William Pett, £10 to be paid him when my ship Unity shall return to London. To my brother William Welche, £10. The residue to my wife Florence Pett and my daughter Elizabeth Pett. Executors: my wife Florence and Thomas Johnson of Ratcliff, mariner—now master of the Lyon of London, now riding in this port of St. James Town. Overseer to be my father-in-law Richard Nottingham. Witnesses: Thomas Johnson, Robert Addames and William Milward. Proved by Florence Pett, 19 March 1610/11. (Original will 9172/25).

Alexander Whitaker [of St. Ann, Blackfriars] dated 16 February 1610/11. "A man's life being always uncertain and sea voyages most dangerous, I thought it my duty at all times to be prepared but now especially crossing the seas to Virginia. . . . Therefore, that I might have my soul more free for heavenly

contemplation, I thought it meet to dispose of my goods here in England." To my brother Samuel Whitaker, £24, all my moveable goods, my bill of adventure to Virginia and all profits therefrom. To my sister Susanna Lothrop, £5. To my sister Francis Whitaker, £5. To my brother Jabe[z] Whitaker, £5. To the needy poor, £5. To good poor scholars, £5. To my cousin William Gouge, £2. My debt to Christopher Levite, linen draper of the City of York, is to be paid. Sir Henry Griffith of Burton Agnes, Yorkshire, owes me £7 for a chest of viols which I sold him; Mr. Crashaw owes me £60, and my cousin Anthony Culverwell owes me £16 which I forgive him. Executor to be my brother Samuel, and overseer my cousin William Gouge, clerk of Blackfriars. Witnessed by Richard Culverwell and Caleb Gowge. Proved by Samuel Whitaker 4 August 1617. (9171/23/75).

John Whitfield [of Stepney, Middlesex]. Noncupative will given in April 1614 to William Poslet when the testator lay sick in the ship *Blessing* bound to Bermuda. All my wages, etc., to William Poslet. Witnessed by John Evans and John Brockendin. Commission to administer issued to William Poslet, 3 August 1614. (9171/22/356).

George Ruggles, sailor in the Due Return, bound to Virginia. Noncupative will given at the beginning of March 1624/25 to Henry Furton. To the said Henry Furton all my wages from which he is to pay my hostess £5. To the surgeon of the Due Return, Peter Masters, my clothes. Witnessed by Simon Kitchin, master of the ship, and Edward Pepper. Commission to administer issued to Henry Furton, 3 May 1625. (9171/24/422).

#### ARCHDEACONRY-COURT WILLS

Robert Peere of St. James, Clerkenwell, butcher, dated 22 June 1655. To my son Thomas Peere, 1 shilling. To my daugher Dorothy, wife of John Carter, butcher, 1 shilling. To my granddaughter Joane Carter, daughter of the said Dorothy, £5. when she comes of age. My daughter Elizabeth, now wife of Robert Rayment of Virginia, planter, if she shall arrive in England shall have her passage paid to the river Thames and receive £20, within one year of her arrival. To such children of my daughter Elizabeth Rayment as she now has £5 each when they come of age. The residue to my wife Joane Peere who is to be executrix. My son Thomas Peere and my friend Jeremy Dance of St. James, Clerkenwell, blacksmith, to be overseers. Proved 21 October 1662. (Original will 9052/13).

Esther Dakings of St. Botolph, Aldgate, widow. The testatrix, whose will was proved in 1665, named a son living in Virginia, but the original will can no longer be found.

Thomas Walker [of St. Michael Bassishaw], citizen and salter of London, dated 20 April 1661. To my wife and executrix Hannah Walker, £600. To my son Thomas Walker now living at Boston, New England, £200. To my daughter Hannah Straing, £100. To my brother William Walker, £5. To my sister Mrs. Hannah Fening, widow, £10, and £5 to her daughters Mrs. Mary Horrocks and Mrs. Hannah Lowdham. Overseers to be my brother William Walker and my son Paul Stoninge. (Original will 9052/14).

Arthur Pyne, citizen and cordwainer of London, dated 7 September 1665. To my daughter Hannah Johnson of Accamack, Virginia, £10. To my daughter Elizabeth Chandler, £30, and to her husband Jacob Chandler, £5. To my son-in-law Edward Christmas, a gold seal ring, and to his daughter Susanna Christmas, £10. To my kinswoman Elizabeth Jetter, 40 shillings. To my friends Mr. John Poynter and Mr. Thomas Nelson the elder of St. Mary Abchurch, 40 shillings each. The residue to my daugher Susanna, wife of Edward Christmas. Date of probate not shown. (Original will 9052/15).

James Loughman [of St. Botolph Aldgate], citizen and saddler of London, dated 8 July 1665. To my son William Loughman of Maryland in Virginia, £20, and to my youngest son Daniel Loughman in Maryland, £20. To my brother John Loughman, citizen and haberdasher of London, 25 shillings. The residue to my wife Jane, who is to be my executrix. My friends John Pleadwell, citizen and blacksmith of London, and William Sherly, citizen and hatbandmaker of London, to be overseers. Proved 2 November 1665. (Original will 9052/15).

Ann Dafforne of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, widow, dated 14 October 1675. To my son John Dafforne, now resident in New England, 12 pence in full satisfaction of all he may claim from my estate—he having been previously provided for. The residue to my younger son Benjamin Dafforne, who is to be executor. Proved 7 November 1675. (Original will 9052/19).

Thomas Teere of St. Botolph Aldgate, citizen and blacksmith of London, dated 28 November 1681. To my son Thomas Teere, now resident in New England, 1 shilling and no more. The residue to my wife and executrix Elizabeth Teare. Proved 31 May 1682. (Original will 9052/23).

Patrick Carroll of Aldgate, now bound to sea, dated 2 December 1689. My whole estate to my loving friend Margaret Souldsby of Aldgate, spinster. Proved 27 November 1690, with a note that the testator was a bachelor who died in the ship St. Thomas, at Virginia, in May 1690. (Original will 9052/28).

Elizabeth Whitburne of St. Botolph Aldgate, widow. To my grandaughter Elizabeth, wife of William Erby of Virginia, planter, my gowns, etc. To Joyce Gomm, widow, £10. To Thomas Sheppard and William Sheppard, sons of Thomas Sheppard, weaver, deceased, £5 each. The residue and my lease from the Merchant Taylors' Company to my son-in-law John Strong, citizen and woodmonger of London, who is to be my executor, and after his decease to my said granddaughter Elizabeth Erby. Overseers to be Mr. John Hawkins, distiller, and Mr. Richard Bolton, pump maker. Proved 18 August 1692. (Original will 9052/29).

#### ARCHDEACONRY-COURT ADMINISTRATIONS

John Raper, administration of. 5 March 1683/84. Raper, of St. James, Clerkwell, died at Maryland. Granted to relict Anne Raper. (9050/14/54). John Butterworth, administration of. 19 May 1686. Butterworth, of St. Botolph Aldgate, died in Pennsylvania. Granted to relict Anne Butterworth. (9050/14/161).

Alice Small, administration of. 29 August 1688. Small, of St. Botolph Aldgate, widow. Granted to Mary Thorpe, spinster, during the absence in Virginia of the daughter Margaret Small alias Fere. (9050/15/28).

Bull, Richard, administration of. 21 August 1689. Renunciation by Mary Bull of administration of the estate of her husband Richard, of St. Botolph Aldgate, who died in Virginia. (9050/15/105).

William Taylor, administration of. 4 July 1693. Taylor, of St. Botolph Aldersgate, died in Virginia, a bachelor. Granted to sister, Mary Taylor. (9050/16/90).

#### **SCOTLAND:**

British-Army Deserters in America, circa 1750 (Dobson)

Probably every army in history has suffered to some degree or other from desertion, and this includes the British army in colonial America. There are references in various colonial records to men who absconded from their military units, who presumably—in most cases—merged with the civilian population of the colonies. One of the most-obvious sources of information on such "immigrants" is the various contemporary American newspapers, which carried advertisements placed by military authorities seeking information on the whereabouts of such deserters—a practice which was echoed by people seeking indentured servants who had broken the conditions of their contracts and run away. Although the most-likely source of information on deserters would be the regimental records of the British units that served in the American colonies, there is also some data in other repositories—such as the Scottish Record Office (SRO) in Edinburgh.

File GD45.2.35 at the SRO contains a few brief lists, thought to date from the 1750s, which identify a number of men who were discharged or deserted from the army while in America. No other details are available, but their surnames suggest that they originated not only in Scotland but also in Ireland and England. These military "immigrants" are listed below. Further information on them may well be available from the appropriate regimental museums, provided the relevant records have survived.

# List of Deserters in North America [circa 1750?]

Colonel Forbes' Company Winterbottom, John Howard, Daniel McGinnis, Patrick Mullen, Neal Laws, James Fenton, George Daviland, Cornelius

Colonel Whitmore's Company Handley, John Franks, Thomas Harvey, Roger McKenzie, Lawrence Murray, John McCormack, William

Lord Blakeney's Company
Cuson, Christopher
Company
McGee, John
Allen, John
Buckley, John
McNeil, Andrew

Major General Thomas Murray's
Company
Crawford, James
Buckley, Thomas
Colonel Penny's Company

Bell, James McDonald, Donald Hollam, John Criton, John

# List of Men Discharged in America to be Dismissed in New York [circa 1750?]

Colstead, Major Fletcher's Company, 35th Regiment McCoy, Abraham, Captain Collin's Company, 35th Regiment Bailey, Thomas, honourable discharge from 22nd Regiment in New York, 15 April 1750.

# Slave Deaths: Essex County, Virginia

Note: Following is a representative sampling of entries appearing in the Essex County, Virginia, Death Register; Virginia State Archives, Richmond.

Cause of Death	Name	Slave Owned by	Parents	From (born)	Died	Age
Unknown Old age	Sally Lucy	Joseph N. Armstrong Joseph N. Armstrong	James Unknown	Essex, Va. King & Queen	Aug. 1856 Aug. 1856	60 95
Typhoid fever Burnt	Benjamin Juliet	John Haile Thomas B. Garnett	Melissa Matilda	Essex Essex	Aug. 1858 Apr. 1859	<u> </u>

Submitted by Lynne White Belvin, 1523 Beichler Road, Garner, NC 27529

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Directory of American Libraries with Genealogy or Local History Collections. Compiled by P. William Filby, F.N.G.S., F.S.G. Published by Scholarly Resources; 104 Greenhill Avenue; Wilmington, DE 19805–1987; 1988. xiv, 319 pp. \$75.00.

Until the publication of this new guide by genealogy's master bibliographer, researchers and librarians who assist them have often had to search in vain for published information concerning the scope of genealogical collections in other libraries and historical societies. The *Directory of Historical Societies and Agencies*, published by the American Association of State and Local History; the *American Library Directory*; or Mary K. Meyers's *Genealogical Societies in the U.S.A. and Canada* all provide useful and handy information for referral. However, researchers still had many questions that could not heretofore be answered with any ease.

Filby's newest contribution provides much-needed detail. For each library there is given such data as hours open to the public; geographical scope of the collection; size of book, microfilm, and manuscript collections; loan requirements; published and unpublished finding aids; accessibility to the On-line Computer Library Center (OCLC) and the Research Libraries Information Network (RLIN); types of inquiries accepted; fees; approximate number of books by language; name of the manager of the collection and the genealogical qualifications of the staff. In addition, a checklist of twenty-six major genealogical reference works and nine major genealogical periodicals has been included for each collection.

Filby's information was gleaned from questionnaires mailed to over four thousand libraries in the United States and Canada—of which over one thousand five hundred replied. It is hoped that more libraries will cooperate by completing questionnaires for future editions.

Connecticut Valley Historical Museum

JOSEPH CARVALHO III, C.G.R.S.

Directory, Historical Agencies in North America. Thirteenth edition. Compiled and edited by Betty Pease Smith. Published by the American Association for State and Local History; 172 Second Avenue, North; Suite 102; Nashville, TN 37201; 1986. vi, 686 pp. Index. \$64.95 (\$58.45 to Society members).

Covering the United States and Canada, this guide contains a comprehensive listing of 9,375 agencies in the field of history—interpreted broadly to include genealogical groups, oral-history centers, and folklore societies as well. The number of entries compares interestingly with the 583 appearing in the first directory (1936) and is 3,510 more than that included in the previous edition (1982). The basic arrangement is alphabetical by state (or province) and city. Data generally includes address, nature of agency (public or private), date of founding, name of an official, number of members and staff, title of magazine (if one is published by the organization), programs offered, and period covered by its collections. In addition to a general index, there appear twelve special-interest indexes—that for genealogy being the third longest.

The compilation does not include every such society in North America, since not all questionnaires were returned. Nonetheless, this is a most-worthwhile reference tool, useful to a genealogist seeking information on local historical and genealogical agencies.

Arlington, Virginia

GEORGE E. PETTENGILL

Recording Your Family History: A Guide to Preserving Oral History with Videotape-Oraltape—Suggested Topics and Questions. By William Fletcher. Published by Dodd, Mead and Co.; 79 Madison Avenue; New York, NY 10016; 1986. 313 pp. Index. Hardcover, \$18.95; Softcover, \$9.95.

Mr. Fletcher, of the District of Columbia, is an anthropologist by profession. For many years he has been conducting what he calls "life history interviews"—asking questions of elderly people about their family history (back to their grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins) and personal life. His practical experience forms the basis for this manual.

The book begins with a discussion of the type of equipment to use, proceeds to address interviewing techniques, and provides helpful lists of questions that can be asked. Special advice is included for interviewing Jewish, black, and Hispanic-American subjects. Tips are offered on how to put the narrator at ease and avoid "mike fright." The reader is advised not to engage narrators in conversation but to let them answer questions and talk specifically on the subject of the moment.

The questions that are suggested are intended to elicit a complete life story and cover many which genealogical interviewers would not think to ask. Lost-tooth rituals of childhood, Halloween pranks, neighborhood characters, and crabby neighbors all get attention. Other questions document social attitudes—"Do you think girls who are athletic are as feminine as girls who are not athletic?" or "Do you remember the first boy/girl you ever kissed? How was it?" Some proposed questions might be considered impertinent, such as "Do you remember going through menopause as your childbearing years were coming to a close?" Other questions involve historical events—space travel; racism and the civil-rights movement of the 1960s; the sexual revolution; women's lib; and opinions concerning presidents Nixon, Ford, Carter, and Reagan. Special questions for Jewish people include: "What does it mean to be a Jew?" and "How would you feel if your children or grandchildren married outside of Judaism?" For blacks: "What do you think are the greatest achievements of black people?" For Hispanic-Americans: "How are Hispanic-Americans different from Anglo-Americans, in your opinion?" or "What was the time in your life when you felt most pride in your Hispanic heritage?"

Many of the questions in this book are those which an anthropologist would ask—one who is interested in physical, social, and cultural development. Genealogists would more commonly confine themselves to questions about family relationships, biographical details about ancestors or other relatives, skeletons in the closet, and the religious affiliations of the family; but enough questions of this nature are included in Fletcher's manual to satisfy the genealogical community. Mr. Fletcher has written an interesting book and has provided many thought-provoking questions to ask older relatives.

West Hyattsville, Maryland

MILTON RUBINCAM, C.G., F.A.S.G., F.N.G.S.

Cherokee by Blood: Records of Eastern Cherokee Ancestry in the U.S. Court of Claims, 1906–1910, volume 2, Applications 1551–4200. Compiled by Jerry Wright Jordan. Published by Heritage Books; 1540E Pointer Ridge Place, Suite 300; Bowie, MD 20716; 1988. xv, 485 pp. Index. Softcover, \$25.00.

On 18 May 1905, the United States Court of Claims awarded a large cash settlement to the Eastern Cherokees. Guion Miller, special agent of the Interior Department, began compiling a roll of all Eastern and Western Cherokees to find those eligible to receive a part of the one million dollars appropriated by Congress. Miller stated in his 1909 report that 45,847 separate applications had been filed, representing some 90,000 individual claimants, but that only 30,253 of these individuals were deemed eligible to share in the division of funds. These applications are in the records of the U.S. Court of Claims (Record Group 123) at the National Archives. They have been filmed on 348 rolls and designated M1104. Meanwhile, Miller's report is part of the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (RG 75) and has been filmed on 12 rolls labeled M685.

Jordan's series, Cherokee by Blood, abstracts the Miller Report. The information it gives covers the following: claimant's English and/or Indian name, residence, age, place of birth, name of spouse, tribal affiliation, and names and ages of children. Additional evidence is given on parents, grandparents, siblings, aunts, and uncles. Since most of the claimants were

C.G.

descendants of tribal members rather than members themselves, and since they had to establish that descent from a provable member, the quantity of valuable genealogical information is mind-boggling. Jordan has provided the key that genealogists have long needed to open the treasure chest of case files in the Court of Claims Records.

Cherokee by Blood is actually the second series of books attempting to aid the researcher in utilizing this mass of data. In comparison to the first (CWE YE: Cherokee Blood, compiled and privately printed by Shirley Hoskins), Jordan fares well. His compilation gives far more insight into the information to be found, and his arrangement of the material is easier to follow. A random check of the abstracts appearing in volume 2 against the microfilmed originals has left this writer with the impression that Jordan's abstracts are thorough and accurate.

The observant reader will note some typographical errors (particularly on pages vii—ix), and the compiler's introduction (page xi) gives an incorrect year for the court's decision in favor of the Eastern Cherokees. The date listed is 18 May 1904; it should be 18 May 1905. These errors are unfortunate, but they do not diminish the contribution which Jordan has made to the utilization of the records created by the suit Eastern Cherokees v. The United States.

Jonesboro, Louisiana	Sharon Sholars Brown
Jonesooro, Louisiana	Sinnon Shound Brown

Guide to Local and Family History at the Newberry Library. By Peggy Tuck Sinko. Published by Ancestry Publishing; Post Office Box 476; Salt Lake City, UT 84110; 1987. x, 202 pp. Index. \$16.95.

Genealogists in the beginning stage of research soon encounter Marion J. Kaminkow's Genealogies in the Library of Congress at their local public library. Those living in the Midwest immediately note that many of those genealogies are held by the Newberry Library in Chicago. And so begins the dream to research in that famous institution. Ms. Sinko's book whets that fantasy; but, even better, it makes successful research more likely to be realized.

The guide is organized according to subjects—special subjects, special Newberry Library sources, and geographical areas. Each chapter is partly descriptive and partly bibliographic. Over half of the book is devoted to geographical areas and gives a broad overview of regions within the United States and foreign countries, as well as listing the works held by the Newberry Library. The author refreshingly evaluates the quality of the library holdings in each area. The bibliographic references are primarily the standard genealogical works available in most good genealogical libraries. However, rather than limiting this book, it broadens the appeal. All genealogists should consult Sinko's guide to review the conventional materials available in their area of interest—even if they are not planning a trip to Chicago.

Ms. Sinko provides a real service in the first chapter when she gives hints for locating material in a closed-stack library such as the Newberry. That facility has several card catalogs, and genealogical material may be listed in each of them. Genealogists do tend to be browsers when open shelves are available; and card catalogs the size of those at the Newberry can be intimidating. Ms. Sinko's advice is conducive to setting genealogical-research goals and locating pertinent material.

The most-intriguing part of the book is the discussion of special holdings—such as the Everett D. Graff Collection, which deals with the exploration and settlement of the nineteenth-century frontier; the wide variety of newspaper holdings, especially those published on the frontier; the Railroad Archives; and the Edward E. Ayer Collection. According to Sinko (page 65), the great, Western historian Ray Allen Billington has stated that these special collections make the Newberry one of the two or three outstanding libraries for the study of the American West. Ms. Sinko also emphasizes the contribution made by the Newberry Library to the massive 617-reel microfilm publication Western Americana: Frontier History of the Trans-Mississippi West, 1550–1900 (New Haven, Conn.: Research Publications, c1975).

Unfortunately, the guide is repetitive. It may be obligatory to list American State Papers and Territorial Papers of the United States under each state to which they apply because most readers will only check the region of interest. However, it is redundant to mention three times

that the Newberry holds the original records of the First Presbyterian Church of Wilmington, Illinois. The index, while helpful, is far from comprehensive. The guide is designed for those who will visit the library. It gives no information regarding research by mail or borrowing either books or microfilm by interlibrary loan.

Sinko's Guide to Local and Family History at the Newberry Library fulfills its purpose—and more. It provides an overview of the general holdings and a glimpse into the more specific; and it does so in a clear, concise, and readable format. In addition, it summarizes many of the published works available to the researcher. This Newberry guide is a recommended addition to genealogical libraries, both public and private.

Springfield, Missouri

MARSHA HOFFMAN RISING, C.G.

Vital Records Handbook. Compiled by Thomas J. Kemp. Published by Genealogical Publishing Co.; 1001 North Calvert Street; Baltimore, MD 21202-3897; 1988. ix, 231 pp. \$21.95.

Vital records to the genealogist are exactly that—vital records. Yet obtaining copies of the registrations of historical births, marriages, and deaths often becomes more of a challenge than it should be. The procedures to be followed, the forms to be completed, and the fees associated with vital-record requests are as diverse as the number of state, provincial, or national record-offices maintaining these registrations.

Thomas Kemp, a genealogist and a librarian, has prepared his unique Vital Records Handbook with the needs of these two fields in mind. First, it is a wonderful compilation of vital-records application forms for each of the fifty states, the United States' trust-territories, the provinces and territories of Canada, the United Kingdom, and Ireland. These forms can be copied and used to submit requests for whatever records are needed. Second, the group of forms for each locale is preceded by a data page which includes the correct name and address of the vital-records office, the phone number, the fees and the method of payment, and special notes on the records themselves—e.g., starting date of each class of records, gaps or omissions in the various series, and alternate locations for copies of their holdings. This volume is a must for any genealogical reference collection.

Connecticut Valley Historical Museum

JOSEPH CARVALHO III, C.G.R.S.

Arkansas Pensioners, 1818–1900. Compiled by Dorothy E. Payne. Published by Southern Historical Press; Post Office Box 738; Easley, SC 29461–0738; 1985. 220 pp. \$29.00.

This delightful book will be of special interest to those having Arkansas ancestors and seeking admission to the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Society of the War of 1812, the Daughters of 1812, and the Aztec Club of 1847. It is handsomely bound and conveniently organized, although some readers will find the print somewhat small. An interesting map of the Arkansas Territory in 1823 is provided. Arranged alphabetically by surname, about nine hundred pension records are cited—of which 42 percent are abstracted. Photocopies may be obtained from the National Archives by filing an NATF Form 80. It is not clear why the compiler did not complete the abstracting, but one suspects fatigue; the abstracting is more complete in the first part of the book. Under letter A, twelve of sixteen citations are abstracted; while under letter W, only twenty-one of one hundred citations receive the detailed treatment.

Beginning on page 157, there appear muster rolls for twelve companies of cavalry raised in Arkansas in 1836 for the Indian Wars. Within each company the soldiers are listed alphabetically, with rank and home county shown. Apparently, all were stationed at Fort Gibson (Oklahoma). Following this muster rolls are found for sixteen companies and staff of Arkansas troops which fought in the Mexican War. Within each company, the soldiers are again listed alphabetically. Rank is given for each entry; sometimes age and miscellaneous information

appear. Brief itineraries are provided for most of the companies; and there are separate lists for those killed, wounded, and missing and for officers and field staff. Most of the companies were enrolled at Washington, Arkansas. Payne's Arkansas Pensioners is recommended for all libraries treating Arkansas history in depth.

Noel, Missouri

ROBERT G. TUCKER, Ph.D., C.G.R.S.

Will and Estate Records in the Virginia State Library: A Researcher's Guide. Compiled by John Vogt and T. William Kethley, Jr. Published by Iberian Publishing Co.; 548 Cedar Creek Drive; Athens, GA 30605-3408; 1987. 186 pp. \$11.00.

Vogt and Kethley are well known among genealogists for their numerous publications of early marriage records and other data from individual Virginia counties. With this new volume, the compilers have provided yet-another fine research tool for genealogical researchers wishing to study Virginia's historic court records. The guide's introductory pages alone will supply the novice with a reasonably good working knowledge of the use of probate records in genealogical research and of the early laws in both Great Britain and the Virginia colony which cover principles of inheritance and estate administration. There is also a short section on the utilization of the facilities of the Virginia State Library and Archives—both on-site and by mail—and other information relative to the use of Virginia records in historical and genealogical work.

In an alphabetical listing by county and independent city, the book details all the microfilm-reel numbers and their specific contents for most will and estate records in the microform collection of the Virginia State Archives. Notations of indexes and their locations on the reels are also given. Where included in the probate collection, fiduciary accounts, guardians' books, and similar records are noted. A bibliography of many published sources for Virginia probate records, based upon the holdings of the State Library, is added under many of the county listings.

Compact and light weight, Vogt and Kethley's manual should prove to be an invaluable, daily desk-top companion to those using the microfilm collection on-site at the Library-Archives and, more particularly, to those who make arrangements to withdraw the film for use off-premises. One would hope that additional volumes treating the deed records and court-order books of Virginia counties, available in the microfilm collection at this repository, will later be issued as companion tools to this important work.

Richmond, Virginia

MARGARET HICKERSON EMORY, C.G.

History of the Kryder Family, Volume One, John Kryder, 1739–1803: Patriot of Colonial and Revolutionary Wars, Pioneer of Central Pennsylvania. By Edward Hemington-Kryder. Published by the author at 2502 Lisbon Lane; Alexandria, VA 22306; 1987. viii, 130 pp. Index. Price not stated.

It is a pleasure to read the genealogy of a Pennsylvania German family that can be traced by documentary evidence for a number of generations beyond the American progenitor—in this case, seven. Kryder's research has been thorough. A tradition of descent from an Alsatian family was confirmed by the marriage record of John Kryder and Anna Maria (called Angelia) Fuchs (variously, Fox), dated 1767 in the Trinity Evangelical Church registers of Reading in Berks County. From that point, by personal visits to Europe and with the aid of authorities in the field, Mr. Kryder traced the family back from Colmar in Alsace to Bümpliz and Bern, Switzerland, where Hans Grütter was born about 1550—presumably a son of Jörg Grütter, born about 1510. In the seventh generation, one Hans Greder (a variant of Grütter) removed to Colmar, where he married three times, the immigrant John being the eldest son and second child by the third wife. Both of John's paternal and maternal ancestors are traced to all provable lines in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The lineage of John's wife, Anna Maria, is derived from Christoffel

Fuchs of Gravenwied and Niederbieber in the Rheinland, who was buried in 1698 at ninety years. The book contains six genealogical charts showing John Kryder's ancestors and collateral relatives. The compiler lists forty-eight *gemeinden* (communities) in canton Bern, Switzerland, where searches were made.

While the ancestry of John Kryder is well documented, the evidence for his life before his marriage in 1767 is a bit foggy. The family tradition—traceable back to John's great-grandson (Levi Kryder), who had the story from his father, who personally knew his grandfather—holds that John was drafted into the French army during the French and Indian War, Alsace being a part of France at that time. Sent to America to fight, he was captured by English troops and later joined the English army. Mr. Kryder's research proved there was a John Tratier (later promoted to corporal as John Griter) in the Sixtieth Royal American Regiment of Foot; and other evidence marshaled by the compiler, based on intensive research among military records in Paris and London, is very persuasive but not conclusive. After the war, John appeared in Berks County, married, moved to Buffalo Township in present Union County, served as lieutenant in a company of rangers along "the frontiers" during the Revolutionary War, and made his final home in what is now Penn's Township of Centre County.

Kryder's genealogy is heavily documented with citations to sources both in the text and in footnotes. It is interestingly illustrated with maps and photographs.

West Hyattsville, Maryland

MILTON RUBINCAM, C.G., F.A.S.G., F.N.G.S.

#### **Books in Brief**

Irish Passenger Lists, 1847-1871: Lists of Passengers Sailing from Londonderry to America on Ships of the J. & J. Cooke Line and the McCorkell Line. Compiled by Brian Mitchell. Genealogical Publishing Co.; 1001 North Calvert Street; Baltimore, MD 21202-3897; 1988. xvii, 333 pp. \$30.50.

Throughout the period covered by this volume, Ireland did not require ship captains to maintain passenger lists. Surviving lists owe their existence to shipowners who compiled these records for business purposes. Meanwhile in the United States (from 1820), the passenger-lists which ship captains had to submit to collectors of customs were not specific about an immigrant's place of residence. The shipping records of Cooke and McCorkell of Londonderry provide a welcome listing of 27,495 individuals—giving specific residence of the passengers to supplement deficiencies in the American records. The volume is well organized and indexed and includes useful historical data concerning the two shipping companies.

Discovering Your Heritage: An Introduction to Family History. By Alice Eichholz, C.G. Published by Ancestry Publishing; Post Office Box 476; Salt Lake City, UT 84110; c1987. 31 pp. Price not stated.

One of a series of small monographs which Ancestry is currently producing, this guide by Dr. Eichholz offers an interesting and easily digestible introduction to genealogy. Short discussions are provided on all the basic subject areas—oral history; note keeping; vital records; and courthouse, church, cemetery, military, and immigration records—and advice is given on such special problem areas as names, slavery, and handwriting.

Saline County, Arkansas Will Book A: January 1, 1865-October 7, 1905. Abstracted by Sybil Crawford. Published by the Saline County History and Heritage Society; Post Office Box 221; Bryant, AR 72022-0221; 1987. vii, 46 pp. Index. \$10.00.

One of a series of volumes abstracted or transcribed by Crawford, this will-book abstract includes the essential genealogical data gleaned from Saline County records. Entries are

arranged as they appear in the original document, with an inclusive name index providing specific reference access. Slaves and servants are also identified.

Sacramental Records of the Roman Catholic Church of the Archdiocese of New Orleans: Volume 1, 1718–1750. Edited by Reverend Monsignor Earl C. Woods. Preface by Charles E. Nolan. Published by the Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans; 1100 Chartres Street; New Orleans, LA 70116–2596; 1987. xxii, 263. \$30.00.

This volume represents the first in a long-awaited series—translated abstracts prepared by diocesan volunteers under the editorship of Monsignor Woods. Regrettably, the volume does not conform to the current expectations and needs of historical researchers. The original order of the records has not been retained. Rather, entries are arranged in alphabetical order under the name of the major party—marriage records, as a result, have their data divided and presented partially under the bride and partially under the groom. There is no index to lead the researcher to the approximately thirteen thousand "buried" names of parents, godparents, and witnesses or to the places of origin in Europe that are routinely cited. References to race and legitimacy are deleted, and only individuals with surnames are included. The user should not neglect to read the fourteen-page introduction by Dr. Nolan, which provides excellent and much-needed background information leading to a more-accurate interpretation of these records.

Boston Taxpayers in 1821. Edited and indexed by Lewis Bunker Rohrbach, C.G. Published by Picton Press; Post Office Box 1111; Camden, ME 04843; 1988. 256 pp. Index. \$37.00.

The original list which Rohrbach has adapted was first published in 1822, covering both Boston and South Boston. The new edition adds an every-name index with over twenty thousand entries. Over eight thousand taxpayers are listed with assessment figures for both personal and real estate, including all tax abatements. Several thousand tenants are listed, together with the names of their landlords. Over six thousand property owners are named, as are ten thousand taxed polls. Addresses are given by both street name and ward number.

Annual Report of the Secretary of State to the Governor of Ohio, Appendix B: Return of the Number of Deaf and Dumb, Blind, Insane, and Idiotic Persons, 1856. Reprinted by Heritage Books; 1540E Pointer Ridge Place, Suite 300; Bowie, MD 20716; 1987. 231 pp. Index. \$17.00.

This little-known source provides Ohio researchers with a wealth of genealogical data. It serves as a special census of handicapped persons, with data concerning name; age; sex; color; occupation; education; birthplace; parents; place of residence; nature of the affliction; and its duration. The parents' occupations, birthplaces, and current residences are also given—along with the total number of children in the family. Eighty-two of the state's eighty-eight counties are included in the enumeration; the counties which failed to report are Athens, Belmont, Butler, Hancock, Henry, and Gallia. The data is arranged by county, while a surname index has been added.

Genealogical Abstracts from Tennessee Newspapers, 1791-1808. Compiled by Sherida K. Eddlemon. Published by Heritage Books; 1540E Pointer Ridge Place, Suite 300; Bowie, MD 20716; 1988. iii, 380 pp. Index. \$27.50.

This volume covers eight of the first newspapers published in Tennessee—the Tennessee Gazette, the Tennessee Gazette and Mero District Advertiser, the Impartial Review and

Cumberland Repository, and the Clarion (all published in Nashville)—together with the Impartial Observer, the Gazette, and the Gazette and Weekly Advertiser (all published in Knoxville) and the Greeneville Express. Items of genealogical value have been abstracted from each extant issue—including marriage and death notices, estate settlements, lists of delinquent taxpayers, and notices of runaway spouses and slaves, as well as advertisements of goods and services. The abstracts are arranged chronologically by newspaper, with a surname-only index providing access to specific entries.

Kerr County, Texas, Death Records, 1903–1960. Compiled by Gloria Clifton Dozier. Published by Heritage Books; 1540E Pointer Ridge Place, Suite 300; Bowie, MD 20716; 1988. 216 pp. \$27.00.

In 1903, county governments in Texas were required to begin maintaining files of death records. Prior to this time, few government records provided death data for Texans aside from the mortality schedules of the federal census, compiled for only one year of each decade between 1850 and 1880—and then incompletely. This compilation contains abstracts of death records for Kerr County for the years 1903–1960, including delayed death certificates. The title does not indicate so, but the volume also contains data from the 1870 and 1880 mortality schedules. The alphabetical listings provide the name and age of the deceased, along with places of birth, residence, death, and burial.

Marriage Notices from Richmond, Virginia, Newspapers, 1821–1840 [Special Publication Number 10]. Compiled by Annabelle Osborne, Benjamin B. Weisiger, et al. Published by the Virginia Genealogical Society; Post Office Box 7486; Richmond, VA 23221; ii, 238 pp. Index. \$21.50.

This publication contains abstracts of marriage notices gleaned from seven Richmond journals (the Enquirer, the Whig, the Constitutional Whig, the Compiler, the Daily Mercantile Advertiser, the Visitor and Telegraph, and the Virginia Patriot). Persons throughout the state and Virginians in other states also appear in these abstracts. Earlier volumes in this series consisted of Marriages and Deaths from Richmond, Virginia, Newspapers, 1780–1820 and Death Notices from Richmond, Virginia, Newspapers, 1821–1840, both published by the Virginia Genealogical Society.

Fauquier County, Virginia, Deeds, 1759–1778. Compiled by John K. Gott. Published by Heritage Books; 1540E Pointer Ridge Place, Suite 300; Bowie, MD 20716; 1988. ix, 236 pp. Index. \$25.00.

Created in 1759, Fauquier County is one of the few Virginia counties to have all of its conveyance records extant. In addition to regular land conveyances, these six deed books include a variety of other records—such as apprenticeships, bonds, contracts of sale, leases, and mortgages. Each abstract provides the names of all individuals mentioned in the record, including slaves. Geographical features are listed, and page numbers have been included in order to identify the placement within the original records.

The Sunny Side of Genealogy. A Humorous Collection of Anecdotes, Poems, Wills, Epitaphs, and Other Miscellany from Genealogy. Compiled and published by Fonda D. Baselt; 707 Park Lane Drive; Champaign, IL 61820; 1986. 84 pp. \$8.00.

The title of this work is very descriptive of its contents. Some of the entries are painfully funny ("The keeper of the vital records you need will just have been insulted by another genealogist").

Others are old gems ("The cheapest way to have your family traced is to run for public office"). There are epithets, of course ("Here lies an atheist, all dressed up and no place to go") and revealing wills ("Being of sound mind, I spent every cent when I was alive"). There are also longer pieces by Carlton E. Blake ("The Family Tree"), Ora Barlow ("Surnames for Sale"), Wildamae Brestal ("The Family Genealogy"), and others—including Donald Lines Jacobus ("Beatitudes of a Family Genealogist"). There's also advice for those about to write history: "DON'T!".



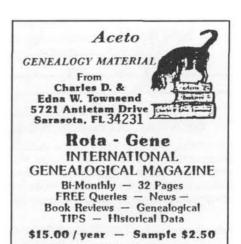
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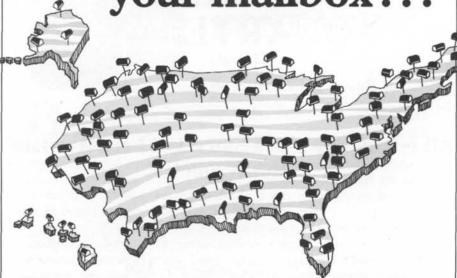
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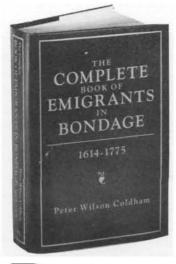
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## NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY



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#### NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

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Purpose. The National Genealogical Society, established in 1903 and incorporated as a nonprofit organization under the laws of the District of Columbia in 1904, was created to collect and preserve genealogical, historical, and heraldic data; to inculcate and promote interest in research; to foster careful documentation and promote scholarly writing; and to issue publications relating to the field of genealogy.

Journal. The society in 1912 founded its journal, the National Genealogical Society Quarterly, which is issued in March, June, September, and December. The Quarterly is included on the list of American learned journals compiled by the American Council of Learned Societies and is indexed in the Genealogical Periodical Annual Index. It publishes compiled genealogy; essays on new methodology and little-known resources; case studies; and previously unpublished source materials from American public, private, and family archives—as well as records from foreign repositories which treat early-American settlers. An effort is made to publish materials from all parts of the United States, with emphasis upon the earlier years of settlement in each area. Manuscripts must be sent to the editors. See page 250 for guidelines for submission.

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#### **EDITORS' CORNER**

#### Really Now! Who Needs That Kind of Book?

In their quest for new resources, genealogists and their publishers are turning up some unorthodox materials—and the public is not always pleased. Societies now find themselves in a quandary; what should they do when offered a set of *jail records* for publication? Never mind that the register is replete with birth dates and places of nativity. Surely they would lose members if they dared to publish it!

Jail records. Prison files. Insane-asylum admissions. Deportation dossiers. Church and court records with explicit statements of illegitimacies, common-law marriages, and descents from persecuted races. Dare we even mention that little-known jewel—the Defective, Delinquent, and Dependent Schedule of the 1880 federal census? With escalating frequency, such material is working its way into genealogical literature. But is it a healthy trend? Or is it a symptom of society's soap-opera syndrome? A sure sign that modern America has lost its respect for stalwart ancestors and the solid virtues personified by those with noble characters?

Of the eight books reviewed in the current issue of NGSQ, two fall into this questionable category. First, we find James C. Neagles's Summer Soldiers, which catalogs the Revolutionary War "crimes" of men who failed to measure up to all the ideals of patriotism. Then we learn of Robert Hume's Early Child Immigrants, a roster of street children and poorhouse waifs shipped out to the Virginia colony during its first desperate years of existence—younger sons of noble families they definitely weren't! Reviewer Richard Slatten addresses this issue well in his analysis of Hume's work: "imagination and wishful thinking may be valuable guides to the future but not to the past."

Ancestors aren't like jelly beans. Libraries and record halls aren't candy stores, where we can order up "ten of these and twelve of those." We cannot pick only the shapes, flavors, and colors we like. Most of us study genealogy in order to understand the past—society's past and our own. Understanding demands honesty. Realism. If we whitewash the tarnished, elevate the downtrodden, and put pedestals under men with feet of clay, then we distort our world past any chance of understanding it. We don't glorify ourselves by inflating our ancestors; we only make ourselves look and feel smaller by comparison.

Readers who search for ancestors with noble houses and noble hearts, those whose empathies for such men and women turn easily into fantasies, would fare better today in the romance section of their public library than in the genealogy division. But admirers of Diogenes, who seek an honest representation of man, will undoubtedly rush right out to find these books by Neagles and Hume.

—The Millses

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#### NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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#### The Parents of Colonel Richard Lee of Virginia

By WILLIAM THORNDALE, A.G., C.G.\*

One of the enduring puzzles of Southern genealogy has been the origin of the immigrant Richard Lee (1618–1664), who came to Virginia by 1640, perhaps as secretary to the new governor. The cumulative renown of his famous descendants, especially General Robert E. Lee, has inspired many genealogists to tackle the problem. Intriguingly, the immigrant left a statement pointing to the origin of his family—Nordley Regis in Shropshire; and the breakthrough clue to a solution has been in print for over ninety-five years.

The present article identifies the English origins of the Lee immigrant. Part One summarizes what genealogists have discovered previously about Colonel Lee's ancestry and how they handled the evidence. Part Two proves the immigrant was the son of John Lee, a Worcester clothier, and his wife Jane Hancock. Like others of the Tidewater gentry, the Lees seemingly came from the landed class via at least one English generation in trade.

#### PART ONE: PRIOR EVIDENCE AND ASSUMPTIONS

Colonel Richard Lee and his sons asserted their birthright as gentlemen by displaying the ancient arms of the Shropshire Lees. The colonel's tombstone does not survive, but the following records do:

- 1. The colonel made an affidavit in 1655 that the two hundred ounces of family silver being taken back to Virginia all bore his arms (not described).<sup>2</sup>
- 2. The generic arms of the Lees of Langley/Coton Hall, Shropshire, appear on a silver cup given to Queen's College in 1658 when the colonel's eldest son John entered Oxford: fess chequy between eight billets, four and four. The accompanying Latin inscription says John was born in Virginia—"filius primogenitus Richardi chiliar-chae oriundi de Morton Regis in Agro Salopiensi." That is, John was the eldest son of Colonel Richard Lee, descended of Morton Regis, Shropshire.<sup>3</sup>

- 3. The College of Arms, London, in the reign of Charles II, collected blazonings into manuscript volumes now called the E. D. N. Alphabet. Colonel Richard Lee of Virginia appears as "from the Lees of Shropshire (who sometimes bore eight billets and sometimes ten and sometimes ye Fesse counter-compone)."
- 4. John Gibbon, Introductio ad Latinam Blasoniam (1682), states that Colonel Richard Lee "descended from the Lees of Shropshire." (See figure 1.) Gibbon lived at Lee's Dividing Creek plantation, Northumberland County, in 1658-61 and later became Bluemantle Pursuivant at the College of Arms. The colonel's son Richard owned a copy of the book.
- Wicomico Parish (alias Lee Parish), Northumberland County, received a communion cup in 1711 as per the will of Hancock Lee, seventh son of the colonel. It displays the usual Lee arms.<sup>6</sup>
- 6. The tombstone of the colonel's son Richard, who died in 1714, identifies the deceased as "filii Ricardi Lee generosi ex antiqua familia in Merton-Regis in comitatu Salopiensi oriundi." That is, Richard Lee II was the son of Richard Lee, gentleman, descended of the ancient family in Merton Regis, Shropshire.
- A newspaper advertisement of 1729 by the colonel's grandson Thomas Lee, the future governor and builder of Stratford, announced the theft of his family silver.

A great part of Anno 1659. till February the year following I lived in Virginia, being most hospitably entertained by the Honourable Colonel Rich. Lee, sometimes Secretary of State there; and who after the Kings Martyrdom hired a Dutch Vessel, freighted her himself, went to Brussels, surrendred up Sir William Barcklaies old Commission (for the Government of that Province) and received a new one from his present Majesty (a loyal action, and deserving my commemora-

tion.) Neither will I omit his Arms, being, Bul. a few Chequy Br, Bl. be=
tween eight Billets Arg. being descended from the Lees of Shrop=thire (who fometimes bore eight Billets, sometimes ten, and sometimes the felle Con=
tercompone (as I have seen by our Office Records) I will blason it thus, In Clypeo rutilo; Fasciam pluribus quadratis auri

& cyani, alternis aequifq; spaciis (ductu triplici positis) confectam, & inter octo Plynthides argenteas collocatam.

Fig. 1
Coat of Arms of Colonel Richard Lee
According to John Gibbon, Introductio ad Latinam Blasoniam (1682), p. 156
(facsimile reproduction by Ruth Land Hatten)

- which bore the Lee arms "fess checque [sic] between eight billets, four and four." One plate displayed Cortius arms.<sup>8</sup>
- 8. An undated, wooden coat of arms displays the usual fess chequy/eight billets arms, but with a crescent in the upper-right corner. Tradition says the carving hung at Cobbs Hall on the colonel's home tract at Dividing Creek. The crescent supposedly denotes the cadet line of the Shropshire Lees, the family of Coton Hall, lords of Nordley Regis manor.

#### Evaluation of Past Evidence

All this evidence does not speak for itself. The silver cup at Oxford is obviously engraved in an eighteenth-century style much later than its stated date, 1658; thus it is neither contemporary nor primary evidence. Research eventually produced a record at Oxford that the cup had been re-engraved in 1745. More serious, the Oxford cup and the tombstone of Richard Lee II proclaim that Colonel Lee descends from the Lees of *Morton* or *Merton* Regis. No such place has ever been found in Shropshire. Researchers hypothesize that the engraver misread the colonel's writing of *Norley* Regis, a common spelling variant of *Nordley*, and that the tombstone inscription came from a copy of the cup's text. By the same approach, one can interpret *Cortius* in the burglary notice as a typesetter's misreading of *Corbin*, the maiden name of Governor Thomas Lee's mother.

Richard Lee's public display of his coat of arms had practical value. The senior branch of the Shropshire Lees held a baronetcy from 1620 to 1660, when the line became extinct. The colonel gained prestige in Virginia as kin to the Lee baronets of Langley, a risky claim if not true. Governor William Berkeley's rapid promotion of Lee implies that he had gentry origins.

The descendants of Colonel Lee have continued down to the present to accept a Coton Hall ancestry despite other solutions that have occasionally been proposed.<sup>12</sup> The family's genealogical curiosity runs at least from the mid-1740s, when Thomas Lee of Stratford asked the master of Coton Hall about the Lee ancestry.<sup>13</sup> In 1750 a descendant in the fourth generation obtained the Shropshire Lee lineage from the College of Arms, although without any clue of where the colonel should be placed. When Lieutenant Robert E. Lee in 1837 wanted to know his ancestry, he could turn to cousins holding papers and letters that preserved the family traditions.<sup>14</sup>

Some of those family papers, including the 1750 lineage from the College of Arms, were published in 1871 as the *Genealogical History of the Lee Family of Virginia and Maryland from A.D. 1300 to A.D. 1866.* The fashions of the day show in the mention of Launcelot Lee of France, who served at Hastings with William the Conqueror, and of Lionel Lee, the first Earl of Litchfield, who fought in the Third Crusade. The author also identified Colonel Lee with a London fishmonger on flimsy evidence, as follows:

That the first Richard Lee of Virginia was of the House of "Cotton," Shropshire, and a descendant of the branch here recorded, there can be no doubt; and that Richard Lee of Southwark [the fishmonger] is that person we have every reason to believe, as he is the only descendant of that name given during that period.<sup>17</sup>

An English reviewer had no trouble ridiculing such flights of fancy. <sup>18</sup> For instance, the Litchfield earldom began in 1674, not in the twelfth century. Also, the fishmonger—as son and brother to owners of Coton Hall—appears in the 1663 Shropshire visitation married to Elizabeth Langdon at the very time Colonel Lee's wife in Virginia was named Anne. Moreover, the reviewer had his own candidate, one definitely not of the Shropshire family. His solution appeared in 1886 as the "Pedigree of the Family of Lee, Cos. Chester, Bucks, and Oxon, Shewing the Lineal Descent of the Late General Robert E. Lee of Virginia, America, from Sir John Lee, Knt." <sup>19</sup> This work contends that the immigrant descended from the Ditchley Lees of Buckinghamshire, the family later raised to the Litchfield earldom. Vigorous opposition to this solution evoked the first serious research in original English records and marked the beginning of modern Lee genealogy.

Those interested in the technicalities of the Ditchley debate can consult several articles published from 1890 to 1895. To summarize: Colonel Richard Lee, in his 1664 will, mentions his English estate at Stratford Langton in county Essex, northeast of London. Since the Ditchley Lees owned land in the neighborhood and since Lee mansions in Virginia were called Stratford and Ditchley, the immigrant must therefore descend from the Lees of Ditchley, Quarrendon, Buckinghamshire—or so it was argued. A spare Richard of the Ditchley family was found, one who disappeared from English records after boyhood. The counter argument held that the colonel never used the Ditchley arms. Later research in this regard proved that the immigrant had not inherited the Stratford estate but merely bought it, perhaps for retirement. The Ditchley claim also succumbed to a proof that the boy alleged to be the future emigrant had actually died as a child. No wonder he disappeared from English records.

In 1895 a major genealogy of the colonel's descendants appeared, a work still the standard reference but one badly in need of updating. Concerning the immigrant's ancestry, the author could only repeat the information of the 1658 Oxford cup, the 1714 tombstone, and a 1771 letter by a great-grandson of the immigrant—to contend that the colonel descended from the Lees of Coton Hall in some undetermined way.<sup>21</sup>

#### New Evidence Undeveloped—New Claims Manufactured

Yet just three years earlier, the well-known abstractor of English records, Henry F. Waters, had published the 1666 will of John Best of Twining, Gloucestershire.<sup>22</sup> This English will named a good many Hancocks, calling to mind the immigrant's son Hancock; and it left ten pounds each to Richard and Francis Lea, sons of "Collonell Richard Lea." Another genealogist immediately wrote that "no doubt the true clue has been found at last." The clue was not then exploited.

Through most of the present century the main stimulus to research came from the Society of the Lees of Virginia. Cazenove G. Lee, Jr., used the society's magazine (published 1922–39) to report original research done in England in the late 1920s, which pointed (by a process of elimination) toward a

Richard Lee (1563-after 1620) as the immigrant's father. <sup>24</sup> By this theory, the colonel's grandfather would have been John Lee (1530-1605) of Coton Hall. This Richard, who married Elizabeth Bendy in 1599 in the Lees' home parish of Alveley, Shropshire, had seven brothers—all plausibly eliminated as the colonel's father. This Richard was even shown to hold a life annuity in a family farm in Nordley Regis manor, but the parish registers revealed no children of his. Nor could any direct evidence be found linking the immigrant to this Richard Lee of Nordley Regis.

In 1929 the exact, desired evidence surfaced. An application to join the Lee Society included a Bible entry, a copy of a copy of the purported original, which contended that Colonel Richard Lee, "(son of Richard Lee) of Nordley Regis in Shopshire [sic]," died "March 1 1664." By November 1930, the College of Arms had accepted this "proof" and certified the immigrant's Coton Hall descent.<sup>25</sup> The death date, in fact, is dubious on its face. In those days, the English year ended on 24 March; so "March 1 1664" meant 1 March 1664/65. By then, the colonel had been dead at least ten months.<sup>26</sup>

The eager acceptance of this alleged Bible entry shows the power of rationalization. A well-documented biography of the immigrant, published decades later, managed to accept the Bible "information" while noting its mistake in saying that the colonel's son Charles was born at Cobbs Hall on 21 May 1655.<sup>27</sup> The Virginia mansion at Dividing Creek did not even exist in 1655, and the baby's mother was in London that day. Therefore, this author concluded, the Bible's discrepancy must be "an error in transcription." After the Lee Society's official genealogist challenged the Bible entry's authenticity, following World War II, the biographer acknowledged that Colonel Lee was probably a generation further removed from Coton Hall than had previously been guessed.<sup>28</sup>

The absence of an ancestry for so notable a person seems an irresistible invitation for off-the-wall solutions. The strangest came in 1969-71, proposed by the exposer of the Cobbs Hall Bible.<sup>29</sup> This was—for readers keeping track—the fourth erroneous solution to reach print. The author reasoned that Morton Regis on the 1658 Oxford cup and Merton Regis on the 1714 tombstone should be taken at face value. However, there being no such place in Shropshire, she settled for a mere Moreton—no Regis—in the parish of Oswestry, and a Richard, son of Thomas Lee, corser [trader of horses], who had been christened 9 January 1608/09. This "proof" repeats the error of those using the Southwark fishmonger and the Ditchley boy in identifying the immigrant with some convenient Richard Lee on little more than the similarity of a given name. The Lee Society's president demolished the Moreton link by showing that the place had never been a royal demesne (hence, no Regis), that no evidence was given of the corser's having a coat of arms, and that no proof linked the immigrant to the corser.<sup>30</sup> Yet demolition does not cause disappearance. The fanciful lineage has remained in print and available to be repeated by others.<sup>31</sup>

Useful new findings have continued to accumulate. In 1984 a noted English genealogist published a deposition from the Admiralty Court of a "Richard Lee of London, Gent. aged 34 years or thereabouts." He was deposing in

London in September 1654 about things he had witnessed the previous January along the York River in Virginia.<sup>32</sup> These dates fit the colonel's chronology. The steady accretion of evidence by generations of genealogists can be seen in this refinement of his birth date: at one time people assumed the immigrant was born about 1600, then about 1613, and now about 1620 in accordance with the deposition.<sup>33</sup> He actually was christened in 1618.

#### PART TWO: THE SOLUTION

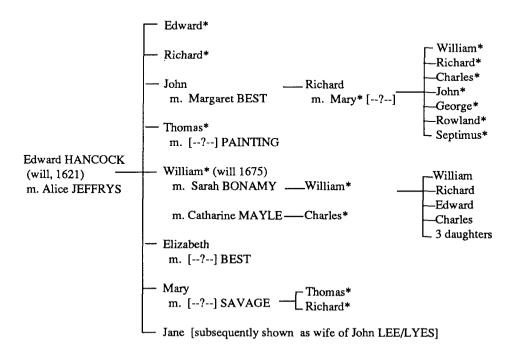
For nearly a century, the clue to identifying Lee's parents has been public knowledge. The 1666 will of John Best of Twining, published in 1892, names not only "Collonell Richard Lea" but also a Thomas Hancock, clothier of the city of Worcester—Hancock being the colonel's uncle and Worcester being Richard's place of christening. Worcester, Twining, and Coton Hall (Alveley parish) all lay along the main north-south trade route of the West Midlands—the River Severn and its parallel highway running from Shrewsbury to Bristol. Worcester lies only twenty miles south of Coton Hall and twelve miles north of Twining. However, the author of this present article was no more sensitive to such clues than previous researchers and reached the Worcester solution via a detour of several weeks of reading London guild records.

The bare-bones Hancock family of Twining, outlined in figure 2, emerges from two Hancock wills (see Appendix) and some visitation charts.<sup>34</sup> (The Twining registers are lost before 1648.) The 1682–83 Worcester visitation gives only a birth order for Edward's sons. Therefore, Hancock's three daughters are listed here after their brothers. The names which appear with an asterisk are those found in John Best's will (see Appendix). Six of Edward's eight children—or their children—are named by Best. The seventh, Elizabeth (Hancock) Best, was presumably John's mother. Jane, the last of the eight, will be proved the mother of Colonel Richard Lee, the latter also named in Best's will. Meanwhile, Edward Hancock's will of 1621 bequeathed twenty shillings to "John Lyes his three sonns" to be invested until the boys reached age twenty-one. A visitation record further holds that Edward's fifth son, William, was a vintner; while John Best identified Thomas and Richard Savage as also vintners of London.

The records of the Vintners' Guild of London offer the following five apprenticeships:<sup>35</sup>

- 2 April 1611. William Hancock, son of Edw. Hancock of Twining, co. Gloucester, yeoman, was bound to Jacob Bonamy. He became free 14 June 1620. Hancock later married Bonamy's daughter.
- 2 April 1633. John Lee, son of Jo: Lee of "Woster," clothier, was bound to William Hancock for eight years. No freedom entry found.
- 14 April 1640. Benjamin Hancock, son of Tho: Hancock of the city of "Worester," clothier, was bound to Jacob Bonamy for seven years. He became free 1 June 1647.
- 7 July 1646. Thomas Savage, son of Tho: Savage of the city of Worcester, clothier, was bound to William Hancock for seven years. No freedom entry found.
- 3 October 1648. Richard Savage, son of Tho: S: of the city of Worcester, yeoman, was bound to Benjamin Hancock for seven years. He became free 16 January 1656/57.

Fig. 2 Hancock-Lee Chart



Four such apprenticeship entries pointing to Worcester naturally prompted a reading of that city's probates and parish registers. On 2 September 1630 Jane Lee, widow of John Lee of Saint Martin parish, the city of Worcester, clothier, made administration bond for his estate—with security of Thomas Hancox/Hancocke, a clothier of the same city. Two years later Jane Lee married John Maninge in Worcester Saint Martin. Then Jane Manning of Worcester Saint Martin, a widow since her new husband's death in 1633, made a will in 1635 (see Appendix) naming eldest son John Lyes, son Richard, and youngest son Thomas. Her brother Thomas Hancocks was named executor—to be assisted by "my brothers" Walter Heming, Richard Lyes, and Thomas Savage.

The registers of Worcester Saint Martin survive from 1538 and supply the following:<sup>39</sup>

John Lee (often Lies/Lyes), clothier, was buried 23 February 1629/30 in Worcester Saint Martin, Worcestershire. He had married at an unknown date Jane Hancock, daughter of Edward Hancock and Alice Jeffrys of Twining, Gloucestershire. Jane Lee married John Maninge on 29 July 1632 in Worcester Saint Martin and was buried 24 February 1638/39 in Worcester Saint Alban.

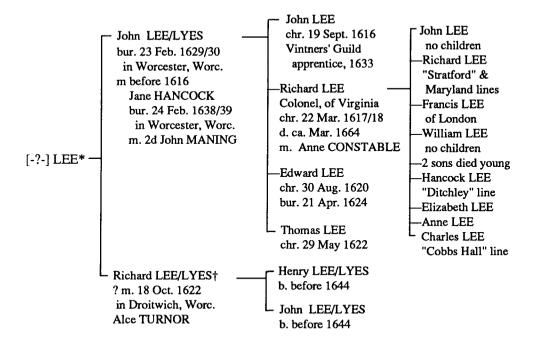
The children of John and Jane Lee, all christened in Saint Martin, were as follows:

- i. John, christened 19 September 1616.
- 2 ii. Richard, christened 22 March 1617/18.
- 3 iii. Edward, christened 30 August 1620; buried 21 April 1624.
- iv. Thomas, christened 29 May 1622.

None of the city's other parishes produced plausible additional christenings.

A few comments regarding the above are in order. The register in all four of the above christening entries spells John Lee's surname as *Lies* or *Lyes*. This matches the spelling in his father-in-law's will. The remarriage of John's widow spells the name *Lee*, as does the London guild record for his eldest son. John's burial entry says *Lyes*; his probate says *Lee*.<sup>40</sup> The christening date reported here for Richard, 1618, matches very well (for its time and place) the deposition giving the immigrant's birth date as around 1620. The will of Jane (Hancock) Lee Manning was probated 26 March 1639, and within a year her son Richard had relocated in Virginia. (His earliest Virginia notice seems to be either January 1639/40 or April 1640.<sup>41</sup>) That Richard Lee's father was

Fig. 3 Lee Chart



<sup>\*</sup> Possibly Richard LEE (1563-after 1620), gentleman; held annuity on farm at Nordley Regis; son of John LEE of Coton Hall, Alveley parish, Shropshire.

<sup>†</sup> Sons possibly by a Heming wife.

named John should be no surprise—that being the name of the colonel's eldest son. A statistical study of Tidewater naming patterns between 1650 and 1750 found a seven-in-ten chance that the eldest son would bear the name of his father or grandfathers.<sup>42</sup> Last, there must be surprise that the immigrant's father did not stand higher on the socioeconomic scale. An analysis of the Worcester cloth industry of the late-sixteenth century found that independent weavers usually had probate inventories worth less than £30, while most clothiers possessed assets over £70. John Lee's inventory, including two looms, totaled £40.8.9.<sup>43</sup>

The Worcester records that have thus far been checked give no hint that John Lee was a gentleman. In this regard, one researcher has written the following of Colonel Richard Lee:

If he was a Gentleman, then so was his father before him. In his baptismal record, wherever it be (if it still exists), his father was certainly described as "Gent."<sup>44</sup>

To the contrary, English heralds in the early-seventeenth century debated whether apprenticed armigers should be called gentlemen. 45 John Lee's brother-in-law—Thomas Hancock, clothier—does not appear in the 1634 Worcestershire visitation, despite definitely being armigerous. The Coton Hall Lees further illustrate the danger in arguing from the absence of *gent* in a record. Lancelot Lee, heir of Coton Hall, had sons christened in 1618 and 1620 in an adjoining Shropshire parish and both entries lack *gent* or Mr. 46 John Lee, as a tradesman in Worcester, was neither living on a rural estate nor displaying the life-style of a gentleman. Could this be why Colonel Richard Lee left so obscure his immediate paternity—choosing to emphasize the family's gentry status of a generation or so further back? 47

#### **APPENDIX**

The wills of Jane Manning and John Best, mentioned in the above article, are transcribed here. Extracts from two Heming wills supply further references to the immigrant's father and uncle, John and Richard Lee. In the following transcriptions, periods are added to close sentences and standard spellings replace superior letters, tildes, and most abbreviations. Otherwise, the capitalization, punctuation, and spelling remain faithful to the originals.

#### Will of Jane (Hancock) Lee Manning

(Probated 26 March 1639. Worcester Consistory Court 1639, No. 147, transcribed from the British film collection, Film 098,058, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.)

31 May 1635. In the name of God, Amen. I Jane Manning of the parish of St Martin in Worcester being in perfect memory make and ordaine this my last will and testament in manner and forme following. First I commend my soule into the hands of Almighty god my maker and redeemer, and my body to be buried in the parish church of St Martin aforesaid. Item I give and bequeath to **John my eldest sonne** [various house furnishings, cloth for a mourning suit] and my gold ring which I weare on my finger for a token in remembrance of me his mother, and for the better preserving of these things I likewise give and bequeath unto him my great wainscoat chest to receive and keepe them in the house and custody of Thomas Hancocks my brother untill he be full 24 years of age and then and not before then deliver them fully and wholly to my

sayd sonne John Lyes aforesayd. Item I give and bequeath to my sonne Thomas the remnant of the same cloath before mentioned towards the making of a suit of apparell for him, and a fine old peece of gold for a token in remembrance of me his mother. And the rest of goods, chattells, householdstuffe and implements whatsoever I will and require to be sold and the mony received for them to be divided by such portions as that Thomas may have two parts and my sonne Richard the third part. As concerning the rents of my now dwelling house, the tenement and Garden adjoyning and the debts due to me as upon bill appeareth, my owne debts and funerall thinges being payd, and the yearly rent of foure pounds to my Landlord duly discharged, I will and ordaine that whatsoever remaineth of the same be equally devided betweene my sayd two last sonnes Richard and Thomas. To this purpose I desire that my now dwelling house with the tenement adjoyning may be let out for the best to their benefitt, but the garden I will that Thomas Prichard still hold and continue during the lease for the usuall rent of 4s yearely. Those portions thus bequeathed I will and desire to remaine in the custody of my brother Thomas Hancocks untill they be each of them 24 yeares of age excepting only that the cloath before mentioned be presently after my decease so divided as is specified to John and Thomas. Provided always that if John my eldest sonne be deceased before he come to the said age of 24 years that then the sayd portion and legacy now bequeathed to him shall come to Thomas my youngest sonne if he be then living but at the age of 24 yeares to be delivered to him together with his owne portion. So likewise if Thomas be deceased before he be of the sayd age that then the portion go now bequeathed to him goe in like manner to John if he be then living. If both be deceased before either of them come to the sayd age, that then their portions shall goe entirely to my sonne Richard but at the age of 24 yeares as is before mentioned. If Richard be deceased before he come to the full age required, that then his portion shalbe equally divided between his surviving brothers at their full age, or goe wholly to one if but one be living. And for the better performance hereof I commit the letting of my house, the selling of my goods and the preserving of the severall portions to the trust of my brother Thomas Hancocks whom I make sole executor of this my last will and testament, desiring likewise my brothers Walter Heming, Richard Lyes and Thomas Savage to be his assistants for the good of my children. Dated the day and yeare above written.

Jane Maning

Witnesses
Philip Tinker
Thomas Sanby[?]
Gilbert Cox

#### Extract: Will of Walter Heming Clothier of the City of Worcester, Worcestershire

(Dated 6 February 1636 [/37]; probated in 1637—day and month not given. Worcester Consistory Court 1637, No. 71. Film 098,054, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.)

Heming's will, after naming his father as overseer—which proves that the Richard Heming of the next will outlived his son—states the following:

Item I give unto Richard Lee and Thomas Lee Two of the sonnes of my Brother in lawe John Lee deceassed the somme of tenne shillings a peece to be paid to them within two monethes affter my deceasse.

Item I give unto my Brother in lawe **Richard Lee** the somme of tenn pounds of lawfull money of England to be paid unto him upon the Twentieth day of December nexte upon Condition that his ffather in lawe Henry Turner then geve him tenn pounds more to the dischardge of a debte of Twenty pounds which the said **Richard Lee** oweth to the corporation of the Citty of Worcester.

#### Extract: Will of Richard Heming Clothier of Saint Andrew Parish, Worcester, Worcestershire

(Dated 8 March 1644 [/45], probated 17 April 1650, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1650 Pembroke 52. Film 092,175, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.)

Item I give devise and bequeath unto **Henry Lyes** sonne of my sonne in lawe **Richard Lyes** the summe of ffyve poundes of lawfull English money To bee paid unto him within Two yeares next after my decease.

Item I give devise and bequeath unto **John Lyes** Brother of the said **Henry Lyes** the summe of ffyve poundes of like lawfull English money To bee paid unto him within Two yeares next after my decease.

#### Will of John Best

(Dated 18 June 1666, probated 4 May 1667, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1667 Carr 59. Film 092,290, Family History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.)

In the name of God Amen and being the Eighteenth Day of June in the year of our Lord God one Thousand Six hundred Sixty and Six and in the eighteenth year of the Raigne of our Soveraigne Lord King Charles the Second of England Scottland ffrance and Ireland Defender of the Faith etc. I John Best the sonne of Rowland Best of Twining in the County of Gloucester yeoman and the Sonne and heyre of the said Rowland deceased, being weake in body by the reason of weaknes and Sicknes but in good and perfect memory, Thanks be given unto Allmighty God, and knowing the uncertainty of this life doe here declare this my last will and Testament as in manner and forme following. Imprimis I bequeath my Soule into the hands of Allmighty God and unto Jesus Christ my saviour and Redeemer hopeing by his merrits to have my soule saved and my sinnes forgiven mee and my body to the Earth to be decently buried and in Christian like manner as my executor hereafter named shall think fitt, and of all my wordly Goods as god in his mercy hath given me I doe dispose of as followeth. Item I give and bequeath unto John Best the Younger the sonne of John Best of Twining aforesaid And unto his heyres forever All these my Lands hereditaments with the appurttances which I the said John Best did purchase of Thomas Barke of Twyning aforesaid and his ffeoffees in trust as by one deede bearing date the Twentieth day of March Anno Domini 16\_4 [blurred] whereunto Relation being had more fully appeareth (only except one Close of Pasture Ground Allways Reserving and called by the name of Pucksmore and Conteyning by Estimation three Acres and a half or thereaboutes in the same Deed mentioned[)]. Item I give unto the said John Best the younger my Close called Pucksmore and to his heyres for ever hee or they paying therefore to the overseers of the poore of the parish of Twyning for ever yearely the summe of ffifty shillings of lawfull money of England for the tyme being at or uppon the Tenth Day of December to be given unto the said poore at or before the Twentieth Day of December next following yearely for ever. And if the said John Best or his heyres shall at any time refuse to pay the said Summe of ffifty shillings or any parte thereof yearely as aforesaid then I the above named John Best doth by this my last will and Testament give and bequeath my Close called Pucksmore unto the overseers of the poore of the parish of Twyning to pay the said summe of ffifty shillings before mentioned as aforesaid. Item I give and bequeath unto William Hancocke of Twyning gent the sonne of William Hancocke of Breedons Norton Esquire his Executors and Assignes All that my parte and proportion of one Lease Granted by the Deane and Chapter of Christ Church in Oxon of the Rectorie and Parsonage of Twyning aforesaid to Edwin Baldwin and John Porttman of Twyning for one and Twenty Yeares according unto their usuall way of granting and the Custome of the said Colledge in trust unto Edwin Baldwin ffeofees in trust the one moyetie and John Porttman for himselfe John Best John Adams Thomas Sparry and William Deaves for the other moyetie, the estate of the said William Hancocke his Executors and Assignes to commence imediately after my decease. Item I give and bequeath unto Mary Hancocke the wife of Richard Hancocke the summe of Twenty pounds of Lawfull money of England my ffeather Bed and Bolster which is in the Little Chamber one paire of Sheetes and one paire of Blancketts and my best Coverlidd. Item I give and bequeath until William Richard Charles John George Rowland and Septimus Hancocke being the seaven sonnes of the said Richard Hancocke and Mary his wife unto each of them Twenty pounds a peece of Lawfull money of England to be paid unto them at such tymes as hee or they shall accomplish the full age of one and Twenty yeares and if any of the aforesaid Children doe Chance to Dye before hee or they shall accomplish the full age of one and Twenty yeares that then such money as would have had bin Due unto he or them or either of them as if he had lived unto the said age shall be equally devided between the rest of the said Children then liveing and Surviveing and what proffitts shall arise out by the Said moneys untill it shall be due to be paid as aforesaid shall be equally paid yearely amongst them for their better maintainance. Item I give and bequeath unto Thomas Best of the Kingshome neare unto the Citty of Gloucester gardner and seaven of his Children vizt Thomas Best the younger John Best Edward and Samuell Best Joane Dorothy and Elizabeth Best unto each of them the Summe of Tenn pounds a peece to be paid them within one yeare after my Decease and if any of them he or shee doe chance to Dye before he or shee shall be fully sattisfied and paid their Legacies soe given them then the said moenyes is to remaine to be equally devided amongst the rest of them then liveing and surviveing. Item I give and bequeath unto Susana Hancocke the wife of Richard Hancocke of Twyning the summe of Ten pounds to be paid by my Executor. Item I give and bequeath unto Hester Best the daughter of the aforesaid Thomas Best of the Kingshome the summe of ffiftie pounds of

lawfull money of England to be naid her by my Executor. Item I give more unto the said Hester Beste halfe my goods throughout unbequeathed of household goods to be equally devided betweene my Executor and her by my Overseers. Item I give and bequeath unto Anne Darke the wife of Thomas Darke of Twyning five pounds, Item I give and bequeath unto Charles Hancocke gent of the Middle Temple in London Tenn pounds. Item I give and bequeath unto Thomas Bests two Daughters of Breedons Norton A. and Mary Best Tenn pounds a peece. Item I give and bequeath unto William Hancocke the sonne of Edward Hancocke of Twyning tenn pounds. Item I give and bequeath unto Thomas Savidge and Richard Savidge of the Cittie of London Vintners unto each of them tenn pounds a peece. Item I give and bequeath unto Richard Wittmore my Servant forty shillings. Item I give and bequeath unto Richard Lea the sonne of Collonell Richard Lea tenn pounds. Item I give and bequeath unto ffrancis Lea another sonne of Collonell Richard Lea tenn pounds and my Silver Tankard. Item I give and bequeath unto Elizabeth Richards widdow the wife of John Richards Carpenter Deceased the summe of five pounds. Item I give and bequeath unto William Hancocke the sonne of Thomas Hancocke of the Cittie of Worcester Clothyer five pounds. Item I give and bequeath unto the poore of the parish of Twyning eight pounds to be disposed of by my overseers. Item I give and bequeath unto John Best of Crombe Clerke tenn pounds. Item I give unto John Best of the Stone seaven pounds which hee oweth me. Item I give and bequeath unto Sara Hancocke of the Cittie of Worcester fortie shillings. Item I give and bequeath unto George Best the sonne of John Best of Twyning aforesaid his Executors and Assignes all the Residue and Remainder of yeares it to come and unexpired of one [sic last seven words and in one Lease bearing date the Twentieth day of December and in the yeare of our Lord God one Thousand Six hundred fiftie three made between Thomas Lowe and John Lowe of Twyning on the one parte and John Best of Twyning aforesaid on the other parte of one Close of ground Called by the name of Mearslow alias Widnes conteyning by estimation fower Acres or there aboutes bee it more or lesse Situated and lyeing in Twyning aforesaid as by the said Indenture of Lease more fully appeareth To have and to hold the said Lease from the 29th day of September next before the date of the said lease for and dureing the full terme of Nyntve and Nyne years. And lastly I doe give and bequeath unto John Best of Twyning the younger the sonne of John Best of Twyning the Elder All my Goods Cattell and Chattells as well moveable as unmoveable unbequeathed with all bills Bonds debts dues and demands withall Morgages Wrights Creditts whatsoever unto me belonging or appertaining that I now dye possessed of I give unto the aforesaid John Best the younger whome I now make my whole and sole Executor of this my last will and testament he paying and fully discharging all Legacies by me before bequeathed and my ffunerall expenses discharged. And I doe utterly revoke and renounce all former wills gifts and bequeasts by me formerly made sealed and delivered and this my last will to stand in force. Item I doe ordayne my wellbeloved freinds John Best of Twyning the elder and Tymothy Sliscer of the same yeoman to be my Overseers of this my last will and testament giveing them five Shillings a peece for their paynes to see all things herein expressed to be performed according to my true intent and meaning. In witness whereof I the said John Best hereunto sett my hand and seale the xviith day of June Anno Domini 1666. Signed John Best, Sealed and Delivered in the presence of Giles Tusten Joane Loung her marke Thomas Bicke Sen.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

- \*150 North 200 West, #31; Salt Lake City, UT 84103. Mr. Thorndale is a Certified Genealogist and an Accredited Genealogist, specializing in the southern United States. A past editor of the Association of Professional Genealogists' Newsletter, he is the co-compiler (with William Dollarhide) of Map Guide to the U. S. Federal Censuses, 1790–1920 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1987), which earned the 1987 Award of Merit of the American Society of Genealogists.
- 1. Ludwell Lee Montague, "The Grave of Richard Lee, the Emigrant," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 66 (July 1958): 356.
- 2. W. Noel Sainsbury, Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660 (London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1860), 430-31, 433.
- 3. Cazenove Gardner Lee, Jr., Lee Chronicle: Studies of the Early Generations of the Lees of Virginia, Dorothy Mills Parker, ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1957), 8, plate II.
  - 4. Ibid., 8.
- 5. John Gibbon, Introductio ad Latinam Blasoniam (1682; reprinted, Canterbury: Achievements Ltd., 1963), 156; Louis B. Wright, "Richard Lee II, a Belated Elizabethan in Virginia," Huntington Library Quarterly 2 (October 1938): 34. For background, see Martha W. Hiden and Henry M. Dargan, "John Gibbon's Manuscript Notes Concerning Virginia," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography [VMHB] 74 (January 1966): 3-22; Meriwether Stuart, "Textual Notes on 'John Gibbon's Manuscript Notes Concerning Virginia," VMHB 74 (October 1966):462-79.
  - 6. Lee, Lee Chronicle, 8, plate II.

- 7. William Meade, Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1857), 2:152; Lee, Lee Chronicle, 9, 68, plates III, XII-XIII.
  - 8. Maryland Gazette, 4-11 March 1728/29.
  - 9. Lee, Lee Chronicle, 11, plate V.
  - 10. Ibid., 16-17, 46 n. 13.
- 11. Ludwell Lee Montague, "The Problem of Richard Lee's Parentage," Virginia Genealogist 14 (April-June 1970): 52; Montague "Richard Lee, the Emigrant, 1613(?)-1664," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 62 (January 1954): 7. For Norley as an alternate spelling, see R. W. Eyton, Antiquities of Shropshire, 12 vols. (London: John Russell Smith, 1854-60), 3:146-60.
- 12. The current letterhead of the Society of the Lees of Virginia displays the Coton Hall arms of Lee quartering Astley, reflecting a growing discovery in the mid-eighteenth century of Shropshire traditions. See the ca. 1750(?) bookplate of Philip Ludwell Lee in Lee, Lee Chronicle, 12, plate VI, showing the modern Lee arms (tinctures added here): "1 and 4, gules, a fess chequy or and azure between ten billets, four in chief and three, two, one in base, argent (for Lee); 2 and 3, azure, a cinquefoil pierced ermine within a bordure engrailed of the second (for Astley)." This increasing intimacy between Shropshire and the colony shows in Virginia as new names for Lee mansions (e.g., Langley) and children (e.g., Lancelot).
- 13. "A New Clue to the Lee Ancestry. Letter from Lancelot Lee, of Coton, England, to Thomas Lee, of Stratford, Va.," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 6 (January 1899): 255-60. Most cited is a 1771 paper written by William Lee, first published in 1857 in Meade, Old Churches, 2:136-39.
- 14. Douglas Southall Freeman, R. E. Lee: A Biography, 4 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's and Sons, 1934-35). 1:159-69.
- 15. Edward C. Mead, Genealogical History of the Lee Family of Virginia and Maryland from A.D. 1300 to A.D. 1866 (New York: University Publishing Co., 1871).
- 16. Ibid., 9-10. The "cavalier" self-image shows in such family traditions as that found in W. W. Fontaine, "The Descent of General Robert E. Lee from King Robert the Bruce of Scotland," Southern Historical Association Papers 9 (May 1881): 193-206.
  - 17. Mead, History of the Lee Family, 55, 89 (chart).
- 18. Unsigned review [Frederick George Lee?], *Herald and Genealogist* 6 (1871): 456-57; see also the debate in *The Nation*, 8 April 1869, p. 274; 29 December 1870, p. 437; 12 January 1871, p. 24; and 19 January 1871, pp. 40-41.
- 19. Frederick George Lee, "Pedigree of the Family of Lee, Cos. Chester, Bucks, and Oxon, Shewing the Lineal Descent of the Late General Robert E. Lee of Virginia, America, from Sir John Lee, Knt.," *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, 2d ser., 1 (1886): 101-8, 127-32, 147-48.
- 20. J. Henry Lea, "Lee of Virginia," New England Historical and Genealogical Register [hereinafter NEHG Register] 44 (January 1890): 103-11, 340; 46 (January 1892): 64-78, 161-66. See also W. B. Lee, "Lee of Virginia," NEHG Register 47 (January 1893): 21-23; W. B. Lee, "Lee of Virginia," Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica, 2d ser., 5 (1894): 107-9, 124-26, 148; William Blackstone Lee, "Lees of Langley and Coton," in Edmund Jennings Lee, Lee of Virginia, 1642-1892: Biographical and Genealogical Sketches of the Descendants of Colonel Richard Lee (Philadelphia: The author, 1895), 24-43.
  - 21. Lee, Lee of Virginia, 49-51.
- 22. "Genealogical Gleanings in England," NEHG Register 46 (January 1892): 44-45. Bequests to the late colonel's second and third sons imply that they were then in England. This fits the family tradition of Richard II's English education and the colonel's will that Francis stay in England if he chose—which he did, thereafter becoming a London merchant.
  - 23. Lea, "Lee of Virginia," NEHG Register 46 (January 1892): 76.
- 24. The discoveries reported in the *Lee Magazine* are summarized in Lee, *Lee Chronicle*; in Montague, "Richard Lee, the Emigrant"; and in Gladys Howard Thompson, 'The King's Ley'; The Story of The Ancient Parish of Alveley, Shropshire (Shrewsbury, Eng.: Wilding and Son, 1951).
  - 25. Lee, Lee Chronicle, 17-18, plate VIII.
  - 26. Court session of 20 April 1664, in Order Book 1652-65, p. 195/385, Northumberland Co., Va.
- 27. Montague, "Richard Lee, the Emigrant," 32. Montague discusses further the immigrant's death in "The Will of Colonel Richard Lee," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 74 (January 1966): 23-25.
  - 28. Montague, "The Problem of Richard Lee's Parentage," 58.
- 29. Grace McLean Moses, "The Parentage of Colonel Richard Lee the Emigrant," Virginia Genealogist 13 (October-December 1969): 147-58; and Moses, "Richard Lee in Lower Norfolk County," Virginia Genealogist 15 (July-September 1971): 230. Her skepticism at the existence of Nordley Regis is rebutted by

- a photograph of the house so named in H. Edward Forrest, "The Lee Family Mansions in Shropshire," *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society*, 4th ser., 12 (1929-30): 327-28.
  - 30. Montague, "The Problem of Richard Lee's Parentage," 51-58.
- 31. Reba Shropshire Wilson and Betty Shropshire Glover, The Lees and Kings of Virginia and North Carolina, 1636–1976 (Ridgely, Tenn.: Wilson and Glover Publishing Co., 1975), 18–22. See reviews in Virginia Genealogist 20 (April-June 1976): 145–47, and Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 84 (July 1976): 369–71.
- 32. Peter Wilson Coldham, English Adventurers and Emigrants, 1609-1660: Abstracts of Examinations in the High Court of Admiralty with Reference to Colonial America (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1984), 144.
- 33. Lee, Lee Chronicle, 46, n. 15; Montague, "Richard Lee, the Emigrant," 11-12. Montague's calculation of the 1613 date—based upon the discovery of a Richard Lee, age twenty-two, on a May 1635 passenger list of a ship going to Barbados—was egregious speculation. He did allow that the Robert Lee on the same ship was too old to be the Robert who received land from Colonel Richard Lee in 1658; see Montague, "Richard Lee," 34.
- 34. Will, Edward Hancox, 26 January 1620/21, Gloucester Consistory Court 1622, No. 36; microfilmed by The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Family History Library film 091,397 [hereinafter FHL]. Will, William Hancock, 3 September 1675, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1676 Bench 130, FHL 092,318. Walter C. Metcalfe, Visitation of the County of Worcester, ... 1682, ... 1683 (Exeter, Eng.: For the author by William Pollard, 1883), 53; A. W. Hughes Clarke, London Pedigrees and Coats of Arms (London: Mitchell Hughes and Clarke, 1935), 55.
- 35. Register of Apprentice Bindings, 1609-66, Vintners' Guild Records, MS. 15220, pp. 10, 69, 114, 145, 159, Guildhall, London (FHL 1,067,994).
- 36. Administration, John Lee, inventory 2 March 1629/30, bond 2 September 1630, Worcester Consistory Court 1630, no. 99, FHL 098,037.
  - 37. Register, 1538-1636, p. 84, Worcester Saint Martin, FHL 415,131.
- 38. Will, Jane Manning, 31 May 1635, Worcester Consistory Court 1639, no. 147, FHL 098,058; will, John Maninge, 29 September 1633, ibid., no. 108, FHL 098,045.
- 39. Register, 1538-1636, pp. 49-52, 84, and burials (no pagination), Worcester Saint Martin, FHL 415,131; Register, 1630-76, p. 9, Saint Alban, FHL 354,316.
- 40. A generalized mapping of Lee surname spellings in England appears in Francis Leeson, "The Study of Single Surnames and Their Distribution," *Genealogists' Magazine* 14 (December 1964): 405-12.
- 41. On 8 April 1640 one Richard Lee witnessed a deed to land in York County (Virginia Land Patents, vol. 1, 1623–43, p. 717, FHL 029,318). The dearth of 1640 records for York Neck makes it speculation that this witness was the future colonel; but the lands of the seller, John Utye, Jr., lay in Charles River (alias York) County near Middle Plantation. Governor Francis Wyatt reached Virginia in November 1639; and, logically, Richard Lee could have come with him. Cynthia Miller Leonard, The General Assembly of Virginia, July 30, 1619–January 11, 1978: A Bicentennial Register of Members (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1978), 18, lists Richard Lee as the clerk of the Assembly for January 1639/40. If so, then he was in the colony at least three months earlier than even the above deed suggests. However, in checking Leonard's referenced material, it has not yet been possible to find primary evidence to support her statement.
- 42. Darrett B. and Anita H. Rutman, A Place in Time, Explicatus (New York: W. W. Norton, 1984), 88.
- 43. Alan D. Dyer, The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century (Leicester, Eng.: Leicester University Press, 1973), 99. Burton J. Hendrick, The Lees of Virginia: Biography of a Family (Boston: Little, Brown, 1935), 3, 5, 12, pictures the immigrant arriving monied enough to buy lands and labor soon after reaching Virginia. Alternate explanations—given his father's lack of wealth—could be some other inheritance or his salary as clerk of the Council/General Court.
  - 44. Montague, "The Problem of Richard Lee's Parentage," 58.
- 45. Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, An Open Elite? England 1540-1880 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 21-23.
- 46. Register, 1571-1770, 2 August 1618 and 2 July 1620 (no pagination), Bobbington, Shropshire, FHL 1,040,830.
- 47. Finding the colonel's father naturally opens leads toward locating his grandfather—leads such as John's (d. 1630) having a brother Richard and the two, if sons of Richard Lee of Nordley Regis, probably having been born in the 1590s. That the immigrant's maternal grandmother was Alice Jeffrys brings to mind the colonel's business agent, John Jeffreys. The will of Francis Lee, third son of the colonel, names friends Sir Jeffery Jeffries, knight, and John Jeffries, esquire, nephews of the business agent. But no obvious link ties

Alice (Jeffrys) Hancock, said to be of Gloucestershire, to the prominent Welsh family of Llywel, Brecon. See Theophilus Jones, A History of the County of Brecknock, 2 vols. (1805; reprinted, Brecknock: Edwin Davies, 1890), 2:226; George W. Marshall, Le Neve's Pedigrees of the Knights, Harleian Society Publications, no. 6 (London: Harleian Society, 1873), 470–71; will, John Jeffreys, 10 March 1686, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1688 Exton 150, FHL 092,359; and will, ffrancis Lee, 9 July 1709, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 1714 Ashton 224, FHL 092,509. The colonel's links with Worcester may also lead to the Wyatt/Sandys connection that got him a job in Virginia. The immigrant's uncle could be the Richard Lee/Lyes who married Alce Turnor 18 October 1622 in Droitwich Saint Andrew, Worcestershire, and soon after had some children christened in the city of Worcester.

#### Swarr Family Bible Records Lancaster County, Pennsylvania

[Kieffer Collection, Box 10, File 11, National Genealogical Society Library]

#### Births

- John H. Swarr was born in East Hempfield Township, Lancaster County, on the 14th day of June A.D. 1818.
- Elizabeth Rifer [Peifer?] was born in Manheim Township, Lancaster Cy., Pa., on the 5th day of September A.D. 1824.
- Phares Swarr, son of John and Elizabeth Swarr, was born in Manheim Township, Lancaster Cy., on the 23rd June A. D. 1844.
- Martin P. Swarr, son of John and Elizabeth Swarr, was born in Manheim Twp., Lancaster Cy., on the 16th Feby. A. D. 1846.
- Hiram P. Swarr was born in East Hempfield Township, Lancaster County, on the 25th of February 1848.
- John P. Swarr, son of John and Elizabeth Swarr, was born in East Hempfield Township, Lancaster County, on the 13th February A. D. 1852
- Meno P. Swar [sic], son of John and Elizabeth Swar, was born in East Hempfield Township, Lancaster County, on the 1st of November A. D. 1853
- Reuben P. Swarr, son of John and Elizabeth Swarr, was born in East Hempfield Township, Lancaster County, on the 12th of September A. D. 1855.
- Lizzieann Swarr, daughter of John and Elizabeth Swar, was born in East Hempfield township, Lancaster County, on the 19th of January 1860.

#### Marriages

Married on Thursday the 22nd December A. D. 1842 by the Rev. J. C. Baker of Lancaster, *John H. Swarr* of East Hempfield to *Miss Elizabeth Rifer* [*Peifer*?] of Manheim Township, Lancaster Co.

Submitted by Mary Williams, 912 Hawthorne Avenue, Morgantown, WV 26505

#### Joseph and Lydia (Gorham) Worth of Nantucket, Massachusetts, and Their Wandering Children

By ELIZABETH PEARSON WHITE, C.G., F.A.S.G., F.N.G.S. and EDWIN W. COLES\*

One of the interesting families living on Nantucket Island before the American Revolution was that of Joseph Worth and his wife, Lydia Gorham. The story of this family, and the migration of some of their descendants to New York and North Carolina, illustrates the beginning of the movement of colonial families westward and southward across the vastness of North America. No accurate and documented account of this family has been published. Alexander Starbuck, in his History of Nantucket, provides some undocumented material on the children of Joseph and Lydia Worth. "The Gorham Family," an unpublished manuscript compiled earlier in this century by Henry S. Gorham of Noroton, Connecticut and deposited at the New England Historic Genealogical Society in Boston, provides the best account of this family; but it is unsupported by court records and is inaccurate and incomplete in some areas.<sup>2</sup> Researchers using such Nantucket-area publications should note that when the Worths started to move out across the country. they did not travel alone. Many of their Nantucket neighbors went with them and can be found with them in the same records discussed throughout this article.

Joseph Worth's grandfather, William<sup>1</sup> Worth, had been born in England about 1640. He had come to Nantucket Island in 1662, soon after the arrival of the original owners (called "first purchasers"), who had bought the land in 1659 while Nantucket was under the rule of the colony of New York. Of the "first purchasers," there were a number whose descendants intermarried with William Worth's descendants—particularly Tristram and Peter Coffin, Thomas Macy, Christopher Hussey, Richard and John Swain, and Thomas Barnard.<sup>3</sup> Worth, not being an original purchaser, was called a "half share" man, as illustrated by the following contract recorded on 20 July 1662 in Nantucket's town records:

These presents do witness that wee whose names are underwritten do give and grant unto William Worth sailer half a share of land and meadow wood and Timber and all manner of privileges and appurtenances thereunto belonging upon the Island of Nantucket both house Lot and other Division of land, meeadow, wood, Timber and Commonage we say half as much as any one of the Twenty first purchasers have both in plantation and patent Right to him the aforesaid William Worth, his heirs and assigns, forever.<sup>4</sup>

William Worth first married Sarah Macy, the daughter of "first purchaser" Thomas Macy and his wife, Sarah Hopcot.<sup>5</sup> Their only son, John<sup>2</sup> Worth, married Miriam Gardner, daughter of another early Nantucket settler, Richard Gardner.<sup>6</sup> The subject of this paper, Joseph<sup>3</sup> Worth, was born on Nantucket in 1696 as one of John and Miriam's seven children.<sup>7</sup>

On 8 September 1720 there was recorded at Nantucket the marriage of Joseph to Lydia Gorham.<sup>8</sup> an "off-islander" with strong Nantucket connections. Born in the Cape Cod town of Barnstable on 14 May 1701.9 she was the daughter of Shubael and Puella (Hussey) Gorham. Her father Shubael was a grandson of Mayflower passenger John Howland and the son of Howland's daughter Desire, who had married Captain John Gorham in Plymouth about 1643. The John Gorhams subequently lived in Marshfield, Massachusetts. from 1645 until they moved to Yarmouth, on Cape Cod, in 1652. Finally they settled at nearby Barnstable, where Captain Gorham built a gristmill, reared his family, and became an influential man in local affairs. When their son Shubael married, he chose a native of Nantucket—Puella Hussey, the daughter of Stephen and Martha (Bunker) Hussey, who had been early settlers of the island.<sup>12</sup> Shubael and Puella seem to have spent their married life on Cape Cod, near Hyannis Port, where Shubael owned a tayern; however, Amos Otis, in his Genealogical Notes of Barnstable Families, feels that they may have lived part of their lives on Nantucket because their daughter Lydia and four of her six sisters all married Nantucket men. 13

Nantucket Island was a haven for Massachusetts families who were tired of the savage Indian wars of the late 1600s. Nantucketers became intrepid men of the sea, developing what was called the Southern Whale Fishery. These whalers sailed from the Davis Straits of Greenland, on the Arctic Circle, down south to the Falkland Islands, near the tip of South America, and across the South Atlantic from the West Indies to the coast of Africa. 14 They developed the industry that supplied oil for the lamps of England as well as America. Being residents of an island, they had to import most of their wood and flour from the mainland. These shipments were interfered with during King George's War, the French and Indian War, and the other more localized conflicts between the competing colonies in the mid-1700s. Many Nantucket men were taken prisoner by the French, and Nantucketers who preferred farming to the precarious life of sailing looked for other places to settle. Most of the residents of Nantucket were Quakers. Therefore it was natural for them to find new homes in other Quaker communities.

Some of the children and grandchildren of Joseph and Lydia Worth followed their Ouaker neighbors and relatives to Guilford County, North Carolina, while others joined the movement of Friends to areas along the Hudson River in New York. Henry Barnard Worth, in his Nantucket Genealogies, 1608-1910, says, "the exodus of Nantucket families to Guilford and New Garden, North Carolina, took place from 1771 to 1774. About twenty families went, among them Francis. Daniel and Joseph Worth." From there, some of their offspring joined the Ouaker out-migration to Ohio and Indiana. Meanwhile, Edouard A. Stackpole's Nantucket in the American Revolution reports, "A number of shipmasters were aware of the potential danger on the horizon. Among these were Captain William Swain and Captain William Coffin. Late in June 1775, they took their families aboard a sloop and sailed for the Hudson River and settlement in Saratoga County, where they believed they were safely removed from the war spreading along the coast. A week later they were joined by John Worth and his family."16

Not much is known about Joseph and Lydia Worth beyond the fact that Joseph was a carpenter who lived in the town of Sherborn, on Nantucket.<sup>17</sup> Lydia's brother Daniel Gorham, in his will dated 24 January 1740 and proved in Barnstable County in January 1746, named Lydia among the brothers and sisters who were to be his heirs.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, Lydia's father Shubael, calling himself "of Barnstable in the Province of Massachusetts Bay," drafted a will on 23 September 1748 (probated there on 7 August 1750), which lists Lydia as one of his "seven beloved daughters." <sup>19</sup>

Joseph was called "of Sherborn, housewright" when he sold land to his son Silvanus on the "tenth day of the Second month called February in the thirty Second year of the Reign of George of Great Britain & King Annoque Domoni 1759." In this lengthy deed, he acknowledges receipt of sixty pounds paid by his "son Silvanus Worth of Sherborn aforesaid, Weaver," in exchange for a dwelling house in Sherborn, "now in the tennore and occupation of him the said Silvanus Worth, with a Piece of Land on which the Said House Now Stands." A description of the land follows. The deed was witnessed by Hezekiah Coffin and Ebenezer Calfe. Joseph acknowledged his signature to this document on 10 February 1759; but the deed was not recorded until 31 July 1763, shortly after his wife's death.<sup>20</sup>

Lydia died on Nantucket 1st 3 mo. 1763. Joseph died there on 14th 7 mo. 1790, age ninety-four years.<sup>21</sup> No probate records have been found on Nantucket for either.

Children of Joseph<sup>3</sup> and Lydia (Gorham) Worth, all born on Nantucket, were as follows:<sup>22</sup>

- + 1 i. Abigail<sup>4</sup> Worth (twin), born 23 May 1721.
- + 2 ii. Anna Worth (twin), born 23 May 1721.
- + 3 iii. Nathaniel Worth, born 4 July 1723.
- + 4 iv. Reuben Worth, born 13 July 1725.
- + 5 v. Silvanus Worth, born 27 June 1727.
- + 6 vi. Joseph Worth, born 29 September 1729.
- + 7 vii. Lydia Worth, born 12 December 1731.
- + 8 viii. Miriam Worth, born 22 April 1734.
- + 9 ix. Thomas Worth, born 1 November 1736.
- + 10 x. Daniel Worth, born 10 December 1739.
- + 11 xi. William Worth, born 4 January 1741.
- + 12 xii. Shubael Worth, born 6 May 1745.
- 1. Abigail<sup>4</sup> Worth (Joseph<sup>3</sup>, John<sup>2</sup>, William<sup>1</sup>) was born on Nantucket, 23 May 1721, a twin to her sister Anna. She died there, 24 April 1788. Abigail married her first husband, George Bunker, on Nantucket, 1 April 1738.<sup>23</sup> Also a native of the island (birth date unknown), George was the son of Jonathan and Elizabeth (Coffin) Bunker.<sup>24</sup> A resident of the town of Sherborn, George died intestate before 15 September 1741. On that date his brother Simeon, also of Sherborn, was appointed administrator of the estate of "George Bunker, mariner, deceased," and was directed to file an accounting "before the tenth day of June next ensuing."<sup>25</sup>

Abigail married her second husband, **Benjamin Bunker**, on Nantucket, 9 December 1743. Benjamin, her first husband's cousin, had been born on the

island, 14 April 1721, as the son of Jabez and Hannah (Gardner) Bunker:26 and he is mentioned in the will of his father, Jabez, probated 25 May 1750.<sup>27</sup> Starbuck writes that Benjamin "removed from the Island 29th 9 mo. 1788." six months after Abigail's death; but he is contradicted by the published compendium of Nantucket vital records, which states that he died there a day earlier. 28 September 1788.28

Only one known child was born to George and Abigail<sup>4</sup> (Worth) Bunker, as follows:29

13 i. Lydia Bunker<sup>5</sup>, said to have been born on Nantucket on 24 July 1737, although 1739 is more probable in light of the date of her parents' marriage. She wed first. Shubael Folger, son of Shubael and Jerusha (Clark) (Ramsdell) Folger; married second, George Coleman, son of Solomon and Deliverance (Swett) Coleman.

Children of Benjamin and Abigail<sup>4</sup> (Worth) (Bunker) Bunker, all born on Nantucket, were as follows:30

- 14 ii. Anna Bunker, born 23 November 1744; married Tristram Bunker, son of Daniel and Margaret (Coffin) (Davis) Bunker; removed from the island 19th 4th mo. 1776.
- 15 iii. Barzillai Bunker, born 16 August 1754; married Lydia Pinkham, daughter of Daniel and Eunice (Jenkins) Pinkham; removed from the island 26th 10 mo.
- 16 iv. Timothy Bunker, born in 1756; married first, Dinah Coffin, daughter of Shubael and Abigail (Paddock) Coffin: married second. Dinah's half-sister Judith. daughter of Shubael and Mary (Swain) Coffin; removed from the island 16th 8 mo. 1798.
- 17 v. Elijah Bunker, born in December 1763; married on 20 June 1785, Abigail Folger. daughter of Christopher and Anna (Joy) Folger.
- 2. Anna Worth (Joseph John William) was born on Nantucket, 23rd 5 mo. 1721, a twin of her sister Abigail. She died there on 31 October 1795.<sup>31</sup> Like her twin, Anna married twice. The first husband, whom she wed on Nantucket, 8 April 1738, was Abraham Macy—born on Nantucket, 9 July 1715, the son of Richard and Deborah (Pinkham) Macy. 32 Abraham died there on 4 July 1746<sup>33</sup> and was subsequently mentioned as deceased in the will of his father, Richard Macy, probated 7 January 1780.34 Anna married again on Nantucket, 16 October 1755, Tristram Swain. Tristram had been born on the island (date omitted from Nantucket Vital Records), the son of John and Mary (Swett) Swain. His first wife had been Phebe Coffin, daughter of Richard and Ruth (Bunker) Coffin, whom he had married on Nantucket, 6th 8 mo, 1743.35

Tristram died on the island on 21 April 1796.<sup>36</sup> In his will, which was signed 16th 2nd mo. 1796 and probated 2 June 1796, "Tristram Swain of Nantucket, veoman," mentioned his children by both wives—naming his daughters Phebe Barnard and Lydia Barnard; his son, Tristram Swain, Jr.; and the heirs of his deceased daughter, Margaret Jenkins. The son Tristram was named as joint executor with the testator's "kinsman" [nephew] Francis Swain. Witnesses were Nathaniel Coleman, Job Chase, and Thomas Smith. His estate was appraised at \$681.89 1/2.37

Children of Abraham and Anna (Worth) Macy, all born on Nantucket, were as follows:<sup>38</sup>

- i. Abraham Macy<sup>5</sup>, born 7 August 1739; died in Ghent, New York, 30 June 1820; married 3rd 12 mo. 1761, Priscilla Bunker, daughter of Samuel and Priscilla (Coleman) Bunker; removed from the island 25th 4 mo. 1774.
- ii. Simeon Macy, born 30 November 1742; died at sea (Bay of Biscay) in 1764.
- 20 iii. Anna Macy, born 24 October 1744; died 22 May 1826; married 10th 12 mo. 1761, Edward Allen, son of Ebenezer and Christian (Heath) Allen.
- iv. Reuben Macy, born 14 January 1747; died in Hudson, New York, 1 April 1818; married 31st 12 mo. 1767, Elizabeth Bunker, daughter of Samuel and Priscilla (Coleman) Bunker and a sister of the wife of his brother Abraham; married 21 September 1774, Ruth Howard, daughter of Edward and Phebe Howard; removed from the island 7th 5 mo. 1772.

Children of Tristram and Anna (Worth) (Macy) Swain, all born on Nantucket, were as follows:<sup>39</sup>

- v. Phebe Swain, born 31 July 1756, named for Tristram's deceased first wife (a quaint colonial custom); married Abishai Barnard, son of Abishai and Hannah (Coffin) Barnard.
- 23 vi. Seth Swain, born 3 December 1761; died 10 mo. 1780.
- 3. Nathaniel<sup>4</sup> Worth (Joseph<sup>3</sup>, John<sup>2</sup>, William<sup>1</sup>) was born on Nantucket, 4 July 1723, the son of Joseph and Lydia (Gorham) Worth. He died there 20 June 1806.<sup>40</sup> Nathaniel was said to be of Sherborn on 20 "9 mo. called September" 1759, when he married there the widow Abigail (Coffin) Swain. Abigail had been born on Nantucket on 22 June 1729, the daughter of Richard and Ruth (Bunker) Coffin,<sup>41</sup> and had previously married Seth Swain, son of John and Mary (Swett) Swain, who had died on Nantucket in June 1757. By Swain, Abigail had borne two sons, Andrew (1 February 1754) and Matthew (2 March 1756).<sup>42</sup> Abigail died on Nantucket, 24 October 1795, age sixty-six.<sup>43</sup>

Nathaniel and Abigail were Quakers. He appears in the federal census of 1790, living in Sherborn as head of a family consisting of one male and one female. In a deed dated 21 March 1792, "Nathaniel Worth, Hatter," sold to the Sherborn merchant Walter Folger, for forty-eight pounds, one "dwelling house together with the land it stands on & adjoining being Situate in that part of sd Town of Sherburn Commonly known by the Name of Fish lot Shares and in the Twenty Third Number of sd Shares." The deed was signed and sealed by Nathaniel and Abigail in the presence of David Allen and Lot Cottle. No probate records have been found for either Nathaniel or Abigail, and no children were recorded for them in Nantucket records. The Gorham Manuscript mentions a possible son named John but gives neither birth date nor proof of birth.

4. **Reuben<sup>4</sup> Worth** (Joseph<sup>3</sup>, John<sup>2</sup>, William<sup>1</sup>) was born on Nantucket on 13 July 1725, the son of Joseph and Lydia (Gorham) Worth, and died there on 22 April 1800. He was married on Nantucket, 30th 9 mo. 1749, to **Mary Allen**, 47 who had been born (possibly in Fairhaven, Massachusetts) to Silvanus and Jemima (Starbuck) Allen. 48 Mary died on Nantucket, 4 June 1785. 49

In the federal census of 1790, Reuben Worth is listed in Sherborn as head of a family of one male and two females.<sup>50</sup> Starbuck states that he "removed from the Island in 1795." If so, he probably returned soon after or continued to own property there. The will of Reuben Worth, "late of Nantucket, Rigger," was dated 15th 10 mo. 1799 and probated on Nantucket on 1 May 1800. That will mentions his daughters—Lydia Worth and Elizabeth Gardner—and his granddaughters, another Lydia Worth and Mary Mitchell. It also names his son-in-law Libni Gardner as his sole executor. Witnesses were Elisha Macv. George Folger, and Thadds. Jov. 51

Children of Reuben and Mary (Allen) Worth, all born on Nantucket, were as follows:52

- i. Reuben<sup>5</sup> Worth, born 3rd 7 mo. 1750; died before his father, 3d 6 mo. 1784; 24 married 7th 12 mo. 1772, Lydia Gardner, daughter of Simeon and Sarah (Long) Gardner.
- 2.5 ii. Charles Worth, born 29th 12 mo. 1752; died 27th 12 mo. 1753.
- 26 iii. George Worth, born 12th 3 mo. 1755; died 27th 9 mo. 1756.
- 2.7 iv. Mary Worth, born 19th 8 mo. 1757; died 30th 8 mo. 1759.
- 28 v. Job Worth, born 19th 9 mo. 1759; died 13th 11 mo. 1760.
- 29 vi. Elizabeth Worth, born 29th 12 mo. 1761; married 1st 4 mo. 1784 Libni Gardner. son of Paul and Rachel (Starbuck) Gardner.
- vii. Mary Worth, born 31st 5 mo. 1764; died 14th 6 mo. 1785. 30
- 31 viii. Lydia Worth, born 13th 9 mo. 1766; removed from the island in 1795.
- ix. Adino Worth, born 11th 9 mo. 1768, died 5th 8 mo. 1772. 32
- Silvanus<sup>4</sup> Worth (Joseph<sup>3</sup>, John<sup>2</sup>, William<sup>1</sup>) was born on Nantucket, 27 June 1727, the son of Joseph and Lydia (Gorham) Worth, and died there 10th 8 mo. 1811. Silvanus was married on Nantucket, 16th 9 mo. 1749, to Rachel Allen.<sup>53</sup> Born 13 July 1732, probably in New Bedford, Massachusetts, as the daughter of Silvanus and Jemima (Starbuck) Allen,<sup>54</sup> Rachel was a sister of Mary Allen who married Silvanus Worth's brother Reuben. She died at Nantucket, 10 March 1812.55

The young Silvanus was a weaver, according to several conveyances recorded in Nantucket County. On 17 February 1758, his in-laws executed a most-unusual deed:

Silvanus Allen of Sherborn in the County of Nantucket, cooper, & Jemima his wife, as well for the love and affection we have and bear unto our son-in-law Silvanus Worth of Sherborn, aforesaid, Weaver, & Rachel his wife . . . do . . . grant . . . unto our Sd Son in Law Silvanus Worth & Rachel his wife . . . a Piece of Land lying & being in Sherborn aforesd in that part of the town called Wesco near the Dwelling House of George Folger & is a Part of a Piece of Land which Derived to us from Dorcas Starbuck . . . containing one thousand Seven hundred & thirty nine feet . . . the one halfe thereto to our Sd Son in Law Silvanus his Heirs and assigns . . . & the other half thereof to our Daughter, Rachel Worth, her heirs & assigns.56

The noteworthy portion is the donation of half the property specifically to the son-in-law and the other half separately to the daughter—rather than the total to the couple jointly, as was usually the case in colonial times. The younger couple's holdings were expanded the following February when his father Joseph (as previously mentioned) conveyed to him a dwelling house and land in Sherborn that was "now in the tennore and occupation of him the said Silvanus Worth" for the sum of sixty pounds.<sup>57</sup>

Between 1763 and 1772. Silvanus forsook weaving and assumed the trade of bricklaying. In the former year, when his parents-in-law (now called "of Dartmouth, Bristol County, Colony of Massachusetts") sold to Silvanus a second tract of Dorcas Starbuck's land in Wesco, they identified him as "Silvanus Worth, Weaver," However, when they conveyed a third tract to him on 22 February 1772, they called him "Bricklaver, of Sherborn," Under the latter identity. Silvanus Worth then appears in deeds too numerous to abstract here, although a series of documents executed late in his life deserve special mention. On 3 August 1796, "Silvanus Worth, Mason," of the town of Nantucket, paid five pounds ten shillings to Jethro Hussey, Esq., of the same place for a piece of meadow on Brant Point "being the Twelfth Lott Drawn by George Hussey and Sarah Gardner . . . containing Forty two Rods of Land & one half Rod." Then, on the "forth Day of the 8 mo." 1796, "Silvanus Worth, Bricklayer," purchased another tract in Nantucket lving near the dwelling house of Jonathan Barney. 60 By 1798, Silvanus had begun to pass his property to the next generation—as on 5 March of that year when he executed a deed in favor of his son-in-law Samuel Stubbs, cordwainer. 61

Throughout the first several years of the nineteenth century, both Silvanus and Rachel appeared before local officials on several occasions to settle their interests in the estate of her deceased parents. On 20 March 1801, the couple appointed their nephew-in-law. Libni Gardner, as their attorney to "Settle with Killey Eldredge of New Bedford and others who join us in several tracts of Land Derived to us from Silvanus Allen of the aforesaid Town and County of Bristol" and to then sell whatever part of this inherited land he "shall think best." Rachel subsequently revoked this power of attorney on 22 March 1804—independently of her husband Silvanus; eventually, on 31 July 1806, they appeared together before local authorities to execute a joint revocation.<sup>62</sup> In the meanwhile, on 30 December 1803, Rachel (but not Silvanus, whom the document still mentions as her husband and as a stonemason) sold to her son Gideon Worth "of Nantucket, Bricklayer," for \$400, three pieces of land "situated in New Bedford in the county of Bristol . . . that were given to me by my father, Silvanus Allen . . . by his last will and testament, totaling 18 acres." She acknowledged the latter deed on 30 December 1803; and it was recorded on 21 February 1804,63 shortly before she revoked her nephew's power to dispose of her property for her.

No probate records have been found for Silvanus Worth. Instead of making a will, he appears to have disposed of the last of his property by selling his dwelling house and land to the son Gideon, who paid \$900 on 28 September 1803—although Silvanus reserved for himself the sole use of the property for as long as he should live. This deed was not recorded until 12 July 1810, the year before Silvanus died.<sup>64</sup>

The children of Silvanus and Rachel (Allen) Worth, all born on Nantucket, were as follows:<sup>65</sup>

- 33 i. Miriam<sup>5</sup> Worth, born 19 April 1752; died 3 January (or August) 1769.
- 34 ii. Puella Worth, born 5 December 1754; married John Cowell of Providence. Rhode Island
- 35 iii. Gideon Worth, born 9 January 1757; died on Nantucket, 25 October 1831; married in Dartmouth on 30 November 1783. Phebe Taber, daughter of Jabez and Abigail Taber of Dartmouth.
- iv. Solon Worth, born 25 February 1760. 36
- 37 v. Drusilla Worth, born 4 December 1761; died on Nantucket, 15 July 1834; married in 1801, Samuel Stubbs, son of Benjamin and Eunice (Dagget) Stubbs and widower of her youngest sister, Christina.
- 38 vi. Rachel Worth, born 29 October 1764, married on 28 August 1788, her cousin Isaiah Folger, son of Shubael and Lydia (Bunker) Folger.
- 39 vii. Christina Worth, born 19 December 1766; died on Nantucket, 16 June 1798; married in 1785, Samuel Stubbs, son of Benjamin and Eunice (Dagget) Stubbs.
- Joseph<sup>4</sup> Worth (Joseph<sup>3</sup>, John<sup>2</sup>, William<sup>1</sup>) was born on Nantucket, 29 September 1729, the son of Joseph and Lydia (Gorham) Worth, On 6 December 1753, Joseph was married on Nantucket to Judith Starbuck, who had been born on the island on 10 October 1734 to William Starbuck and his first wife, Anna Folger.66

According to Starbuck's History of Nantucket, this family "removed from the Island 29th 9 mo. 1774," just before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Their preparations for the move are evident in the county deed records. On 23 September 1774, a few days before they left, the weaver Joseph Worth (called "Junr.") and his wife Judith, together with the blacksmith Joseph Macy, his wife Mary, and Jethro Starbuck, sold to a cooper named Jethro Mitchell the land devised to them by "their father, William Starbuck." That document identified the Worths as being "of Sherborn." The following day. the Worth and Macy couples sold another tract of this same land to the merchant William Rotch-after which Joseph and Judith executed a third document in which they sold to the merchant Jonathan Burnell another share of the family land, stating that "the remaining two-fifths parts is to remain to the use of our mother-in-law Lydia Pinkham, during her natural life." Finally, on 8 October 1774 (more than a week after the date Starbuck gives for their removal) Joseph and Judith Worth and Joseph and Mary Macy jointly sold to the merchant William Hussey one-eighteenth of one share of the Old North Wharf.67

The Joseph Worths moved with other Quakers to Guilford County, North Carolina, where they were received as members of Center Monthly Meeting late in 1774.68 According to records of that monthly meeting, their daughter Eunice married William Wilson in January 1776 and their daughter Matilda married Latham Folger in November 1777.69 When the southern part of Guilford was cut away to form the new county of Randolph in 1779, the first tax list of the new county included both Joseph Worth and his eldest son Jethro (called "single"). Most of the area Quakers, including Joseph and Jethro, refused to turn in an inventory of their taxable property; but their names were included anyway.70

Unless Joseph lived along the Guilford-Randolph county line, it appears that

he may not have maintained a continuous residence in the newer county. In spite of having been listed on the Randolph roll in 1779, the minutes of the Guilford county court for 1784 state that Joseph Worth, "an infirm person," was exempted from paying a poll tax "from year to year." When the first federal census was taken six years later. Joseph was enumerated back in Randolph County, Hillsborough District, as head of a family of four males and two females. 72 In 1796 Joseph and Judith Worth were again called "of Randolph" in the New Garden Monthly Meeting records, when their son Silas married Matilda Macy. (This marriage was also recorded at Nantucket because the Macys, like the Worths, were from Nantucket.)<sup>73</sup> Finally, in the spring of 1806—when Joseph and Judith gave a power of attorney to one Matthew Starbuck, now a trader of Guilford, to sell property they owned on Nantucket—Joseph was again identified as being "of Randolph" as well as a veoman; four days later, Matthew sold the property to a Nantucket merchant for \$10, calling it a one-thirty-sixth part of a share in the Old Straight Wharf, "which descended unto them from [Judith's] father, William Starbuck."<sup>74</sup>

The will of Joseph Worth, dated 30 September 1811, was proved in Randolph County (not in Guilford) in the May court term of 1816. By the terms of this document, he bequeathed to his beloved wife Judith all of his personal estate, together with one-third of the income from his real estate. He mentioned his sons, Charles, George, Paul, and Silas Worth; and his daughters, Eunice Wilson and Matilda Folger. Son Paul and kinsman Job Worth were named executors. Witnesses were William Macy and Silvanus Swain. Note that this will adds three sons—George, Paul, and Silas—to those listed in the Gorham Manuscript, hill George and Paul are similarly absent from Nantucket Vital Records. Birth records of these three additional sons have not been found. Joseph's widow Judith died in New Garden (present town of Guilford College) in Guilford County on 25 October 1830, age ninety-six years, according to her obituary in the Raleigh Register. Her death was also recorded in Nantucket records, where the date is given as 11 November 1830—the date the newspaper obituary was published.

Children of Joseph and Judith (Starbuck) Worth, all presumed to have been born on Nantucket, were as follows:

- i. Jethro<sup>5</sup> Worth, born 3 September 1754; died in Deep River, North Carolina, 8 November 1781; received by Deep River Monthly Meeting from Center Monthly Meeting in 1780. His intention to marry Mary Barnard was published 5 November 1781, but he died before the marriage took place.<sup>78</sup>
- 41 ii. Eunice Worth, born 30 August 1756; married William Wilson in Center Monthly Meeting, 21 January 1776.79
- 42 iii. Matilda Worth, born 14 October 1758, married Latham Folger, son of Reuben and Dinah (Hussey) Folger, in Center Monthly Meeting, 27 November 1777.80
- iv. Charles Worth, born 17 June 1761; dismissed from Center Monthly Meeting on 21 May 1785; received by Deep River Monthly Meeting, 4 July 1785; called "of Muddy River" when he was dismissed from Deep River on 4 March 1799 for marrying out of unity to Elizabeth Frye, daughter of Michael and Nancy Frye.
  81
- v. George Worth, named in his father's will; received from Center Monthly Meeting by Deep River Monthly Meeting on 4 January 1796, by certificate dated 19 December 1795.82

- 45 vi. Paul Worth, named in his father's will.
- 46 vii. Silas Worth, born about 1770; named in his father's will; received by Deep River Monthly Meeting from Center Monthly Meeting 1 May 1797; married 6 October 1796, at New Garden Monthly Meeting to Matilda Macy, daughter of Paul and Bethiah (Macy) Macy, who was received at Deep River on 29 April 1797. 83 On 22 November 1826, one Silas Worth of Stokes County—probably this man-advertised in the Raleigh Register that his apprentice boy. Newell Whicker, had run away on "21st October last."84
- 7. Lydia<sup>4</sup> Worth (Joseph<sup>3</sup>, John<sup>2</sup>, William<sup>1</sup>) was born on Nantucket, 12 December 1731, the daughter of Joseph and Lydia (Gorham) Worth, She died there on 17th 7 mo. 1776.85 Lydia was married on Nantucket, 8 February 1749, to Peleg Bunker, who had been born on the island, 19 April 1727, as son of Jabez and Hannah (Gardner) Bunker. He was a brother of Benjamin Bunker, who became the second husband of Lydia's sister Abigail. Peleg supposedly died on Nantucket on 29 January 1806, but this is questionable. All that is really known for certain is that Peleg and his three youngest children "removed from the island" (i.e., were granted a certificate of removal by the monthly meeting) on 27th 11 mo. 1786.86

This Peleg has often been confused with another Peleg Bunker, who was born on Nantucket twenty-one years after the Peleg who married Lydia Worth. The younger Peleg, born 17 December 1748 to Jonathan and Judith (Macy) Bunker, was married three times: first, 7th 1 mo. 1768, to Kezia Bunker; second, 16 January 1772, to Deborah Gorham; and third, 19 September 1773, to Lydia Gardner. The federal census of 1790 shows only one Peleg Bunker as head of a household in Sherborn, being one male over age sixteen with two males under sixteen and five females. 87 After fathering ten children, the vounger Peleg died on Nantucket 14th 2 mo. 1806—just two weeks after the older Peleg Bunker was supposed to have died, according to entries in the compiled Nantucket Vital Records. On 5 June 1806, the probate judge of that county gave letters of administration to Lydia Bunker of Nantucket for the estate of her husband Peleg, a mariner, who had died intestate. The appraisal, amounting to \$820.17 2/3, was made by Benjamin Gardner, Samuel Barker, and Ebenezer Coffin, Gentlemen, and presented for probate on 22 November 1806. The widow's dower was set off to Lydia on 5 August 1807, consisting of the north room, kitchen, and cellar—with the privilege of passing and repassing out the front door. The fact that Benjamin Gardner was one of the appraisers would indicate that this Lydia was Lydia Gardner, widow of the younger Peleg Bunker—not Lydia Worth who married the older Peleg. The younger Peleg's widow, Lydia (Gardner) Bunker, was married soon after this (6th 8 mo. 1807) to Francis Coffin, son of Peleg and Elizabeth (Hussey) Coffin.88

The published vital records of Nantucket contribute further to the confusion by listing the births of two boys named Tristram Bunker. The first Tristram was called "s. [son of] Peleg and Lydia (Worth), 1776" and the stated source is the previously mentioned, undocumented genealogical records of William C. Folger. The second Tristram is listed as "ch. Peleg and Lydia (third w.),——" (i.e., child of Peleg and his third wife, Lydia—no known date of birth) and the

cited source is the Quaker records of the Society of Friends on Nantucket. An inspection of the mentioned Quaker records shows that it was the younger Peleg Bunker and his third wife, Lydia Gardner, who had a son Tristram born on Nantucket, 26th 3 mo. 1776. The same Quaker records show no son by that name for the older Peleg and Lydia Worth.<sup>89</sup>

Adding to the confusion is the fact that both Peleg Bunkers named a daughter Lydia. The Gorham Manuscript states that the older Peleg's daughter of that name (born 18th 7 mo. 1773) was married to David Sprague, a man born on Nantucket sixteen years later (18th 3 mo. 1789) to John and Mary (Bocott) Sprague. In actuality, David Sprague married the younger Peleg's Lydia, who was born on Nantucket, 10th 7 mo. 1790—a much more appropriate match of spouses.<sup>90</sup>

Starbuck states that Peleg Bunker (certainly the elder) was one of the men chosen on 30 January 1760 "to walk the Town in the night season and on the first Day of the week, to suppress the Growing Disorders of the young people in the said Town and all others that are disorderly and act Inconsistently with the Principles of Morality & Virtue." Starbuck also says that Peleg "removed from the Island 27th 11 mo. 1786." No further record has been found for this Peleg. A man named Prince Bunker, possibly the son of that name who left Nantucket with his father in 1786, was recorded in the New York Monthly Meeting. Hinshaw's published extracts from these records carry the following cryptic entry: "having mo Nantucket, refers it to this MM 7-3-1801, referred to Hudson 10-7-1801 as he now lives there." This suggests that Peleg and his three youngest children moved to Hudson to be near his older children, who had already settled there.

Children of Peleg and Lydia (Worth) Bunker, all born on Nantucket, were as follows:<sup>93</sup>

- i. Miriam Bunker<sup>5</sup>, born 19th 7 mo. 1752.
- ii. Latham Bunker, born 22d 10 mo. 1755; married first, Anna Coleman, daughter of Jethro and Lydia (Macy) Coleman; married second, in Sherborn on 28th 8 mo. 1788, Susanna Barnard, daughter of Shubael and Susanna (Gardner) Barnard, "both of Hudson, Columbia County, New York."
- 49 iii. Abial Bunker, born 4th 3 mo. 1760; married on 1st 1 mo. 1778, Abishai Pinkham, son of Benjamin and Hephzibah (Swain) Pinkham; removed from the island 26th 10 mo. 1778.
- iv. Anna Bunker, born 27th 6 mo. 1762; married Abraham Folger, son of Tristram and Mary (Coffin) Folger; removed from the island 29th 4 mo. 1776; in Hudson, New York, in 1790.
- v. Paul Bunker, born 12th 11 mo. 1764; married in Sherborn on 31 October 1789, Eunice Folger, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary (Wyer) Folger; removed from the island 28th 1 mo. 1782; in Hudson, New York, in 1790.
- 52 vi. Rufus Bunker, born 6th 2 mo. 1766; removed from the island 31st 1 mo. 1785.
- vii. Ursula/Ulsy, born 30th 4 mo. 1768; removed from the island 27th 11 mo. 1786. Starbuck calls this child "Way."
- 54 viii. Prince, born 1st 8 mo. 1770; married Dinah Slade, daughter of William and Margaret (Paddock) (Macy) Slade; removed from the island 27th 11 mo. 1786.
- 55 ix. Lydia Bunker, born 18th 7 mo. 1773; removed from the island 27th 11 mo. 1786.

8. Miriam<sup>4</sup> Worth (Joseph<sup>3</sup>, John<sup>2</sup>, William<sup>1</sup>) was born on Nantucket, 22 April 1734, the daughter of Joseph and Lydia (Gorham) Worth, and died on the island, 15 November 1763.94 She was married on Nantucket, 5th 10 mo. 1751, to Jonathan Gardner, who had been born there on 19 December 1728 to Barnabas and Mary (Wheeler) Gardner. After Miriam died, Jonathan remarried (1764)—choosing Anna (Coleman) Coffin, the daughter of Elihu and Jemima (Barnard) Coleman and the widow of John Coffin. Soon widowered again, he was married a third time, on 6th 7 mo. 1769, to Eunice (Barnard) (Coffin) Ray, daughter of Robert and Hepzibah (Coffin) Barnard.<sup>95</sup> In the federal census of 1790, Jonathan Gardner was listed in Sherborn as head of a family of two males over age sixteen and one female.<sup>96</sup>

Jonathan Gardner died on Nantucket, 20 January 1807. In his will dated "13 day of the 10th month" 1794 and probated 4 February 1807, he identified himself as a cooper and mentioned his third wife Eunice. His son by Eunice, Freeman Gardner, was given the dwelling house and shop. All of the residue of the estate was to be equally divided between his three surviving daughters by Miriam Worth—Phebe, Hulday, and Miriam. Jonathan named his son-in-law Elisha Macy and his son Freeman as joint executors. Witnesses were Walter Folger, Jr.; Robert Clasby; and Jeremiah Gardner. The will was probated by Jonathan's daughter-in-law, Anna Gardner, "wife of Freeman Gardner, the executor."97

Children of Jonathan and Miriam (Worth) Gardner, all born on Nantucket, were as follows:98

- 56 i. Phebe Gardner<sup>5</sup>, born 25 August 1753; married on 8th 9 mo. 1774, Elisha Macy, son of Caleb and Judith (Folger) (Gardner) Macy; named in her father's will.
- 57 ii. Miriam Gardner, born 26 November 1755; died 21st 5 mo. 1756.
- iii. Huldah Gardner, born 11 October 1758; named in her father's will; died 58 unmarried, 28 November 1848.
- 59 iv. Naomi Gardner, born 18 April 1761; died 2d 11 mo. 1762.
- v. Miriam Gardner, born 4 November 1763; named in her father's will; died 60 unmarried, 10 July 1845.
- Thomas<sup>4</sup> Worth (Joseph<sup>3</sup>, John<sup>2</sup>, William<sup>1</sup>) was born on Nantucket, 1 November 1736, the son of Joseph and Lydia (Gorham) Worth. He died in Hudson, Columbia County, New York—supposedly on 22 March 1823, according to the William C. Folger records<sup>99</sup> However. Thomas's tombstone in the Hudson City Cemetery has been read as "Thomas Worth, Jan. 1 1737-March 1824."100 Both the birth date and the death date disagree with the published Vital Records of Nantucket, and it has not yet been possible to determine which dates are correct.

Thomas married three times. The first wife, Deborah Swain, whom he married on Nantucket on 3 March 1757, had been born there on 30 January 1739 to Francis and Mary (Paddock) Swain. Deborah died there, 16 July 1771.<sup>101</sup> He was married secondly on Nantucket. 9 July 1772, to **Judith (Swain)** Barnard, who had been born there in 1741, the daughter of Caleb and Margaret (Paddock) Swain. Judith died between July 1776 (year of birth of

her last child) and 1779 (the approximate year of her husband's remarriage). Thomas's third wife was [—?—] Akins or Aiken. Isaac Coffin, a contemporary judge of probate on Nantucket, kept a book in which he recorded the deaths of members of well-known island families. In this book, he recorded the death of "John Akins Worth, son of Thomas Worth and his third wife, —— Akins." If correct, this suggests that Worth's "Nantucket Families" erred in calling her a Macy, unless Macy was her maiden name and her first husband had been an Akins (or vice versa). 103

Starbuck states that Thomas Worth "removed from the Island 30th 10 mo. 1775." If so, then he and his second wife, Judith, may have lived elsewhere for a few years before relocating in Hudson. <sup>104</sup> As one of Hudson's first settlers, Thomas was in business there by 1783, selling silks and shoes "at his shop near the market." <sup>105</sup> In 1787 he became a member of the newly organized Masonic Lodge of Hudson and was assistant alderman of the common council from 1788 through 1791. <sup>106</sup> He appears again in 1788 in the deed records of Columbia County, purchasing all the household goods of his son-in-law Samuel Edmunds, Jr., of Hillsdale, before witnesses Barzillai Worth and Isaac Bateman. <sup>107</sup> The federal census of 1790 enumerates Thomas as the head of a family in Hudson, with one male over sixteen, two males under sixteen, and two females. <sup>108</sup> He served as assessor from 1789 to 1792; and in May 1797 the city of Hudson assessed him taxes on property valued at £100. <sup>109</sup> Thomas was a Quaker, as was his daughter Lydia. <sup>110</sup> No probate records have been found for him.

Children of Thomas and his first wife, Deborah (Swain) Worth, all born on Nantucket, were as follows:

- 61 i. Lydia<sup>5</sup> Worth, born 9 September 1763; died in Hudson, 20 November 1841; married there, 27 August 1786, Samuel Edmunds.<sup>111</sup>
- 62 ii. David Worth, born about 1765; drowned in October 1783, when swept overboard from a sloop in a hurricane. 112
- 63 iii. Barzillai Worth, born 10 July 1767; died 27 March 1832; married Mary Pinkham, daughter of Benjamin and Hepzibeth (Swain) Pinkham. 113

Children of Thomas and his second wife, Judith (Swain) (Barnard) Worth, both allegedly born on Nantucket, were as follows:

- 64 iv. Deborah Worth, born 26 April 1773; died in Hudson, 7 November 1846; married Josiah Olcott.<sup>114</sup>
- v. Sylvia Worth, born 12 July 1776; may have married Thomas Macy. 115

Children of Thomas and his third wife, [—?—] (Akins/Aiken) Worth, all born in Hudson, were as follows:

- vi. John Akins Worth, born in August 1780; "d. Hudson, N.Y., Apr. 1827, aged 46 yrs. 8 ms., son of Thomas Worth and his 3rd wife —— Akins."
- 67 vii. Gorham A. Worth, born 21 June 1782; married Lydia Dakin in Hudson, 8 November 1810.<sup>117</sup>
- 68 viii. Frederick W. Worth, birth date unknown. Attributed to the family by Worth's "Nantucket Families." 118

10. Daniel<sup>4</sup> Worth (Joseph<sup>3</sup>, John<sup>2</sup>, William<sup>1</sup>) was born on Nantucket, 10 December 1739, the son of Joseph and Lydia (Gorham) Worth. 119 On 9 February 1764, Daniel was married on Nantucket to Eunice Hussey—who had been born there on 30 September 1744, the daughter of Daniel and Sarah (Gorham) Hussey. The two were second cousins, one generation removed, both being descendants of the Mayflower passenger, John Howland. <sup>120</sup> Daniel subsequently died in Guilford County, North Carolina, on 10 July 1830. Eunice survived him, although no record of her death date has been found. 121

Daniel and Eunice were among the Ouakers who left Nantucket for New Garden. The records of that monthly meeting show they were received on 27 July 1771 by certificate from the Nantucket Monthly Meeting dated 25 April 1771.<sup>122</sup> On 14 February 1787, Daniel and Eunice witnessed a deed in which their oldest son Job, now aged twenty-two, bought property. 123 The family continues to appear in the New Garden records in 1787 and 1791 when their children Job and Lydia married. 124 The 1790 census of Guilford places them in Salisbury District, with Daniel Worth as the head of a family of two males over age sixteen, two males under sixteen, and four females. 125 The last two records found for Daniel are dated 9 May 1818, when the seventy-nine-year-old Daniel deeded a tract for "5 pounds current money" to son Job, and 12 November 1821 when one William Worth sold to Jesse Ozborn, for \$450, "a parcel of land on which Daniel Worth now resides."126 No probate records have been found for Daniel in Guilford County. Although some of his children continued the family's migration, some remained; and in the period 1865-68 one grandson, Jonathan Worth, served as governor of North Carolina. 127

Children of Daniel and Eunice (Hussey) Worth were as follows: 128

- 69 i. Job<sup>5</sup> Worth, born on Nantucket, 7 October 1765; died 30 September 1822; married in Center Monthly Meeting, Guilford County, 29 November 1787, Rhoda Macy, daughter of Joseph and Mary (Starbuck) Macy, who had been born on Nantucket on 26 December 1769 and died in Randolph County, Indiana, on 27 February 1837.129
- 70 ii. Stephen Worth, born on Nantucket, 15 November 1766; died in Guilford, 15 March 1782.130
- iii. Elihu Worth, born on Nantucket, 27 November 1768; died in Guilford, 8 August 71 1771.13
- iv. Zeno Worth, born on Nantucket, 6 July 1770; took out bond in Guilford, 6 72 August 1792, to marry Abigail Gardner, daughter of Stephen and Abigail (Pinkham) Gardner. 132
- 73 v. Lydia Worth, born on Nantucket, 5 July 1772; married Thomas Swain, son of Nathaniel and Bethiah (Macy) Swain, in Guilford's Center Monthly Meeting on 29 September 1791.133
- 74 vi. Sarah Worth, born in Guilford, 19 June 1774; died there 19 June 1785. 134
- vii. David Worth, born in Guilford, 19 May 1776; married Eunice Gardner, 75 daughter of Stephen and Abigail (Pinkham) Gardner, in Deep River Monthly Meeting, 4 October 1798.135
- viii. Rachel Worth, born in Guilford, 4 August 1778; married Elias Petty. 136 76
- 77 ix. Joseph Worth, born in Guilford, 27 April 1781; married Lettice/Letitia Petty, daughter of Zachariah and Nancy Petty, in Randolph County, North Carolina, 14th 2 mo. 1804.137
- x. Stephen Worth, born in Guilford, 26 October 1785. 138 78

11. William<sup>4</sup> Worth (Joseph<sup>3</sup>, John<sup>2</sup>, William<sup>1</sup>) was born on Nantucket, 4 January 1741, the son of Joseph and Lydia (Gorham) Worth. William's intentions to marry Ruth Folger were published there on 29 January 1763. <sup>139</sup> Ruth had been born on Nantucket, 31 January 1742/43, the daughter of Peter and Christian (Swain) Folger. <sup>140</sup> William is said to have died "abroad" in 1792<sup>141</sup>; Ruth died at Nantucket on 21 December 1828, at which time her obituary called her the widow of *Captain* William Worth. <sup>142</sup>

Two other William Worths lived on Nantucket contemporaneously with William<sup>4</sup>. One of them, William<sup>3</sup> Worth (John<sup>2</sup>, William<sup>1</sup>), who died in 1780, was called "yeoman" in deeds dated 1771 and 1772. The second was William<sup>5</sup> (Matthew<sup>4</sup>, William<sup>3</sup>, John<sup>2</sup>, William<sup>1</sup>), who was born in 1770 and was called "blacksmith" in deeds dated 1791 and 1806. The identity of the third William Worth, the subject of this section, is proved by a deed in which he was called "William Worth of Sherborn, cooper." Dated at Nantucket on 25 February 1763 and recorded the same day, this document shows that William was paid £43 by his brother Joseph Worth, to whom he sold a piece of land bounded on the west by land belonging to another brother, Nathaniel. On 9 March 1784, after an apparent absence of fourteen years from Sherborn records, this William sold a piece of land in Wesco, described as "second fish lot," to Josiah Sampson."

During this period, William<sup>4</sup> appears to have changed his occupation. On 6 November 1786, now called a mariner, he bought from John and Abigail Woodbury of Nantucket a dwelling house that formerly belonged to "their mother," the deceased Jerusha Mathews. Two days later, "William Worth, mariner," sold the property for £135. This deed was also signed by William's wife Ruth, suggesting that the mariner William was the man who married Ruth Folger. One William Worth—probably this one—was listed as a head of family on the 1790 census of Sherborn, with a household containing one male over age sixteen, one male under age sixteen, and three females. No probate records are found in Nantucket County for William or Ruth.

Children of William and Ruth (Folger) Worth, all born on Nantucket, were as follows:<sup>147</sup>

- 79 i. Anna<sup>5</sup> Worth, born 29 August 1767; filed intentions of marriage on 12 August 1797 with the widower Thaddeus Folger, son of Owen and Eunice (Smith) Folger.
- 80 ii. Sarah Worth, born 4 August 1770; filed her intentions of marriage on 21 October 1797 with William Stubbs, son of Benjamin and Eunice (Daggett) Stubbs.
- 81 iii. Frederick Worth, born 23 July 1784; married 16 April 1807, Elizabeth Pinkham, daughter of Peter and Desire (Clark) Pinkham.
- 12. Shubael<sup>4</sup> Worth (Joseph<sup>3</sup>, John<sup>2</sup>, William<sup>1</sup>) was born on Nantucket, 6 May 1745, the son of Joseph and Lydia (Gorham) Worth. On 14 January 1769 there was recorded on Nantucket his intention to marry Bethiah Jenkins, who had been born on the island, 25 February 1749, to Thomas and Judith (Folger) Jenkins. Bethiah died, probably in Hudson, New York, on 22 July 1815; Shubael subsequently died at Hudson on 17 October 1824.<sup>148</sup>

When Hudson was established as a town, Shubael was one of the proprietors

who signed its articles of agreement. He is listed there as a merchant in 1785; and in that same year, he was granted land on the Hudson River, below the high-water mark, opposite land he had previously purchased. In 1786 he was appointed the town's gauger for one year, and in 1787 he was taxed on property assessed at £225. Shubael became a founding member of the Masonic Lodge in Hudson, organized in the spring of 1787; and he later held the post of librarian of the Columbia Library Association in Hudson for many years. <sup>149</sup> In a deed dated 30 November 1796 and witnessed by Fred Jenkins and Charles Jenkins, Jr., Shubael and Bethiah disposed of part of their Hudson property—although the deed was not recorded until 14 April 1802, at which time Bethiah separately acknowledged her signature. <sup>150</sup> The 1800 census for Hudson shows Shubael, past forty-five years of age, with one white female past forty-five, two females age ten to fifteen years; and one female under age ten. By the time of the 1810 census, a married daughter and her family were apparently living in the parental household. <sup>151</sup>

Shubael's will was dated 3 June 1820 but was not probated until 13 June 1825. In it, he mentions his three daughters—Bethiah, widow of John H. Dayton; Sally, wife of Gilbert Jenkins; and Caroline, wife of Daniel Coffin. He appointed Hezekiah and John Dayton, together with his sons-in-law, Jenkins and Coffin, as executors. Witnesses were William I. Free, Solomon Shattuck, and Thomas Coburn. A codicil dated that same day was witnessed by Free, Shattuck, and Daniel Hyatt; while a second codicil, dated the next 7 July, appointed John W. Edmonds (called "kinsman") as one of the executors. 152

Known children of Shubael and Bethiah (Jenkins) Worth, all probably born in Hudson, New York, were as follows: 153

- 82 i. Caroline<sup>5</sup> Worth, born about 1784; married Daniel Coffin, son of Daniel and Elizabeth (Gardner) Coffin.
- 83 ii. Bethiah Worth, born about 1787; married John H. Dayton.
- 84 iii. Sally Worth, born about 1791; married Gilbert Jenkins, son of Thomas Jenkins.

The children of Joseph and Lydia (Gorham) Worth settled far from Nantucket and hundreds of miles apart in New York and North Carolina, but they kept in touch through letters and personal visits. Many of their children and grandchildren joined in the quest for new land in the great vastness of the empty western regions—establishing farms in the Old Northwest, searching for gold in California, and harvesting timberland in Oregon Territory. They were, in short, an integral part of the development of the country that their ancestors had been instrumental in founding.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

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<sup>1.</sup> Alexander Starbuck, *The History of Nantucket, County, Island and Town* (1969; reprinted Rutland, Vt.: C. E. Tuttle, 1976), 827-28. The first 652 pages contain an excellent history of Nantucket Island. The

last chapter, pages 653-832, consists of undocumented genealogies of the leading families of Nantucket, which contain errors and should be used with caution. However, all research into Nantucket families should begin with this book.

- 2. Henry S. Gorham, "The Gorham Family," (MS, 28 vols., compiled 1932–43; deposited with the New England Historic Genealogical Society Library, Boston), 1:149. This is the best account available for the Worth family; but it is undocumented and contains errors. With this reservation, all research concerning members of the Gorham family should begin with this typescript, hereinafter referred to as Gorham MS.
  - 3. Starbuck, Nantucket, 18.
  - 4. Ibid., 23-24, 825.
- 5. Ibid., 825–26; Charles E. Banks, History of Martha's Vineyard, Dukes County, Massachusetts, 3 vols. (Edgartown, Mass.: Dukes County Historical Society, 1966), 3:525. Nantucket, Massachusetts, Vital Records to 1850, 5 vols. (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1925–1928), 2:630. This source should be used with discretion. In addition to recording vital records from town reports, much of the information has been taken from personal collections, with sometimes-erroneous relationships enclosed with parentheses or brackets. Abbreviations for sources are given and should be checked. The references to the published Nantucket Vital Records, cited in this paper, have been corroborated by deeds and probate records unless otherwise noted.
  - 6. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:630; Starbuck, Nantucket, 825-26.
- 7. Starbuck, Nantucket, 827; Lydia S. Hinchman, Early Settlers of Nantucket, 2d ed. (Philadelphia: Ferris and Leach, 1901), 195.
- 8. Nantucket Vital Records, 4:526; Otis G. Hammond, "Marriages in Nantucket, 1717-1777," New England Historical and Genealogical Register 51 (January 1897): 56, reprinted in Mayflower Source Records, Gary Boyd Roberts, ed. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1986), 267.
- 9. George Ernest Bowman, "Barnstable, Mass., Vital Records," Mayflower Descendant 5 (April 1903): 73.
  - 10. Ibid., 4 (July 1902): 153-58.
- 11. Genealogical Notes of Barnstable Families, Being a Reprint of the Amos Otis Papers, Originally Published in the Barnstable Patriot, rev. by Charles Francis Swift, 2 vols. (1888; reprinted, 2 vols. in 1, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1979), 1:407-44. This work is the starting point for research into Barnstable families but should be used with caution.
- 12. Wm. C. Folger, "A Record of Births, Deaths, and Marriages on Nantucket, Beginning in 1662," New England Historical and Genealogical Register 7 (April 1853): 181-82; reprinted in Mayflower Source Records, 255. Folger was a knowledgeable but not always accurate antiquarian of the mid-nineteenth century. His genealogical records, in the possession of the Nantucket Historical Association, are valuable for clues but should be used with caution and in conjunction with court records.
- 13. Lydia's first cousin once removed, Colonel John<sup>4</sup> Gorham (Shubael<sup>3</sup>, John<sup>2-1</sup>) kept a journal, which was published as "Col. John Gorham's 'Wast Book' and the Gorham Family," by John R. Totten, trans., New York Genealogical and Biographical Records 28 (July 1897): 133–36 and (October 1897): 197–201. This same "Wast Book" was also published as "Col. John Gorham's 'Wast Book' and his 'Dayly Journal,' Facsimilies and Transcripts, with notes by George Ernest Bowman," Mayflower Descendant 5 (July 1903): 172–80. Begun at Louisburg, Nova Scotia, 28 August 1745, it is the main source for early information about the Gorham family. Colonel Gorham wrote, concerning Lydia's father and mother: "Unk Shubael Gorham Maryed att Nantucket puella Hussey[.] Remark—he and my Grandfather and all of the Weddners In Going over to Nantucket to the Wedding with Capt. James Gardner Was taken prisoners and Stripped by a Small French Shallop From port Royall betwixt Nantucket and Hyanas—He had three Sons all Used the sea—George Danell & Jonathan Sevn sisters and all but to maryd att Nantucket" (Mayflower Descendant 5:180).
- 14. Edouard A. Stackpole, *Nantucket in the American Revolution* (Falmouth, Mass.: Nantucket Historical Association, 1976), 7.
- 15. Henry Barnard Worth, "Nantucket Genealogies, 1608–1910" (MS, Nantucket County Historical Association, Nantucket, Mass.): 425; microfilmed by the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints and available as Family History Library [FHL] film 906,499. This work is helpful for clues but must be used with discretion and in conjunction with court records.
- 16. Stackpole, Nantucket in the American Revolution, 15. Willard Heiss, "Migrations of Quakers in the Late 18th Century," National Genealogical Society Quarterly 65 (March 1977): 37.
  - 17. Nantucket County Deeds 6:333 (FHL 906,233).
  - 18. Barnstable County Probates 8:6 (FHL 904,601).
  - 19. Ibid., 8:265-66.

- 20. Nantucket County Deeds 6:333 (FHL 906,233).
- 21. Nantucket Vital Records, 5:614-15; Starbuck, Nantucket, 827.
- 22. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:620-21, 623, 630-31, 633-35, 637, 639; Starbuck, Nantucket, 827-28.
- 23. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:620, 4:519, 5:79.
- 24. Ibid., 1:145; Starbuck, Nantucket, 686.
- 25. Dukes County Probates (Nantucket County, 1737-67), 2:50 (FHL 906,832).
- 26. Nantucket Vital Records, 1:138; 3:132, 135.
- 27. Nantucket County Probates 2:145 (FHL 906,832).
- 28. Starbuck, Nantucket, 687, 692; Nantucket Vital Records, 5:81.
- 29. See Nantucket Vital Records, 1:151 for births; Starbuck, Nantucket, 689, for daughter's marriage; and Gorham MS, 3:348.
- 30. Nantucket Vital Records, 1:137-38, 142, 163 (births); Starbuck, Nantucket, 692 (children's marriages); Gorham MS, 3:348.
  - 31. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:621, 5:558.
- 32. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:260, 4:519; Starbuck, Nantucket, 827; Hinchman, Early Settlers of Nantucket, 195. See also Silvanus J. Macy, Genealogy of the Macy Family (Albany, N.Y.: J. Munsell, 1868), 80, 109; although his work is not documented in the modern sense, this genealogist seems to have been personally acquainted with many of the Macys who lived in the early 1800s; and his statements concerning their intermarriages with the Worth family appear to be accurate.
  - 33. Nantucket Vital Records, 5:412.
  - 34. Nantucket County Probates (1762-89) 3:320-21 (FHL 906,832).
  - 35. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:574, 4:452; Starbuck, Nantucket, 815, 820.
  - 36. Nantucket Vital Records, 5:581.
  - 37. Nantucket County Probates (1789-1804) 4:187-88 (FHL 906,833).
- 38. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:260, 262, 299, 304 (births); 5:433 (deaths). Marriages of children are from Macy, Genealogy of the Macy Family, 109, 149-54; Starbuck, Nantucket, 800; and Gorham MS, 3:347.
  - 39. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:562, 569; Starbuck, Nantucket, 820-21; Gorham MS, 3:347.
  - 40. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:634; 5:617.
  - 41. Ibid., 1: 237, 4:528; Starbuck, Nantucket, 686, 717.
- 42. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:525, 558, 5:578; Starbuck, Nantucket, 717, 819-20. The latter does not mention Abigail's second marriage to Nathaniel Worth.
  - Nantucket Vital Records, 5:610.
- 44. Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: Massachusetts (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), 163.
  - 45. Nantucket County Deeds 12:355 (FHL 906,236).
  - 46. Gorham MS, 3:349.
  - 47. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:635, 4:529, 5:618.
- 48. Starbuck, Nantucket, 804-5, 827; A Record of the Births, Deaths, Receptions, Disownments & Removals, Alphabetically Arranged, in the Society of Friends On the Island of Nantucket, Sherborn, Nantucket, Quaker Records [hereinafter Nantucket Quaker Records] (MS, Nantucket Historical Society, at Nantucket), FHL 909,502. For parentage and date of death for Mary Allen, wife of Reuben Worth, see the title page (first page).
  - 49. Nantucket Vital Records, 5:616.
  - 50. Heads of Families . . . 1790: Massachusetts, 161.
  - 51. Nantucket County Probates (1789-1804) 4:288-89 (FHL 905,833).
- 52. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:620, 622, 625, 627, 631-32, 635 (births); 5:610-11, 613, 616 (deaths); children's marriages from Starbuck, Nantucket, 830, and Gorham MS, 3:350.
  - 53. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:637, 4:530, 5:619; Starbuck, Nantucket, 828.
- 54. Proof of Rachel's parentage is from Nantucket County Deeds 6:64 (FHL 906,233) and the title (first) page of Nantucket Quaker Records.
  - 55. Starbuck, Nantucket, 827-30; Nantucket Vital Records, 5:617.
  - 56. Nantucket County Deeds 6:64 (FHL 906,233).
  - 57. Ibid., 6:333.

- 58. Ibid., 6:462.
- 59. Ibid., 8:67 (FHL 906,234).
- 60. Ibid., 14:343-44 (FHL 906,237).
- 61. Ibid., 16:210 (FHL 907,354).
- 62. Ibid., 16:343 (FHL 907,354); 18:74-75, 19:348 (FHL 907,355).
- 63. Ibid., 17:382-83 (FHL 907,354).
- 64. Ibid., 21:335 (FHL 907,356).
- 65. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:623-24, 628, 633, 635, 637 (births); 4: 412, 521-22, 524 (marriages); 5:554, 613, 616 (deaths). See also Gorham MS, 3:351 for marriages.
  - 66. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:503, 630; 4:526; Starbuck, Nantucket, 743, 807.
- 67. Starbuck, Nantucket, 831. Nantucket County Deeds 9:107, 111, 116, 180 (FHL 906,235). Lydia Pinkham was the stepmother of Judith (Starbuck) Worth and Mary (Starbuck) Macy. Born Lydia Coleman, she was the second wife of Judith and Mary's father, William Starbuck. After William's death she married Theophilus Pinkham; see Nantucket Vital Records, 4:287, 5:484.
- 68. Starbuck, Nantucket, 828; Sallie W. Stockard, History of Guilford County, North Carolina (Knoxville, Tenn.: Grant-Ogden Co., 1902), 193.
- 69. William Wade Hinshaw, Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy, 6 vols. (1936; reprinted, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1969), 1:692.
- 70. William Perry Johnson, "Tax List of Randolph County, North Carolina," The North Carolinian: A Quarterly Journal of Genealogy and History 2 (June 1956): 179-81.
  - 71. Guilford County Court Minutes (November 1784): 121 (FHL 0,501,190).
- 72. Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: North Carolina (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), 98.
  - 73. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, 1:583; Nantucket Vital Records, 4:530.
  - 74. Nantucket County Deeds 19:341-42 (FHL 907,355).
- 75. Will of Joseph Worth, in Randolph County (Original) Wills, 1775–1899, at North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh; copy provided by Mrs. George Eldred, 702 West Locust Street, Princeton, Kentucky 42445, a descendant of Joseph and Lydia (Gorham) Worth. It was Mrs. Eldred who discovered the family's relocation in Randolph County when all previously known records referred to them only as residents of Guilford.
  - 76. Gorham MS, 3:352.
- 77. Raleigh [N.C.] Register, 11 November 1830; Nantucket Vital Records, 5:615. See also Mrs. Seth Ames Lewis, "Nantucket Supplementary Records," New England Historical and Genealogical Register 100 (October 1946): 286, reprinted in Mayflower Source Records (see esp. 310); Mrs. Lewis's material is based on a book in which Isaac Coffin, a Nantucket judge of probate, recorded the deaths of members of Nantucket families before 1842.
  - 78. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, 1:795, 846; Nantucket Vital Records, 2:629.
  - 79. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, 1:692; Nantucket Vital Records, 2:626.
  - 80. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, 1:692; Gorham MS, 3:352; Nantucket Vital Records, 2:633.
  - 81. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, 1:846; Gorham MS, 3:352; Nantucket Vital Records, 2:622.
  - 82. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, 1:846.
- 83. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, 1:583, 846; Nantucket Vital Records, 2:637; 4:530; Macy, Genealogy of the Macy Family, 131-32.
  - 84. Raleigh [N.C.] Register, 22 November 1826.
  - 85. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:631; 5:88.
  - 86. Ibid., 1:156, 3:152, 5:91; Nantucket Quaker Records, 13, 15, 27, 32 (FHL 909,503).
- 87. Nantucket Vital Records, 1:156, 3:152-53; Nantucket Quaker Records, 10, 13, 20; Gorham MS, 5:259; Heads of Families . . . 1790: Massachusetts, 162.
- 88. Gorham MS, 5:259; Nantucket County Probates (1804-15) 5:99, 115, 140 (FHL 906,833); Nantucket Vital Records, 3:148, 5:91.
  - 89. Nantucket Vital Records, 1:163.
  - 90. Worth, "Nantucket Genealogies," 485; Gorham MS, 3:353.
  - 91. Starbuck, Nantucket, 109, 692.
  - 92. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, 3:53.

- 93. Nantucket Vital Records, 1:135, 137, 150-51, 154, 156-57, 159, 163 (births); Gorham MS, 3:353 (marriages); Nantucket Quaker Records, 13; Starbuck, Nantucket, 692-93.
  - 94. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:633, 5:312.
- 95. Ibid., 1:351, 2:49, 3:510; Starbuck, Nantucket, 763, 828. Eunice had married Jonathan Coffin and Samuel Ray before marrying Jonathan Gardner; Nantucket Vital Records, 1:69; Starbuck, Nantucket, 106, 673-74, 763-64; Gorham MS, 3:354.
- 96. Heads of Families . . . 1790: Massachusetts. 163: the name of the town of Sherborn/Sherburn in which Gardner was enumerated was changed to Nantucket in 1795.
  - 97. Nantucket Vital Records. 5:307: Nantucket County Probates 5:120 (FHL 906.833).
- 98. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:44, 61, 65 (births), 5:304, 312 (deaths); Gorham MS, 3:354 (marriages and deaths); Starbuck, Nantucket, 772, 801 (marriages).
- 99. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:638, 5:619; note in the latter case that the source is given as "P.R. 38"—i.e. the private records of William C. Folger.
- 100. Janet Wethy Foley, Early Settlers of New York State, Their Ancestors and Descendants, 9 vols. (Akron, N.Y.: T. J. Foley, 1934-42), 4:2:27; this work, originally published as a periodical, should be used with caution
  - 101. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:533, 4:531, 5:612; Starbuck, Nantucket, 820.
  - 102. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:550, 4:531; Starbuck, Nantucket, 817-18.
- 103. Lewis, "Nantucket Supplementary Records," 310. Note that George W. Worth, "Nantucket Families," 427, gives her surname as Macy, not Akins; see MS., Macy Collection (Nantucket Historical Society at Nantucket), microfilmed as FHL 906,498.
  - 104. Starbuck, Nantucket, 818, 828, 831; Nantucket Vital Records, 5: 612.
- 105. Franklin Ellis, History of Columbia County, New York (Philadelphia: Everts & Ensign, 1878), 158.
  - 106. Stephen B. Miller, Sketches of Hudson, N. Y. (Hudson: Bryan and Webb, 1862), 76, 115.
  - 107. Columbia County, N.Y., Deeds A:38.
- 108. Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790: New York (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908), 66. There appear two men named Thomas Worth; the second is listed with two males over sixteen, two males under sixteen, and two females.
  - 109. Ellis, History of Columbia County, 206; Miller, Sketches of Hudson, 28.
- 110. John Cox, Jr., Records in Possession of, or Relating to the Two New York Yearly Meetings of the Religious Society of Friends and Their Subordinate Meetings (New York City: Church Archives, Religious Society of Friends, 1940), 112 [hereinafter cited as Cox, Quaker Records]. William Raymond, Distinguished Men of Columbia County, New York (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Co., 1851), 79.
  - 111. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:632; Cox, Quaker Records, 112.
  - 112. Nantucket Vital Records, 5:612.
  - 113. Ibid., 2:621, 5:611; Gorham MS, 3:355.
- 114. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:624; Cox, Quaker Records, 112; Foley, Early Settlers of New York State, 4:2:27.
  - 115. H. B. Worth, "Genealogies," MS., Macy Collection; Nantucket Vital Records, 2:638.
  - 116. Lewis, "Nantucket Supplementary Records," 310; Nantucket Vital Records, 2:630.
  - 117. H. B. Worth, "Genealogies"; Nantucket Vital Records, 2:628.
  - 118. "Nantucket Families," MS., Macy Collection; Nantucket Vital Records, 2:627.
  - 119. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:623.
- 120. Ibid., 2:168, 4:522; Starbuck, Nantucket, 781-82 offers an apparent discrepancy in parentage of Daniel Hussey.
- 121. Deposition by David Worth of Guilford County, 15 August 1861, in "Worth Family," Genealogical Vertical File, North Carolina State Library-Genealogy Division, Raleigh; contributed by Mrs. Eldred. David was the son of Joseph and Lettice (Petty) Worth. See also Stockard, History of Guilford, 193.
  - 122. Gorham MS, 3:356; Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, 1:583; Starbuck, Nantucket, 828.
  - 123. Guilford County Deeds 4:229 (FHL 19,047).
  - 124. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, 1:690, 692.
  - 125. Heads of Families . . . 1790: North Carolina, 155.
  - 126. Guilford County Deeds 15:307, 875 (FHL 19,053).
  - 127. Stockard, History of Guilford, 193.

- 128. Gorham MS, 3:356, omits Lydia, Sarah, Rachel, Joseph, and the second Stephen—all of whom are found in Hinshaw. The Gorham MS includes a William Worth who does not appear to be a member of this family.
- 129. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:629, 4:525; Macy, Genealogy of the Macy Family, 127-28; Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, 1:583, 671, 692.
  - 130. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:637; Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, 1:671.
  - 131. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:625; Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, 1:671.
- 132. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:639; Ruth F. Thompson and Louise J. Hartgrove, comps., Abstracts of the Marriages and Additional Data, Guilford County, North Carolina, 1771–1840 (Greensboro, N.C.: Guilford County Genealogical Society, 1981), 208; Stockard, History of Guilford, 168; Gorham MS, 3:356.
  - 133. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, 1:671, 692; Nantucket Vital Records, 2:573.
  - 134. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, 1:671.
  - 135. Ibid., 1:671, 846; Nantucket Vital Records, 2:35; Stockard, History of Guilford, 168.
  - 136. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, 1:671; H. B. Worth, "Genealogies," 1743.
- 137. Hinshaw, *Encyclopedia*, 1:671. See also Randolph County, North Carolina, Original Marriage Bonds, North Carolina State Archives, and Deposition of David Worth, in "Worth Family," Genealogical Vertical File, North Carolina State Library, Raleigh.
  - 138. Hinshaw, Encyclopedia, 1:671.
  - 139. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:639, 4:532; Starbuck, Nantucket, 744, 815.
  - 140. Nantucket Vital Records, 1:502.
  - 141. Ibid., 5:630.
- 142. Ibid., 5:618; [Anonymous], "Deaths Recorded in the New Bedford Mercury, 1807–1845," (MS., New Bedford Public Library; photocopy in New England Historic Genealogical Society Library, Boston), 377.
  - 143. Nantucket County Deeds 6:276 (FHL 906,233).
  - 144. Ibid., 10:332 (FHL 906,235).
  - 145. Ibid., 11:67-68 (FHL 906,236).
  - 146. Heads of Families . . . 1790: Massachusettts, 164.
- 147. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:621, 627 (births); 4:520, 524, 530, 554 (marriages); Gorham MS, 3:357; George F. Worth, "Macy Collection" (FHL 905,500).
  - 148. Nantucket Vital Records, 2:200, 637, 4:530, 5:611, 618; Starbuck, Nantucket, 743-44.
  - 149. Ellis, History of Columbia County, 155, 157-58, 161; Miller, Sketches of Hudson, 21, 28, 69, 76.
  - 150. Columbia County Deeds B:147-48 (FHL 431,472).
- 151. Ronald Vern Jackson et al., New York 1800 Census Index (Bountiful, Utah: Accelerated Indexing Systems, 1974), 349; Jackson et al, New York 1810 Census Index (Bountiful, Utah: AIS, 1976), 360.
  - 152. Columbia County Wills E:129 (FHL 470,112).
- 153. Identification of children is from the will of their father Shubael; dates are deduced from census records. See also Gorham MS, 3:357, and Nantucket Vital Records, 4:5.

## California Emigrants

Frontier Guardian [Kanesville, later Council Bluffs, Iowa] 13 June 1851

Emigrants. Nathan Davis and family, from Ohio; J. F. Pierce, from Illinois; and Frederick Kesler and family from Missouri, arrived at this place en route across the plains.

# Disease and Death in the Nineteenth Century: A Genealogical Perspective

By JAMES BYARS CARTER, M.D.\*

The study of diseases and causes of death yields important findings for the genealogist. Death certificates (limited in number prior to the twentieth century) contain useful information for identifying ancestors; the mortality schedules of several nineteenth-century federal censuses provide the month and cause of death; and church registers, within some denominations, yield some information on deaths of members. However, having a knowledge of the meanings of the various medical terms used in these records is also of interest to genealogical researchers. Information obtained in this manner not only better informs them about their forebears but also could lead to the detection of a familial or inherited disease in specific families. To help the genealogist in the study of medically oriented records, this article treats three areas. First, a brief history of medicine and the medical profession during the nineteenth century is presented, including a discussion of the most-prevalent diseased state—fever. Next, the mortality schedules are discussed—including their history, their location, and the information they contain. Finally, there is offered a glossary of medical terms from the past century which genealogists will most frequently encounter.

#### PART ONE: HISTORY OF MEDICINE

## Major Medical Developments

By taking verbal snapshots of the history of medicine during the nineteenth century, we can gain an idea of what the public knew—and did not know—about illnesses during that era. Inoculation, germ theory, and anesthesia might conveniently serve to illustrate the development of medical science in Western civilization and the relative modernity of any real understanding of the causes of infectious diseases.

The first major advances in modern medicine did not occur until the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Although smallpox inoculation had been introduced in the United States in 1721, it was not until 1798 that Edward Jenner (1749–1823), an English physician, proved that vaccination with the milder cow pox was safer and more effective. The first successful major gynecologic surgery was performed (without benefit of anesthesia) in 1809 by Dr. Ephraim McDowell (1771–1830), near the frontier village of Danville, Kentucky. Seven years later and half a world away, René Theophile Hyacinthe Laënnec (1781–1826) of Quimper, Lower Brittany, France, invented the stethoscope—greatly facilitating the diagnosis of diseases of the heart and lungs.

A rudimentary understanding of germs was even slower in developing.

Friedrich Gustav Jakob Henle (1809–85), a celebrated anatomist and histologist in Germany, published in 1840 a statement of the germ theory of communicable disease—although decades passed before the theory was proved by practical measures. Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809–94) of Boston pointed out the contagiousness of puerperal (childbirth) fever in 1843. But it was Ignaz Philipp Semmelweis (1818–65), a Hungarian physician, who first applied the knowledge of prevention of puerperal fever in 1847—only to have his ideas and methods scoffed at by most of his contemporaries.

Ether anesthesia was introduced in 1846 by William Thomas Green Morton (1819-68) of Charlton, Massachusetts. Before Morton's work in the first half of the nineteenth century, "a good surgeon was he who could operate fast, could be oblivious to the patient's agonized screams of pain, and could retain hope that the patient might survive inevitable postsurgical 'hospitalism.' "

This term was applied to a variety of septic infections virtually endemic in patients in hospital wards. Florence Nightingale (1820-1910), of England, introduced the concept of nursing in the 1850s during the Crimean War. Joseph Lister (1827-1912), of Upton, Essex, England, began antiseptic treatment of wounds in 1865 and antiseptic surgery in 1867. He advised surgeons to adopt the practice of scrubbing their hands with soap and water, then dipping them in antiseptic carbolic solution before operating. After Lister proved the success of his principle of antisepsis, the "hospitals were turned from houses of torture and death to houses of healing and cure."

Over the next thirty years, a series of phenomenal discoveries, of the infective causes of disease ensued. Louis Pasteur (1822–95), born in Dôle, France, was the leading investigator. Vaccinations were developed, control of milk by bacterial tests was advocated, and water supplies were purified. By these means many diseases were conquered or controlled toward the end of the nineteenth century. Antibiotic therapy was unknown in those years—for not until the early 1940s was penicillin, the "miracle drug," used successfully in medical treatment. The profound effect that antibiotics have had upon the American population—and by extension, its family life—is graphically illustrated by Table 1, which shows that general infections (for which antibiotics are now routinely prescribed) caused nearly half of all deaths in one representative state in 1849–50.

TABLE 1	
Causes of Reported Deaths in Texas: 1 June 1849–31 May 1850 Calculated from 1850 Federal Census, Mortality Schedule	
Infection:	• •
Specific cause shown	20
General attribution	23
Total attributed to infection	(43)
Other causes:	
Diarrhea	18
Cancer, heart disease or stroke	3
Other specific, non-infectious diagnoses	
such as asthma, convulsions, diabetes	11
Alcohol, accident, or violence	9
Miscellaneous	16

## The Medical Profession

The medical profession in the mid-nineteenth century in the United States was composed of three groups. The first consisted of those who had studied at the medical schools of the day—in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Baltimore, and Lexington, Kentucky. The second group was a product of the preceptor system: young men would apprentice themselves to an established physician for a length of time (usually three years), "read medicine," then strike out on their own. The third group was made up of those who arrogated to themselves the title of doctor without any special training.

The methods of treatment used by American physicians in the midnineteenth century were similar to those used elsewhere. *Venesection* or phlebotomy (drawing blood from veins) and cupping (the removal of blood by means of applying the cupping glass) were mainstays of medical care. Also common were using leeches to remove blood; making blisters; inducing sweating; administering emetics to cause vomiting; and giving purgatives to empty the intestines.

Dissemination of medical information to both physicians and lay people was largely through the medium of newspapers. Typical of the essays which appeared in mid-nineteenth century—from the standpoint of both subject matter and depth of learning—were "Hints to the Bald-headed," "Effects of Night Air," "Advantages of Bathing," "Crabs and Choreic Morbus," "Hygienic Influence of Trees," and "Hoops and Health."

History taking and physical examination at the bedside were very much relied upon in those days. Diseases for which there were no cures would run their courses and present very distinct patterns which could be recognized. Lobar pneumonia, with its definite stages, is an example. Essentially, there were no diagnostic laboratory procedures available—no blood, urine, or X-ray examinations. More than likely, a physician did not actually examine the deceased; even if he had, he would not have been able to make a precise diagnosis. Therefore, many of the causes of death—given on whatever records were created as a result—were simply symptoms of the disease (as, for example, fever).

## The Role of Fever

Because infections caused most of the febrile illnesses, the discovery of the germ theory in the late nineteenth century explained the causes of most fevers. To understand the knowledge of nineteenth-century diseases and the terms used in describing these diseases, one must pay special attention to the way physicians of that century viewed and treated fever. To understand fever as it was conceived by the physicians and populace of that time is to understand the vast majority of the diseases from which one's ancestors suffered.

Fever, from the dawn of medical history, has commanded more attention and created more interest in the medical profession than any other subject. Physicians in the 1830s classified fever as *intermittent*, *remittent*, *continued*, and *congestive*. They did not know the actual cause(s) of these fevers, but the general consensus was that it was due to miasmata (poisonous vapors)

operating on the human system. These miasmatic fevers occurred almost exclusively in localities which abounded with decomposing organic matter. These localities, mainly in southern and temperate latitudes, contained sources of moisture, such as watercourses, stagnant ponds, and marshy grounds; and the fevers occurred in the summer and autumnal months.<sup>4</sup>

There were three stages of intermittent fever: the cold stage with chills; the hot stage of fever; then the stage of sweating and the return of temperature to normal. When the interval between paroxysms of fever was twenty-four hours, it was called quotidian ague; when the interval was forty-eight hours, it was called tertian ague; and when seventy-two hours, it was called quartan ague. These types of intermittent fevers are characteristic of malaria.

For the physician of the last century, remittent fever was that in which the hot stage did not end as in the intermittent fever but continued in a more intense degree, for a much greater length of time, abating or remitting for only a few hours, then rising again. Yellow fever, so called when the skin assumed an intensely yellow color (jaundice) due to a hepatic (liver) complication, is a remittent fever. It was also called bilious fever.<sup>6</sup>

Continuous fever, by contrast, had no intermission. Instead, there was an almost constant level of the temperature curve. Common examples are typhus and typhoid fever.

Congestive fever, to the nineteenth-century physician, was a febrile disease characterized from its onset by "strongly-marked symptoms of deep internal congestion, and a great oppression of the powers of life." It occurred in localities which were favorable to the occurrence of malaria. It coexisted with all the common varieties of miasmatic fever. The symptoms corresponded to congestion of the involved organs with blood, a condition detected upon autopsy.<sup>7</sup>

Thus, fever to nineteenth-century physicians meant both a symptom and a diseased state. Because they knew almost nothing of the causes of fevers, they named them and described them as the condition appeared in patients. In Life on the Mississippi, Mark Twain had some facetious words to say about this major symptom-complex of his day that humorously illustrate the nineteenth-century public concept of illnesses and their causes. Writing about Bear Creek near his home in Hannibal, Missouri, Twain declared:

It was a famous breeder of chills and fever in its day. I remember one summer when everybody in town had this disease at once. Many chimneys were shaken down, and all the houses were so racked that the town had to be rebuilt. The chasm or gorge between Lover's Leap and the hill west of it was supposed by scientists to have been caused by glacial action. This is a mistake.<sup>8</sup>

#### PART TWO: THE MORTALITY SCHEDULE

## Nineteenth-Century Death Records

For the decennial census years 1850 through 1900, the federal government compiled several special schedules designed to assist in its evaluation of

Americans and their progress. A similar effort was made with the special interdecennial census of 1885, taken in five of the states and territories (Colorado, Dakota, Florida, Nebraska, and New Mexico/Arizona). The 1850–85 schedules are, generally, still extant. One of the auxiliary enumerations taken in these years, the mortality schedule, collected data on deaths and causative diseases; and it represents the major body of "death records" available for the nineteenth century. The genealogist who attempts to use these schedules will be both grateful for and frustrated by the information provided.

## Information Provided

The content and format of mortality schedules changed from one census year to the next. In general, the schedule was to list all persons who died in the twelve months immediately preceding the official census date (for example: the 1850 schedule covered deaths between 1 June 1849 and 31 May 1850); and it included such information as the name of the person and his or her age, sex, state of birth, month of death, and cause of death. The 1880 and 1885 schedules included also the state of birth of each parent of the deceased, but the actual names of the parents were not given. Using these schedules to approximate death dates, researchers can follow up with focused searches of newspapers (particularly for obituaries and legal notices), mortuary records, personal papers of physicians, cemeteries, probate records, and (in some denominations) church registers. They will also find the mortality schedules useful for establishing migration and for testing the accuracy of information given by the population schedules.

#### Limitations within the Records

However, this set of "death records" has serious shortcomings. The method used to collect vital data was quite unsatisfactory. First, the enumerations covered only the twelve months immediately preceding the official date of the census. Second, the ongoing problem of getting people to report data correctly to the census taker was even more acute where this death information was concerned; apparently memories were very short. The 1850, 1860, and 1870 counts of deaths—it is estimated—fell 40 percent short of the actual number of deaths that should have been reported. Moreover, those "helpful" genealogists who have transcribed and published various mortality schedules have not always been faithful to the originals. The published versions have often been alphabetized on a countywide basis and even on a statewide basis thereby destroying many clues inherent in the original order of the census. Others have "corrected" the enumerators' spelling; by doing so, they not only have added another opportunity for error but also have taken away the amusement of seeing the unusual spellings of the era. The careful researcher must go back to the originals—or the microfilm of the originals—to confirm the actual spelling and the original meaning.

## Access to Mortality Schedules

One final problem encountered by the user of these nineteenth-century death records is that of access. In 1918 and 1919, before the establishment of the National Archives, the Bureau of the Census transferred the original schedules to random (nonfederal) depositories. Each state was given the option of securing those relating to its citizens. The schedules not claimed by a state were given to the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution and were placed in that society's library in Washington, D.C. In more-recent years, the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) has microfilmed those schedules—when present owners have permitted. Those filmed by NARA are listed in Table 4 of the Guide to Genealogical Research in the National Archives. Schedules held by other repositories are noted by state in the latter part of Chapter One of the same guide. 12 Further information about their availability appears in NARA's Special List 24, Federal Population and Mortality Census Schedules, 1700-1900; and in its Reference Information Paper 67, Federal Census Schedules, 1850-1880: Primary Sources for Historical Research. 13 Often, state and local libraries have sets of the published schedules and microfilm copies of some of the original enumerations. Many such institutions are identified in Special List 24, mentioned above—as well as in Table 4-5 of The Source.14

#### PART THREE: MEDICAL TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Most of the definitions of diagnoses in the glossary that follows are from medical dictionaries or medical texts compiled at different points in the nineteenth century. To determine which medical terms should be defined, the author has surveyed various mortality schedules, death certificates, and other medical sources of the nineteenth century. While he has tried to submit the best-possible interpretation of these terms, there are certainly other interpretations which may be valid.

#### Glossary

Abscess. A localized collection of pus buried in tissues, organs, or confined spaces of the body, often accompanied by swelling and inflammation and frequently caused by bacteria. The brain, lung, or kidney (for instance) could be involved. See boil.

Addison's disease. A disease characterized by severe weakness, low blood pressure, and a bronzed coloration of the skin, due to decreased secretion of cortisol from the adrenal gland. Dr. Thomas Addison (1793–1860), born near Newcastle, England, described the disease in 1855. Synonyms: Morbus addisonii, bronzed skin disease.

Ague. Malarial or intermittent fever characterized by paroxysms (stages of chills, fever, and sweating at regularly recurring times) and followed by an interval or intermission whose length determines the epithets: quotidian, tertian, quartan, and quintan ague (defined in the text). Popularly, the disease was known as "fever and ague," "chill fever," "the shakes," and by names expressive of the locality in which it was prevalent—such as, "swamp fever" (in Louisiana), "Panama fever," and "Chagres fever."

Ague-cake. A form of enlargement of the spleen, resulting from the action of malaria on the system.

Anasarca. Generalized massive dropsy. See dropsy.

Aphthae. See thrush.

Aphthous stomatitis. See canker.

Ascites. See dropsy.

Asthenia. See debility.

Bilious fever. A term loosely applied to certain enteric (intestinal) and malarial fevers. See typhus.

Biliousness. A complex of symptoms comprising nausea, abdominal discomfort, headache, and constipation—formerly attributed to excessive secretion of bile from the liver.

Boil. An abscess of skin or painful, circumscribed inflammation of the skin or a hair follicle, having a dead, pus-forming inner core, usually caused by a staphylococcal infection. Synonym: furuncle.

Brain fever. See meningitis, typhus.

Bronchial asthma. A paroxysmal, often allergic disorder of breathing, characterized by spasm of the bronchial tubes of the lungs, wheezing, and difficulty in breathing air outward—often accompanied by coughing and a feeling of tightness in the chest. In the nineteenth century the direct causes were thought to be dust, vegetable irritants, chemical vapors, animal emanations, climatic influences, and bronchial inflammation—all of which were reasonable guesses. The indirect causes were thought to be transmissions by the nervous system or by the blood from gout, syphilis, skin disease, renal disease, or heredity. Only the latter cause was a reasonable assumption.

Camp fever. See typhus.

Cancer. A malignant and invasive growth or tumor (especially tissue that covers a surface or lines a cavity), tending to recur after excision and to spread to other sites. In the nineteenth century, physicians noted that cancerous tumors tended to ulcerate, grew constantly, and progressed to a fatal end and that there was scarcely a tissue they would not invade. Synonyms: malignant growth, carcinoma.

Cancrum oris. A severe, destructive, eroding ulcer of the cheek and lip, rapidly proceeding to sloughing. In the last century it was seen in delicate, ill-fed, ill-tended children between the ages of two and five. The disease was the result of poor hygiene acting upon a debilitated system. It commonly followed one of the eruptive fevers and was often fatal. The destructive disease could, in a few days, lead to gangrene of the lips, cheeks, tonsils, palate, tongue, and even half the face; teeth would fall from their sockets, and a horribly fetid saliva flowed from the parts. Synonyms: canker, water canker, noma, gangrenous stomatitis, gangrenous ulceration of the mouth.

Canker. An ulcerous sore of the mouth and lips, not considered fatal today. Synonym: aphthous stomatitis. See cancrum oris.

Carcinoma. See cancer.

Catarrh. Inflammation of a mucous membrane, especially of the air passages of the head and throat, with a free discharge. It is characterized by cough, thirst, lassitude, fever, watery eyes, and increased secretions of mucus from the air passages. Bronchial catarrh was bronchitis; suffocative catarrh was croup; urethral catarrh was gleet; vaginal catarrh was leukorrhea; epidemic catarrh was the same as influenza. Synonyms: cold, coryza.

Childbirth. A cause given for many female deaths of the century. Almost all babies were born in homes and usually were delivered by a family member or a midwife; thus infection and lack of medical skill were often the actual causes of death.

Cholera. An acute, infectious disease, endemic in India and China and now occasionally epidemic elsewhere—characterized by profuse diarrhea, vomiting, and cramps. It is caused by a potent toxin discharged by the bacterium Vibrio cholerae, which acts on the small intestine to cause secretion of large amounts of fluid. The painless, watery diarrhea and the passing of rice-water stool are characteristic. Great body-salt depletion occurs. Cholera is spread by feces-contaminated water and food. Major epidemics struck the United States in the years 1832, 1849, and 1866. In the 1830s the causes were generally thought to be intemperance in the use of ardent spirits or drinking bad water; uncleanliness, poor living or crowded and

- ill-ventilated dwellings; and too much fatigue. By 1850 cholera was thought to be caused by putrid animal poison and miasma or pestilential vapor rising from swamps and marshes—or that it entered the body through the lungs or was transmitted through the medium of clothing. It was still believed that it attacked the poor, the dissolute, the diseased, and the fearful—while the healthy, well-clad, well-fed, and fearless man escaped the ravages of cholera.
- Cholera infantum. A common, noncontagious diarrhea of young children, occurring in summer or autumn. In the nineteenth century it was considered indigenous to the United States; was prevalent during the hot weather in most of the towns of the middle and southern states, as well as many western areas; and was characterized by gastric pain, vomiting, purgation, fever, and prostration. It was common among the poor and in hand-fed babies. Death frequently occurred in three to five days. Synonyms: summer complaint, weaning brash, water gripes, choleric fever of children, cholera morbus.
- Chorea. Any of several diseases of the nervous system, characterized by jerky movements that appear to be well coordinated but are performed involuntarily, chiefly of the face and extremities. Synonym: Saint Vitus' dance.
- Chronic. Persisting over a long period of time as opposed to acute or sudden. This word was often the only one entered under "cause of death" in the mortality schedules. The actual disease meant by the term is open to speculation.
- Colic. Paroxysmal pain in the abdomen or bowels. Infantile colic is benign paroxysmal abdominal pain during the first three months of life. Colic rarely caused death; but in the last century a study reported that in cases of death, intussusception (the prolapse of one part of the intestine into the lumen of an immediately adjoining part) occasionally occurred. Renal colic can occur from disease in the kidney, gallstone colic from a stone in the bile duct.
- Congestion. An excessive or abnormal accumulation of blood or other fluid in a body part or blood vessel. In congestive fever (see text), the internal organs become gorged with blood.
- Consumption. A wasting away of the body; formerly applied especially to pulmonary tuberculosis. The disorder is now known to be an infectious disease caused by the bacterial species Mycobacterium tuberculosis. Synonyms: marasmus (in the mid-nineteenth century), phthisis.
- Convulsions. Severe contortion of the body caused by violent, involuntary muscular contractions of the extremities, trunk, and head. See *epilepsy*.
- Coryza. See catarrh.
- Croup. Any obstructive condition of the larynx (voice box) or trachea (windpipe), characterized by a hoarse, barking cough and difficult breathing—occurring chiefly in infants and children. The obstruction could be caused by allergy, a foreign body, infection, or new growth (tumor). In the early-nineteenth century it was called cynanche trachealis. The crouping noise was similar to the sound emitted by a chicken affected with the pip, which in some parts of Scotland was called roup; hence, probably, the term croup. Synonyms: roup, hives, choak, stuffing, rising of the lights.
- Debility. Abnormal bodily weakness or feebleness; decay of strength. This was a term descriptive of a patient's condition and of no help in making a diagnosis. Synonym: asthenia.
- Diphtheria. An acute infectious disease caused by toxigenic strains of the bacillus Corynebacterium diphtheriae, acquired by contact with an infected person or a carrier of the disease. It was usually confined to the upper respiratory tract (throat) and characterized by the formation of a tough membrane (false membrane) attached firmly to the underlying tissue that would bleed if forcibly removed. In the nineteenth century the disease was occasionally confused with scarlet fever and croup.
- Dropsy. A contraction for hydropsy. Edema, the presence of abnormally large amounts of fluid in intercellular tissue spaces or body cavities. Abdominal dropsy is ascites; brain dropsy is hydrocephalus; and chest dropsy is hydrothorax. Cardiac dropsy is a symptom of disease of the heart and arises from obstruction to the current of blood through the heart, lungs, or liver. Anasarca is general fluid accumulation throughout the body.
- Dysentery. A term given to a number of disorders marked by inflammation of the intestines (especially of the colon) and attended by pain in the abdomen, by tenesmus (straining to defecate without the ability to do so), and by frequent stools containing blood and mucus. The

causative agent may be chemical irritants, bacteria, protozoa, or parasitic worms. There are two specific varieties: (1) amebic dysentery caused by the protozoan *Entamoeba histolytica*; (2) bacillary dysentery caused by bacteria of the genus *Shigella*. Dysentery was one of the most severe scourges of armies in the nineteenth century. The several forms of dysentery and diarrhea accounted for more than one-fourth of all the cases of disease reported during the first two years of the Civil War. Synonyms: flux, bloody flux, contagious pyrexia (fever), frequent griping stools.

Eclampsia. A form of toxemia (toxins—or poisons—in the blood) accompanying pregnancy, characterized by albuminuria (protein in the urine), by hypertension (high blood pressure), and by convulsions. In the last century, the term was used for any form of convulsion.

Edema. See dropsy.

Effluvia. Exhalations or emanations, applied especially to those of noxious character. In the mid-nineteenth century, they were called "vapours" and distinguished into the contagious effluvia, such as rubeolar (measles); marsh effluvia, such as miasmata; and those arising from animals or vegetables, such as odors.

Emphysema, pulmonary. A chronic, irreversible disease of the lungs, characterized by abnormal enlargement of air spaces in the lungs and accompanied by destruction of the tissue lining the walls of the air sacs. By 1900 the condition was recognized as a chronic disease of the lungs associated with marked dyspnea (shortness of breath), hacking cough, defective aeration (oxygenation) of the blood, cyanosis (blue color of facial skin), and a full and rounded or "barrel-shaped" chest. This disease is now most commonly associated with tobacco smoking.

Enteric fever. See typhoid fever.

Epilepsy. A disorder of the nervous system, characterized either by mild, episodic loss of attention or sleepiness (petit mal) or by severe convulsions with loss of consiousness (grand mal). Synonyms: falling sickness, fits.

Erysipelas. An acute, febrile, infectious disease, caused by a specific group A streptococcus bacterium and characterized by a diffusely spreading, deep-red inflammation of the skin or mucous membranes causing a rash with a well-defined margin. Synonyms: Rose, Saint Anthony's Fire (from its burning heat or, perhaps, because Saint Anthony was supposed to cure it miraculously).

Flux. See dysentery.

Furuncle. See boil.

Gangrene. Death and decay of tissue in a part of the body—usually a limb—due to injury, disease, or failure of blood supply. Synonym: mortification.

Gleet. See catarrh.

Gravel. A disease characterized by multiple small calculi (stones or concretions of mineral salts) which are formed in the kidneys, passed along the ureters to the bladder, and expelled with the urine. Synonym: kidney stone.

Hectic fever. A daily recurring fever with profound sweating, chills, and flushed appearance—often associated with pulmonary tuberculosis or septic poisoning.

Hives. A skin eruption of wheals (smooth, slightly elevated areas on the skin) which is redder or paler than the surrounding skin. Often attended by severe itching, it usually changes its size or shape or disappears within a few hours. It is the dermal evidence of allergy. See the discussion under croup; also called cynanche trachealis. In the mid-nineteenth century, hives was a commonly given cause of death of children three years and under. Because true hives does not kill, croup was probably the actual cause of death in those children.

Hospital fever. See typhus.

Hydrocephalus. See dropsy.

Hydrothorax. See dropsy.

Icterus. See jaundice.

Inanition. Exhaustion from lack of nourishment; starvation. A condition characterized by marked weakness, extreme weight loss, and a decrease in metabolism resulting from severe and prolonged (usually weeks to months) insufficiency of food.

Infection. The affection or contamination of a person, organ, or wound with invading, multiplying, disease-producing germs—such as bacteria, rickettsiae, viruses, molds, yeasts, and protozoa. In the early part of the last century, infections were thought to be the propagation of disease by effluvia (see above) from patients crowded together. "Miasms" were believed to be substances which could not be seen in any form—emanations not apparent to the senses. Such miasms were understood to act by infection.

Inflammation. Redness, swelling, pain, tenderness, heat, and disturbed function of an area of the body, especially as a reaction of tissue to injurious agents. This mechanism serves as a localized and protective response to injury. The word ending -itis denotes inflammation on the part indicated by the word stem to which it is attached—that is, appendicitis, pleuritis, etc. Microscopically, it involves a complex series of events, including enlargement of the sizes of blood vessels; discharge of fluids, including plasma proteins; and migration of leukocytes (white blood cells) into the inflammatory focus. In the last century, cause of death often was listed as inflammation of a body organ—such as, brain or lung—but this was purely a descriptive term and is not helpful in identifying the actual underlying disease.

Intussusception. The slipping of one part within another, as the prolapse of one part of the intestine into the lumen of an immediately adjoining part. This leads to obstruction and often must be relieved by surgery. Synonym: introsusception.

Jail fever. See typhus.

Jaundice. Yellow discoloration of the skin, whites of the eyes, and mucous membranes, due to an increase of bile pigments in the blood—often symptomatic of certain diseases, such as hepatitis, obstruction of the bile duct, or cancer of the liver. Synonym: icterus.

Kidney stone. See gravel.

King's evil. A popular name for scrofula. The name originated in the time of Edward the Confessor, with the belief that the disease could be cured by the touch of the king of England.

Lockjaw. Tetanus, a disease in which the jaws become firmly locked together. Synonyms: trismus, tetanus.

Malignant fever. See typhus.

Marasmus. Malnutrition occurring in infants and young children, caused by an insufficient intake of calories or protein and characterized by thinness, dry skin, poor muscle development, and irritability. In the mid-nineteenth century, specific causes were associated with specific ages: In infants under twelve months old, the causes were believed to be unsuitable food, chronic vomiting, chronic diarrhea, and inherited syphilis. Between one and three years, marasmus was associated with rickets or cancer. After the age of three years, caseous (cheeselike) enlargment of the mesenteric glands (located in the peritoneal fold attaching the small intestine to the body wall) became a given cause of wasting. (See tabes mesenterica.) After the sixth year, chronic pulmonary tuberculosis appeared to be the major cause. Marasmus is now considered to be related to kwashiorkor, a severe protein deficiency.

Meningitis. Inflammation of the meninges (the three membranes covering the brain and spinal cord), especially of the pia mater and arachnoid—caused by a bacterial or viral infection and characterized by high fever, severe headache, and stiff neck or back muscles. Synonym: brain fever.

Morbus. Latin word for disease. In the last century, when applied to a particular disease, morbus was associated with some qualifying adjective or noun, indicating the nature or seat of such disease. Examples: morbus cordis, heart disease; morbus caducus, epilepsy or falling sickness.

Neuralgia. Sharp and paroxysmal pain along the course of a sensory nerve. There are many causes: anemia, diabetes, gout, malaria, syphilis. Many varieties of neuralgia are distinguished according to the part affected—such as face, arm, leg.

Paristhmitis. See quinsy.

Petechial fever. See typhus.

Phthisis. See consumption.

Pleurisy. Inflammation of the pleura, the membranous sac lining the chest cavity, with or without fluid collected in the pleural cavity. Symptoms are chills, fever, dry cough, and pain in the affected side (a stitch).

Pneumonia. Inflammation of the lungs with congestion or consolidation—caused by viruses, bacteria, or physical and chemical agents.

Pus. A yellow-white, more or less viscid substance found in abscesses and sores, consisting of a liquid plasma in which white blood cells are formed and suspended by the process of inflammation.

Putrid fever. See typhus.

Putrid sore throat. Ulceration of an acute form, attacking the tonsils and rapidly running into sloughing of the fauces (the cavity at the back of the mouth, leading to the pharynx).

Pyrexia. See dysentery.

Quinsy. A fever, or a febrile condition. An acute inflammation of the tonsils, often leading to an abscess; peritonsillar abscess. Synonyms: suppurative tonsillitis, cynanche tonsillaris, paristhmitis, sore throat.

Scarlatina. Scarlet fever. A contagious febrile disease, caused by infection with the bacteria group A beta-hemolytic streptococci (which elaborate a toxin with an affinity for red blood cells) and characterized by a scarlet eruption, tonsillitis, and pharyngitis.

Scrofula. Primary tuberculosis of the lymphatic glands, especially those in the neck. A disease of children and young adults, it represents a direct extension of tuberculosis into the skin from underlying lymph nodes. It evolves into cold abscesses, multiple skin ulcers, and draining sinus tracts. Synonym: king's evil.

Septic. Infected, a condition of local or generalized invasion of the body by disease-causing microorganisms (germs) or their toxins.

Ship fever. See typhus.

Spotted fever. See typhus.

Suffocation. The stoppage of respiration. In the nineteenth century, suffocation was reported as being accidental or homicidal. The accidents could be by the impaction of pieces of food or other obstacles in the pharynx or by the entry of foreign bodies into the larynx (as a seed, coin, or food). Suffocation of newborn children by smothering under bedclothes may have happened from carelessness as well as from intent. However, the deaths also could have been due to SIDS (sudden infant death syndrome), wherein the sudden and unexpected death of an apparently healthy infant, while asleep, typically occurs between the ages of three weeks and five months and is not explained by careful postmortem studies. Synonyms of SIDS: crib death and cot death. It was felt that victims of homicidal suffocation were chiefly infants or feeble and infirm persons.

Summer complaint. See cholera infantum.

Suppuration. The production of pus.

Tabes mesenterica. Tuberculosis of the mesenteric glands in children, resulting in digestive derangement and wasting of the body.

Teething. The entire process which results in the eruption of the teeth. Nineteenth-century medical reports stated that infants were more prone to disease at the time of teething. Symptoms were restlessness, fretfulness, convulsions, diarrhea, and painful and swollen gums. The latter could be relieved by lancing over the protruding tooth. Often teething was reported as a cause of death in infants. Perhaps they became susceptible to infections, especially if lancing was performed without antisepsis. Another explanation of teething as a cause of death is that infants were often weaned at the time of teething; perhaps they then died from drinking contaminated milk, leading to an infection, or from malnutrition if watered-down milk was given.

Tetanus. An infectious, often-fatal disease caused by a specific bacterium, Clostridium tetani, that enters the body through wounds; characterized by respiratory paralysis and tonic spasms and rigidity of the voluntary muscles, especially those of the neck and lower jaw. Synonyms: trismus, lockjaw.

- Thrush. A disease characterized by whitish spots and ulcers on the membranes of the mouth, tongue, and fauces caused by a parasitic fungus, Candida albicans. Thrush usually affects sick, weak infants and elderly individuals in poor health. Now it is a common complication from excessive use of broad-spectrum antibiotics or cortisone treatment. Synonyms: aphthae, sore mouth, aphthous stomatitis.
- Trismus nascentium or neonatorum. A form of tetanus seen only in infants, almost invariably in the first five days of life, probably due to infection of the umbilical stump.
- Typhoid fever An infectious, often-fatal, febrile disease, usually occurring in the summer months—characterized by intestinal inflammation and ulceration caused by the bacterium Salmonella typhi, which is usually introduced by food or drink. Symptoms include prolonged hectic fever, malaise, transient characteristic skin rash (rose spots), abdominal pain, enlarged spleen, slowness of heart rate, delirium, and low white-blood cell count. The name came from the disease's similarity to typhus (see below). Synonym: enteric fever.
- Typhus. An acute, infectious disease caused by several micro-organism species of Rickettsia (transmitted by lice and fleas) and characterized by acute prostration, high fever, depression, delirium, headache, and a peculiar eruption of reddish spots on the body. The epidemic or classic form is louse borne; the endemic or murine is flea borne. Synonyms: typhus fever, malignant fever (in the 1850s), jail fever, hospital fever, ship fever, putrid fever, brain fever, bilious fever, spotted fever, petechial fever, camp fever.
- Virus. An ultramicroscopic, metabolically inert infectious agent that replicates only within the cells of living hosts, mainly bacteria, plants, and animals. In the early 1800s virus meant poison, venom, or contagion.
- Yellow fever. An acute, often-fatal, infectious febrile disease of warm climates—caused by a virus transmitted by mosquitoes, especially Aëdes aegypti, and characterized by liver damage and jaundice, fever, and protein in the urine. In 1900 Walter Reed and others in Panama found that mosquitoes transmit the disease. Clinicians in the late nineteenth century recognized "specific yellow fever" as being different from "malarious yellow fever." The latter supposedly was a form of malaria with liver involvement but without urine involvement.

#### **NOTES AND REFERENCES**

- \*2802 Northwood Road, Austin, Texas 78703. A physician, Dr. Carter lectures and writes in both medical and genealogical fields. The present essay is adapted from a paper presented at the 1988 annual conference of the National Genealogical Society at Biloxi, Mississippi. That paper, "Early Diseases, Epidemics, and Terminology of the Nineteenth Century," has been published as Tape No. BIL-101 by Triad, Post Office Box 120, Toulon, IL 61483.
- 1. George A. Bender and Robert A. Thom, Great Moments in Medicine. The Stories and Paintings in the Series: A History of Medicine in Pictures by Parke, Davis & Company (Detroit: Northwood Institute Press, 1966), 268; see also pp. 115, 123, 131, 161, 169, 170, 176, 183, 189, 198, 207, 211.
  - 2. Ibid., 268.
- 3. Today, lobar pneumonia is rarely seen because antibiotics are used at the first sign of infection—thereby preventing the usual classical stages of this disease.
- 4. Thomas Barbour, Observations on Intermittent, Remittent & Congestive Fever (Saint Louis: Daniel Davies, 1845), 7.
  - 5. Ibid., 10-11.
  - 6. Ibid., 25. This symptom complex could also represent infectious hepatitis.
  - 7. Ibid., 37
- 8. Mark Twain, Life on the Mississippi, in Mark Twain: Mississippi Writings (New York: Literary Classics of the United States, 1982), 554.
- 9. Mortality schedules were also completed for the census years 1890 and 1900, but these have been destroyed. For a fuller discussion, see Arlene H. Eakle, "Chapter 4: Census Records," in Eakle and Johni Cerny, eds., *The Source: A Guidebook of American Genealogy* (Salt Lake City: Ancestry Publishing Co., 1984), 91–129; and Chapters Ten and Eleven in Val D. Greenwood, *The Researcher's Guide to American Genealogy* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983), 139–201.

10. More specifically, in 1850 the mortality schedule gave the following information for each person who died during the year ending 31 May 1850: name, age, sex, color (white, black, or mulatto), whether married or widowed, place of birth, occupation, month of death, cause of death, and number of days ill.

In 1860 the mortality schedule gave the same information as in 1850, for each person who died during the year ending 31 May 1860, with the addition of a statement as to whether the deceased was slave or free.

In 1870 the mortality schedule contained four changes: (1) it added whether the deceased was Chinese or Indian; (2) it stated whether parents were foreign-born; (3) it dropped the question regarding slave/free status; and (4) it did not ask for the number of days ill.

In 1880 the schedules added four new types of information: (1) length of residency in the United States, (2) places of birth of father and mother (but not the names of the parents), (3) place the cause of death was contracted, and (4) name of attending physician.

- 11. Greenwood, Researcher's Guide, 116, 140.
- 12. Guide to Genealogical Research in the National Archives (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1982), 11, 14-17.
- 13. Federal Population and Mortality Census Schedules, 1790–1900, in the National Archives and the States: Outline of a Lecture on Their Availability, Content and Use, Special List 24 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, rev. 1986); Carmen R. Delle Donne, Federal Census Schedules, 1850–1880: Primary Sources for Historical Research, Reference Information Paper 67 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Service, 1973).
  - 14. Eakle and Cerny, The Source, 104-5.
- 15. William Cullen, First Lines of the Practice of Physic with Practical and Explanatory Notes by John Rotheram (New York: Evert Duyckinck, 1801); Robert Hooper, Lexicon-Medicum or Medical Dictionary (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1826); Marshall Hall, The Principles of Diagnosis (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1835); Robley Dunglison, A Dictionary of Medical Science, Containing a Concise Account of the Various Subjects and Terms (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1844); Richard D. Hoblyn, A Dictionary of Terms Used in Medicine and the Collateral Sciences (Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea, 1865); William Aitken, The Science and Practice of Medicine, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1872); Richard Quain, ed., A Dictionary of Medicine (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1883); Austin Flint, A Treatise on the Principles and Practice of Medicine (Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea's Son & Co., 1884); George M. Gould, An Illustrated Dictionary of Medicine, Biology, and Allied Sciences (Philadelphia: P. Blakiston's Son & Co., 1901); Glentworth Reeve Butler, The Diagnostics of Internal Medicine (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company, 1903); The Random House Dictionary of the English Language, 2d ed., unabridged (New York: Random House, 1987); Dorland's Illustrated Medical Dictionary (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1988).

## California Emigrants

Frontier Guardian [Kanesville, later Council Bluffs, Iowa] 13 June 1849

California Emigrants [passing through Kanesville, who have registered their name with the newspaper office]: From Hartford, Conn.: John B. Crowell, A. B. Crowell, C. A. Bodwell, and William Bell; arrived at this place four weeks since. They are bound for Salt Lake City in company with Messrs. Kinkade & Livingston. From Adrian, Mich.: Noah Norton, Abraham Mills, Dr. Graham, Mr. White; [they] are attached to the Mormon train, to go by the way of Salt Lake to the gold regions.

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

## Notes and Documents

## Deaths along the Oregon Trail, 1852

Contributed by Marsha Hoffman Rising, c.g.\*

On or about the first of May, 1852, Colonel George E. Blodget departed from Saint Joseph, Missouri, to guide a wagon train part of the way to California. Upon his return in early September, he presented the editor of that city's Gazette with a most-unusual list—names taken from grave markers encountered on his return trip. According to Blodget, the scenes he saw as he followed the trail—from Devil's Gate on Wyoming's Sweetwater River, through Fort Laramie, and along the north side of the Platte River to the Missouri—were "truly heart rending. From the imperfect manner in which the dead are buried," he reported, "the wolves soon scent and drag them from their shallow graves, strewing the trail with human bones." Blodget estimated the migration that year at "40,000 people with 8,000 wagons and about 60,000 head of cattle." The marked graves that he encountered, he felt, were only a fraction of the number who had succumbed to the hardships of the journey; "the majority who die," he said, "are buried at the different camping places, sometimes 4 and 5 miles off the main trail."

A debt of gratitude is owed to Colonel Blodget by the genealogical community for the efforts he made to insure the memory of these unfortunate pioneers. The impermanent nature of the rude markers erected over their last remains is clear from the list which follows. All of the deaths for whom markers were found were no more than a few weeks old—suggesting that such markers could not be expected to last much longer than a season.

The list of deaths—all attributable to 1852—is as follows:

C. Million, died June 1, from Pike Co. IL.
W. & T. T., two brothers, June 1
Jane Wilson, June 3
Nancy Spencer, June 3, Wisconsin
S. King, June 9 do
J. H. Johnson, June 1, do
William Kelly, June 11
King, June 11, Wisconsin
Mrs. Louisa Turner, June 17, Wis.
John Turner, June 17, Wis.
Peters, June 17
Cyrus T. Maybee, June 17, Peoria, Ill.
H. D. Williams, June 6
R. Dickson, June 8, Wisconsin,
Cox, June 8, Indiana,

Estill, June 8,
E. Willey, June 10, Mineral Pt. Wis.,
Acus Ergleson, June 17, Baden, Europe.
Miss Dodge, June 1, Wisconsin.
P. McMarrow, June 2, do.
Frank Wheeling, June 2, Iowa.
Mrs. Haws, June 2, Mich.,
J. H. Minton, June 10,
J. Willson, June 5,
V. G. Wright, June 15,
J. Means, June 7, Wis.,
Thos. Haws, June 8, Wis.,
E. Hebins, June 6, Weed Co., Wis.
Jane Bearly, June 7, Wis.
Joseph Wright, June 10, do.

Isaac Reader, June 10, Iowa. Mrs. Polly Casper, June 8, Iowa. Warren Field, June 6, do. A. W. Field do 9, do. H. Hadley, June 4, Illinois, I. P. Shaw, do 2, do. T. Hayland, do 7, do. F. Dixon do 13, Mich., E. Graves, do 13, do. John Turner, do 6, do. J. Tawalins, do 12, A. Sparks, do 11, D. Shake, June 16, Indiana. Hiram Griswold, June 9, Ind. Gilbert, June 9, Richard Hoge, June 13, Ills. Nancy Emory, June 6, Quincy, Ills. David Henderson, June 12, Illinois, W. B. Grannon, June 12, Ind. Nancy Kelly, June 10, do. David McDonald, June 3, do. J. Jones, June 22, do. E. S. Taylor, June 1, Missouri S. Gibson, June 22, Pike Co. Ill. James Noyes, June 23, Cedar Co. Mo. J. Williams, June 19, Randolph Grove J. A. Betty, June 6, Michigan Three persons in one grave from Wis. Mrs. Mary Brush, June 26, Iowa E. C. Beach, June 26, Virginia Caroline Ostrander, June 9, Wis. D. Donavan, June 13 Andrew Pitgrew, June 14 Morris Venius, June 12 R. Williams, June 13, Iowa Co. Wis. Absolelm Nomighan, June 1, Ill. Isaac Towlin, June 22, Ind. Evans, June 4, Ills. Cherry, June 4, Ill. Caesar Lott, June 1, Ohio James Lee, June 1, do. Richard Branton, June 11, Indiana Rolla Morgan, June 20, C. Steel, deaf and dumb, June 6, Phil. Elias Barker, June 4, Holt co. Mo. T. M. Kinsey, June 15, Wis. Saray Vesay, June 15, Ill. J. Johnson, June 11, Jackson co. Mo. A. Peace, June 11, Ill. J. Murken, June 1, Scott co. Iowa, Zeba Davenport, June 8 J. Johnson, June 7, Ill. Jane Kendrick, June 7, Ann arbor, Mich. E. D. Wartwont, do. 7, Ill. Nancy B. Likens, do. 14, Iowa J. Grady, do. 15, Iowa

A. Adams, do. 22, Iowa

S. Asweet, do. 22, Stark co. Ill. H. Mablin, do. 22, Vermillion Ill. Robt. Nowlton, do. 26, Ind. J. S. Jones, do. 10, Wayne co. Iowa N. McLane, do. 18, Athens co. Ohio Wm. Collins, do. 20, Iowa E. C. Smith, do. 15 Jacob Mainster, do. 16 Jane Smith, do. 15 Mary J. Rider, do 26, Wisc. M. Kohl, do. 1, Trenton Wm. G. Liffingwell, do. 23, Wisc. A. Gavens, do. 9 T. Minter, do. 8 J. D. Clark, June 11, Jackson co. Mo. J. Beckley, June 31, Jefferson co. Wis. Susan F. Clark, June 13, Jackson co. Mo. John Long, June 15, Jackson co. Mo. F. J. Ping, June 13 R. K. Marston, June 20 Margaret Craig, June 2 Wm. Watkin, June 2 W. D. Park, June 19 Ann F. Hunt, June 2 T. M. Delay, June 11 Caleb Brown, June 5 Mary Rothrock, June 4, Missouri Wm. Hagg, June 6, Ohio Elijah Colt, June 1 G. Lucas, June 18, Prairie Grove T. Post, June 19 Hannah Ashlev June 4 Henry Warmstaff June 20, Ill. Elizabeth Ruffned [June] 22, Ill. Galespie, June 22, Missouri Dr. Wilson, June 20 Mr. Arsenath, June 22, Benton co. Mo. C. H. Cook, June 20, Wis. P. Taggert, June 15, Ill. Mr. Maykyle, June 15, Peoria, Ill. L. Ingalls, June 4 R. Morgan, do 15 M. V. Howard, June 16 F. Howard, June 16, Andrew co. Mo. F. J. Reeves, do 16, Ray co. Mo. F. Baker, do 17, F. H. Lake, do 17, Mo. L. O. Thompson, do 6 M. Muller, do 20, Iowa J. Brown, do 26 C. Clark, do 22, Iowa Abra. Mammon, do 20, do. John Martin, do 11, do. Jacob Sudenger, do 14, Holt co Mo. Samuel S. Chance, do 23, Iowa William Cartis, do 14, do.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

\*6058 Primrose Lane, Springfield, MO 65804. A Certified Genealogist, Ms. Rising is editor of Ozarkin'; the compiler of several volumes of extracts from various frontier newspapers; and a frequent contributor to the National Genealogical Society Quarterly, The American Genealogist, and other journals in the field.

1. As with other articles published in those cities which served as gateways to the West, this item in the Saint Joseph Gazette also named a number of the westward migrants whom the writer met in his travels. Readers interested in identifying at least some of the forty thousand alluded to by Blodget are advised to peruse not only the Gazette, but also all other contemporary papers published along the western frontier—particularly the Frontier Guardian of Council Bluffs, Iowa, from whose pages a representative sampling of wagon-train companies was extracted for the June 1988 number of NGSQ.

## Passport of Dr. Jean-Baptiste Chopin, 1864

The following passe-port à l'étranger was issued to Chopin at Paris, France, on 21 April 1865. A resident of Natchitoches Parish, Louisiana, since the 1840s, Chopin had retained his French citizenship. After the outbreak of the American Civil War, he took his family to France to escape the turmoil of occupied Louisiana. At the time his passport was issued, Chopin resided at Hotel du Presil (cité Bergere), Paris. His clearance granted permission for him return to New Orleans with wife, née Julie Benoit, 38 years, and their five children: Oscar, 19 [subsequently the husband of the American authoress, Kate Chopin]; Eugenie, 16; Lamy, 14; Victor, 9; and Marie, 4. The following personal description of Chopin is recorded on the passport.

Age: 50 years; height, 5' 6.93" [French measure]; hair, chestnut; forehead, high; eyebrows, blond; eyes, blue; nose, large; mouth, medium; beard, chestnut; face, full and stout; skin color, ruddy.

Chopin vs. United States, French and American Claims Commission No. 592, Record Group 76, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

#### **Additions and Corrections**

Volume 75: Number 4 (December 1987)
Wendy L. Elliott, "Railroad Records for Genealogical Research," 271–77.

### RE: Records of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway

Leah Weisse, Curator of the Regional History Center, Northern Illinois University (DeKalb IL 60115) states: "The collection contains a variety of records [of this railroad] including company publications, travel brochures, photographs, some correspondence, blueprints of stations, and lists of officers, agents & stations. Unfortunately, however, there are no employee records in the collection at the Center. The Chicago & Northwestern Railway Historical Society does have a Society genealogist."

#### RE: Records of the Southern Pacific Railroad

Ellen Schwartz, Librarian, California State Railroad Museum (111 I Street, Sacramento, CA 95814), states: "The library is [not] the official repository for Southern Pacific employee records.... The Southern Pacific Railroad retains control over the maintenance and disposition of the company's personnel files for the past fifty years. A description of the Southern Pacific employee records currently available for research use at the California State Railroad Museum Library [appears below]. These records refer to selected geographical areas, specific time periods, and only to certain classes of railroad employees. They are in no way a complete record of the railroad's personnel.

#### SOUTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD:

Payroll ledgers for ten Southern Pacific divisions, general office, and twelve subsidiary companies. January 1915/May 1921. 1,032 volumes (one volume per month); not consecutive. Entries are not in alphabetical order. Collection is not fully processed; advance appointment required for use.

#### CENTRAL PACIFIC RAILROAD/ SOUTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD

Corporate financial vouchers. Central Pacific: 1861–1889; Southern Pacific: 1879–circa 1910. Approximately 70,000 vouchers. Arranged chronologically; no index. Includes some payroll information for employees at Sacramento and New York offices. Collection not fully processed; advance appointment required for use.

#### SOUTHERN PACIFIC RAILROAD:

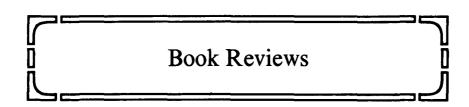
Employee record cards. Sacramento General Shops only. Circa 1900—circa 1930. Approximately 50,000 cards. Letters H-K and T-Z are missing. Arranged alphabetically. Includes birth date and location, address, previous SP employment history, wages, etc. Records vary in completeness.

## CALIFORNIA STATE RAILROAD MUSEUM PHOTOGRAPH COLLECTION: PORTRAIT FILE:

Photographic portraits are filed alphabetically by surname, if known; otherwise by railroad company for which the individual (or group) worked, or by railroad occupation.

Volume 75, Number 4 (December 1987), Review: *Pioneers of Old Monocacy*, p.312

Name of the primary author should be Grace L. Tracey, not Grace L. Tierney.



Summer Soldiers: A Survey & Index of Revolutionary War Courts-Martial. By James C. Neagles. Published by Ancestry, Inc.; Post Office Box 476; Salt Lake City, UT 84110; 1986. ix, 294 pp. Index. \$16.95.

The title of this work is taken from Thomas Paine's famous remark: "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country." We like to think that our Revolutionary War ancestors were all of the heroic mold of George Washington; but wishful thinking is often far from reality. In the foreword to the present work, Eugene A. Stratton, C.G., F.A.S.G., begins: "Though we might say that this is the best summary volume of its type on Revolutionary courts-martial, I can hear the genealogist or family historian questioning, 'Who needs it? My ancestors can't be there, for I don't have ancestors who could get themselves court-martialed.' Perhaps, but let's see."

Neagles's first five chapters discuss a gamut of Revolutionary activities and problems. Included are military justice (the British system of laws and regulations governing its military forces, which provided the background for the American military system), situational crime (fear of battle, plundering and theft, fraud and embezzlement, trading with the enemy, etc.), offenses and punishments (desertion, violation of military regulations, assault or robbery, etc.), high-level courts-martial (involving top-ranking officers, mostly generals), and mutinies (of which the most famous was the Pennsylvania Line's uprising in 1781, caused largely by disputes over length of enlistment and lack of back pay).

The compiler has presented us with 3,315 men (including 593 officers) who faced courts-martial—gleaned from 137 Revolutionary War orderly books, available on microfilm from the National Archives; other records in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress; and published orderly books. Entries are arranged alphabetically, with the most-essential information concisely stated: names, units (if known), and punishment. Many of the soldiers were acquitted; others were sentenced to death, to a lashing, or to punishment that was particularly humiliating. Dunham Ford, for example, was commissary of General Nathaniel Greene's division when he was charged with theft. Found guilty, he not only was ordered to pay \$200 to the victim but also was "brought before the provost guard mounted on a horse, back foremost, without a saddle, his coat turned wrongside-out, his hands tied behind him, [to be] drummed out of the army (never more to return) by all the drums in the regiment [with] the above sentence to be published in the newspapers." Each entry is keyed to a list of sources which appears on pages 281–85.

As with his other books on history and genealogy, Mr. Neagles has made a valuable contribution to our knowledge of America's military and social history.

West Hyattsville, Maryland

Milton Rubincam, C.G., F.A.S.G., F.N.G.S.

Genealogical Research and Resources: A Guide for Library Use. By Lois C. Gilmer. Published by the American Library Association; 50 East Huron Street; Chicago, IL 60611; 1988. ix, 70 pp. Index. Paper, \$9.95.

The literature for genealogical librarians, written by genealogical librarians, is rather sparse. Gilmer's book is a very welcome addition to this literature and also one which should be studied by non-librarians interested in increasing their research knowledge and skills. That it should be

studied by all librarians goes without saying. This brief and concise guide is written in a clear and pleasant style, with the author's points well made. The bibliographies are excellent for the most part and can be used to advantage by librarians for comparison with their own library's holdings. The author hopes "that this short work will help the librarian (1) to pose better questions during reference interviews, (2) to advise patrons of sources available in their library and of how best to use them, and (3) to refer patrons to other libraries, archives, and organizations." To these three purposes, this reviewer would add a fourth, which she has done well: to teach library staff the rudiments of genealogical research in libraries. Figure 1, which accompanies the first chapter, is excellent and provides a paradigm of a patron handout for a genealogical library—as well as a clear outline of some of the things a genealogy staff must make known to the public.

If the American Library Association were to revise and reprint this study periodically, librarians would have a very handy resource guide and a text for library-staff training. Its modest price and format make updates feasible. With this in mind, several suggestions and criticisms are offered; and it is hoped that other librarians will make similar recommendations.

Chapter One contains the most-serious problems. The discussion of the reference interview needs to be rethought and strengthened. Surely it is more important to ascertain the skill of a particular patron and the place being researched rather than the name being researched. The listing of journals and magazines publishing the best "genealogies of American families" is surely mistaken in listing The Genealogical Helper and not listing the National Genealogical Society Quarterly. (The chief value of The Genealogical Helper for librarians is in its annual listings of such resources as libraries and family associations, as well as the fact that it is something of a Publishers Weekly for the American genealogical librarian.) The list of out-of-print dealers should include Goodspeed's Book Shop, which has been of service to American libraries for many years. Similarly, the discussion of directories should mention Mary Keysor Meyer's publication because of its value to the librarian as well as to the family historian. Finally, this chapter needs a stronger discussion of maps and atlases, since many desperate genealogists have been saved by cadastral atlases and other such tools.

Within chapters two and four, as well as the appendix, several items of importance need to be included. The how-to books by Ralph Crandall and Erma Angevine are as worthy, if not more so, than some of those mentioned. Under ethnic groups, beyond doubt, David H. Streets' Slave Genealogy (1986) should be mentioned. The discussion of collective biography sources should indicate that Bio-Base and Biography and Genealogy Master Index (both from Gale Research) are overall indexes to most of those sources included in the author's essay. The listing of publishers offered by the appendix should likewise include Heritage Books of Bowie, Maryland, for its publication of both new and reprint materials. The roster of societies should logically name the (American) Federation of Genealogical Societies, as well as the (British) Federation.

The list of libraries which Gilmer has compiled leaves much to be desired—as do nearly all such published lists. Librarians need a wide geographic range of major genealogical libraries, for patron referral and for places to visit themselves to further their own professional education. Of the nine libraries listed, three are in Washington, D.C., three between the Appalachians and the Rockies, and only one on the Pacific coast. Many other outstanding collections could be added—San Francisco's Sutro Library, the Seattle Public Library, the Family History Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints in Salt Lake City, the Newberry Library in Chicago, the State Historical Society of Wisconsin Library at Madison (one of the major family-history resource centers in all of North America), the Allen County Public Library at Fort Wayne, Indiana (believed to hold the largest genealogy collection of any public library in the nation), and Boston's New England Historic Genealogical Society Library. Other public, private, and society libraries in Cincinnati, Cleveland, Denver, Dallas, Gulfport, Houston, Louisville, Orlando, and Saint Louis similarly deserve to be mentioned. The American Genealogical Lending Library should be taken from this list and properly entered with publishers and commercial lending libraries. Probably the British Library should be dropped from this list—but, if not, why list the British Library and not the Library of the (British) Society of Genealogists?

The above suggestions notwithstanding, Gilmer's omissions and errors are small. Librarians who have to cope with already-numerous, massive, and more-flawed compendiums and

compilations should appreciate this small, inexpensive, and concise guide to the methodology of genealogical research, written expressly for librarians.

Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Ohio J. Richard Abell

The Library: A Guide to the LDS Family History Library. Edited by Johni Cerny and Wendy Elliott. Published by Ancestry Publishing; Post Office Box 476; Salt Lake City, UT 84110; 1988, xi, 763 pp. Index. \$32.95.

Founded in 1894, the Family History Library (formerly the Genealogical Library and sometimes known as the Genealogical Society of Utah) houses the world's largest collection of genealogical records. With 1.5 million rolls of microfilm—equivalent to 6 million 300-page bound volumes—over 200,000 printed volumes, and other genealogical records, sources in the Library are estimated to contain nearly 2 billion names. The collection grows by over 4,000 rolls of film and over 1,000 books per month.

Until now, a comprehensive guide to the Family History Library has not been available. Ancestry Publishing is to be commended for undertaking to provide such a guide. Within this work, various chapters describe the services and holdings of the Library (although not all aspects of the Family History Department are discussed) and are arranged by geographic regions in the United States and foreign countries. Contributors are experienced genealogists, although only two are on the library staff. As is to be expected, there is inconsistency between chapters, based on the knowledge of the contributors. Charts are included for most localities (excluding the New England states, Portugal, and Greece) in an effort to summarize the Library's holdings. However, it is difficult to place such information in charts without describing the scope and time period of the records. The charts are misleading—the Library has records not shown in the charts; and, conversely, records shown may not be complete for a particular time period.

It would be difficult—almost impossible—in a work of this nature to keep abreast of the current activities and collections of the Family History Library. Such a reference book is out of date as soon as it is published. Therefore, researchers are urged to use the Family History Library Catalog to receive a current description of the Library's holdings and to obtain library call numbers. Regardless of these limitations, however, the editors and their contributors have done a service in bringing together in one volume such an array of information—all well-indexed. The Library is recommended for libraries with a genealogical collection and for persons who wish to learn more about the Family History Library in Salt Lake City.

Salt Lake City, Utah

Kip Sperry, C.G., F.A.S.G.

Germans to America: Lists of Passengers Arriving at U. S. Ports, 1850–1855. Volume I, January 1850–May 1851. Edited by Ira A. Glazier and P. William Filby. Published by Scholarly Resources; 104 Greenhill Avenue; Wilmington, DE 19805–1897; 1988. xxxi, 757 pp. \$75.00.

As most historians know, there have been German immigrants arriving in America since the earliest days. A good example prior to 1700 might be the colony founded by Daniel Pastorius and his followers at Germantown, now part of Philadelphia, after William Penn established his proprietorship for religious freedom. There followed small groups and individuals until about 1740, after which large numbers of Germans are to be found in tabulated oaths of allegiance and passenger lists. Ralph B. Strassburger and William J. Hinke published an excellent three-volume set covering these people for the balance of that century and on into the first two decades of the nineteenth century.

From the time of the standardization of the passenger-list form (about 1820), the original passenger lists are in existence for most if not all the vessels that brought these immigrants to America. These are now housed at the Temple-Balche Institute for Immigration Research in

Philadelphia, where they are being studied by scholars of that Institute. Unfortunately they are quite fragile, and the staff and facilities are inadequate to make them available to non-staff researchers. However, microfilms of these records are available at the National Archives for study by others. There is, of course, no index.

Now, at the urging of Dan Helmstadter of Scholarly Resources, Ira Glazier and P. William Filby have put together the first of a projected series of ten volumes that will cover the half-decade of heaviest migration—1850 to 1855. The first two volumes, which have appeared this year, cover the period 2 January 1850 to 5 June 1852. The next two volumes are scheduled for 1989, with the balance to appear at the rate of two a year until the series is complete.

Theirs is a magnificent piece of work. Dr. Glazier's introduction provides tabulated statistical data for the period from 1820 to 1914 and the general geographic sources of the immigrants for the period 1850 to 1869. He also supplies a table showing the numbers of Germans embarking during most of the period of the first volume from ten North European ports—and provides totals from all the others. His fourth table supplies annual totals for the major ports of arrival, for the years to be covered by this entire series. He discusses the reasons for these migrations in relation to social, political, and other events occurring within the German states. His introduction also provides tables of codes used in the lists for occupations and for province or country of origin; an outline map showing the rough boundaries of the German states during that period (keyed to a second series of codes); other tables of codes for the villages of origin and ports of destination; and a final key to show exactly how these codes appear in the passenger lists that follow.

The bulk of the volume, 522 pages, tabulates the names and other data given for each passenger. The information is presented in the order of its appearance on the lists—showing age, sex, occupation, province and village of origin, and the indicated port of destination. The index occupies pp. 525–757. No library, institute, or collection used by students of genealogy, local history, social patterns, or migrations can afford to be without this superb series.

Havertown, Pennsylvania

Walter Lee Sheppard, Jr., C.G., F.A.S.G.

Guide to Genealogical Research in North Carolina. By Wendy L. Elliott. Distributed by American Genealogical Lending Library; Box 244; Bountiful, UT 84101; c1988 [sic]. 57 pp. \$5.95 plus \$1.00 shipping.

The Guide is one of a series of similarly titled booklets for various states compiled by the same author. It is true, as the cliché holds, one cannot judge a book by its cover; but, in this case, the fact that the cover's silhouette map of North Carolina omits the Outer Banks—an important geographical feature that affected settlement and economic patterns—is a clue to the contents of this volume. It is a confusing, occasionally incoherent, often dramatically inaccurate discussion of North Carolina history and records interspersed with lengthy passages of more-polished prose that describe commonly used records vaguely enough to apply to research anywhere. The suspicion that these passages are repeated, with minor changes, in all the volumes is especially strong after reading page 23—where, in a discussion of court records in general, the author obviously forgot to change the state name. The passage reads, "court records are available for Alabama [sic] at the county, state, and federal governmental levels."

In several of these general-research passages, statements that may be true of records elsewhere become false when applied to North Carolina—e.g., "indexes were created for most probate records" (p. 26), "A... minister was normally required to file a bond in insure [sic] the performance of duty" (p. 23), and "residents of the county were called upon to serve as jurors whether or not they owned property" (p. 29). Careful editing would have eliminated these kinds of mistakes and corrected such obscure passages as "These events were an intense manifestation of backwoods democracy which did not circumvent North Carolina's endorsement of the Revolutionary War..." (p. 3) and "No pretence [sic] is indulged that it is other than a substantial guide" (caption, unpaginated map between pp. 4–5).

Far more serious than editing problems, however, are statements made throughout the book that directly contradict not only the facts but the authorities which the author herself cites—more or less accurately. North Carolina's duplicate original censuses for 1850–1880 are described as "duplicated copies of original volumes" (p. 5); and the state census taken 1785–1787 is described as "a compilation of 1784 and 1787 tax lists" (p. 5). Elliott mentions the 1913 law that first required public registration of births and deaths but departs immediately from reality with "but about ninety percent of deaths occurring in North Carolina were recorded as early as 1910 [and] approximately ninety percent of births were recorded in 1917" (p. 49). The most-unusual errors occur in the section on land records—as, for example, "North Carolina land is . . . often [described] in a parallelogram shape" (p. 33), and "originally granted to eight proprietors, North Carolina's land was divided into districts. The northern section was the Granville District" (p. 31).

It is in the area of probate records, however, that this author goes farthest astray. Failure to distinguish between original and recorded documents; common law, statutory law, and equity; "heirs" and "children"; and real estate and personal property has led to a hopelessly confused, dangerously misleading discussion of court records. Among other problems here are such obvious errors as: "In most cases, these declinations [sic] and acceptances [by executors and administrators of estates] are recorded as letters of administration" (p. 24) and "The widow is entitled to one-third [sic] of her husband's estate, and the surviving children receive the remaining two thirds, usually divided equally between them" (p. 28). In discussing records, Elliott missed the State Archives' vast collection of original wills, estate papers, and other probate records—stating instead that it "maintains copies" of record books in custody of the county Clerks of Superior Court (p. 24).

In considering the other errors too numerous to mention, the reviewer cannot recommend the purchase of this book.

Raleigh, N.C.	Helen F. M. Leary, C.G.

Quaker Records in Georgia: Wrightsborough, 1772–1793; Friendsborough, 1776–1777. By Robert Scott Davis, Jr. Published by Augusta Genealogical Society; Post Office Box 3743; Augusta, GA 30904; 1986. 278 pp. Every-name index by Raymond J. Adamson. \$22.00 (plus \$2.00 shipping).

Davis, whose publication on Georgia history earned him the 1986 Award of Merit of the National Genealogical Society, has added another clearly documented historical and genealogical book to his growing collection. The often-repeated misconceptions regarding the Quakers of Wrightsborough and the official colonial records of Georgia have, at last, been laid to rest in this book. Davis has proved that, while the Wrightsborough Township was set aside for Quakers, its Friends were in the minority. He also shows that, although the Friendsborough settlement was part of the Wrightsborough Township, there have been found no records to suggest that the English and Scottish indentured servants of William Manson, who settled the area, were actually Quakers.

The compiler has re-created these communities with a valuable collection of official documents and maps, covering not only the original grantees of land and town lots in Wrightsborough Township but also the Manson group and a similar body of indentured servants established at nearby Brownsborough by Thomas Alexander Brown. Both the Manson and Brown lists give each person's age, occupation, quality or employment, and former residence. Among other resources which have been transcribed or abstracted are Manson's cashbook and account-current book—listing names, commodities, and services for the 1775–79 period—brown-out years for Georgia records because of the many skirmishes and Indian wars in that colony. The Quaker records covered by Davis include the men's monthly meetings, women's quarterly meetings, birth and burials from 1744 to 1803, and a representation of those Wrightsborough Quakers who served in the American Revolution. Research by the compiler is presented in introductions to the detailed records or abstracts.

Davis's work is fully referenced, well illustrated, and serves to remind the researcher of the variety of attainable records whose full potential has not been exploited by researchers. Since the population that is covered represents the various American colonies, as well as Scotland and

England, Quaker Records in Georgia is suggested for the library of any historian and genealogist interested in colonial history—not merely for Georgians.

Greenville, South Carolina

Ge Lee Corley Hendrix, C.G.

Early Child Immigrants to Virginia, 1618–1642, Copied from the Records of Bridewell Royal Hospital. Compiled by Robert Hume. Published by Magna Carta Book Co.; 5520 Magnolia Avenue; Baltimore, MD 21215; 1986. x, 52 pp. Index, bibliography. Price not shown.

Few of the reliable records on those who were in the vanguard of Virginia's settlement refer to any but the governing class; thus, the peopling of this colony, during its first several decades, is largely shrouded in mystery. This is particularly true for the seventeen years (1607–24) when the Virginia Company directed its affairs. As a consequence, much of what has been written and said about the social background of the rank and file has flown more or less freely from imagination. One notion which has enjoyed enormous staying power is that the early immigrant population was composed almost exclusively of younger sons of the English landed gentry. Thus, the number of Virginia farmers believed to be descended from armorial families represents a prodigious figure; if the claims continue to mount, there may soon be more Virginia baronets than the seventeenth-century English nobility could have produced.

From time to time, books such as the present one put in an appearance—lean volumes of statistics which, though not the kind of thing to cause an uproar among family historians, nevertheless provide solid food for genealogical thought. The subject of this book is London waifs. The record from which these names have been taken was created between 1618 and 1642 at the Church of Saint Brides and at the Bridewell Hospital associated with it (the latter having evolved into a prison, poorhouse, and school). At times, the institution became temporary quarters for street children, some of whom may have been orphaned by the plague or who may have come from families incapable of supporting them. In any event, the record shows quite clearly that, with the consent of authorities, these homeless youngsters were gathered together on various occasions and ordered shipped to the colonies.

In 1983 Hume discovered that microfilm copies of the Bridewell records are accessible at the place of storage, the Bridewell/Royal Bethlem Hospital Joint Archives in Beckenham, Kent. The copy he made from that film contains some 445 names. Just over 200 of these were children consigned to Virginia by the court. Most were brought in by constables as vagrants or other undesirables. In one instance, a "Mr. ffarrar one of the Virginian company" brought a youth named John Hall before the court, to be kept for shipment. There are occasional hints as to ages. A few of the conscripts professed to having trades; and others, deemed "willinge to goe," may have been consulted on their fate—having attained the age of discretion.

Hume questions whether many of these children lived to reach the shores of Virginia or, if any did, whether they survived the rigors of Virginian life. On the one hand, his pessimism has the weight of statistics behind it. Among other scholars, Edmund S. Morgan (American Slavery, American Freedom, 1975) estimates a survival rate of 50 percent, at best, for colonists of the seventeenth century. On the other hand, there may be sufficient reason for believing that some of these children actually did reach the colony; and additional research in county records might demonstrate that some survived to adulthood and left descendants (the rigors of London street-life may have been good training for a budding colonist). In favor of the belief that some arrived is the fact that the names of a full quarter (fifty-two) of those children consigned between 1 August 1618 and 30 August 1621 are to be found in the 16 February 1623 lists of residents of Virginia. While some bore names so common that coincidence must be considered (Edw. Smith and John Brown, for example), such others as John Matheyman, Henry Bowth, John Throckmorton, Tho. Reasby (Risby), and John Layton are sufficiently unusual to support the probability that deportee and colonist may in some instances be the same—particularly in view of the fact that there were only 1,277 names in the complete Virginia census. Further additional names from the Bridewell lists appear as headrights on patents issued in the decade following 1620 to 1625, suggesting the fact of arrival (although by no means proving it, considering the unreliability of the headright lists as proof). In view of the relatively small pool of individuals available in those years, similar names do provide clues which cannot be dismissed out of hand.

Hume has made a particularly significant contribution to Virginia history. The contents of this volume demonstrate once again that we come closest to historical reality by going to contemporary sources, by insisting on merciless questioning of all tradition, and by recognizing that imagination and wishful thinking may be valuable guides to the future but not to the past. As suggested above, additional digging in local Virginia records may show that these early English court records are also a direct contribution to Virginia genealogy. Whether the requisite work will soon find enough volunteers to accomplish it is questionable; sufficient energy and money can be marshaled in support of searches for glorious connections, but descent from vagrant street children is a decidedly less marketable commodity. Until such labor is accomplished, this fine book may rest largely undisturbed on many a reference shelf—as obscure and neglected as the subjects whose story it tells.

Richmond, Virginia	Richard W. Slatten

Atlas of County Boundary Changes in Virginia, 1634–1895. Compiled by Michael F. Doran. Published by Iberian Publishing Company; 548 Cedar Creek Drive; Athens, GA 30605–3408; 1987. viii, 61 pp. \$17.95.

Michael Doran and the Iberian Publishing Company have collaborated well to produce this handsome, softbound volume of boundary changes in Virginia. The genealogist will find it a comprehensive source of Virginia boundary changes for the formative years, beginning in 1634 with the establishment of the first shires and ending in 1895 with the formation of the last county—Mingo. Undoubtedly, as the compiler points out, there is little likelihood of further fissure at this point. More to be expected would be the fusion of counties to establish more efficient geopolitical units for the control of roads, schools, and social services.

Maps in this slim, oversize (11" x 17") volume are produced in a two-color process on a tan parchment, designed to give the appearance of age. One can thumb casually through the volume and chart the geopolitical growth of Virginia. Doran suggests using his text in conjunction with A Series of Population Maps of the Colonies and the United States, 1625–1790 by Herman Friss, a mimeographed and offset publication (No. 3) of the American Geographical Society which was first published in 1940 and revised in 1968 (although Doran fails to cite the revised version). While the National Archives Library contains a copy of the revised edition of Friss's work, the volume is probably not readily available to most genealogists. Without convenient access to this publication—and considering that the maps in Friss's work do not cover the period after 1790—Doran's volume suffers from a lack of population information to better explain the expansion westward across Virginia and the fissure of the larger counties.

Each map is accompanied by a brief text, providing a very elementary and limited historical context for the time period, and by a table which lists the formation of new counties and the entity from which they were formed. Without an index, one needs to thumb through the volume to trace a county's formation. There is a total of twenty-four maps, most covering a ten-year period. Two maps of early Kentucky counties are included.

The compiler, a professional geographer, has produced a series of outline maps, showing county boundaries. Detailing is minimal. Place names other than those of counties are not given. Genealogists should regard this volume as a resource for determining county linkages and not as a source for locating towns, cities, rivers, and other places.

Sharon K. Fawcett

National Archives and Records Administration,	
Washington, D.C.	

## NATIONAL GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY



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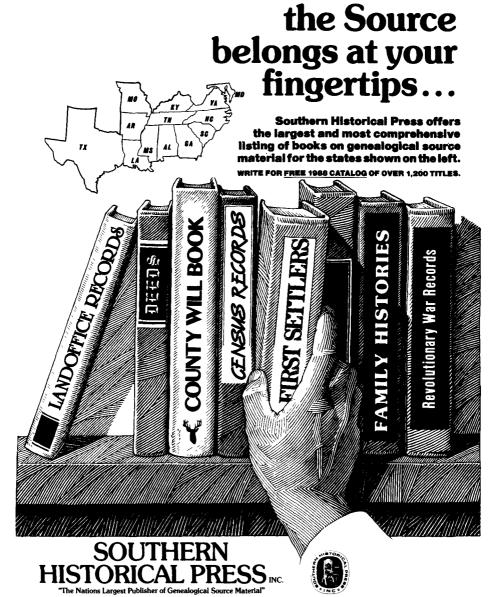
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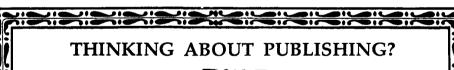
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