

**The
History
of the
Hunt
Family**

The History of the *Hunt* Family

Including Accounts of the Following Families

Woolman
Borton
Kinkey
Cox
Hatch
Huckstep
Bigge
Tilden
Sutton
Fletcher
Page
Shattuck

Nixon
Ratliff
Tomes
Newby
Edge
Bowater
Clayton
Beals
Williams
Watkins
Hutchins
Stanley

Bailey
Charles
Nicholson
Albertson
Cornell
Kent
Peirce
Symons
Morris
Edmundson
Shelley

by
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Acknowledgments

The preparation of a book such as this would not be possible without the assistance of many. I am deeply indebted to the numerous friendly, helpful individuals in libraries, county courthouses, state archives, national archives, museums and all the other places I found to scrounge just one more record about the Hunt and related families. With most of them, I never knew their names; but without their help, the content of this book would be sorely lacking.

I am deeply indebted to other researchers from whose efforts I have benefitted. They are referenced throughout the text of this work. A special thanks needs to go to William Wade Hinshaw, whose *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* is an incredible reference for all those seeking Quaker ancestors. Hinshaw, himself a Quaker and the size of a football player, was an incredible singer and spent several years as lead baritone with the Metropolitan Opera Company. After retiring from the music field in 1926, Hinshaw devoted himself to genealogy, especially tracking down old Quaker meeting records and employing people to carefully extract the data from those records.

I am equally indebted to those who personally provided information to me about some of the families which appear in this work. Before her death in 2004, my aunt Silvy provided numerous facts and photos which helped make this a much better book. Others who made significant contributions to this work include Judy Davis, Tom Hamm, Diane Hunt and many others. Thank you so much for your help.

He that hath no fools, knaves or beggars in his family was begot by a flash of lightning.

Old English Proverb

If you cannot get rid of the family skeleton, you may as well make it dance.

George Bernard Shaw

Why waste your money looking up your family tree? Just go into politics and your opponents will do it for you!

Mark Twain

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Introduction

This book is about the Hunt family, at least that small branch of it descended from William Hunt who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1719 and whose descendants came to Portland, Oregon just before 1900. To a large degree, it is also about Quakers (formally known as the Society of Friends) since the majority of the individuals described in this work pursued that religion. My grandfather was born into a Quaker family, but he and his brothers abandoned their religion when they reached adulthood. Yet my grandfather had a family tree of nearly 200 ancestors, most of whom were Quakers and some of whom date back to the earliest times of European settlement in America.

As the compiler of this work, I have made every effort to ensure that the facts as they are stated are accurate. Having read a great many genealogical documents in the course of my research, I can personally attest to their general “dryness” and lack of emotion. Perhaps it is not possible to instill a feeling of excitement into any historical work, let alone a family history, but I have attempted to document the historical beginnings of our family by including not just the necessary “who-begat-who” data but also important information about what was occurring at the time, how the people lived, and other relevant information about the everyday lives of those ancestors.

Writing this book was a huge undertaking, taking thousands of hours and three years to complete, but that was easy compared to the task of organizing it. Of the 239 direct ancestors mentioned within these pages, only seven bore the name *Hunt*. Thus it has been necessary while telling the story of the Hunt family from our first known ancestor down to the present generation to frequently go off on a tangent to describe other direct ancestors who married into the Hunt line. These “detours” will be well marked for the reader.

As with most published genealogical works, this document relies heavily upon the research of others, in addition to a great deal of original research. In most cases, where the research done by others appeared to be of high quality and generally beyond reproach, the result of that research has been used in this work without further checking. To the extent that errors exist in these other works, then they exist in this document as well. During a three-month research trip through twenty states taken in 2007 and a three-week research trip to the United Kingdom in 2008, several significant discoveries were made concerning our Hunt family. Thus a sizable amount of information presented in this work has never appeared in print before. The past is what actually happened; history is only what has been written down. To that extent, this book changes history ever so slightly.

In a number of cases I have resisted using sources that would have furthered the ancestral tree because such sources appeared poorly documented or were based solely upon family legend. Family legends or traditions are notorious for being fraught with inaccuracy. Two quotations do a good job of summarizing my personal disdain for family legends. Henry Thoreau once wrote “the rarest quality in an epitaph is truth” and Mark Twain said “when I was younger, I could remember anything, whether it happened or not.”

In many, if not most, cases there is a lack of complete evidence in attempting to determine the ancestry of someone born several centuries ago. I was struck by a quote made by the noted historian Henry W. Haddon regarding the evidence of the parentage of people he had researched. He said the fact that such evidence “is largely circumstantial is of no moment. Persons have been hanged on circumstantial evidence. In one respect, clearly proved circumstantial evidence is superior to direct evidence, for circumstances cannot lie while witnesses can.” For the record, I concur totally with this statement.

Except for dates given in quoted sources, the reader will find that most dates are given in the format

most commonly used in genealogy. As a result, dates are stated as “11 Dec 1834” or “11 December 1834” instead of “December 11, 1834”. The reader may also find a number of common abbreviations associated with dates used in genealogy, such as “b.” (born), “m.” (married), and “d.” (died).

While on the subject of dates, the reader of this work will encounter dates such as “12 February 1692/1693”. This has to do with the fact that, before 1752, Britain and her colonies used the ecclesiastical Julian calendar. This facet of old dates is described at length in the *Calendars and “Quaker Dates”* section which follows, and as dreadful as it may be for the reader, you should carefully read this material as dates such as these will reappear numerous times in this work. The reader may also encounter dates like “1784-1785”. This type of date indicates a range of dates and in the example given means “either the year 1784 or 1785”.

The spelling of names in very old records, when only a small portion of the population was literate, is always interesting to say the least. In all cases, quoted records use the original spelling as it appeared in the record source; the reader should not assume that the use of a strange spelling of a name is a mistake, but rather the correct reporting of recorded names. Likewise, when quoting historical accounts, the original text is reproduced, complete with misspellings and bad sentence structure, except when changes were absolutely necessary for the quoted text to be even marginally readable. In other words, whenever the reader encounters text in quotation marks, he or she must assume that the presence of grammatical errors and misspellings is, in fact, accurate.

There is an anecdote about a family historian who, while researching his family, discovered that one of his ancestors was a horse thief and had been hanged. Very reluctant to include that fact in his written history, the person wrote: “He died during a public ceremony, when the platform upon which he was standing collapsed beneath him.” The reader will find no such vanity in this work. Things will be told as they were discovered. But to put the reader at ease, no horse thieves were found, although several people mentioned in this work were hanged. Simply put, one cannot change the past, and a few hangings always make for a far more interesting book.

The number of hours that have gone into the research and writing of this book, as well as the expenses incurred in its preparation, are more numerous than I like to think about. But as anyone who has attempted a project such as this knows, it is a labor of love. I can only hope that the reader receives a fraction of the pleasure in reading this book as I had in preparing it.

September 15, 2011

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Calendars and “Quaker Dates”

Most of us give very little thought to the calendar and where it came from. We just assume it has always been there. But that is far from the case.

The original Roman calendar is believed to have been a lunar calendar, which in turn, may have been based on the Greek lunar calendar. Roman traditions claim that it was invented by Romulus, the founder of Rome, about 753 B.C. The earliest known version contained ten months and was 304 days long. As bizarre as this notion may seem today, there were about 61 days of winter that simply were not on the calendar.

Early calendars had months which were identified by numbers, beginning with present-day March because the year was assumed to begin with the vernal equinox. However over time several of the months took the names of various pagan gods, while others retained the names associated with their numeric position in the year. Even today, the months of September through December retain their original “number” names based on the Latin prefixes *sept* (seven), *oct* (eight), *nov* (nine) and *dec* (ten).

In 46 B.C., the Roman Emperor Julius established the Julian calendar (a perk of being emperor is that you get to name things after yourself). It was known even then, after centuries of observation, that the yearly cycle was approximately $365\frac{1}{4}$ days long. Since February was the last month of the year, February got an extra day tacked on in each year whose number was divisible by four. Part of Julius’ calendar reform also was to name the fifth month, July, in honor of himself. Later the emperor Augustus did the same, and since he couldn’t bear for his month to be shorter than Julius’s, he stole a day from February and added it to what is now August. Lest the reader assume that such craziness is limited to ancient times, it should be pointed out that former President Saparmurat Niyazov of the country of Turkmenistan renamed the calendar months after his relatives and they remained that way until 2008.

But by the 16th century, it had become clear that the Julian calendar’s year was slightly longer than the astronomical year, off by about three days every four centuries. So another calendar reform was decreed by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582, and became established in those countries where the Pope’s edicts had impact, i.e., heavily Catholic countries. The reform of the Gregorian calendar, still used today, had three main parts. First, leap day was omitted in those years whose number was divisible by 100, but retained in those years whose number was divisible by 400 (thus 1900 was not a leap year, but 2000 was). Second, each new year was to begin on January 1st. Finally, the calendar had to be realigned. When the new calendar was put in use, the error accumulated over the centuries was corrected by a deletion of ten days.

England, being a Protestant country, ignored Gregory’s edict, and continued to use the Julian calendar. However, the English realized that by continuing to use the Julian calendar, July would eventually fall in the dead of winter. So, decades later, Parliament decreed that England and its colonies would also change to the Gregorian calendar and the change would take place in 1752. But by this time, eleven days needed to be dropped to correct the calendar and 2 September 1752 was followed by 14 September 1752. That year, September 3rd through the 13th simply didn’t exist. Some people rioted, thinking the government had stolen eleven days of their lives. We may think that silly, but the calendar change had a significant and confusing impact on people’s lives. For example, George Washington was born on February 11th on the calendar in use at the time he was born, but his birthday is now celebrated on February 22nd. It is interesting to note that Washington himself always celebrated his birthday on February 11th, calendar change or not.

Some other non-Catholic countries waited even longer to convert to the Gregorian calendar, for example, Russia in 1918 and Greece in 1923. It is interesting to note that Alaska did not change from the Julian calendar to the Gregorian calendar until 1867 because, up to that point, it was part of Russia. The Russian Orthodox Church still uses the Julian calendar, and so celebrates Christmas about two weeks after other Christians.

As if all this were not confusing enough, dealing with “Quaker dates” causes even additional heartburn. The confusion with “Quaker dates” arises from the fact that the Quakers refused to honor pagan gods by naming weeks or months after them, and used numbers for the months instead. Quakers even refused to recognize the conventional names for the days of the week. For example, the word *Wednesday* comes from “Woden’s day,” named for Woden, the chief Anglo-Saxon god, and *Thursday* was “Thor’s Day,” named for Thor, the Norse god of thunder. This caused considerable chafing among the founders of the Quaker religion, and they simply referred to Sunday as “1st Day,” Monday as “2nd Day,” etc.

Likewise, January was “1st Month,” February was “2nd Month,” etc. Well, not so fast. That’s true after 1752. The Quakers, along with everyone else in the American Colonies and England, began using the Gregorian calendar in 1752. Under the Julian calendar the year was considered to begin on March 25th in honor of the conception of Jesus. March was the first month and February was the twelfth month. Thus, when a Quaker date refers to “5th Month,” that means July if it was before 1752 and May after that year. Therefore, before 1752, when an event occurred in the months of January, February or up to March 25th, the year is given as 1748/1749, for example, to reflect both the old and new style date.

You may find that some Quaker dates, especially in legal documents, may read something like “the 8th mo 5th day 1768 in the month called October.” This was purposely written that way in recognition of the fact that not everyone was a Quaker. Old Quaker records must be used with great caution, remembering that until 1752 the “1st mo” is not January, but March. The reader will find dates like “30th day 11th mo 1738” written as “30 January 1738/1739”. Dual dating is applicable *only* for the first three months (up to March 25th) of the present calendar and *not* for the other nine months. The first date given is the Julian year, the second the Gregorian year. Are you thoroughly confused yet?

The Society of Friends

Imagine for a moment that organized religion and government are, for all practical purposes, the same thing. Imagine that if you aren't a member of the government church, you are arrested and thrown in jail for months. Further, imagine the government mandates you attend their church faithfully, and that you have to pay a sizeable portion of your income to support that church. If you fail to do either, the government will seize your personal property. If you're struggling to believe that, try imagining being tortured, brutally whipped and deported because your religious beliefs don't agree with what the government says you should believe.

If this sounds draconian and far-fetched, this was exactly the situation just a little over 300 years ago. And the treatment mentioned is precisely what many of the people mentioned in this book endured, for this was the fate of early members of the Society of Friends, more commonly known as *Quakers*. For many of us, the word *Quaker* only makes us think of the man's picture on the oatmeal box. Since so many of the people to be described in this work belonged to the Society of Friends, it is prudent to take a closer look at this group and their history. In short, who were these people, what were they like, and what kind of hardships did they endure?

We have to go back to the time of the English Civil War, a period of tremendous political and religious unrest in England. The English Civil War was a series of armed conflicts which took place from 1642 to 1651 between the British Parliament and the King over who was really in charge of the country. The Civil War led to the trial and execution of Charles I, the exile of his son Charles II, and the replacement of the English monarchy with the Commonwealth of England under the rule of Oliver Cromwell. The wars established the precedent that British monarchs could not govern without the consent of Parliament.

A young man observing this unrest was George Fox, who had been born in Leicestershire in 1624. Dissatisfied with the Church of England and the status of religion in general, Fox was seeking an inner peace he could not find in the churches of the time. Searching for answers, Fox set off on a pilgrimage in 1643, wandering about parts of England and talking with both laypeople and clergy. Fox, by his own description, was an "unusually pious and serious young man," but he has also been described as "in a state of mental torment and confusion" and "torn by depression," sometimes shutting himself in his room for days at a time.

As he traveled around England for several years, George Fox's own religious beliefs began to take shape. He began to believe that a direct experience with God was available to all people, without "mediation" through "hired clergy." This belief has been expressed in many ways, including the attitude of trying to see "God in everyone," finding "the Inner Light," etc. Fox began to believe that God "dwelleth in the hearts of his obedient people," thus a religious experience was not confined to a church building. In fact, Fox refused to use the word *church* for a building, using instead *steeples-house*, a usage retained by some Quakers to this day. Further, Fox believed that anyone had the right to minister, including women, a radical thought in the seventeenth century. Fox argued that "being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers."

As you can imagine, the concept of God speaking directly to humanity without an intermediary was not well received by clergy. As Thomas Hamm, the noted Quaker historian, wrote in his book *The Quakers In America*, "For many of his contemporaries, this was frightening doctrine. They saw in it the potential for complete religious anarchy. Fox responded that no such harm could ever come from obedience to God. Others accused him and other Quakers of devaluing the Bible, placing it below

their Inward Light.”

Nonetheless, George Fox continued to speak his mind wherever he went, and before larger and larger crowds. People began to warm to his logic, and a new religious sect began to form, though there is no evidence that Fox originally had that idea in mind. The movement that was developing around his message was known by a number of different names at first. Fox himself preferred *Children of the Light*, but used other terms as well, such as *People of God*, *Royal Seed of God*, and *Friends of the Truth*, which became the basis for the name that later became the official name, the *Religious Society of Friends*.

George Fox’s conflict with civil authority was inevitable. Fox frequently ran afoul of the laws forbidding unauthorized worship, though these statutes were enforced very irregularly. In 1650, Fox was arrested for blasphemy in Derby, England. When he appeared before the court, Fox urged the magistrate to “tremble in the fear of the Lord.” The magistrate was unmoved and replied by mocking Fox’s words, telling him to “quake, thou quaker, before the majesty of the law.” Thus the common name *Quaker* began.

For his unsuccessful sparring with the judge, Fox served nearly a year in the Derby jail. Another conviction came in 1653 at Carlisle; it was even proposed to put him to death, but Parliament requested his release rather than have “a young man ... die for religion.” Further imprisonment came at London in 1654, Launceston in 1656, Lancaster in 1660 and 1663, Scarborough in 1666, and Worcester in 1674. Often Fox was arrested for no reason other than causing a “disturbance”; other times he and others in his group were also accused of more specific offenses.

In the decade between 1650 and 1660 the formal roots of Quakerism emerged. Fox attracted thousands of converts; it has been estimated that by 1660 there were as many as 50,000 Quakers. As Thomas Hamm wrote in his book, “As the Quaker movement solidified, other peculiarities became firmly situated as foundations of the movement, peculiarities that heightened the perception of Friends as threatening. Foremost was Quaker worship. Friends had no priest or official pastors. They believed that God ... could move anyone to speak, that all Christians could and should be ministers. Their worship involved no predetermined liturgy or ritual; Friends gathered and waited in silence.”

Hamm also explains that “Equally radical was the Quaker view of the sacraments. For Friends, they were purely spiritual. Quakers did not take physical communion with wine and bread, nor did they baptize with water.” These things particularly annoyed the established clergy of the day. But Fox and his followers also managed to malign the civil authorities as well. Particularly threatening to the upper classes was the Quaker belief in equality of all men. Hamm explains Quakers “opposed the displays and manifestations of social deference and respect that were the foundations of virtually all of European civilization. For example, Friends refused to use titles such as ‘Your Honor’ or ‘Your Lordship’ or ‘My Lady’, instead addressing all people simply by their names. Similarly, it was the custom of the time to use ‘thee’ and ‘thou’ only when addressing an inferior or close friend. ‘You’ was, under the grammatical conventions of the time, the plural of ‘thou’, and was appropriate when talking with more than one person or with a social superior. Friends insisted on addressing all people as ‘thee’ and ‘thou’, which to many seemed rude and disrespectful.”

Then there was the Quaker’s refusal to pay tithes to the Church of England. From the very first, Friends refused to pay the church tithes which they called “priest’s rates,” for they insisted that spiritual ministry must be without a price. They were imprisoned for their refusal, and they were furthermore subjected to a capricious seizure of goods, roughly estimated by the authorities to equal

in value the amount of the tithes. Cows, horses, pigs, farm produce, clothing, household silver, and personal possessions of all sorts were carried away while the family looked on helplessly, seeing themselves stripped of their possessions to pay for a ministry they didn't support and which chose to support itself by such methods.

Another basic tenet of Quakerism from the beginning was that an individual should speak the truth at all times and under all circumstances. Because of this, Friends refused to take a legal oath when in court, insisting that such an oath implied that they did not always tell the truth when not in court. Fox also interpreted the Bible as forbidding Christians to fight; thus "turning the other cheek" and pacifism became synonymous with Quakerism early in its history.

Quakers practiced customs which were considered unusual and offended many people. They refused to salute anybody they passed, even to the point of not saying 'goodnight' or 'good morrow'. They thought it hypocritical to do so, because they already knew the night or day was good without wishing it so. They refused to remove their hats in the presence of either gentry or authority; even in the drawing rooms of London, they kept their hats firmly on their heads, although their conversation remained polite. They had nothing to do with the arts, even music, because they believed having anything to do with those things was to pamper to the wealthy.

But the quirks of the Quakers also had an up side. Because of their reputation for always telling the truth and acting honestly, Quakers who were shopkeepers and merchants were highly regarded by others as desirable people with whom to do business. As a result, they prospered over the years and by the end of the eighteenth century had come to dominate English banking and insurance as well as the iron, brass and chocolate-making industries. As employers, they were highly regarded by their employees as being very humane people who would be fair to those who worked for them.

Thomas Hamm states that British Parliament "was full of vengeful royalists who associated religious dissent with political subversion. They had no love for Quakers." So between 1661 and 1664, Parliament passed a series of laws that, for all intents and purposes, prohibited Quaker activity. The 1662 Quaker Act made it illegal to refuse to take a legal oath and to hold any religious meetings other than those of the established church. Quakers were sure to run afoul of this law, as its authors knew. The second act was the Conventicle Act of 1664, which reiterated that holding unauthorized religious meetings was a crime.

For the next couple of decades, thousands of Quakers were imprisoned, fined or had their possessions seized by the government. The book *George Fox and the Early Quakers* by Augustus Charles Bickley refers to a well-attested statement published in 1661, signed by twelve Quakers, showing that more than 4200 "of their body" were then in various prisons in England. Fox himself spent nearly the entire period between 1663 and 1668 in a jail cell. At least 500 Quakers died in jails or prisons because of the laws Parliament passed specifically to punish them. In British towns like Reading, Bristol and Cambridge, authorities imprisoned the entire adult population of Friends.

In Reading, the mass imprisonment started when a Quaker leader from the north came to visit. The authorities raided the group and threw everyone in jail. The following Sunday, when authorities came to the Friends meeting house, the few adult Friends who had been absent the previous Sunday were arrested. Ultimately, every Quaker in Reading over the age of 16 was in jail. With their parents in prison, the children took it upon themselves to continue their meeting. Armed guards prevented the children from entering their meeting house, so they met in an empty granary nearby. Still not satisfied, the authorities hauled the boys outside and beat them. All the children were then sent home.

However, despite the harassment by the authorities, the children of Reading continued to meet for worship. In fact, the young Quakers maintained the meeting at Reading until their parents were finally released from prison.

The book *George Fox and the Early Quakers* by Bickley mentions that “their religion not only prohibited physical retaliation to the assaults of their enemies, but also forbade them to swear an information against their assailants, and thus deprived them of legal redress. Nor did even public opinion support them, for we find from the literature of the time to ‘bait a Quaker’ was a fair and approved game, and accounts of their being abused and beaten were received as exceedingly humorous practical jokes.” Thus the peculiar ways of the Quakers placed them so far out of the mainstream of society that they seemed not to have received much public sympathy.

Despite the anti-Quaker laws, Friends continued to meet openly, believing that by doing so, they were testifying to the strength of their convictions and showing they were willing to be punished for doing what they believed was right. After years of terrible persecution, in 1689 the Toleration Act was passed by Parliament. It granted freedom of worship to Nonconformists and effectively brought to an end the persecution of Quakers, subject to their making certain promises, which apparently they were willing to make. Though Quakers became officially tolerated, they were still not widely understood and accepted. George Fox lived long enough to see this, dying in 1691.

Since the Quaker’s refusal to pay tithes led to them being subject to fines and imprisonment, Fox had directed Friends to carefully keep records of all who suffered in any way, and when the authorities learned about this, it too was deemed an offense. The Quakers were anxious to record these hardships and persecutions and a Meeting for Sufferings was established to assess the persecution of Friends and attempt to obtain redress. It was agreed in October 1675 to commission certain local Friends to meet four times a year for this purpose. Their efforts were mainly directed towards the suffering of imprisoned Quakers, but they also lobbied Parliament to reduce the financial burden of tithing and oath fines. Locally the sufferings were copied into books, and were forwarded to the London Yearly Meeting, where they were recorded in the “great book of sufferings”.

In 1753, Joseph Besse published his *Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers*, which filled two huge volumes, and summarized the persecutions imposed on the Quakers between the years 1650 and 1689. Besse estimated that before the Act of Toleration was passed, 13,258 Quakers suffered imprisonment, torture, or mutilation in Great Britain alone. Several early Quaker direct ancestors mentioned in this work are referenced in Besse’s collection, a fact which will be detailed more later.

Most of us remember learning in school that people like the Pilgrims and the Puritans fled England for the American colonies because they could enjoy religious freedom there. What most textbooks don’t describe is that such groups strongly believed in religious freedom only as long as you believed the way they did. Religious people in colonial America were very tolerant of those who shared their religious beliefs and completely intolerant of those who didn’t. In fact, when one considers this for a moment, nothing much has changed today.

As Carla Gardina Pestana pointed out in her article *The Quaker Executions as Myth and Mystery*, published in the *Journal of American History*, “if, as many Americans believe, the Puritans came to America for religious freedom, the fact that they then proceeded to deny it to representatives of other faiths earns them particularly vigorous censure for their hypocrisy.” The Quakers found this out the hard way when they began landing on the shores of America.

Among the first Quakers to arrive in the American colonies, and the first to arrive in New England, were two women, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin. Little is known of the life of Ann Austin previous to her visit to America except that she was “stricken in years,” the mother of five children and apparently from London. Mary Fisher was much younger, about 22 years old, but no stranger to the violence heaped upon the Quakers. Mary Fisher had been imprisoned twice in York Castle, once for 16 months and another time for six months. Between these two imprisonments Mary Fisher and another Quaker woman undertook the hazardous mission of carrying the Quaker message to the students of Cambridge University. The mayor of the city ordered the women to be stripped to the waist and “whipped at the market cross till the blood ran down their bodies,” a sentence which was cruelly carried out.

After a stop in Barbados, Fisher and Austin arrived in Boston harbor aboard the *Swallow* in July 1656. Massachusetts’ Puritan authorities ordered the women be kept aboard the ship while their possessions were searched for books containing “corrupt, heretical and blasphemous doctrines.” One hundred such books were found, seized and burned in the market place by the colony’s hangman. The women were then brought to shore and thrown in jail on the sole charge of being Quakers, even though at the time, there was no law against being a Quaker. The women were “stripped stark naked” and searched for “tokens” of witchcraft upon their bodies. A fine of £5 was threatened against anyone who should speak with the women, and to make sure that didn’t happen, their prison window was boarded up tight.

After the women spent five weeks confined to the completely darkened cell, the ship’s captain who brought them from Barbados was compelled under the threat of a £100 bond to return them to that island on the *Swallow*’s return voyage. On 7 August 1656, just two days after the women left for Barbados, another ship arrived in Boston harbor from England with eight more Quakers aboard. Once again the ever-vigilant Puritan authorities searched their possessions for “erroneous books and hellish pamphlets” and threw the four men and four women in jail. After eleven weeks confinement, the eight were compelled to return to England aboard the same ship.

While the eight Quakers were in jail, the General Court of Massachusetts passed their first law against the Quakers, whom they called “a cursed sect of heretics.” The law provided for a fine of £100 against any master of a ship who should bring a Quaker to the colony, and a fine of £5 against anyone who brought into the jurisdiction any Quaker book, or conceal one in his home. It further enacted that if, by any means, a Quaker should make his way to the colony, he or she should be arrested, whipped, “committed to the house of correction, kept constantly at work, and prevented from having conversation with anyone” until he or she was once more out of Massachusetts.

At the time, new laws were announced to the citizens of Boston by being proclaimed through the streets of the city, preceded by a drummer. When the anti-Quaker law was announced this way, an old man named Nicholas Upsall stood in front of his own door and protested the new law, thinking it too harsh. The colonial authorities responded by having him arrested. When brought to court, “in tenderness and love” Upsall warned the magistrates against the course they were pursuing. Unmoved, the court fined him £20 and ordered him banished from the colony. Upsall had to move to the more tolerant Rhode Island colony.

The Massachusetts law against Quakers soon made shipmasters wary of that kind of passenger, for they were very unprofitable cargo. Without a way to get to the colonies, Quakers realized they must have their own ship if they were to carry out their designs in the New World. English Quaker Robert Fowler built a ship called the *Woodhouse*, which was so small other sea captains remarked they wouldn’t go to sea in it even if Fowler would give it to them. Regardless, Fowler and eleven other

Quakers crossed the Atlantic in the *Woodhouse*, landing at New Amsterdam (later New York City) instead of Boston because they carried no means of navigating whatsoever. Thus, Friends continued to arrive. The Quakers were not harassed in Rhode Island and could be safe there, but like moths to flame, the Quakers were drawn to Massachusetts.

Two of the Quakers aboard the *Woodhouse*, Christopher Holder and John Copeland, traveled to Salem, Massachusetts in September 1657 to deliver the Quaker message. In Puritan times it was a common practice and a recognized privilege for the public to speak in church after the minister had finished. Holder took this opportunity but he had hardly begun to speak when he was seized by the hair and “his mouth violently stopped with a glove and handkerchief thrust thereinto with much fury by one of the church members, a commissioner.” Holder and Copeland were taken to Boston the next day, and there they received 30 stripes apiece with a three-cord knotted whip, which cut their flesh so cruelly that a woman spectator fell in a faint. They were then put into a bare cell with no bedding and kept three days and nights without food or water. In total, Holder and Copeland were imprisoned nine weeks in the New England winter with no heat. By a special order of the Governor after two weeks of imprisonment had passed, and even though there were no existing laws to warrant it, the prisoners were severely whipped twice each week for the remainder of their jail sentence. In total, they received 357 lashes at the whipping post.

It was soon discovered that Holder and Copeland had stayed in the home of Lawrence and Cassandra Southwick, who were evidently the leaders of a “little circle” in Salem. They too were taken to Boston, and as Quakers always spoke the truth, they admitted their transgressions and were also put in the “house of correction.” Thereafter, they were constantly harassed and fined to the verge of poverty, and finally banished from the colony. After their banishment two of their children, Daniel and Provided Southwick, having no money to cover their fines, were ordered to be sold into slavery “to any of the English nation at Virginia or Barbadoes.” Thankfully, no shipmaster could be found who would execute the order.

After the latest round of arrests and apparently feeling their laws weren’t strict enough, on 14 October 1657 the General Court of Massachusetts passed an even stronger anti-Quaker law. The new law provided for a fine of £100 against anyone who should bring a Quaker into the colony and 40 shillings for every hour that anyone should entertain or conceal a Quaker. The law specified that any Quaker man returning after having “once suffered” should have an ear cropped; for a second offense the other ear, and for a third offense have his tongue bored with a hot iron. If the offender was a woman, she was to be severely whipped, and on the third offense to have her tongue bored. Apparently the court drew the line at cropping the ears of women.

Two others of the eleven who arrived on the *Woodhouse*, William Blend and William Leddra, also traveled to Salem where they too were arrested and taken to Boston. There, Blend in particular suffered excessively cruel punishment, receiving at one point 117 lashes on his bare back from a tarred rope. He was later found dying, “his body having turned cold” and “his flesh having rotted.” At this point, even the magistrates were frightened by their excesses and sent for a doctor, imploring him to save Blend’s life. Oddly, when the account of what happened to William Blend reached other Quakers, they felt compelled to go to Boston themselves. As Thomas Hamm wrote in *The Quakers in America*, the “seemingly irrational compulsion of Friends to flock to the places where they faced the most opposition seemed to some evidence of demonic possession.”

As author Carla Gardina Pestana put it, Quaker pacifism was not always the case in the early years of the Quakers. The Quakers “who traveled to Massachusetts to proselytize in the 1650s were not the

demure pacifists of later generations.” The belief that the spirit of God dwelled within each one of them lead the Quakers to commit extreme acts and to confront their tormentors even when they knew they would be severely punished.

Christopher Holder returned to Barbados, but in February 1658, sailed back to Rhode Island, and with his old companion John Copeland and another man named John Rous, went again to Massachusetts to face the stern laws there. The three were arrested in August 1658 and each lost an ear.

The General Court of Massachusetts, in a session held on 19 October 1658, took the final step to end the activities of “this pernicious sect.” Whippings, fines, ear-croppings and imprisonment had proved utterly futile. The only thing left to be tried was a penalty of last resort, death. The new law required the death sentence for any Quaker who returned to the colony after having been twice banished.

As Thomas Hamm wrote, “such laws and persecution only attracted Friends, who saw opportunities to suffer for Truth and expose the wickedness of their persecutors.” The moths returned to the flame. There can be no doubt that they understood what they were getting into. One Quaker, Alice Howland, brought with her linen to wrap the “dead bodies of those who were to be martyred.” The Quakers “could not do otherwise” than to go to Massachusetts and “look the law in the face.”

Marmaduke Stephenson, a farmer from Yorkshire, England had gone to Barbados in 1658, and after he heard of the new Massachusetts law, went to Rhode Island. There he met William Robinson, one of the Friends to arrive on the *Woodhouse*, and in June 1659 went to Massachusetts to protest the laws in that colony. Another Quaker, Mary Dyer, went for the same purpose. The three were arrested and banished, but Robinson and Stephenson returned and were again imprisoned. Mary Dyer went back to protest their treatment and, of course, was imprisoned as well. In October 1659, John Endicott, Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, sentenced the three to die.

The execution day was 27 October 1659, and as the three were led to the gallows on Boston Common, their words were drowned out by drummers. Colonial authorities lived in fear that its citizens would hear these people speak. Robinson was hanged first, then Stephenson. Mary Dyer had also been led onto the gallows, her face covered and the noose put around her neck, when her execution was stopped. Apparently feeling a little queasy about hanging a woman, Endicott gave Dyer a reprieve and she was again banished from Massachusetts. She stubbornly refused, but was placed on horseback and led to Rhode Island anyway.

But Mary Dyer could not stay away from “the bloody town of her sad and heavy experience.” When she arrived in Boston again on 21 May 1660, she was arrested and brought before Governor Endicott, who asked her if she was “the same Mary Dyer that was here before?” Mary Dyer told the Governor “I came in obedience to the will of God at your last General Court, desiring you to repeal your unrighteous laws of banishment on pain of death; and that same is my word now ...” Unmoved, the Governor sentenced her to death a second time, adding “but now it is to be executed.” Perhaps in respect for the fact that her husband was one of the most prominent members of the Rhode Island colony, on the gallows Mary Dyer was offered her life a second time if only she would return home. “Nay I cannot” she replied firmly. A stubborn Mary Dyer became the third person hanged in Boston for being a Quaker and following her beliefs.

William Leddra of Barbados, who had previously accompanied William Blend to Massachusetts and had experienced unspeakable whippings because of it, was the next to be executed. He returned to Boston in December 1660, was arrested and imprisoned in the miserable cold, chained to a log.

Incredibly, the charges against him were “sympathy with those who had been executed,” refusal to remove his hat, and his use of the words *thee* and *thou*.

By this time Quakers had begun to use the legal system to their advantage and Leddra appealed, that as an English subject, he should receive a trial under the laws of England. His appeal was denied. Nevertheless, he was urged to recant, and was promised his life if he would “conform.” Leddra refused and on 14 March 1661 was hanged like the others.

Meanwhile, back in England, the public was following the news filtering back from the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Several influential books and pamphlets were printed, including the book *New England Judged*, which described an array of atrocious persecutions. A copy of the book was read by King Charles II, who had been returned to the throne by this time, and he was very moved by the account. When subsequently visited by a Quaker named Edward Burrough, who had just learned William Leddra had been executed, the King was told “there is a vein of innocent blood opened in thy dominions, which will run all over if it is not stopped.” King Charles II replied at once “but I will stop that vein.” Burrough pleaded with the king to “stop it speedily, for we know not how many may soon be put to death.” A Royal Mandamus was prepared on the spot and Burrough lobbied to have it sent to Boston immediately, on a ship dispatched solely for that purpose. At this, the King balked so the Quakers chartered a ship and put Samuel Shattuck, a Salem Quaker who had been banished, aboard to deliver the writ to Governor Endicott. After Endicott received the order, he released 27 Quakers currently being held in jail, including one, Wenlock Christison, who was scheduled to be hanged. One of the poems by John Greenleaf Whittier, *The King’s Missive*, is based on the meeting between Shattuck and Governor Endicott.

The old law inflicting capital punishment to Quakers had already been altered before the King’s “missive” arrived in Boston. The new law was designed to be more effective, at the same time not so obnoxious to the English authorities, or so revolting to the citizens of Boston. This new “humane” law, dated 22 May 1661, was the infamous *Cart and Whip Act*. This act required that all Quakers be tied to the tail end of a cart and whipped through the town. They were then to be taken to the next town and whipped through that town. This was to continue until they reached the borders of the colony. Christison and the other Quakers being held at the time the King’s order reached Endicott were whipped out of town. But the act had no effect as Quakers continued to flock to Massachusetts.

One of the most famous cases of exercising the *Cart and Whip Act* involved three women named Mary Tomkins, Alice Ambrose and Ann Coleman, who were arrested near Dover, New Hampshire (in those days, New Hampshire and Maine were still part of the Massachusetts colony). The incident, in which the three women were to be whipped through eleven towns on their way out of the colony, involved Hatevil Nutter, a prominent person in the town of Dover. He hated Quakers and was involved in their whipping. He also happens to be the compiler’s great⁸-grandfather, and this event was described in considerable detail in *The History of the Nutter Family*.

After Governor Endicott died in 1665, a law was passed which allowed Quakers to conduct business without being arrested. By 1677, Quaker persecution in New England had, for the most part, ended. But by no means did their lives become easy. They remained, to most people in America, an odd group who had positioned themselves far from the mainstream. Throughout history, most people thought of the Quakers much as most Americans today perceive the Amish, i.e., as a peculiar group, though perhaps in some ways respected or even admired.

Even if one discounts the unusual religious beliefs embraced by the Quakers, their other customs and

A DECLARATION

Of the SAD and GREAT Persecution and Martyrdom

Of the People of God, called
QUAKERS, in *NEW-ENGLAND*,
for the Worshipping of God.

22 have been Banished upon pain of Death.
03 have been MARTYRED.
03 have had their Right-Ears cut.
01 hath been burned in the Hand with the letter H.
31 Persons have received 650 Stripes.
01 was beat while his Body was like a jelly.
Whereof Several were beat with Pitched Ropes.
Five Appeals made to *England*, were denied
by the Rulers of *Boston*.
One thousand forty four pounds worth of Goods hath
been taken from them (being poor men) for meeting
together in the fear of the Lord, and for keeping the
Commands of Christ.
One now lyeth in Iron-fetters, condemned to dye.

ALSO
Some CONSIDERATIONS, presented to the KING, which is
in Answer to a Petition and Address, which was presented
unto Him by the General Court at *Boston*: Subscribed by
J. Endicott, the chief Persecutor there; thinking thereby to
cover themselves from the Blood of the Innocent.

Gal. 4. 29. *But as then, he that was born after the flesh, persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now.*
God hath no respect to *Cains Sacrifice*, that killed his Brother about Religion.

London, Printed for Robert Wilson, in Martins Le Grand.



Left, the first page of a publication printed in 1661 by Edward Burrough, a Quaker, describing the cruelties to members of his sect. This and similar publications were instrumental in King Charles II banning capital punishment of Quakers. No longer able to kill people for merely being Quakers, the colonies enacted the *Cart & Whip Act*, a “humane” law which directed the town constables to tie Quakers to the back of a cart and drive the cart through the town, whipping them on their naked backs in each town. The first time the law was enforced was with three Quaker women at Dover, New Hampshire in 1662.

practices still sealed their fate as an eccentric lot. A look at some of those customs and practices may help in understanding Quakers better.

The Society of Friends was (and still is) organized in several layers of “meetings.” Quakers didn’t speak of going to church or to services, but rather on Sunday (which they called *First Day*) they went to *Meeting*. Think of it as Weekly Meeting, if you prefer. Then a Monthly Meeting was held to take care of business. The term *Monthly Meeting* was used to refer to both the monthly event and the group that held it. Representatives of Monthly Meetings in the same geographical area joined together for Quarterly Meetings. Quarterly meetings, in turn, joined together to form Yearly Meetings.

In the past there were also *Preparative* or *Particular* meetings which prepared matters for presentation at the Monthly Meeting. In addition small settlements of Friends were sometimes allowed to have their own Meeting for Worship. These small groups were said to be “under the care of” a Monthly Meeting.

The development of new Friends meetings depended largely on size and distance. When a Monthly Meeting grew too large, or a sizable group of Friends lived too far from the meeting house, a new meeting was “set up” or “set off from” the older meeting. If a meeting grew too small to be viable, usually because of the migration of its members to other areas, it was “laid down.” When a meeting was laid down, its remaining members would be transferred to another existing Monthly Meeting. Many examples can be found of an individual who settled early in an area and never moved, but who might over time be shown in the records as having belonged to several different Monthly Meetings as they were created or laid down.

When a Quaker family decided to move elsewhere, they asked their Monthly Meeting for a certificate (essentially a statement of membership) to a Monthly Meeting near their destination. Their Monthly Meeting then appointed a committee to determine if the family’s affairs were properly settled. If so, a certificate was granted, and these “certificates of removal” were duly recorded in the Monthly Meeting minutes. The dates of these minutes might precede or follow (by weeks, months, sometimes even years) the family’s actual move. In the early days men and women (who were treated as equals) held separate business meetings and kept separate minutes. Say a couple named John and Mary and their children moved; the men’s minutes would report on John and family, or John and sons, and the women’s minutes would mention Mary and daughters. If the family wasn’t sure where they would settle in a new area, they might wait until they had found a new home and then send for their certificate to be forwarded to them.

When a family arrived in a new area, they would present the certificate from their old Monthly Meeting to the Monthly Meeting of their present location. As with the removal of the family from their old location, the receipt of the family would be noted in the minutes of their new Monthly Meeting. It is through these records that the movements of Quaker families can be traced and many a genealogist has noted that you “have died and went to heaven” if you have Quaker ancestors, for no other religious or civil group ever kept such records.

Quakers only permitted their members to marry other Friends, and required they be married in the customary Quaker fashion. The English Marriage Act of 1753 required a formal ceremony of marriage, thus abolishing common-law marriage. The act also required that banns (announcements of an intended marriage) be published, or a license obtained, and in either case, the marriage be solemnized in church. Quakers were exempt from this requirement, significant because it specifically exempted them from the requirement that “non-conformist” marriages be solemnized by a Church of

England official in order to be legally recognized.

When a couple wished to marry, they announced their intentions at a Monthly Meeting. A committee was appointed to investigate whether they were “clear” to marry. If so, the two were “at liberty to marry.” A committee then attended the wedding to make sure it was orderly, and reported back to the Monthly Meeting that the marriage had been accomplished. A marriage certificate signed by the committee and all the witnesses was given to the couple. A copy, including some but not always all of the witnesses, was entered into the meeting record.

Friends discipline was usually strictly adhered to, and in some situations, couples did not receive liberty to marry. Some couples were married “by a hireling priest” or “contrary to the discipline.” Others sometimes married “out of unity,” that is, to a non-Quaker, which was strictly taboo. These errant members were usually “disowned,” and sometimes all their family and friends also were disowned for just “attending a marriage contrary to the discipline.”

Other breaches of the discipline also brought disownments. Military service of any kind, drinking, gambling, departing from plainness in dress or address (e.g., using *you* instead of *thee*), the apparently all-purpose complaint of “disorderly walking” and a host of other offenses were grounds for disownment.

In disownment situations a committee was appointed to investigate a complaint or “condemnation,” call upon the culprit and attempt to reason with him. Quakers never disowned someone without talking him to death first. The aim was to get him to “make satisfaction,” i.e., to say he was sorry. Only after the committee had “labored” in vain was the disownment carried out. A disowned member could continue to attend worship services, but could not take part in business aspects of the group, i.e., the Monthly Meeting. To be reinstated he was required to “condemn his actions” at a Monthly Meeting, i.e., say he was sorry and to do so with sincerity and conviction. A Monthly Meeting’s minutes usually recorded the processing of these disownments, but rarely provided details in regard to the offenses.

Monthly Meetings also kept membership books which contained birth and death dates of members. The clerks were not always good spellers, and they made errors in transcribing and copying records. Names and dates found in the records cannot always be taken as completely accurate.

Quakers didn’t believe in christening babies, but names for babies were very carefully selected by the parents and often approved by the other Quakers. In keeping with their belief in equality, they often named the first son for the wife’s father and the first daughter for the husband’s mother, then reversed the process on the next son and daughter. About half of Quaker children were given Biblical names. The most common were John, Joseph, Samuel, Mary, Elizabeth, Sarah, Anna/Hannah, Esther/Hester, etc. They also used Teutonic names such as George, Thomas, or William, and plain English names such as Jane, Catherine or Margaret. “Grace names” were also popular with Quakers, i.e., Grace, Mercy, Chastity, Preserve, Restore, Increase, etc.

Quakers were committed to pacifism in both public and private affairs. Occasionally, as cause for disownment, a person was cited for “threatening to strike a fellow creature” or some similar wording. Quakers were not permitted to bear arms, appear “arrayed in a warlike manner,” join the militia, or pay war taxes. Despite this, a few Quakers are known to have served in the Revolutionary War and the American Civil War without disownment.

Quakers were not forbidden to drink alcoholic beverages, which were commonly accepted in the 1600s when the Society was founded. They were, however, forbidden to drink to excess. A number of early Quakers are known to have owned “inns” which offered alcoholic beverages along with meals and rooms. Quakers sometimes were forbidden to engage in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages, though there are known instances reported in this book where this was not the case. A few instances are known in which members were disowned for operating stills. It was also considered contrary to discipline to offer alcohol as an inducement to others to perform some act. One case is known in which a Friend was cited for offering alcoholic beverages to his field hands, presumably to get more than a fair day’s labor for a day’s pay.

Quaker meetings did not have a regular minister or priest like other religions. With their concept of the “Inner Light” in each individual, each person in meeting was free to offer an opinion on spiritual matters. Sometimes they didn’t like what one another said, and sometimes there were serious problems between members of the meeting, as happened with some of the direct ancestors noted in this work. However, since the earliest times, Friends recognized certain individuals had a gift for being a spiritual leader. Quakers believed that certain people were born with a talent to minister. They watched for this talent to appear in an individual and when it was displayed, made note in their records that this person was a *Minister*, almost as if it were a self-evident fact.

A visitor from Russia attended a Quaker meeting in 1769 and wrote: “When I entered the house where the Friends were assembled--who might be about two hundred, men and women--the involuntary impulse of ancient custom made me pull off my hat; but recovering myself, I sat with it on at the end of the bench. The meeting-house was a square building, devoid of any ornament whatever. The whiteness of the walls--the conveniency of the seats--that of a large stove, which in cold weather keeps the whole house warm--were the only essential things which I observed. Neither pulpit nor desk, font nor altar, tabernacle nor organ, were there to be seen; it is merely a spacious room, in which these good people meet every Sunday. A profound silence ensued, which lasted about half an hour; every one had his head reclined, and seemed absorbed in profound meditation, when a female Friend arose, and declared, with a most engaging modesty, that the Spirit moved her to entertain them on the subject she had chosen ... Either she must have been a great, adept in public speaking, or had studiously prepared herself, a circumstance that cannot well be supposed, as it is a point in their profession to utter nothing but what arises from spontaneous impulse, or else the Great Spirit must have inspired her with the soundest morality. I did not observe one single face turned from her ... As soon as she had finished, every one seemed to return to his former meditation for about a quarter of an hour, when they rose up by common consent, and, after some general conversation, departed...”

Quakers were strong believers in committees. Committees were appointed for nearly everything imaginable, including committees to attend weddings and funerals. Committees were appointed to review expenses or to consider talking to another meeting about some matter that may affect both groups. Quakers never had a shortage of committees.

Quakers were strongly committed to plainness in dress, word and deed. One often finds records of individuals being disciplined for “disregard of plainness.” Did that person buy a brightly colored vest or go to a Saturday night barn dance? Or maybe wore the vest to the dance? Until fairly recent times, Quaker discipline required the usage of “thee” and “thou” in addressing other individuals; failure to do so was a minor disownable offense referred to as “use of plural language”.

When it came to Quaker clothes, all ornamentation was seen as unnecessary, and was eliminated. However, Friends generally did not have the uniformity of style that many Amish groups have, for

example, and allowed variation within the guidelines. However, there certainly were guidelines: men were forbidden to wear certain types of pockets and were urged to refrain from needless pockets. All “were warned against broad hems, deep cuffs, false shoulders, superfluous buttons, fashionable creases, wide skirts, and cocked hats.” The recommendations for women were even more detailed. On the forbidden list were fashionable hairstyles, fancy hats, striped silk, long scarves and “any other things which may lead us into the fashions of the World.”

The Quakers adherence to plainness did not stop with their clothing. It also extended to their homes. The book *A Portraiture of Quakerism* published in 1806 by Thomas Clarkson describes the homes of Friends as using only “plain and frugal furniture” in their houses. Clarkson pointed out that the “choice of furniture, like the choice of clothes, is left to be adjudged by the rules of decency and usefulness, but never by the suggestions of show.” And there were few, if any, pictures or paintings. “Prints in frames, if hung up promiscuously in a room, would be considered as ornamental furniture, or as furniture for show.” And there definitely weren’t any family portraits. “Neither would a person, in going through the houses of the Quakers, find any portraits either of themselves, or of any of their families, or ancestors, except, to the latter case, they had been taken before they became Quakers. The first Quakers never had their portraits taken with their own knowledge and consent.” Some Quakers even refused to have mirrors in their homes, as this would be an indication of vainness.

The Quakers also didn’t see any “moral utility in music” and prohibited it in their homes and meeting houses. This included instrumental music, which Friends thought was “not conducive to the improvement of the moral character” and even vocal music. Quakers thought that singing in itself was no more immoral than reading, but since vocal music articulated ideas, “it may convey poison to the mind.”

In a letter written years later by David W. Hunt, grandson of the noted Quaker minister Nathan Hunt, he described the “only singing I ever heard in the meeting was probably sometime toward the close of the thirties. Probably between 1836 and 1840. A Methodist woman attended the meeting probably the 1st time in her life. During a time of profound silence she sang a short and beautiful hymn. She had scarcely finished until grandfather arose and sanctioned both the hymn and the singer and then began to show why Friends did not sing and continued arguing the case till I began to think he was going to prove that singing was wrong. His argument became a decidedly labored one before he got through.”

As a result of all these practices, Quakers were regarded by most of society as, at best, an odd people. It has been written they “were without moral blemish, and lived upright, though colorless lives.” Quakers “preached their gospel of gray clothes and sober lives” and were considered “rather drab and glum.” Thomas Hood, the British poet and humorist, wrote of “that sedate, sober, silent, serious, sad-colored sect, the Quakers.”

Possibly the British essayist Charles Lamb summed it up best. He wrote that he admired the Quakers very much, but he made it clear he did not want to join them: “I love Quaker ways, and Quaker worship. I venerate Quaker principles ... But I cannot like the Quakers ‘to live with them.’ I must have books, pictures, theatres, chit-chat, scandal, jokes, ambiguities, and a thousand whim-whams, which their simpler taste can do without. I would starve at their primitive banquet.”

Occasionally a present-day member of the Society of Friends is taken aback when, upon learning that they’re a Quaker, a new acquaintance will ask “do you still ride in a horse and buggy?” The confusion between Quakers, Amish and Mennonites is not uncommon. But the Amish and Mennonites are

Anabaptists, Protestant sects which began in central Europe and which believed that infant baptism was not proper and that baptism should be administered to believers only, i.e., adults. Quakers, on the other hand, do not believe in baptism at all. Though the different groups originated in different countries in different centuries, they have some common beliefs, such as plainness in living.

Perhaps this short introduction to Quaker beliefs and practices will prove useful to the reader as you learn more about the ancestors of the Hunt and related families.

The Origins of the Hunt Family

The name *Hunt* is quite old and of English origin. English surnames, i.e., hereditary last names handed down from generation to generation, started around the year 1000 and became increasingly popular over the next few hundred years. Before this time, as in the Bible, everyone went by a single name like David or John. But as the population grew, using a single given name became increasingly confusing and unworkable as the number of people with the same name increased.

By the end of the 12th century, hereditary names had become common in England, although even by 1450 they were not yet universally accepted. But during the reign of Edward V, a law was passed to compel people to adopt surnames: "They shall take unto them a Surname, either of some Town, or some Colour, as Blacke or Brown, or some Art or Science, as Smyth or Carpenter, or some Office, as Cooke or Butler."

Classified by their origin, most surnames fall into four general classes: (1) those formed from the given name of the father, (2) those arising from personal characteristics, (3) those derived from a place of residence, and (4) those derived from the person's occupation.

The first class comprises surnames derived from the given name of the father, a system called patronymics. Such names were formed by adding a prefix or suffix usually denoting "son of." English names terminating in *son* are of this type, as are also the numerous names prefixed with the Gaelic *Mac*, the Norman *Fitz* and the Irish *O*. Thus the sons of John took the name Johnson; the sons of Robert went by Robertson, etc.

The second class of surnames were those descriptive of personal characteristics such as stature, coloring, emotional attributes, or sometimes the reverse of those characteristics. Thus surnames arose from some personal characteristic of their first bearer and may have been used originally as nicknames. Thus Peter the strong became Peter Strong, Roger of small stature became Roger Little or Roger Small, and black-haired William or blond Alfred became William Black or Alfred White. Names like Short and Longfellow denoted stature; Black, Gray, Brown and White obviously denoted coloring; Moody, Sharp, Hardy, Wise and Goodman referred to personal attributes.

The third class of family names were those taken from localities, i.e., names derived from the place of residence of the bearer. Such names were employed in France from an early date and were introduced into England by the Normans, many of whom were known by the titles of their estates. Richard lived on top of a hill and thus became Richard Hill. John lived in the west half of a village and became John West, etc.

The fourth class of surnames were derived from a person's occupation. The earliest of these seem to have been official names, such as Bishop, Mayor, Alderman, Reeve, Chamberlain, Chancellor, Deacon, Marshall, and Parker (parkkeeper). Trade and craft names were a slightly later development. Such trade-oriented names are common in many languages; for example, Smith (English), Schmidt (German) and Herrera (Spanish) denoted a blacksmith, silversmith, or goldsmith. Other English occupation surnames were Carter, Shepherd, Miller, Fisher, Baker, Barber, Weaver, Taylor, Carpenter and Mason, all fairly self-explanatory. These names were common because every village had one or more of each. Some occupational names, common during an early period, are no longer recognizable as occupations. Currier was a dresser of skins, Wainwright a wagonbuilder, Chandler a candlemaker, Cooper a barrel maker, etc.

The surname *Hunt* falls into this fourth class of surnames and is generally considered to be an occupational name for one who hunted wildlife for a living. In the middle ages the term “hunter” was an official title, and there were different categories from game hunters on foot to the mounted huntsmen, who pursued stags and wild boar. The name was originally written as “le Hunte”; thus John le Hunte would have been thought of as *John the Hunter*. One of the first written records of the Hunt name is that of Humphrey le Hunte, which appeared in 1203 on the charter rolls of the county of Sussex during the reign of King John. Though someone referred to as a hunter was likely restricted originally to the ranks of nobility, it later came to refer to much humbler pursuits such as bird catching or simply poaching for food.

The first member of our Hunt family to arrive in America was a Quaker named William Hunt, who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1719. Little is known about the origins of William Hunt, who soon married Mary Woolman, the aunt of the famous Quaker minister John Woolman. Today, thousands of people descend from this William Hunt and interest in him has been high among genealogists for decades. Until recently very little has been known about William Hunt, including his occupation, when and where he died, or even where he lived for the last twenty years of his life. Because a birth record for him has never been found, we do not know when William Hunt was born, but because Mary Woolman was born in 1692, we may assume he was born about 1690.

For decades, despite the efforts of a number of genealogical researchers, the origins of William Hunt before arriving in Pennsylvania have remained unknown. The first record of William Hunt in America (see the next chapter) is a Quaker monthly meeting record dated 30 March 1719 which states that William Hunt “*Produced a Certificate from Radnor in Great Brittain which was Read & Accepted.*” For years this represented the total sum of what was known of his origins.

What was the significance of the reference to Radnor? Did William Hunt come from the county of Radnorshire in Wales, or the towns of Old Radnor or New Radnor in that county, or from an area which fell under the control of a Quaker monthly meeting named Radnor? Or despite the fact there is no evidence whatsoever to support this hypothesis, did the clerk at Abington make a mistake and might William Hunt have been from Radway, a small village in Warwickshire where a Hunt family of Quakers was known to live?

The reference to “Radnor” in the American monthly meeting record almost certainly referred to a monthly meeting of that name in Great Britain. Although examples to the contrary can be found, Quaker meeting clerks processing certificates of arriving members entered the name of the meeting of origin an overwhelming percentage of the time. Therefore there would have had to have been a Radnor Monthly Meeting in Great Britain in the 1719 time period. The only monthly meeting of that name in all of Great Britain was one in Radnorshire in Wales. Radnor Monthly Meeting was established in 1668 and was in existence under that name at the time William Hunt came to America.

Even contemporaneous evidence exists to prove the existence of Radnor Monthly Meeting at the time William Hunt left for America. A “Quaker traveler” named Thomas Story traveled through Wales and kept a diary, later printed under the title *A Journal of the Life etc. of Thomas Story*. In his diary Story wrote “*On the 20th I sent to appoint a Meeting at Radnor, where the Yearly Meeting was to be the week following.*” This diary entry was made in 1717, only two years before William Hunt arrived in America with a certificate from Radnor Monthly Meeting.

The obvious solution to proving William Hunt came from Radnor Monthly Meeting in Wales would be to find a certificate of removal entered in the minutes of that meeting. Unfortunately, the minutes

to early Radnor Monthly Meetings are not known to exist. In fact, this is true for many early monthly meeting records in Wales. The huge exodus of Welsh Quakers for Pennsylvania in the 1680-1720 time period sent many of the monthly meetings in Wales into serious decline, to the point that some of them ceased to exist. As the distinguished Welsh Quaker historian E. Ronald Morris once noted regarding old Welsh Quaker records, “many early documents remained in private hands and have subsequently been lost.”

The general poor condition of early Welsh records in comparison to records for the same period in England, or even the United States, has been noted by many. For example, in an article in volume 17 of the Welsh journal *Cronicl Powys* concerning Quarter Sessions records, historian S. W. Jones eloquently noted that “tracing the history of the typical Welsh family is more difficult, more time consuming and ultimately less fruitful in terms of the number of generations traced than that of its typical English counterpart. Sooner or later every Welsh family historian is confronted by two apparently insuperable problems. Firstly, there is the commonness in Wales of a small number of personal names which makes it extremely difficult to distinguish one individual from another before the commencement of civil registration and, secondly, there are the poor maintenance, in all too many cases, of the parish registers and the paucity of secondary parish records.”

The center of Quaker activity for Radnorshire was the Pales Meeting House, near Llandegley in that county. In a paper titled *Early Quakers in Mid Wales*, Quaker historian Martin Williams described the acquisition of land near Llandegley, Wales in Radnorshire for a Quaker burial ground in 1673. The deed states the land was “to remain as a burial ground,” implying that it already was being used as a cemetery prior to that date, and refers to “the house on the land,” implying a meeting house of some sort was already present. This burial ground and meeting house is referred to as “Pales,” based on a reference in a subsequent 1694 deed to the land being “paled or fenced in.” Pales Meeting House exists to this day, a quaint thatched roof structure built in 1717, and Martin Williams serves as its warden. It is likely to have been at the Pales Meeting House that the certificate of removal for William Hunt was recorded.

Martin Williams wrote that by 1717, when the present structure at Pales was built, “Quakerism in Mid Wales was already severely in decline, due to the extreme numbers of emigrations.” In a history of the Pales Meeting House it was described that “many Quakers had emigrated to America, especially the Quaker colony in Pennsylvania. The first American Meeting House was called ‘Radnor’. As a result, Quakerism in Wales became rather exclusive and inward-looking. Very few records survive of the 18th century, and by the middle of the 19th century one observer commented that the Meeting ‘hardly continued to exist’.”

Oddly, some important early Quaker records appear to have been overlooked by Quaker historians. Staff at the Library of the Religious Society of Friends in London wrote to the compiler that “our information is that surviving archives of Radnor MM comprise only a minute book 1827-1834, and a book of sufferings 1778-1811, which include some financial accounts.” Though early monthly meeting minutes do not appear extant, there is at least one significant surviving Radnor Monthly Meeting record the compiler discovered while in London. The original record, kept at the National Archives, is an old register book with a handwritten title page stating “*This Book Belongeth to the Meetings of friends within this county of Radnor Wherein the Marriages Births & Burialls Are Recorded*”.

The book contains marriages for 1680-1769, births for 1681-1775 and burials for 1683-1773. There are references to individuals being buried at “Llandegley,” “in Llandegley burying place,” “at y^e

Pales,” “at the Pales Llandegley,” etc., clearly indicating these records are for the Radnor Monthly Meeting at Pales. Unfortunately, no individual named *Hunt* appears in these birth, burial or marriage records. Further, there do not appear to be any birth records for single individuals, only family units. Thus it seems that these records, while historically significant, are quite incomplete.

With no surviving minutes for Radnor Monthly Meeting for the 1718-1719 time period when William Hunt left for America, there is no way to confirm his departure from that meeting. Other types of records were searched for a clue to the origins of William Hunt, though few other useful records exist for such an early time period. For example, there are no census records, no ship departure records, no newspapers at this early period in Wales, and unlike in America, relatively few land records involving common folk. Searches were made of church parish records (assuming William Hunt was born to a family which belonged to the Church of Wales and later converted to Quakerism), wills, probate records, scattered burial records, and other miscellaneous records such as apprenticeship accounts, etc. None of these searches were fruitful.

An obvious assumption when looking for a Quaker who fell under the control of Radnor Monthly Meeting is that the person likely lived in Radnorshire. However, a problem one encounters almost immediately when examining parish records or probate records from Radnorshire is that virtually no one with the *Hunt* surname lived there during the time period of interest.

Very common surnames from this period in Wales are *Davies, Evans, Hughes, Humphrey, Jones, Lewis, Lloyd, Morgan, Morris, Owen, Richards, Roberts, Thomas* and *Williams*. It would not be an exaggeration to say that over half the people listed in old Welsh records had one of those surnames. Historian S. W. Jones mentioned having “to unravel the tangled web of Morgans and Jones, Evans and Williams, Edwards and Davies.” On the other hand, the surname Hunt, though common in England, is relatively rare in early Wales.

As an indication of that, all pre-1858 wills and probate records for Wales have been indexed and put into a massive database available at the National Library of Wales. If one enters a common surname into the computer, such as *Hughes, Evans* or *Jones*, the database, while not providing the actual number of matching entries, indicates that there are “1500+” hits for your search. By contrast, when you enter the surname *Hunt*, the database indicates only 38 matching entries. This result is for all of Wales, from the 1500s up to 1858, a good indication of the rarity of the Hunt name in that country. If you search only before the year 1750, the number of hits is reduced to 17, and further restricting the time period to 1685-1730, the number of hits is only six.

Two of the six will and probate records just mentioned involved people named Hunt who lived in Llangurig parish in Montgomeryshire, which is not a great distance from the Pales Meeting House. Llangurig, in neighboring Montgomeryshire, is just across the boundary between it and Radnorshire. The two individuals were both named William Hunt, though obviously neither could have been the immigrant who came to Pennsylvania. But just finding this name in an area where it is so uncommon was itself intriguing.

In 1974, all the counties of Wales were reorganized and Radnorshire ceased to exist. It and the old counties of Montgomeryshire and Breconshire became Powys County, and the records for these old Welsh counties are now kept in the Powys County Archives. While in Llandrindod Wells, Wales (where the Powys County Archives are located), the compiler arranged to meet with two individuals who are experts on the subject of Quakers in the Radnorshire area. One was Trevor Macpherson, a Quaker historian who has written several books on this topic, and the other Martin Williams,

mentioned previously, who has published a number of papers on the Quakers of the area. Trevor Macpherson, after listening to a brief description of William Hunt and his ties to Radnor Monthly Meeting, replied that he had a “hunch that William Hunt came from Llangurig.”

Trevor went on to explain that a family named Jerman had lived in that same area and they were involved in the founding of the Radnor meeting in Pennsylvania, even though the Germans were not from Radnorshire but Montgomeryshire. When asked about whether or not Llangurig would have fallen under the control of Radnor Monthly Meeting, Trevor answered with a quick “yes.” Later the same day, when Martin Williams was asked the same question, he responded “for certain”.

Trevor Macpherson explained that the parishes of Llangurig and adjoining Llanidloes, while technically in Montgomeryshire, were very close to the old county line of Radnorshire and would likely have been more apt to align themselves with Radnorshire Quakers than those of east Montgomeryshire. Llangurig (pronounced “thlan-GEAR-ig”) is just slightly over two miles from the old county line, and Llanidloes (pronounced “thlan-ID-loyce”) less than three.

An article titled *Quakerism in West Montgomeryshire*, by E. Ronald Morris and published in the journal *Montgomeryshire Collections*, describes how members of a Quaker family from Llanidloes went to Haverford Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania in 1683 with a certificate of removal “from Radnorshire Monthly Meeting.” This is evidence that Quakers from the parishes of Llangurig and Llanidloes might have requested certificates of removal from Radnor Monthly Meeting, rather than the more distant Montgomeryshire Monthly Meeting at Dolobran, near Meifod in east Montgomeryshire. It should be noted that it would not have helped if William Hunt had gotten a certificate of removal from Montgomeryshire Monthly Meeting, as the records of that meeting are also missing for the period when William Hunt went to America.

Further research shows that the parishes of both Llangurig and Llanidloes were active Quaker areas. The publication *The Background of Quakerism in Wales and the Border*, with contributions by historians Evelyn Whiting, E. Ronald Morris and John R. Hughes, mentions that “Llangurig, one of the highest villages in Wales, became a centre for Quakers for a large area.” E. Ronald Morris wrote that “towards the end of the 17th century certain isolated parts of Montgomeryshire and Merionethshire became active centres for the propagation of the Quaker message. The little town of Llanidloes, 10 miles from the Severn’s source, together with the parishes of Llangurig, Trefeglwys and Carno to which it served as market, was one of these.” Morris points out that despite the remoteness of the town of Llanidloes, Welsh Quakers held their Yearly Meetings there in the years 1697, 1699-1704, 1706 and 1712, plus several times after William Hunt left Wales.

An article in the journal *Cronicl Powys* (vol. 22, p. 27-29) titled *Some Account of the Hunt family of Llanidloes and Llangurig* by E. Ronald Morris provides information about members of the Hunt family who lived in those two adjoining parishes, though well after the period when the immigrant William Hunt would have left the area.

Unlike other parts of Wales, the name *Hunt* and especially the name *William Hunt* seems to be relatively common in the parishes of Llangurig and Llanidloes. The *Cronicl Powys* article mentions a William Hunt of Llanidloes who married a Margaret Baxter in January 1744. He was described in the parish records as a dyer and, more frequently, a miller. The records of the baptisms of his children appear in the Llanidloes church records. A different William Hunt, who by occupation was a fuller and had a wife named Mary, appears in the Llangurig parish records. The latter William Hunt had seven children baptized at Llangurig between the years 1769 and 1782.



The Pales Meeting House near Llandegley, Wales as it appeared in 2008. It contains old benches thought to be original, though they are not used much anymore, modern worshippers preferring chairs in a circular arrangement. Pales still hosts a Sunday meeting on the third Sunday each month, with about eight to ten Quakers in attendance. Note the thatched roof, thought to be the only one in all of Radnorshire. The warden of the facility, Martin Williams, speculated that the thatched roof was originally put on because it would have been less expensive to install than a slate roof. It is likely that the original immigrant Hunt ancestor in this work, a Welsh Quaker named William Hunt, attended meeting in this building. When he arrived in Pennsylvania, William Hunt was listed in early records as being from "Radnor" in Great Britain, almost certainly a reference to the county of Radnorshire in Wales and the Pales Meeting House was the center of Quaker activity for Radnorshire. The structure in the photo was built in 1717, about two years before William Hunt emigrated to America. It is likely that William Hunt was in this meeting house when he was handed his Quaker certificate of removal transferring his membership to a Quaker meeting in America.

Welsh probate records identify other individuals named William Hunt who lived in the same area from an even earlier period. A William Hunt, a yeoman with a wife named Anne, apparently died in 1691 at Llangurig, since there exists a bond and inventory of his property dated 24 June 1691. An inspection of the Llangurig parish records show a burial of a Thomas Hunt, son of William Hunt, in January 1691 (the day is not given). Also listed is what is likely the burial of this William Hunt (the torn document shows “—elimus Hunt,” undoubtedly the Latin equivalent of William) on 7 June 1691. The register also shows the burial record of Anna “uxor Gulielmi Hunt” (“wife of William Hunt”) on 24 August 1696.

Still another William Hunt, listed as a bachelor and yeoman from Llangurig, left a will dated 22 April 1720. The will named his niece Mary “daughter of my brother Samuel Hunt,” “my other niece Anne Hunt,” “my niece Lidia youngest daughter of my s^d brother Samuel Hunt,” “my nephew William Hunt of y^e parish of Llanidlos,” “my nephew John Hunt of y^e parish of Llangurig,” and his brother Samuel, to whom William left the majority of his estate.

A thorough examination of the Church of Wales parish records for both Llangurig and Llanidloes was made at the National Library of Wales. As is the case with nearly every archive facility, the library seeks to limit access to such records to microfilm images of the originals. The microfilm for Llangurig parish was only partially readable due to the fact that the original document was badly tattered, and in some cases as much as half of the original pages could not be read. Microfilm of the Llanidloes parish registers was much more difficult to read than Llangurig, with the bulk of the records for the time period of interest nearly unreadable. It is estimated that less than five percent of the text was discernable on that microfilm.

An appeal was made to examine the original register books, which are stored at the National Library of Wales. The library complied with the request and hours were spent closely inspecting the registers under ultraviolet light, which greatly enhances the contrast of the ink against the paper and allows one to see things that cannot be seen with normal light, let alone on a microfilm copy. Baptisms at Llangurig were examined from 1686 (the beginning of the baptism records) to 1699. Even with the benefit of UV light, the tattered condition of the records still limited the readability of the records to 50-60 percent. The original Llanidloes parish baptism records were in better condition (approximately 90% readable) and were examined from 1683 to 1700. No persons named William Hunt could be identified in either baptism register for the time period searched.

Besides readability issues, the original records also appear to be incomplete. For example, in the case of the Llangurig baptism records, there are a number of baptisms listed for 1692 and 1694, but there are no baptisms for the year 1693 at all, and it is possible a page is missing from the register book (the pages are not numbered). In addition, nearly half of some pages are completely missing due to the deterioration of the paper. It is important to emphasize that it is entirely possible the name *William Hunt* could have been present in the many unreadable or missing portions of either parish baptism record. And, of course, if he was a birthright Quaker, it is very unlikely that William Hunt’s name would appear in the baptism registers.

Despite the condition of the records, several references to the surname *Hunt* were found. For example, at Llangurig a Lidea Hunt was baptized 14 May 1699, the daughter of Samuel and Lidea Hunt. Samuel was listed as a “tinctoris,” Latin for “tinctor,” i.e., a dyer. This was the only Hunt found in the Llangurig parish registers for the time period of interest, but as mentioned, they are only 50-60% readable.

In the Llanidloes parish records, “—zabetha” (part of the page was missing, but the name was likely Elizabeth) Hunt was baptized 1 February 1686/1687, the daughter of Gulielmi Hunt (William Hunt). Elizabeth Hunt, the daughter of Johannis (John) Hunt at Llanidloes was baptized on 11 March 1687/1688. Thomas Hunt, son of “Samuell Hunt at Llanidloes,” was baptized on 13 March 1689/1690. Anna Hunt, daughter of Johanis (John) Hunt, was baptized on 11 December 1692. Another Anna Hunt was baptized in 1692 (no date given other than the year), the daughter of Samuel Hunt. Elena Hunt was baptized 26 January 1695/1696, the daughter of Johannis (John) Hunt.

Bishop’s transcripts for the parishes of Llangurig and Llanidloes were also examined while at the National Library of Wales, though only on microfilm. Bishop’s transcripts were copies of the parish records made once a year and kept in a separate location by the church. Once again, the condition of the records was quite bad, tattered and with significant portions of some pages missing completely due to deterioration of the paper. In the case of Llangurig parish, baptism records exist in the bishop’s transcripts for an earlier period than for the parish records themselves. The earliest year available is 1677, and in that year, a William Hunt, the son of John Hunt, was baptized 8 October 1677.

Various members of the Hunt family who lived at Llangurig and Llanidloes appear in a massive compilation of Welsh families titled *Families of Montgomeryshire, Wales, 1675-1825* produced by William Barker of Shelton, Connecticut. Barker’s incredible resource has four pages devoted to Hunt family members who lived at Llangurig and Llanidloes, and by using baptism, marriage, will and burial records, he attempts to segment the individuals into family units. Barker cites ten separate records referring to an individual named William Hunt living in the Llangurig and Llanidloes area from the earliest times up to about the year when our ancestor William Hunt sailed for Pennsylvania. It is not clear that all ten of these people are distinct individuals, but even with a reasonable number of duplicates, it is clear that the name William Hunt was rather common in this small remote pocket of Wales.

The point of all this is that there appear to have been a number of Hunt families in the parishes of both Llangurig and Llanidloes, despite the surname being quite rare in other parts of Wales, including the old counties of Radnorshire and Montgomeryshire. Some of these Hunts even became relatively successful. In local histories of Llanidloes there are a number of references to a man named William Hunt who owned a flannel cloth processing mill in that town late in the eighteenth century. One example is an account which appears on display in the Llanidloes Museum, part of the Town Hall building. The account describes what was called the Glanclywedog Factory, Llanidloes’ first woolen mill, which was located on the bank of the Clywedog River on the edge of town. This William Hunt obtained a lease to a corn mill at that location, but later converted it into a “fulling-mill and dye works for the preparation and dyeing of woollen fabrics manufactured in the area.”

After this William Hunt’s daughter Margaret married a man named Edward Ingram, “a portion of the land was sub-let to him on which he built a carding and slubbing factory. The machinery in the new factory was driven by water but when the river was low the proprietor made use of manual labor to keep the carding machines in motion. This was accomplished by fixing handles to the shafts of the cylinders.” About 1797, a wealthy individual named Charles Cole arrived in Llanidloes and soon became a partner in the business. In a short time, he expanded the operation with improved machinery and gradually gained control of Ingram’s portion of the business. When William Hunt died, Cole took over the entire business. The successful business continued after Cole’s death, under the ownership of a number of others including the Welsh Flannel & Tweed Company in 1864. The factory was still in operation until a fire destroyed the facility in 1935. Oddly, not a single photograph of the factory survives today.



The parish churches at Llangurig (left) and Llanidloes (right) in Wales. The adjoining parishes, while technically in Montgomeryshire, are very close to the old county line of Radnorshire and Quakers from these areas are known to have aligned themselves with the Quaker meeting at the Pales. Llangurig (pronounced "thlan-GEAR-ig") and Llanidloes (pronounced "thlan-ID-loyce") are both less than 24 miles from the Pales Meeting House. The immigrant ancestor William Hunt was probably from one of these parishes.

Many people may be puzzled by references to dyer, fuller, carding, slubbing, etc. The production of woolen fabric was very important to the Radnorshire and Montgomeryshire areas of Wales even at the time the immigrant William Hunt came to America. As explained by a display at the Llanidloes Museum, “domestic spinning, weaving and knitting were always an important source of income within the rural economy. Spinning wheels were cheap and farmers often hired workers for their additional skills at weaving, having one or two looms in a lean-to for winter work.” Even by the nineteenth century, most cloth was still produced at home.

Many of the terms involved in the production of flannel cloth from 200-300 years ago have been lost today. There was “sorting” of the different kinds of wool, the “picking” to remove the foreign particles like moss or ferns that adhered to the wool, “wilying” (the breaking or tearing the wool into small locks), “scribbling” (rough carding), “carding” itself (the process by which the fibers are opened, cleaned and straightened in preparation for spinning, resulting in long rolls of the fiber), “slubbing” (the conversion of the rolls into coarse yarn), “spinning” (changing the “slubs” into finished yarn), and other steps called “warping,” “sizing” and “beaming.” Only then was the woolen fiber ready to go to the weavers, who actually made two-dimensional cloth from the fibers. Even after the weaving process was complete, additional finishing steps called “scouring,” “fulling,” as well as drying and folding were required. Scouring involved the immersion of the fabric in vats or tubs of human urine and fuller’s earth (a clay-like material). Fulling was the process in which the fabric was pounded with hammers in order to develop firmness, and those who did it were called a *fuller* (or *walker*, and is the source of both those surnames in use today).

In Llanidloes, the cloth from local weavers would be collected on Sunday afternoon, stacked beneath the Old Market Hall and then taken by wagon to the fulling mills. In the early years these mills could be found beside every stream and river, but eventually those small operations gave way to mechanized mills with carding and spinning machines. Although most of the finishing processes for flannel and other woolen fabrics happened in factories, the weaving itself was still done in private houses. This part of Wales has been known for its woolen products for centuries, and many of those who did not farm or raise sheep were involved in the production of woolen fabric in one of the occupations mentioned.

It is significant that, once in America, the occupation of the immigrant William Hunt was that of a weaver. Two separate court records from Bucks County, Pennsylvania dated 21 July 1722 and 14 March 1723 name William Hunt and in both records he is identified as a “weaver.” In the American colonies the overwhelming majority of people lived strictly by agriculture. In an analysis made of Scottish immigrants to the American colonies, a relatively small percentage of the immigrants were not farmers, but tradesmen with a skill, usually learned only after an extended period of apprenticeship. Of those tradesmen, only five percent were weavers. Thus William Hunt chose a relatively uncommon occupation in America, but one which would have been quite common had he originated in the area of Llangurig or Llanidloes in Wales.

However, even if the immigrant William Hunt originated from the parish of Llangurig or Llanidloes, it still does not prove that he or some of the other Hunts in that area were Quakers. Statistically, the odds of that are quite low since the number of Quakers in the area was relatively small. The book *Quaker Communities in Early Modern Wales* by Richard C. Allen describes an effort between 1715 and 1718 by John Evans to compile an accurate list of dissenting congregations, including Quakers, “in order to lobby for an end to the 1714 Schism Act.” But of all the dissenting groups, “the Quaker community was not large enough to warrant specific scrutiny.” In another analysis described by Allen, it was estimated that there were but 750 Quakers in all of Wales in 1715, an estimated 2.69%

of the dissenting population of Wales, which in turn, were a small minority of the total Welsh population.

The point is that Quakers never constituted a large portion of the population at Llangurig, Llanidloes or anywhere else in Wales. Though it may never be proven that the Quaker immigrant William Hunt was from Llangurig or Llanidloes parish, it would sure help bolster that hypothesis if it could be shown that some members of the Hunt family in that area were Quakers despite the significant statistical odds against it. This is especially true in light of the fact that the members of the Hunt family mentioned in parish baptism records were almost certainly not Quakers.

Fortunately there is evidence that supports this assertion. On a hill roughly halfway between Llangurig and Llanidloes is a tiny Quaker burial ground called Bryn Mawr (Welsh for “great hill”). The cemetery is only 36 feet square and, as was the Quaker custom, no stones mark the graves. How many graves are even in the Bryn Mawr burial ground remains unknown since records of all burials before 1777 are missing, despite the fact the burial ground was opened in 1708. Based on digest register records, only three burials at Bryn Mawr are known:

Eleanor Hunt	1-7-1777	age 2	daughter of William and Mary Hunt
Richard Jerman	28-3-1785	age 2	son of John and Margaret Jerman, Felindre
Mary Hunt	11-11-1801	age 55	of Llanidloes parish

Margaret Jerman, who buried her 2-year-old son at Bryn Mawr, was the daughter of William and Mary Hunt, so all three known burials at the only Quaker burial ground near Llangurig and Llanidloes have connections to the Hunt family. Mary Hunt, the last burial known to have occurred at Bryn Mawr, was married to William Hunt, the owner of the woolen mill mentioned previously. He was apparently not a Quaker and is not buried at Bryn Mawr. But historian E. Ronald Morris points out that all six children of this William and Mary Hunt had their births recorded in the digests of Society of Friends’ records held in the Friend’s House Library, although the family “later ceased to be Quakers.”

Even though the connection between the Hunt family in this area and the Quaker faith is a bit tenuous and well after the period when the immigrant William Hunt would have left for the American colonies, this information proves that at least some of the Hunts in this area were Quakers, despite the fact that the vast majority of the people in the area remained with the Church of Wales.

There is also the issue of name similarity between families. Genealogists consider it very foolish to overlook naming patterns in families. The reoccurrence of the same names in descending generations often points to familial connections. Though personal name repetition in succeeding generations does not constitute any level of proof in itself, it certainly is strong circumstantial evidence.

There is a strong name familiarity between some of the Hunt families who lived at Llangurig and Llanidloes and the family of the immigrant William Hunt. The six children of the William Hunt who was the mill owner in Llanidloes in the late 1700s were named William, Mary, Hannah, John, Thomas and Margaret. The immigrant William Hunt, after arriving in America married Mary Woolman and had five children. Their names were Margaret, Thomas, Eleazar, Hannah and William. Except for the Biblical name Eleazar, four of the five children had the same names as a distant relative back in Wales. Coincidences such as this are interesting.

To recap, because of the lack of extant records, no evidential verification was found that the immigrant William Hunt came to Pennsylvania from any specific location in Wales. And the names of his parents and his date of birth remain unknown. Although William Hunt received a certificate from



The small Bryn Mawr Quaker burial ground near Llangurig in Wales is dominated by two large holly trees. The low walled area was granted to the Society of Friends in 1708 and has no visible gravestones. Burial records before 1777 are missing, so only three burials at Bryn Mawr are known, all with a connection to the Hunt family which lived in the Llangurig/Llanidloes area.



The Old Market Hall in Llanidloes which is located in the middle of the town at the cross of the two main roads. Today this building sits right in the middle of the street and is the most distinctive building in the town. It is the only surviving timber-framed market hall in Wales and, as recent tree-ring dating has proved, it was built between 1612 and 1622. The building was used at one time for Quaker meetings.

Radnor Monthly Meeting before he went to America, no confirming evidence of that was found in Wales because the records no longer exist in that country. Despite a search of parish records, will and probate records, some court records, even apprenticeship records, no individual who could be positively identified as the immigrant William Hunt was found.

But other circumstantial evidence suggests that William Hunt's point of origin in Wales was likely either the parish of Llangurig or Llanidloes in Montgomeryshire, Wales. Even though minutes of Radnor Monthly Meeting for the early eighteenth century are lost, there is no reason to doubt that William Hunt left with a certificate from that meeting. There is also evidence that, despite the fact that Radnor Monthly Meeting was centered in old Radnorshire, the meeting's influence extended beyond the boundaries of that county. Other Quakers in the western portion of neighboring Montgomeryshire are known to have gone to America with certificates from Radnor Monthly Meeting.

Other circumstantial evidence increases the likelihood that William Hunt was from Montgomeryshire and not Radnorshire. For example, almost no *Hunt* surnames can be found in Radnorshire during the time period when William Hunt left for America. But there were a number of Hunt families who lived in the nearby parishes of Llangurig and Llanidloes in Montgomeryshire, and the name William seems particularly common within those families. The village of Llangurig and the town of Llanidloes, only about three miles apart, appear to have been the center of considerable Quaker activity, though as with most places in Wales, the numbers for that group were never large. More importantly, some members of the Hunt family at Llangurig and Llanidloes were known to have been Quakers, despite the low odds of that association.

The immigrant William Hunt, once in Pennsylvania, was listed in court records as a weaver, an occupation which only a small percentage of men in America pursued, but which was very common around Llanidloes, a center for the woolen cloth industry in mid Wales. Finally, name similarities between children in Hunt families from Llanidloes and the immigrant William Hunt's family are striking.

In conclusion, there is a good likelihood the immigrant William Hunt originated from the area near Llangurig or Llanidloes in old Montgomeryshire, Wales.

William Hunt, the Immigrant Ancestor

As previously mentioned, the first of our family to come to America was an unmarried Quaker man from Wales named William Hunt, who arrived in the colony of Pennsylvania in early 1719.

Much of what has previously been written about William Hunt is just plain wrong and other information attributed to him is nothing more than speculation. Speculation and incorrect information concerning William Hunt is partly his own fault, since he left very few records during the course of his life. No will for him has ever been found, nor has any probate record been discovered for him. He is not known to have ever owned land in his life, for no deed had ever been found that could be attributed to him. Further, no one was certain where William Hunt lived in the latter years of his life, or even when or where he died. With an information void such as this, speculation and incorrect theories inevitably flourish.

Fortunately, in the course of researching this book, the compiler discovered information about William Hunt previously unknown to other Hunt researchers. That research uncovered several new records which provide considerable more insight into the sketchy life of the immigrant William Hunt.

A typescript prepared in 1973 by noted genealogist Florence L. Moyer titled *William Hunt of Radnor in Great Britain* states just about everything which had previously been known about him, summarized in a scant two pages of that work. Moyer mentioned that in November 1968 “I engaged genealogist John V. Hollingsworth ... to check out all records in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and Virginia to find out if William Hunt, the immigrant, was related to other Hunts in those states, determine when and where he and his wife died, and whether they owned any property which would prove family ties and the number and ages of their children. Mr. Hollingsworth checked out all those facets and found nothing about William.” It is probably accurate to say that no significant discoveries concerning William Hunt had been made since.

That is not to say that there has not been anything written about William Hunt. Over the last thirty years, there have been a number of references made to him, but these works rehash the same facts without the appearance of any new information. Even worse, many of these references pass along the same incorrect or unsubstantiated information concerning William Hunt.

It has been widely reported that William Hunt was born in 1690, though some sources claim 1692, 1693, 1698, 1700, etc. Feel free to pick a year. His reported place of birth is equally, if you'll pardon the pun, all over the map. Many persons have written he was born in Burlington County, New Jersey, where his wife was born. Others picked Warwickshire, England and Montgomeryshire, Wales as his place of birth. His date of death is most often reported as 1745. An informal study of a number of Internet websites where information has been posted about William Hunt, including nearly 250 family trees posted on Ancestry.com, turned up only a single instance of where the person posting the information got the place of death correct for William Hunt and no instances of where the person got the date of death correct. Guesses concerning William Hunt's place of death (for they can be no more than that) included Burlington County, New Jersey (he never lived there), Loudoun County, Virginia (he never lived there either), Bucks County, Pennsylvania (he did live there but moved from there years before he died), and Frederick County, Maryland. The latter guess is close, though Frederick County was not created until a couple of years after William died.

As described in the previous chapter, the origins of William Hunt remain unproven though circumstantial evidence indicates he was likely born in Montgomeryshire, Wales. His parents, exact

place of birth and date of birth still remain unknown to us. Information posted on the Internet often indicates William's father was Jacob Hunt, or his parents were William Hunt and Margaret Pearson. Nice choices, just without any evidence and almost certainly incorrect.

The original source of the frequently repeated name *Jacob Hunt* as the father of William Hunt was a lengthy article titled *Reminiscences of Nathan Hunt*, which appeared in the periodical *Christian Worker* dated "Third Month 22, 1883." The author of the article was David W. Hunt, a grandson of Nathan Hunt, the noted minister, and a great-great-grandson of the immigrant William Hunt. The article described a Hunt family reunion held on 15 August 1845 at the home of Thomas T. Hunt, the youngest son of Nathan Hunt. Though 37 years after the fact, David Hunt tried to accurately repeat the words of Nathan Hunt as his grandfather spoke to the group. The grandson recalled Nathan Hunt saying, regarding the family origins: "*Our family is a very ancient British family with some Scotch and some Welsh blood in it. My great grandfather's name was Jacob Hunt. My grandfather's name was William Hunt. I do not think he belonged to any religious denomination, though probably inclining to the Church of England. He settled on Rancocas Creek in New Jersey where my father William Hunt was born. Very shortly after the birth of my father, my grandfather moved into the state of Pennsylvania, and died while my father was quite a lad.*"

There are six facts given in the short account, and at least three of them are provably incorrect (basically the last three sentences). We must assume the passage of time had taken its toll on the facts, either for the original speaker or the grandson's recollection so many years later of his grandfather's words. The identification of *Jacob Hunt* as the father of the immigrant William Hunt, although possible, must be treated with strong suspicion and would require further corroboration before being considered plausible.

There are other accounts that have filtered down through the drain pipe (probably the best way to describe it) which allege "*that the only known Hunt to come to these shores was a Knight of England who was disgraced on the field and fled to the new world. He changed his name to Ephraim Hunt and married.*" This is so silly and completely without any basis in fact it would be highly amusing except that you can find this tidbit repeated often by highly gullible genealogists desperate for a knight in their family tree.

Another early account of the family origins, also quite fanciful, is mentioned in a letter by Nathan Hunt Jr., a great grandson of the immigrant William Hunt. The letter is referenced in a collection of notebooks which were kept by Pearl Idol of High Point, North Carolina, and which today can be found in the Quaker archives at Guilford College. The letter, which was brought to the compiler's attention by Thomas Hamm, the noted Quaker historian, states that "*William Hunt came to New Jersey from the Highlands of Scotland with three brothers Thomas, Eleazar & John in the early part of the 18th century & from them all the families of the Hunts in America descended.*" The letter goes on to state a number of other facts about William and his children that are known to be incorrect, so the information concerning the Scottish origins and the brothers must also be treated as highly suspect.

To make things worse, there was another William Hunt, who married someone named Margaret Pearson at Burlington Monthly Meeting in 1687 and who lived in Burlington County, New Jersey. He was also a Quaker, and people have confused him any number of times with either our ancestor or our ancestor's father. As Thomas Hamm wrote in 2001: "*I think that the evidence is overwhelming that this William Hunt [the immigrant] is not the son of William and Margaret (Pearson) Hunt: First, we have the will of a William Hunt of Springfield Twp., Burlington Co., NJ, made March 6, 1719-1720, proved April 26, 1720. It names wife Margaret; daughter Hannah; sons-in-law John*

Gibson and Caleb “Sreeve”; grandson Amos Sreeve. This looks very much like the William Hunt who married Margaret Pearson at Burlington MM in 1687, yet there is no indication of any sons. Likewise, Burlington MM records show marriages for Mary Hunt to Caleb Shreeve in 1713 and Sarah Hunt to John Gibson in 1719, but there is nothing in them to indicate that William and Margaret had sons. Second, we know that the younger William Hunt was apparently not born in America, since he was received at Abington MM in 1st Mo. 1719 on a certificate ‘from Radnor in Great Britain.’ ... He might well be related to the older William Hunt in some way, or to the Robert Hunt who married Elizabeth Woolman, Mary’s older sister, but no one has, to my knowledge, found anything definite.” The compiler completely concurs with Hamm’s assessment.

Another speculation often repeated, as Thomas Hamm mentioned above, is that William Hunt had a brother Robert. This is based solely on the fact that William Hunt and a Robert Hunt married sisters. It was common in colonial times for brothers of one family to marry sisters of another, and one can find numerous examples of that. In this case, however, there is no evidence that William and Robert were related in any way.

The most reasonable assertion at this point is that William Hunt was born in Montgomeryshire, Wales in either the parish of Llangurig or Llanidloes about 1690 to unknown parents. Anything beyond that is simply speculation. The estimate for his date of birth is based solely on the fact that his wife was born in 1692 and Quakers usually discouraged marriages between couples with an excessive age difference.

The first known record of William Hunt, widely mentioned but sometimes misquoted, is an entry in the records for Abington Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania. The notation for the “30th of ye 1st mo. 1719” states:

At this meeting William Hunt Late of Bybery Produced a Certificate from Radnor in Great Brittain which was Read & Accepted.

The sentence above was transcribed exactly as it was written in the original record, complete with lack of punctuation and misspellings (true of all quoted records in this work). This single sentence has caused genealogists a considerable amount of frustration.

In one of the first of many esoteric historical tidbits that have little to do with the actual story of the Hunt family, it is interesting to note who the man was who actually recorded the arrival of William Hunt at Abington Monthly Meeting. The clerk of that meeting from 1716 to 1720 was George Boone. He had immigrated to Pennsylvania himself just a few years before with his brother Squire and sister Sarah. Their parents arrived later. All were Quakers from Bradnich, England. George’s brother Squire Boone was the father of Daniel Boone, the famous frontiersman.

Abington Monthly Meeting was the business meeting for early Quakers who lived in the northeastern part of Philadelphia County (today Montgomery County), Pennsylvania. Today, this area is a suburb of northeastern Philadelphia. As described in the 1929 book *A Short History of Abington Monthly Meeting* by Arthur and Ann Jenkins, the Abington Monthly Meeting had jurisdiction over “the five Preparative Meetings of Oxford, Byberry, Abington (formerly Cheltenham), Germantown and Horsham.” The meeting house at Abington is one of the oldest in this country, the original structure having been built in 1699 (although it apparently was not finished until 1702).

As described earlier, Quakers traveling from one area of the country, or world, to another would carry a certificate from their old Quaker meeting to be presented to the new meeting. It served as a letter of introduction and informed the new meeting that the bearer of the certificate had been a member in

good standing at his old meeting.

There are five things that can be deduced from the single sentence entry in the Abington Monthly Meeting records. The first, and painfully obvious, is that William Hunt attended the Abington Monthly Meeting held on 30 March 1719 and presented his certificate from his previous meeting. This only places him at that location on that date. Secondly, the entry indicates that William Hunt was a Quaker before he came to America, since he produced a certificate from Great Britain. Thirdly, it is likely he had arrived only shortly before the 30 March 1719 date since such certificates would usually be recorded within a month or two of a person's arrival at a new meeting. We can deduce that William Hunt probably arrived in America either late in 1718 or in early 1719 (based on the present, or Gregorian, calendar).

The fourth thing that can be inferred from the entry is that William Hunt lived or recently had lived near the Byberry Meeting, since he is referred to as "*Late of Byberry*." The phrase "late of" is common in old colonial documents of all kinds, though the meaning of the phrase is sometimes unclear and often debated. The standard dictionary definition states "late of" means "recently but no longer," e.g., "a man late of Chicago, now living in Philadelphia." However in old legal records for the colony of Pennsylvania one can find a phrase similar to "John Smith, late of Philadelphia" over and over. An examination of those records leads to the conclusion the expression "late of" simply refers to a person's residence, though in some cases it could be a person's last known residence.

The fifth and last deduction that can be made from the entry in the Abington records is the reference to producing a certificate from "Radnor" in Great Britain. As described at length in the previous chapter, this reference was almost certainly to Radnor Monthly Meeting in mid-Wales.

Once in America, William Hunt did not stay under the jurisdiction of Abington Monthly Meeting for long. Within a few months he apparently moved from Philadelphia County (today Montgomery County) to Bucks County, Pennsylvania. The short move of about 10-20 miles to the east required that William Hunt transfer his membership in the Society of Friends to Falls Monthly Meeting, located in present-day Fallsington, Pennsylvania. Though the move was to the east and slightly north, it was to a more sparsely settled area of that region since the Delaware River flows southwest near Philadelphia, and it was along the path of the Delaware that all early Quaker emigrants traveled to reach this area.

Early certificates of removal for Abington Monthly Meeting have survived and William Hunt's certificate from Abington to Falls Monthly Meeting is recorded on 27 July 1719. The certificate begins:

From our Monthly Meeting at Abington the 27th of 5th mo. 1719. To our Friends of the Monthly Meeting at the Falls.

Dear Friends,

Whereas William Hunt late of Byberry (servant to John Carver of Byberry Monthly Meeting) having recommended himself to you, and having requested a certificate from the meeting, ...

The certificate goes on to state that William Hunt "kept to friends meeting" and that "he is clear of all women." The certificate was signed by William Walton and John Carver, as well as nineteen other men.

One of the other men who signed the certificate was Thomas Potts. In the 1901 book *The Potts Family in Great Britain and America* by Thomas Maxwell Potts, it is stated that Thomas Potts "was



The Abington Meeting House near present-day Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, a suburb of Philadelphia. The original building was completed in 1702 and occupied approximately one half of the structure on the right in the photo. The other half was erected in 1786, probably using part of the walls of the original meeting house, and then the original half rebuilt in 1797. The addition on the left was added in 1929. The immigrant ancestor William Hunt was almost certainly in the original portion of this building, since at the Quaker monthly meeting held on 30 March 1719, the clerk of the Abington Meeting noted that “at this meeting” William Hunt “*Produced a Certificate from Radnor in Great Brittain.*” The clerk of the Abington Meeting was George Boone, who himself had immigrated to Pennsylvania just a few years before from Bradninch, England. George was also the uncle of Daniel Boone, the famous frontiersman.

a miller by occupation” and “was a member of the Society of Friends and attached to Abington Meeting.” Potts was a Quaker minister who “after 1700, traveled much in the service of Truth,” and was frequently referred to as “Thomas Potts, the Quaker Preacher.” In fact, the same day as William Hunt’s certificate of removal was noted in the Abington Monthly Meeting minutes, Potts was noted as “having lately Returned from: traveling in Meryland & Virginia.” Potts would die a few months later. But the most interesting thing about Thomas Potts was his origins. The book notes that Thomas Potts was “born about 1660 in Llangirrig [sic] or Llanidloes, Montgomeryshire, Wales.”

The reference of William Hunt being a servant to John Carver is interesting. In colonial times the term “servant” meant something different than today’s image of butlers and valets. It simply meant a person in the service of another, i.e., an employee. A brief history of the Carver family in the *1904 History of the Townships of Byberry and Moreland* states that John Carver “was a malster by profession, and the ‘malthouse’ was continued until the fourth generation, when the business became so poor that it was given up.” The account also mentions that, for a while, the “brewing business assumed considerable magnitude. For a long time it was the only brewhouse in the locality.” The old occupation of malster or maltster was another name for a brewer, i.e., someone who made and sold beer or ale, brewed from malt.

The possibility was considered that William Hunt was not just a “servant” to John Carver, but an indentured servant. If that were the case, and there is no evidence it was, William Hunt would have typically had to work for John Carver for a period of several years to work off his indenture. Instead it appears William worked for Carver for only a period of months. The possibility also was considered that William Hunt and John Carver had been acquainted prior to William’s arrival in America. But John Carver’s father, also named John Carver, came from Hertfordshire, England, sailing to America about 1682. It has been written that Carver sailed with William Penn on the ship *Welcome*, though evidence of that is lacking. The son John Carver, who employed William Hunt, was born in Pennsylvania in 1687 and thus was roughly the same age as William Hunt. It is very unlikely the two were acquainted before William’s arrival in America.

The Falls Monthly Meeting in Bucks County noted on the “5th of 6th mo. 1719” (5 August 1719) a “*Certificate from Friends at Abington Relating to William Hunt Read approved and ordered to be Recorded.*” After his acceptance to that meeting, the first notation regarding William Hunt in the Falls Monthly Meeting records was for his proposed marriage to Mary Woolman six months later. On the “3rd of 12th mo. 1719” (3 February 1719/1720) it was noted:

Wm. Hunt Proposes his Intencons of Marryage with Mary Woollman belonging to Burlington monthly meeting it being the first time this meeting appoints Saml Beaks and John Hutchinson to Enquire into Wm’s Clearness and make Report to next meeting.

William Hunt was “clear” and married Mary Woolman, the daughter of John Woolman and Elizabeth Borton, two months later across the river in Burlington County, New Jersey, the home of the bride. The marriage document was dated the “fourteenth day of ye Second month” 1720 (14 April 1720). No other person with the surname of Hunt signed the marriage certificate other than William himself, making the argument that he had close family in America very weak. Among those 28 people who signed as witnesses was John Carver. Mary soon crossed the Delaware River with her new husband and took up residence in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. A certificate of removal from Burlington to Falls Monthly Meeting soon followed her. Perhaps because he married in Burlington County where his bride had lived, or because of confusion with another person of the same name who did live there, it is often erroneously repeated that William Hunt lived in Burlington County, New Jersey. However,



This building was built in 1728 and served as the second of four Falls Meeting Houses at Fallsington, Pennsylvania. It was built to replace the first meeting house, which either was outgrown or burned (there are conflicting stories). The structure is now an apartment building and is known as the Gambrel Roof House. The family of William Hunt, and perhaps William himself, would have attended meeting at this meeting house. William became a disgraced Quaker and was disowned by the Society of Friends in 1726, two years before this meeting house was built.

there is no evidence our immigrant William Hunt ever lived on the New Jersey side of the Delaware River, in Burlington County or anywhere else.

Research in the Bucks County records by the compiler uncovered a number of things about William Hunt previously unknown to Hunt family researchers. Likely covering the ground of others, a search of the grantor/grantee deed indexes (complete and extant back to 1684) indicated no deeds for William Hunt. And as others have probably discovered previous to this work, the tax records for that county are incomplete and relatively few early tax records exist for Bucks County. But several unexpected documents regarding William Hunt were found in the Court of Common Pleas records for Bucks County (on microfilm at the Spruance Library of the Bucks County Historical Society in Doylestown, Pennsylvania).

In the United States, a Court of Common Pleas is a court that usually hears misdemeanor criminal cases and civil cases with lesser monetary value at stake. Such courts are relatively uncommon; only the states of Delaware, Ohio, Pennsylvania and South Carolina have such courts today, but in Pennsylvania they are the courts of general trial jurisdiction. A Court of Common Pleas came from the English legal system and was brought to this country by the colonial settlers along with the rest of the English common law tradition.

In a Common Pleas court record dated 21 July 1722, the Sheriff of Bucks County was commanded to “*take William Hunt late of Bucks County, weaver ... and him safely keep so that you may have his body before our justices at Bristoll at our Court of Comon pleas there to be held the thirteenth Day of September Next to Answer Edmund Brown of a plea of tresspass ...*” The expression “have his body before our justices” didn’t mean that William was dead; rather this was the way old legal records were written when someone had to appear in court. For the period of 1705-1725, the courthouse for Bucks County was located at Bristol, Pennsylvania, just across the river from Burlington. The outcome of this civil suit against William Hunt for trespassing is unknown, but it does indicate his occupation was a “weaver.”

In colonial America, the same as today, people required fabrics for clothes, towels, sheets, blankets, sails, and dozens of other items made of wool, cotton, silk, linen, and hemp. Most of these were purchased from textile manufacturers in England. Until the American Revolution, British goods poured into the American market, and most colonials wore clothes made of English textiles. Though England dominated the market, the colonies had domestic producers, mostly in the northeast.

Weavers typically learned their trade through apprenticeship, which focused mostly on operating a loom, a machine that produced cloth by interweaving threads at right angles. Weavers had to know how to prepare the loom and how to run and maintain it. Colonists used primarily cotton and flax for weaving. They could get one cotton crop each fall and flax was harvested in the summer. Wool became available in the spring, when sheep-shearing was done so that the fleece would regrow in time for winter. Whether wool, cotton or linen (flax fiber), the fibers were spun into yarn, sometimes dyed with berries, bark, flowers, herbs or weeds, which were often gathered by children. With the yarn made, the weaver would prepare the loom. Almost everything was plain woven in colonial times. Sometimes designs were woven into the fabric but mostly designs were added after weaving. Weavers would usually add designs by using either wood block prints or embroidering.

In another court record dated 14 March 1723/1724, the Sheriff was again commanded to locate William Hunt “late of Bucks County, weaver” and have “his body” before the justices of the same court on 11 June 1724 to answer for an unpaid debt. The debt was for £34, 19 shillings and 8 pence

“money of America.” William Hunt owed the money to Benjamin Ellis, but the latter had assigned the debt to Samuel Carpenter for collection, and it was he who was suing William Hunt to collect.

The person suing William Hunt was a fairly prominent person of the day. According to the historical work *Welcome To Bristol Borough, The First hundred Years* by Paul Ferguson, “Samuel Carpenter was the wealthiest man in Pennsylvania in 1701. A philanthropic Quaker born in Surry, England, he came to this country by way of the Barbados to become a shipping merchant in Philadelphia. He built the Bristol Mills, later known as Carpenter’s Mills, Rogers’ Brothers, J&A Dorrance, and more recently as Plavin’s. ... Carpenter lost heavily in the French and Indian War of 1703; however, he still built a mansion on Burlington Island and made significant gifts to the Bristol Society of Friends. He contributed the ground for the Meetinghouse, Cemetery, and pasture.”

Lest one begins to think William Hunt was always on the unseemly end of debt lawsuits, on 18 June 1725, he sued for the collection of a debt of £4, 4 shillings “current money of Pensylvania” from a John Wells “late of Bristol, labourer.” In addition, William was seeking to collect 70 shillings, 6 pence awarded by the court as costs. The writ was endorsed *non est inventus*, meaning the sheriff was unable to find the defendant. Thus it might be assumed William Hunt never collected his money.

One final lawsuit appears in these records, dated 17 June 1726. William Hunt assigned a debt to George McCall to try to collect “sixteen pounds lawfull money of Pennsylvania” from James Silver of “Falls Townshipe & County of Bucks, ferryman.” This final court record is in very fragile condition and badly torn, and therefore not readable in its entirety.

William Hunt apparently did not make a very good Quaker. The Society of Friends at Falls Monthly Meeting noted in its records for “5th of ye 11th mo. 1725” (5 January 1725/1726) that:

William Hunt’s conversacon having been such that truth hath been dishonored thereby for which he hath been dealt with several times by the Falls overseers. But their advice taking no effectt but he is still continuing in Disorderly Practices therefore agreed that Thomas Watson, John Catcher, George Clough and William Atkinson do Draw a Paper of Condemnacon between [now] and our next meeting against him.

The word “now” in brackets does not appear in the original meeting record but was almost certainly omitted by the clerk of the meeting.

The paper of condemnation was prepared, as noted in the next Falls Monthly Meeting minutes, dated “2nd 12th mo. 1725” (2 February 1725/1726):

The friends appointed to Draw a testimoney against William Hunt accordinly have done it and Brought it to this meeting which was Read approved and order’d to be Read Publickly by Thomas Watson on next first day at the Falls meeting house after meeting.

Relatively few researchers mention the disownment of William Hunt in early 1726 by his fellow Quakers. Those who do have failed to question what was meant by “truth hath been dishonored” or in what kind of “disorderly practices” William Hunt was participating. As with most Quaker Monthly Meeting records, the terse text concerning disownment proceedings rarely indicates the details of the violator’s infractions.

What were the effects of disownment on William Hunt and his family? The act of being disowned by the Society of Friends is not well understood, even among some Quaker researchers. A paper titled *Our Understanding of Disownment, As Historically Practiced in the Society of Friends*, prepared in

1991 by Licia Kuenning and three associates, helps explain the concept of disownment. The paper explains that the “chief consequence of disownment for the disowned person was that he or she no longer had a right to attend business meetings; for the Society it was that they no longer had an obligation to oversee his behavior.”

It is explained by Kuenning that there “was no shunning involved in disownment; familial and secular relationships continued as before. This can be seen not only by the absence ... of any injunction to shun former Friends, but by the lack of any disciplinary concern ... about familiarity with disowned persons. Had such relationships been frowned upon we would know it: it would have been a major agenda item, for most disowned Friends were close relatives of Friends in good standing.”

Further, disownment did not mean the person could not continue to attend Quaker worship as he or she always had; Kuenning points out that “disowned persons were positively encouraged to attend Quaker worship.” Jack D. Marietta, in *The Reformation of American Quakerism, 1748-1783*, noted that how well a disowned Quaker attended meetings for worship was one of the criteria that would be considered if an offender petitioned for readmission. It is not known if William Hunt attended Quaker worship following his disownment, but certainly his wife Mary did, and very likely his children.

With most accounts of William Hunt, this is the end of the story, for no other significant records of him have previously been known. However research by the compiler uncovered additional facts about William Hunt in the records for the Bucks County Court of Quarter Sessions in the Spruance Library at Doylestown, Pennsylvania. As with its cousin, the Court of Common Pleas, the Court of Quarter Sessions is a hand-me-down from the English judicial system, and is used in Pennsylvania to this day. In England, the justices of each county were to meet four times a year and these sessions therefore became known as “quarter sessions.” In Pennsylvania this court was primarily responsible for criminal cases, roads, appointment of civil officials, and tavern and peddler license issues.

The latter use of the Court of Quarter Sessions is evident in the record (p. 81) dated 14 March 1722 in which “*William Hunt hath obtained a license to retaile bear & syder in his house.*” The “*bear & syder,*” of course, refers to beer and cider. William, along with Samuel Beaks and John Priestley, had to post a £20 bond to insure that “*the sd William Hunt shall not suffere any unlawfull gameing in his house nor any manor of disorder and allso that he shall not directly or indirectly sell*” any “*brandy rum or distilled licquours.*” In other words, William Hunt, besides his day job of being a weaver, ran a tavern in his home, not uncommon in the colonial era. A nearly identical record appears on page 101 of the same records and is dated 17 September 1724, again granting William Hunt “*a license to retaile beer & syder in his House.*” Perhaps he chose this activity because of his previous employment with the brewer John Carver. It is interesting to note that William’s tavern was limited to the sale of beer and cider, and that he was prevented from selling hard liquor or offering gambling activity. In colonial times, gaming was considered “a sin and not fit for discussion in polite society.”

The Court of Quarter Sessions also has a record, dated 11 March 1724, of William Hunt petitioning the court concerning an indentured servant to William named David Reeves. William complained that “*a certain indented serv. man named David Reeves has absented himself from the sd Master William Hunt severall times for the space of seventy three days and also that he, the said William Hunt, expended several sums of money in obtaining and getting the sd servant again.*” William claimed he had spent the sum of £15, 14 shillings, 2 pence, half of which William Hunt requested from the court in the form of additional indenture time. The court granted the petition, ruling that “*David Reeves shall serve his Master or his assign the term of two years after his time shall be expired*” to compensate for the “*costs and charges sustained by*” William Hunt. It is not known if this servant

worked for William in his weaving business or his tavern, or in some other capacity.

It has been estimated that one half to two thirds of all immigrants to colonial America arrived as indentured servants. Indenture was a labor system and should not be confused as a form of apprenticeship. The earliest indentured servants were brought to Virginia as farm laborers, because crops such as tobacco were labor-intensive crops and required a large work force, but every colony had a large number of indentured servants. In practice, the servant would sell himself to an agent or ship captain before leaving the British Isles. In turn, the contract would be sold to a buyer in the colonies to recover the cost of the passage.

Criminals convicted of a capital crime in England could also be transported in lieu of a death sentence (some for the theft of an item with a value as little as one shilling). Servitude also could result from indebtedness, where a person, their spouse or parents owed money, and the person was sold into servitude to recover the debt. In other cases, a parish indentured orphans in order to keep them off the poor rolls. Sometimes the poor sold themselves into indenture just to survive.

In theory, the person was only selling his or her labor. However, in reality, indentured servants were basically slaves and the courts enforced the laws that made it so. The treatment of the servant was often harsh and sometimes brutal. Some colonies prescribed “bodily punishment for not heeding the commands of the master.” It has been estimated that as many as half the indentured servants died in the first two years of their servitude. This is likely an exaggeration, but because of their treatment, runaways were frequent, as was the case with the indentured servant of William Hunt.

As mentioned previously, the terse language of the Quaker meeting minutes provides few clues as to the reason why William Hunt was disowned. Whenever such an information void exists, incorrect opinions and speculation thrive. As a result, a few researchers have produced rather fanciful explanations of the disownment of William Hunt. Researcher Nancy Speers of Swarthmore College stated in a 1986 letter to a descendant that “William Hunt apparently started preaching in Meeting something which was not popular with his listeners, and after being cautioned about it a number of times was finally disowned.”

Perhaps Speers thought the wording in the meeting minutes implied William Hunt was guilty of preaching improprieties, but she was incorrect. In the Bucks County Court of Quarter Sessions record book can be found the real reason William Hunt was disowned by his fellow Quakers. On page 110 of that record book, dated 17 June 1725, is a very brief entry that simply states “*William Hunt appearing to a Certain Indictment found agt. him - pleads not guilty.*” The same day a man named Nathaniel Elderton appeared before the court for a related offense and plead guilty.

The next day, 18 June 1725, the court appointed “*Samuel Beaks & Harman Vansant to appraise & put a vallue upon the goods stollen by Nathaniel Elderton & recd by William Hunt and make retorne thereof to the court imediatly.*” The two men appointed by the court appraised the stolen property and reported to the court that the value was £7, 13 shillings, 1 pence. The stolen property was identified in the court record as muslin, a valuable and sturdy cotton fabric used for things like sheets. Muslin was relatively new, having been introduced to Europe from the Middle East in the seventeenth century and its first recorded use in England was only in 1670.

The court ordered that Nathaniel Elderton, who stole the muslin goods, pay Thomas Yardley (apparently the original owner of the property) the sum of £7, 10 shillings, 1 pence for the goods stolen and the same amount to the government. In addition the court ordered that Elderton be “*whipt*

on his bare back well laid on at the publick whipping post with eleven lashes.” On the same page of the court record it was noted that *“William Hunt appears, retracts his former plea and pleads guilty.”*

At the next quarter session of the court, held on 16 September 1725, the following record was entered:

William Hunt appears to a certain indictment found agt. him and pleads guilty. It is therefor considered by the court that the sd William Hunt pay to the Governor twowards support of the governmt of this province the sum of 7:13:1½ and be whipped on his bare back well laid on at the comon whipping post with ten lashes and also to pay all the charges of prosecution and stand comitted until payment.

Thus William Hunt pled guilty to the charge of receiving muslin cloth stolen by Nathaniel Elderton from Thomas Yardley. Like William, Yardley was a Quaker who lived in Bucks County and was a fellow member of Falls Monthly Meeting. Nathaniel Elderton, the person who stole the muslin cloth, was apparently not a Quaker and nothing else is known about him.

The first of the Yardley family in Bucks County was William Yardley, who arrived with the first wave of Quaker immigrants when William Penn founded the colony in 1682. His land grant from Penn included part of the future site of the town of Yardley, Pennsylvania. He and his family prospered, and William Yardley held several important political positions such as justice of the peace, county sheriff, and was a member of both the Provincial Assembly and the Governor’s Council. He died in 1693, leaving three sons to carry on the family’s businesses. Ten years later a smallpox epidemic wiped out the entire family when all three of William’s sons, as well as all their children, died of the disease.

Thomas Yardley, William’s nephew, was the closest relative and the land came into his possession. Thomas came from England to claim the property, although because of the fear of smallpox, William Yardley’s house was burned. Thomas evidently erected his own house and prospered, establishing the first ferry service across the Delaware in 1710. In 1728 Thomas Yardley built a large home in the Georgian style of the period.

In addition to his fine of over £7, William Hunt was whipped at the public whipping post, located near the courthouse at Bristol, Pennsylvania at the time, with ten lashes on his bare back. Until 1705, justice in Bucks County had been dispensed from taverns and private homes. In 1705 the county seat was located at Bristol, with new buildings erected on a lot one hundred feet square on Cedar street, the gift of Samuel Carpenter. Court was first held at “New Bristol,” as it was called then, in the two-story brick building with a courtroom above, a jail below, and a whipping-post attached to the outside wall. A new house of correction, also with whipping-post, was erected at Bristol in 1722.

In early colonial America the whipping post was a part of every town square. The whipping post was the cause of heated debate and considerable embarrassment to some of the citizenry. Condemned as barbaric by many, public whippings were abolished in Pennsylvania in 1790. However, neighboring Delaware stubbornly clung to this form of punishment until the last public whipping in 1952 and its final removal from the statutes in 1972.

The public whipping of William Hunt likely occurred in September 1725. The overseers of the Falls Monthly Meeting had a month or two to stew over the problem they suddenly had with one of their members, and time to talk with William Hunt. We can probably assume these talks didn’t turn out very well, since a few months later, in January 1725/1726, the leaders of the Falls meeting were preparing condemnation papers against William Hunt.

William Hunt appearing to a Certain Indictment found ag^t
him pleas not guilty

William Hunt appears Retracts his former plea And pleads guilty

William Hunt Appears to a Certain Indictment found ag^t
Him and pleads guilty ———
It is therefor Considered by the Court that the S. William Hunt
pay to the Governor towards Support of the Govern^t. of this
Province the Sum of 7:13:1¹/₂ And be whiped on his bare
Back well laid on at the Comon whipping post with ten
Lashes And also pay to pay all the Charges of Prosecution
7.13.1¹/₂ And stand Comitted Untill payment

In old records for the Bucks County Court of Quarter Sessions housed in the Spruance Library at Doylestown, Pennsylvania were found some incriminating evidence against the immigrant ancestor William Hunt. The first image is a portion of page 110 of those records indicating William Hunt pled not guilty on 17 June 1725 to a charge of accepting stolen property. The second image is from page 111, dated the next day, showing William changed his plea to guilty. The final image was from the next quarter session of the court, held 16 September 1725, and appears on page 113 of the records. That record noted that William Hunt "pleads guilty" and was sentenced to a fine of over £7 and to be whipped "on his bare back well laid on at the comon whipping post with ten lashes." William Hunt had been charged with receiving muslin cloth stolen by another man named Nathaniel Elderton.

No further record of William Hunt is found in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, although he likely continued to live there for several more years. On the “6th of 3rd mo. 1730” (6 May 1730) the records for Falls Monthly Meeting indicate a “certificate for Mary Hunt was brought to this meeting, read, approved and signed.” Though no such certificate would be given to William Hunt, because he had been disowned, his wife Mary was still a Quaker in good standing and she was provided a certificate for removal to another Society of Friends meeting. The wording of the entry implies that someone other than Mary Hunt brought the certificate to the meeting, implying that Mary had already moved. In either case, the certificate of removal did not indicate Mary’s destination.

Fortunately, the records of Nottingham Monthly Meeting show Mary produced the certificate of removal from Falls meeting on the “18th of 5th mo. 1730” (18 July 1730). Nottingham Monthly Meeting was located in Chester County, Pennsylvania to the southwest of Philadelphia, though many of the settlers in the area called “Nottingham Lots” lived in what later became Maryland. It is likely that William Hunt and his wife had already been in Chester County for some time when Mary presented her certificate. Records show Nottingham Monthly Meeting was “set off” from New Garden Monthly Meeting in Chester County in 1730, and held its first monthly meeting on 20 June 1730. Thus Mary presented her certificate at only the second meeting ever held at Nottingham.

Early tax records for West Nottingham Township of Chester County, Pennsylvania show William Hunt paying taxes for the period 1729-1732, indicating he and his family had moved from Bucks County at least by 1729. The tax lists for 1729 showed William Hunt paid a tax of “5s 6d” (five shillings, six pence), “4s 6d” in 1730 and four shillings in 1732. The tax records are missing for other years in this period, so it is possible that William Hunt and his family were in Chester County both before and after the period of 1729-1732.

On “15th of 3rd mo. 1736” (15 May 1736) Nottingham Monthly Meeting granted Mary Hunt and her daughter Margaret a certificate to Hopewell Monthly Meeting. Hopewell, first known as Opeckan Meeting, was situated in Frederick County, Virginia, about five miles north of Winchester. This fact has led many to claim William Hunt and his family moved to Virginia, but there is no evidence of that.

However since William Hunt is on record as having paid taxes in 1732 in Chester County, Pennsylvania and in 1735 in Prince George’s County, Maryland, we know that he moved his family to the Monocacy area of Prince George’s County, Maryland. Today this area is Frederick County, Maryland. William probably moved in 1733, when the Beals family made the same move (William’s oldest daughter had married into the Beals family).

There has always been circumstantial evidence that after living in Pennsylvania, William Hunt and his family moved to the Monocacy area of Maryland. Other researchers noted (though incorrectly) that the married sisters of Mary Woolman, Hannah and Esther, were known to be in that area (see the *Quaker Yeomen*, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 7). Florence L. Moyer speculated that “one of these sisters was the aunt” who cared for William Hunt Jr. (the minister) after his parents died. Moyer further noted that the “1736 certificate for Mary and Margaret Hunt does not necessarily mean that they moved. The meeting at Monocacy, Maryland was shifted from Nottingham MM to Hopewell MM when the latter was established in 1734.”

In a typescript titled *Maryland Quaker Records: Nottingham Monthly Meeting, Cecil County* found in the Allen County Public Library, a note was made by historian William Wade Hinshaw about William and Mary Hunt. He stated that “being my personal ancestors, I have looked up their records carefully” and that William Hunt “removed with his wife and children to Monoquesy, MD in 1730.

At this time, Monoquesy PM belonged to Nottingham MM; in 1735, Monoquesy was transferred to Hopewell MM, VA; & in 1745 was set off from Hopewell MM with the newly organized Fairfax MM, VA.” Hinshaw repeated the same statement in the introduction to Fairfax Monthly Meeting in his encyclopedic work. Hinshaw went on to note that “William and Mary Hunt always lived at Monoquesy, MD; they both died in 1745.”

The speculations of both Moyer and Hinshaw are incorrect. The tax records for Chester County, Pennsylvania clearly indicate the family lived there for several years before going on to Maryland. Some people are also under the impression that Monocacy (with its many variant spellings) was once a town or village in Maryland; chapters in books have been devoted to the debate of this topic. Rather, research by others has shown that Monocacy was simply a term which referred to an area of that name, i.e. the Monocacy River valley area south of present-day Frederick, Maryland.

The only previously known record that established William Hunt as a resident of the Monocacy area of Maryland after leaving Pennsylvania was a petition that he and his two sons signed in 1742. That petition, to the Maryland Provincial Assembly, requested the parish of Prince George be divided, giving the “inhabitants of Seneca & Monocacy in Prince George County” a parish of their own. The petition was signed by nearly 200 individuals, including William Hunt, Thomas Hunt and Eleazar Hunt. It is interesting that William Hunt and his sons were among those asking that a Church of England parish be established near their home.

Historian Thomas Hamm from Earlham College believes this may be explained by the account written by David W. Hunt in the late 1800s recalling his grandfather’s words 37 years after the fact when the grandfather stated that William Hunt “inclined to the Church of England.” But the names of several known Quakers are also on the petition, hinting that there may have been another reason why Quakers would sign a petition for the creation of an Anglican parish. Maryland had always had *hundreds* (civil divisions within counties), but by 1700, Church of England parishes were also becoming an integral part of Maryland’s governmental system. Thus the petition request may have simply been an attempt to move some governmental access closer to where they lived, e.g., poor relief, etc.

While the compiler was at the Maryland State Archives in Annapolis, a number of traditional record sources were searched for a connection to William Hunt, all without success. Besides the usual deed, will and probate records, the compiler searched bond, chattel paper, guardianship, insolvency, mortgage and release, inventory, and administration account records extant for Prince George’s County. Nothing was found relating to William Hunt. If he ever lived in Prince George’s County, Maryland, then as with his previous places of residence, William Hunt appeared to have left few if any records in his wake. It appeared he never owned land, he did not leave a will, and there was not even any probate for him. The last observation was especially difficult to understand, because even in the absence of a will, there should have been some kind of probate trail following his death. Obviously something more concrete was needed to establish whether or not William Hunt lived in the Monocacy area of Maryland. Fortunately that would be found, but from the most unexpected and somewhat amusing source.

Where William Hunt lived after leaving Pennsylvania can be determined because of crows and squirrels. That’s correct, crows and squirrels. As early as 1713, the General Assembly of Maryland passed laws requiring every citizen of the colony join in the destruction of crows and squirrels because of the damage to crops these animals caused. An examination of the Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland reveals hundreds of examples of these acts being passed, modified and repealed over the years, with such acts existing well into the 1800s for some Maryland counties. The

Assembly often modified the conditions of such acts, or changed the levy structure, but the following act passed in 1728 is representative of the many crow and squirrel laws passed in colonial Maryland:

That from and after the Commencement of this Act, every Master, Mistress, Owner of a Family, or single Taxable, ... shall be, and are by this Act obliged, Yearly, (at some Time before the Laying their County Levies,) to produce to some one of the Justices of their County, three Squirrel Scalps or Crows Heads, ...

And be it further Enacted ... that every Person that shall fall short of producing a Certificate of Squirrels Scalps or Crows Heads, ... the Justices ... shall ... Levy upon such Person, the Sum of Two Pounds of Tobacco; ...

And be it further Enacted ... That every Person that shall bring to any Justice of the Peace ... the Heads or Scalps of any more Squirrels or Crows, than the Three ... required, shall for every such Head or Scalp, be allowed in the County Levy, ... the Sum of Two Pounds of Tobacco; ...

Thus colonial Maryland residents were required to present their local justices of the peace with crow and squirrel heads annually. The justices would typically snip the beaks of the crow heads and the ears from the squirrel's head to prevent the citizen from collecting twice with the same scalps. If the citizen was deficient in producing the required three animal scalps, he was penalized on his taxes, but if he produced more than the required number, he was rewarded with a credit against his taxes.

The taxes, of course, were in the currency used in this part of colonial America. Because of the scarcity of coined money, the colonies of Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina used tobacco as currency throughout much of the colonial period. Nearly all business transactions in Maryland, including levies, were conducted in terms of tobacco. The obvious weakness of tobacco as currency, primarily the lack of portability and its variability of value, became more apparent with time and its use as currency was abandoned in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

In the Maryland State Archives at Annapolis, one can find an old levy book for Prince George's County, Maryland, for years beginning in 1734. Each year the county clerks prepared two lists, one with the names of those who had been deficient in turning in the required number of crow and squirrel scalps, and the second list of names of those who had produced the required three or more scalps. The latter list was always much shorter than the list of those deficient, indicating that despite the law not many people bothered to go crow or squirrel hunting.

The lists for 1734 do not show the name of William Hunt. But beginning in 1735 and every subsequent year through 1746, the name of William Hunt appears on "A List of those persons who have been Deficient in Bringing in their Quota's of Crows and Squirrells heads" The one exception was for the year 1744, when William's name appeared on the list "of Such Persons bringing in Crows and Squirrels Heads" Thus William Hunt managed to supply the required number of animal scalps for only one of the twelve years this information was recorded. William's two oldest sons are listed as well. Thomas' name appears on the deficient list in 1742, 1744, 1745 and 1746. Eleazar Hunt's name also appears on the deficient list for the years 1745 and 1746. Thus these lists serve as a kind of annual "census" indicating that William Hunt and his family lived continuously in Prince George's County, Maryland from at least 1735 until 1746.

For the next year, 1747, an empty form for the crow and squirrel list appears in the levy book, but no names were entered. It appears that the Maryland Assembly once again was fiddling with the laws regarding animal scalps. The list never again appears in the Prince George's levy book.

Besides proving residency in Maryland for a number of years, what is most interesting about these

lists is the entry for William Hunt for the year 1746. There are never any dates associated with these lists other than the year itself, but one can probably assume the 1746 list was created sometime in that year. This contradicts conventional wisdom that William Hunt died in 1745 or earlier. Besides the earlier referenced quotation by Hinshaw, he wrote in his *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* (v. VI, p. 524) in an entry about William Hunt's son-in-law William Kersey that William and Mary Hunt were "both dec [*deceased*] in 1745." Florence L. Moyer wrote in her account of William Hunt that there "is no formal record of the date of William and Mary Woolman Hunt's deaths except that their children were accepted as Quakers at Fairfax Monthly Meeting, Virginia around 1745 with the notation that the parents were deceased." Finally, in a number of letters to patrons, Nancy P. Speers (a Quaker expert and archivist at Swarthmore's Friends Historical Library for a number of years) stated that William and Mary Hunt "died in 1745 of smallpox."

As a result of these and similar sources, most Hunt family researchers today indicate that William Hunt and his wife, the former Mary Woolman, died in 1745. This is another case where all the experts got it wrong.

For starters, this obviously conflicts with the 1746 crow and squirrel list. But upon closer examination the "1745" date is clearly misleading. An entry for Fairfax Monthly Meeting in Virginia states that the parents of William Hunt's daughter Hannah were both deceased when she was received into that Quaker meeting on "27-9-1746" (27 November 1746). Likewise William's son Eleazar was received at the same meeting "28-1-1747" (28 March 1747) when both his parents were also indicated as being deceased. So it would seem there is no evidence in Quaker records of William Hunt having died before late 1746, and certainly no evidence that he died by 1745. Also the notion that the parents died of smallpox is without any known evidence. We can be confident in saying we don't know what caused their deaths if we don't even know when or where they died, or where they're buried. The reference to death by smallpox is unsupported and almost certainly a confusion with their son William Hunt Jr. (the minister) who died in England of smallpox some years later.

Other than the Quaker meeting minutes, a couple of other sources of clues regarding the deaths of William and Mary Hunt were found. One of those clues appears in the book *Memoirs of William and Nathan Hunt*, published in Philadelphia by Uriah Hunt & Son in 1858. This book, about the son and grandson of the immigrant William Hunt, both of whom were noted Quaker ministers, appears to be a collection of materials from other sources. On page 17, a chapter titled "Memoirs of William Hunt by the late Editor of the Friend's Review (Enoch Lewis)" states "A manuscript has been placed in the hands of the editor, bearing evident marks of age, which consists partly of autograph narratives of several journeys, in the service of the gospel, performed by this eminent and devoted minister, and partly by letters addressed by him to divers [*diverse*] of his friends." On pages 18-19 of the book Lewis wrote, referring to William Hunt the minister and son of the immigrant of the same name, that the "valuable Friend became an orphan at an early age, for his father died when he was about twelve years old, and his mother at a still earlier period."

Another document was found in the Prince George's County, Maryland records which helps shed considerable light on a number of questions about William Hunt. In the Maryland State Archives at Annapolis is the Prince George's County Court book BB-1. Despite its title, this is a book of land records (and is so indicated by the archives) for the year 1746. This book has been well restored and has over 500 pages of deeds in it. But five pages (pp. 520-524) from the very back of the deed book had become detached from the binding with years of handling and were in such bad condition they could not be copied and laminated with the rest of the book in the archive's restorative process. Two of these pages (pages 520 and 521) contain a deed which William Hunt signed shortly before he died.

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Prince Georges County for A List of Those Persons who have been Deficient in Bringing in their Quotas of Crows and Squirrels heads According to Act of Assembly Late made and Provided 1737

Persons Chargeable	Number of Crows	Ant.	Total	Persons Chargeable	Number of Crows	Ant.	Total
Daniel Armiger	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	Brought Up			£4.3.0 $\frac{3}{4}$
M ^r Eleanor Addison	16	32.0.0	3.2 $\frac{1}{2}$	James Brown	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
M ^r John Abington	9	18.0.0	4.9 $\frac{1}{2}$	Thomas Butt	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
George Atthey	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	Samuel Butt	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
George Dier	9	18.0.0	4.9 $\frac{1}{2}$	William Boswell	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Abel Adgate	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	Robert Brown	6	12.0.0	1.2 $\frac{1}{2}$
John Abraham	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	James Beck	6	12.0.0	1.2 $\frac{1}{2}$
William Addison	6	12.0.0	1.2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Samuel Dreshere Mill	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
M ^r Eleanor Addison	33	66.0.0	6.7 $\frac{1}{2}$	John Bell	18	36.0.0	3.2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Thomas Applegate	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	William Beanes	11	22.0.0	2.2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Peter Abby	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	M ^r Jane Brooke	33	66.0.0	6.7 $\frac{1}{2}$
John Atkinson	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	John Blackwood	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
William Ahridge	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	Henry Brooke	18	36.0.0	3.2 $\frac{1}{2}$
George Atwoods Lucasen	33	66.0.0	6.7 $\frac{1}{2}$	Thomas Blanford	1	2.0.0	0.2 $\frac{1}{2}$
John Abingtons Quarter	13	26.0.0	3	M ^r Anne Byrches	12	24.0.0	2.4 $\frac{1}{4}$
John Allbon	9	18.0.0	4.9 $\frac{1}{2}$	Robert Bradly	16	32.0.0	3.2 $\frac{1}{2}$

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£23.17.6 $\frac{1}{4}$ Brought Up

6.0.0	0.7 $\frac{1}{4}$	Thomas Hoshinson	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
126.0.0	12.7 $\frac{1}{4}$	Jamison Haswells	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
6.0.0	0.7 $\frac{1}{4}$	James Herbert	6	12.0.0	1.2 $\frac{1}{2}$
54.0.0	5.4 $\frac{3}{4}$	William Hunt	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
54.0.0	5.4 $\frac{3}{4}$	Jacob Hoofe	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
2.0.0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$				
4.0.0	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	Johanna Jones	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	Jacob Jones	3	6.0.0	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
36.0.0	3.7 $\frac{1}{4}$				

Incredibly stupid taxes are not solely an invention of modern government. As early as 1713, the General Assembly of Maryland passed laws requiring everyone in the colony help kill crows and squirrels because of damage to crops caused by these animals. Maryland colonists were required to present their local justice of the peace with three crow or squirrel heads annually. If the citizen failed to produce the required three animal scalps, he was penalized on his taxes; if he produced more than the required number, he was rewarded with a credit against his taxes. Above is the Prince George's County levy book for 1737 indicating those who were "deficient in bringing in their quotas" of animal heads and the tax they were assessed for failing to do so. The top image is the first page for 1737 and the second image is four pages later in the levy book showing William Hunt failed to supply three heads and owed six pounds of tobacco as a tax (tobacco was the currency of colonial Maryland in those days).

The compiler had to receive special permission from the archives to gain access to this deed since these five pages are marked “originals, do not circulate.” The pages, cataloged under the designation “CR 49,522-2,” were encased in clear plastic due to their fragmentary and fragile condition.

This 1746 deed is quite unusual. Though in very poor condition and with portions missing, enough of the text of the deed is readable to give the reader the idea of what the deed was about (the appearance of “___” in the following transcription indicates text missing due to torn portions of the original document):

At request of George Scott, the following Deed was recorded November the fourth day Anno Dom Seventeen hundred and Forty Six.

*This Indenture made this 25 day of Octob^r 1746 between the partys following to wit William Hunt of Prince George’s County in the province of Maryland Planter of the one part and George Scott of s^d County and province Merchant of the other Part Witnesseth that the sd William Hunt for & in consideration of the sum of Two hundred & ninety eight pounds six shill^s & eight pence Curt money of Maryland in hand paid to him by the said George Scott the receipt whereof he doth acknowledge & discharge him the sd George Scott his heirs forever Hath given granted Bargained & Sold & by these Presents doeth give grant bargain Sell & make over to the sd George Scott his heirs Execu^{rs} and or assigns forever all my right and property to one hundred & thirty acres of land leased by me from Charles Carroll Esq. being part of a tract of Land called Carrollton or Monocasy and all the dwelling houses, outhouses, improvements and advantages on said tract of land, also my Books of Accounts, and all Sums of Money now due to me, also six Cows & two yearling Hefers & one large & one small Steer and four Calves and six Sows and twelve Barrows & Speyd Sows and twenty piggs Shoats & seven [head] of sheep, all the above Creatures markt with an underkut in the right ear and a Crop in the left Ear, also a Dun Horse Branded ~~W~~ also a Black Horse branded **O** also ___ black Mares the Brands not remembered and one feather bed & covering ___ goods & chattles which I am now possessed of or have any right to ___ ...*

The second page of the recorded deed is even more ragged and nearly a third of it is missing, but the readable text reiterates much of what was stated on the first page:

... the plantation to have and to hold ... mentioned tract of land, Books of Accounts Sums of money, cows, yearling ___, calves, Sows, Barrows and Speyd Sows Piggs & Shoats Sheep, Horses, mares, ___, Bed & covering, my Crops in the Ground or in the houses of Corn Wheat Rey, Tobacco and all other my Goods and Chatles whatever as if they were particularly mentioned all which I will Warrant & defend against all persons and all times coming to the said George Scott his heirs or assigns forever and do oblige me my heirs and Admin^{rs} to execute any other deed when required to secure & makeover more effectually to the s^d George Scott his heirs or assigns the Land and goods above mentioned.

In witness whereof the party first above mentioned hath hereunto set his hand and affixed his seal day and year above written.

Wm Hunt

The witnesses for the deed were Thomas Dawson and Charles Miller. Probably because of the unusual nature of the deed, the following notation was added in the recorded copy:

On the back of which Deed was thus Indorsed:

On the 25 Octr 1746 William Hunt party to the within deed came before me one of his

Lordships Justices of the Provincial Court and Acknowledged the within Deed to be his Act and deed according to the form of the Act of Assembly in such cases made & provided.

Taken & acknowledged before me day & year aforesaid

B Young

At the bottom of the recorded deed was a receipt provided by William Hunt acknowledging the payment received:

Reced 25 Octr 1746 of George Scott the sum of Two hundred & ninety eight pounds

Six shills & eight pence Curt the Consideration within mentd Reced by me

Wm Hunt

This was not the first time George Scott, a local merchant, had entered into such an unusual agreement. A bill of sale a year earlier, recorded at the request of George Scott on 24 November 1745, indicates a widow named Mary Brawner sold for £22 “1 cow & 1 yearling, and a sorrel horse, and 2 feather beds and furniture, and 2 iron pots, and all the rest of the household furniture and lumber, and 2 sows, and all my crop of corn and tobacco now in the houses.”

As with the Mary Brawner deed, the deed between George Scott and William Hunt was a complete liquidation of everything William Hunt owned. William was listed as a “planter” and the deed refers to his 130-acre plantation, leased from Charles Carroll and part of the Carrollton tract. The deed also provides a crude inventory of his personal property, even mentioning the crops he raised, specifically corn, wheat, rye and tobacco. In the deed, William Hunt sold everything he owned to George Scott, including the lease to his property. It was explained to the compiler by Robert Barnes (an employee of the Maryland State Archives, Fellow of the Maryland Genealogical Society, and author of several books on Maryland history) that in colonial times, leases were often sold or left to children in people’s wills.

In the deed, William Hunt sold not only the lease for his land and home but all his livestock, including:

6 cows	1 small steer	12 barrows & spayed sows
2 yearling heifers	4 calves	20 pigs & shoats
1 large steer	6 sows	7 sheep

The deed indicates that all of the animals were marked with an undercut in the right ear and a crop to the left ear. William probably had this combination of marks registered with the county in case his animals strayed from his farm. The deed also mentions a dun horse with a **N** brand and a black horse with an **O** brand. By the way, for non-farmers, a *barrow* is a castrated pig, a *shoat* is a young pig that has just been weaned, and a *dun* horse is one of a grayish brown color.

William sold the crops in his sheds and those still in the ground. William specifically mentions selling all his goods and chattels (though twice misspelled by the clerk recording the deed, *chattel* is personal property, i.e., anything owned by a person other than real estate). The deed goes even further in referring to all of William’s goods “as if they were particularly mentioned.” In other words: “if I forgot to mention something specifically, I meant that too.” To make extra sure that everyone understood what he was doing, William Hunt went to the unusual step of having a local Justice witness the deed and endorse it. Even William Hunt’s accounts receivable (“all sums of money now due to me”) were included in the sale. A more complete example of liquidation would be difficult to find.

At Request of George Scott the following Ind was recorded November the fourth of
Anne Dⁿⁱ Seventeen hundred and Forty Six
This Indenture made this 25 day of Oct^r 1746 between the parties follow-
to wit William Hunt of Prince Georges County in the Province of Maryland Plaintiff
on the one part and George Scott of s^d County & Province Merchant of the other Part Witnesseth
that the s^d William Hunt for & in consideration of the sum of Two hundred & thirty
Eight Pounds six Shill^{gs} & eight pence Curr^{nt} money of Maryland in hand paid to the
by the said George Scott the receipt whereof he hath acknowledged & discharge him the
George Scott his heirs for ever, hath given granted Bargained & sold & by these presents
doth give grant bargain sell & make over to the s^d George Scott his heirs Executors
or Assigns for ever all my right and property to one hundred & thirty Acres of Land
by me from Charles Carroll Esq^r being part of a tract of Land called Carrolton or
Monocacy and all the dwelling houses, out houses, improvements and advantages on
said Tract of Land, also my Books of Accounts, and all Sums of Money now due to
also six Cows & two yearling Calves & one large & one small Steer and four
and six Sows and twelve Barrows & Sprig Sows, and twenty pigs & Hens & Geese
of which all the above figures marked with an Underhul in the right ear, one & a roan in
the Left Ear, also a Dim Horse Branded @ also a Black Horse Branded O & a
Black Mare the Brands not Common used and one feather Bed Covering &
Goods & Chattels which I am now possessed of or have and ought to be &
mentioned and described to have & to hold to him the s^d George Scott

This tattered remnant, encased in plastic to help preserve it, from page 520 of the Prince George's County Court book BB-1, was found in the Maryland State Archives. This is the first page of an unusual "end-of-life" deed, dated 25 October 1746, in which William Hunt sold everything he owned because he was dying and wanted to avoid probate. The compiler had to receive special permission from the archives to gain access to this deed since the last five pages of this deed book are not available to the public due to their fragile condition.

The first question that comes to mind is why would William Hunt do what he did, liquidating everything he had, including his ability to eat. The answer is quite simple: he was dying. He had apparently reached the end of his life, and knew it, and chose this method to provide for one or more of his children. His wife was already dead and William, in the words of historian Robert Barnes, “wanted to avoid probate.” The discovery of this deed explains the lack of a will or any probate for William Hunt. If you own nothing at the time of your death, there is no need for either. Though £298 doesn’t sound like much (and this was Maryland currency, worth less than the British pound of the day), it was a sizeable enough sum for William Hunt’s sons to buy land, etc.

It is interesting that Frederick County, Maryland court records (Frederick County was formed in 1748 from Prince George’s County and included the Monocacy area) show that George Scott later sued William Hunt’s oldest son Thomas. James Dickson, William Wilburn and Eleazar Hunt were called to appear in the March 1750 term of the court to testify on behalf of Scott. This case reappears in the court docket a couple of more times and seems to have dragged on until at least March 1751. The reason for or result of the suit is unknown. One obvious possibility, though only conjecture, is that George Scott was accusing Thomas Hunt, William’s eldest son, of removing some of the property from the “estate” which Scott had purchased.

The deed also serves to pinpoint the date of death for William Hunt more closely than ever before possible. We know, of course, that he was alive on 25 October 1746, the day he signed the deed. And from the Fairfax Monthly Meeting records, we know that William’s daughter Hannah was received by request to that Quaker meeting on “27-9-1746” (Hinshaw’s date nomenclature), in which both her parents were mentioned as deceased. The ninth month in Quaker-style old-style dates translates to 27 November 1746. Thus it would appear that William Hunt died within about a month of his “signing his life away.” He may have already been dead by the time George Scott requested the deed be recorded on 4 November 1746. In either case, it has now been proven that William Hunt died between 25 October and 27 November 1746, and that he died in Prince George’s County, Maryland.

The date of death for William’s wife, Mary (Woolman) Hunt, cannot be pinpointed with the same accuracy. Besides the 1858 book *Memoirs of William and Nathan Hunt* mentioned previously, there is another account, published in 1863 in *The Friend*, a religious and literary journal published in Philadelphia (v. XXXVI, p. 87), about William Hunt Jr., the noted minister and son of William and Mary Hunt. The account states that William Jr.’s “*mother died when he was very young, and his father when he was about twelve years of age.*” A third early account about William Hunt Jr., sent to the compiler by Thomas Hamm, appeared in the 16 January 1830 issue of *Miscellaneous Repository*, a Quaker periodical published in Mt. Pleasant, Ohio. In a testimony from English Friends, it was noted about William Hunt Jr. that “*for his mother dying when he was young, who, he had been informed was a religious woman, and his father when he was about twelve, he was left quite alone.*” Thomas Hamm wrote “from that I conclude that Mary (Woolman) Hunt died not long after 1736, since this account implies that William Jr., did not remember her.” Based on these accounts, Mary (Woolman) Hunt likely died a number of years before her husband William Hunt, probably about 1736-1738.

So where did William Hunt live in Prince George’s County? Where was Carrollton and what did that refer to? Who was Charles Carroll?

Some people may already be familiar with the name “Charles Carroll,” a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the last of that group to die (in 1832 at the age of 95). He was also the only Catholic to sign the Declaration of Independence and reportedly the richest of the 56 signers.

Reportedly because there were several prominent men named Charles Carroll in Maryland at the time, he signed the Declaration of Independence as “Charles Carroll of Carrollton” to leave no doubt as to who he was in case the British came to hang him for treason. He often signed his name that way in the years that followed.

This Charles Carroll is known as “the signer” among those who have studied the Carroll family. His grandfather, referred to as Charles Carroll “the settler,” left his native Ireland because of British discrimination against Catholics, hoping for a better life in the New World. Carroll was appointed Receiver General of Maryland by Lord Baltimore but within months of Carroll’s arrival, the status of Catholics in Maryland became threatened. Simply put, the haven for British Catholics in Maryland never materialized. Carroll was eventually stripped of his public position and even imprisoned for refusing to renounce his faith. But Carroll “the settler” had money and married someone with even more of it. When “the settler” died in 1720, he was considered Maryland’s wealthiest and largest land owner.

Like his father, the “settler’s” son, known as Charles Carroll “of Annapolis,” never gave up hope of overcoming the religious intolerance of Maryland laws which kept Catholics from publicly practicing law, holding public office, voting or providing an education for their children. In defense of their beliefs, Catholics like the Carrolls zealously guarded their fortunes by marrying into other Catholic families and sending their children abroad to study.

The third Charles Carroll in a row, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, was the only son of Charles Carroll of Annapolis, and became heir to the largest fortune in colonial Maryland. He was sent to study in French Flanders, instructed in classical studies in Paris and by 1760 was studying English law in London. On his return to Maryland in 1765, Charles Carroll of Carrollton was given a 10,000-acre land tract called Carrollton Manor, located in Prince George’s County. Although he would never live there permanently, Carroll sometimes visited his large manor in Prince George’s County, reportedly staying for a few days at a time.

It was the second Carroll, Charles Carroll of Annapolis, from whom William Hunt leased his 130 acres. Because he didn’t live there himself, Carroll rented most of the large manor to tenant farmers. Early rent rolls for Carrollton have not survived (rent rolls are extant only for 1771 and 1777, as well as fragmentary lists of tenants for the period 1765-1768), so few of the details of the lease taken out by William Hunt are known to us today. But George Ely Russell, in an article titled *Carrollton Manor Rent Rolls*, published in *Western Maryland Genealogy* in 1989, states that Carroll rented out farmsteads, often in increments of 50 acres, “under seven-year renewable leases which required tenants to clear the land and make improvements. Rents were collected annually on 29 September, with payments being made in sterling, currency or tobacco. Carroll sometimes permitted poorer tenants to negotiate an interest-bearing bond when they could not pay the rent.” One of the tenant farmers was usually responsible for collecting the rents from the others.

The location of the former Carrollton Manor is in present-day Frederick County, Maryland, roughly centered on the small community of Adamstown. It extended from northwest of Buckeystown south to the Potomac River. By additions of adjoining land, the original 10,000-acre tract eventually grew to about 12,700 acres according to a resurvey done in 1799. The land lies in the Monocacy River valley, as mentioned earlier, an area usually referred to simply as “the Monocacy.”

Even more information concerning Carrollton Manor and its tenant farmers was found in a University of Maryland Ph.D. dissertation titled *Autonomy and Opportunity: Carrollton Manor Tenants*,

1734-1790, written by Mary Clement Jeske in 1999. The dissertation was a study of the tenants who rented land on Carrollton estate, beginning with the settlement of the manor in 1734 and continuing through the time of the American Revolution. Using all available records, including land and probate records, court proceedings, military records, church records, immigration lists, Carroll account books, correspondence and other documents, Jeske's paper is the most thorough study ever done of the nearly 200 people known to have leased or rented land on Carrollton Manor during the 1700s.

A *manor* was a tract of land in some of the American colonies with hereditary rights granted to the proprietor by royal charter. The proprietor usually rented or leased the land to farmers, which served as a substantial source of income. As Jeske points out, "tenancy is often associated with grinding poverty and oppressive landlords, which has led to assumptions that tenants were near the bottom rung of society, just above slaves and servants." With many other manors, even others in the Maryland colony, this was often true. However Jeske discovered that was not the case with Carrollton.

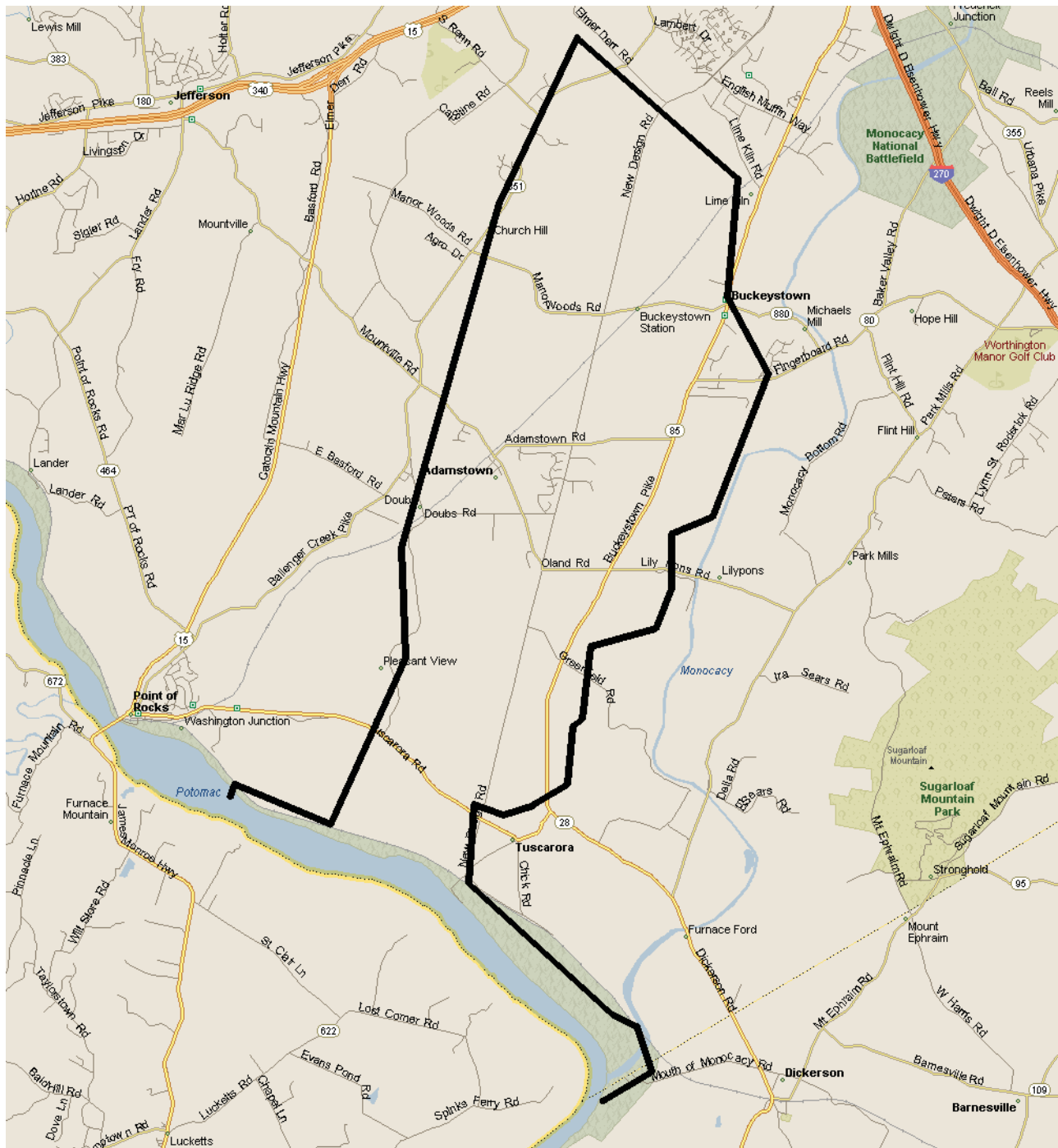
Jeske wrote that leasing "clearly benefitted the Carrolls, who derived a substantial income from the manor. But the tenants benefitted as well, and many evidently chose to rent land on the manor. The tenants were free to manage their plantations with little interference from the Carrolls. They decided what crops to grow on their manor tracts and how to market them, what labor to use, and how to allocate their resources. Only those before mid-century enjoyed written agreements, but nevertheless throughout the entire period of this study the Carrolls recognized the tenants' right to transfer their tenements to kin or sell their improvements to new entrants."

It is clear from Jeske's study that "tenants cannot simply be characterized as poor farmers, nor tenancy taken as evidence of a lack of economic opportunity and increasing inequality. Tenants did not constitute a separate economic class at the bottom of the social pyramid of freemen. Some were poor, but this was often true of small landowners as well, and many tenants were prosperous."

Because early Carroll account books do not exist, it hasn't been possible to identify all of the names or even the number of tenants who leased land at Carrollton. Leases recorded between 1734 and 1750 survive for only twenty tenants, and Jeske was able to identify twelve others from other sources. Jeske theorized the manor's huge size could have supported more than 100 tenant farms, but it appears the maximum number never exceeded 70 during the 1770s, the years for which the best records survive (the first extant rent roll, from 1768, lists only 42 tenants). Jeske speculates that it is "likely that these thirty-two identified tenants, while they were not all present simultaneously or for the entire period, represent a fair proportion of the manor population during the early decades." William Hunt was not one of the tenant farmers Jeske was able to identify because she only researched deeds where one of the parties was Charles Carroll.

Carrollton leases were for relatively short terms. Jeske states leases "made in 1734 were for 21 years, and the terms of subsequent agreements grew progressively shorter. The last recorded lease in 1750 was for 11.5 years, after which Carroll apparently stopped drawing up written contracts, except for a mill on Tuscarora Creek. No other leases were recorded in the land records, and Carroll reported in 1764 that the manor was let to 'Tenants at Will,' that is, with agreements (probably oral) annually renewable at the pleasure of the landlord."

Jeske determined from the extant leases that Carroll reserved the right to *distrain* (to seize because of lack of payment) "goods and chattels of any tenant whose rent was more than forty days in arrears. Leaseholders were to plant within six years an apple orchard of 100 trees planted forty feet apart or pay a penalty of £6 sterling. All of the leases included prohibitions against subtenancy and stipulated



An approximate outline of Carrollton Manor located in the Monocacy area in Prince George's County, Maryland (today, Frederick County). The immigrant ancestor, William Hunt, leased 130 acres of land on the huge 12,700-acre plantation from the owner, Charles Carroll "of Annapolis". In 1765, after William Hunt's death, Carrollton Manor was gifted to Carroll's son, Charles Carroll "of Carrollton". Although he would never live there permanently, the latter Carroll sometimes visited his large manor in Prince George's County, and is believed to have stayed there for several days at a time. "Charles Carroll of Carrollton" was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, signing his name exactly that way so as to distinguish himself from others of the same name in case the British wanted to hunt him down and hang him for treason.



Top, the entrance to Carrollton Manor, and bottom, the Manor House, known as Tuscarora. William Hunt was a tenant farmer and leased land from Charles Carroll, the owner of Carrollton Manor. Today, a much smaller Carrollton Manor belongs to Alcoa Aluminum, which has a large aluminum plant on the former plantation. The house has limestone walls 24 inches thick. The Manor House, built about 1764 and listed on the National Register of Historic Places, is used by the company as a guest house and meeting center.

that the tenants ‘keep the houses & plantation in good order & tenantable repair’ and deliver up the same at the expiration of the term. The 1734 leases made no restrictions on the amount of timber that could be cut, but subsequent agreements specified that tenants not ‘sell or destroy any timber on the premises, nor apply any but to the necessary repairs & use of the demised premises.’”

Jeske found that “other than the prohibitions against subtenancy and the destruction of timber and the requirement that tenants plant orchards, the leases included no restrictions or obligations. There was no mention of either a minimum or maximum number of acres to be cleared, no stipulation regarding crops to be grown, and no prohibition on the use of bound labor. Tenants were not required to market their produce through the landlord, nor did Carroll endeavor to supply them with tools or consumer goods. There was also no reference to dwellings or other farm buildings to be constructed by the tenants.”

Tenants effectively owned their farms as long as they paid their rents to Carroll. Their leases guaranteed them the right to “*hold occupy possess & enjoy the sd. parcel of Land with all & singular the demised premises with the appurtenances without any let trouble or interruption of the s^d Charles Carroll his heirs or assigns.*” Jeske noted that tenants “also had the right to sell or devise their agreements to ‘heirs or assigns,’ an important privilege that became increasingly valuable as they made improvements to the land and as the county grew and developed.”

Although tenant farmers did not own their land, they were *landholders*, and as such enjoyed many of the privileges of land ownership because they had the use of the land and the income derived from it. Tenants also were able to vote and hold office, something denied those without land. Carrollton rents were considerably lower than those charged at other manors, and even for other Carroll tracts in Prince George’s County. During the time William Hunt leased land at Carrollton Manor, the manor tenants were paying £0.417 sterling per hundred acres, equivalent to about 140 pounds of tobacco. Jeske notes “a tenant family working alone, without additional hands, could easily produce enough tobacco to pay his annual rent as well as create a marketable surplus that would enable him to purchase land or laborers.”

Jeske discovered that “land in the area sold for about 4s. sterling per acre, or £20 for a 100-acre tract. Five of the early tenants who stayed on the manor ... left inventories, with a median estate value (deflated) of £343.” Thus the £298 which William Hunt collected when he liquidated his assets would have allowed his children to buy a considerable amount of land.

Jeske concluded that “all evidence regarding economic activities and opportunities leads to the unmistakable conclusion that at least before midcentury, renting land on Carrollton was an arrangement that on the whole proved beneficial to the early tenants.” In short, “Carrollton provided opportunities to men of modest origins with few assets.”

Thus it may be assumed that even though William Hunt, to our knowledge, never owned land in his life, he may not have been the second-class citizen often associated with land-less individuals during colonial times. Carrollton Manor permitted the people who leased tenant farms there the opportunity to flourish, and it appears that William Hunt did just that.

There is no known grave site for William Hunt or his wife Mary. They likely were buried in the graveyard of the Monocacy Quaker meeting house, but that does not help much because no one is quite sure where that was located. As reported in Hinshaw, on 28 June 1759 the meeting house at Monocacy burned, and was then rebuilt by 29 November the same year. But oddly, and for reasons

never recorded, the Friends in the Monocacy area refused to meet there and on 28 April 1764 the meeting itself was abandoned. The original five-acre site of the meeting house and graveyard reportedly survived until about 1805, but today are no longer identifiable. A book *New Facts and Old Families* by Millard Milburn Rice, published in 1976, did a wonderful job of identifying the most plausible location of the old Quaker meeting house.

Before continuing with the children of William Hunt and his wife Mary Woolman, we will take a look at Mary's ancestry, the Woolman and Borton families of early colonial New Jersey.

Woolman and Borton Families

In what will be the first of a number of “side trips” in the story of the Hunt family, we will take a look at the Borton family, a descendant of whom married into the Woolman family, and the ancestors of Mary Woolman, who in turn, married into the Hunt family.

Borton Family

The Borton family came to America from the small village of Aynho in Northamptonshire, England. Formerly spelled *Aynhoe*, the town is located five miles south of Banbury, close to the border with Oxfordshire. The name is believed to be derived from *Aienho*, a Saxon word for a spring, grove or hill, and the spelling used when the town was listed in the Domesday Book from the year 1086. The village is roughly circular in shape and was originally surrounded by a defensive wall, remnants of which can still be seen today. Aynho also has a large manor house which was owned by the Cartwright family from 1616 to the 1950s. The original manor house was burnt down during the English Civil War by Royalist troops retreating from the battle of Naseby. King Charles II paid the family compensation after returning to the throne and the manor house was restored in 1680. An automobile accident in 1954 killed the squire and his son and the estate was broken up and the manor was converted into residential retirement flats.

Some of the houses in Aynho are very old, with a well for one house bearing a date of 1500. A house directly across the street from the entrance to the manor house bears a plaque identifying it as “Bortons Farm,” but the property’s connection to the immigrant Borton ancestor is unknown. In all likelihood, the property belonged to a Borton descendant who remained in Aynho.

The Church of England parish church at Aynho is just a hundred yards from the old Borton farm location. The original church was built during the reign of Edward III. All that remains of the original church is the 14th century tower, with the main body of the church from a much later period. Because of severe damage to the building inflicted by Royalist soldiers during the English civil war, the main part of the church was demolished in 1723 and rebuilt in a Grecian style. The tower contains eight bells, six of which date to the 1600s.

An article in the *Quaker Weekly Journal* for 14 January 1977 states the Borton family has a claim to fame as being listed in the Guinness Book of Records for having the largest family tree, at least in a physical sense. This tree is painted on a canvas measuring fifteen feet by eighteen feet and weighs ten pounds. It lists the family since 1562 and contains no less than 6,820 names, which was the count when the article was written. Undoubtedly there are additional names now. This does not mean the Borton family was the largest family known or that it could be traced back further than others, only that it was the largest physical family tree known.

Part of that family tree and our first identifiable Borton ancestor was William Borton, who was likely born at Aynho about 1554. The name is spelled *Boarton*, *Bourton* and *Bourten* in early records. William’s date of birth is an estimate based on the christening date of his oldest child in 1579. The name of his wife is not recorded in the Aynho parish records, but the christenings of seven of his children are listed. These are among the earliest records to be found of the ancestors who appear in this work. William Borton died at Aynho on 22 July 1597. Elizabeth I, Queen of England for nearly 45 years, reigned from the time William was about four until well after his death. During this period the English economy and its literature were thriving and Aynho itself was a bustling market town.

During his lifetime, William saw a number of new things such as the invention of the flintlock firing mechanism and the first theaters being built in England. William lived at the same time as Galileo, Kepler, Rubens, Shakespeare and Michelangelo. During his lifetime, he learned of the first English colony in America at Roanoke, only later to learn that its inhabitants had all disappeared. England was at war with Spain much of this time, and William almost certainly would have participated in the most exciting conversation of the time concerning the English defeat of the Spanish Armada.

This was also a time when repeated outbreaks of the Bubonic plague (the Black Death) claimed many lives and these deaths were not just confined to highly populated towns such as London. Country villages like Aynho were not exempt from the disease. A devastating outbreak of the plague occurred in 1563, when William Borton was a child, claiming 80,000 people in England. This particular epidemic claimed between a quarter and a third of the total population of London. There was no place to hide from the disease and no one was safe, not even the monarch. Queen Elizabeth was terrified of the disease and implemented quarantine measures to try to ensure the safety of herself and her court. With the 1563 outbreak of the plague, her fear of the disease was so great that Elizabeth I moved her court to Windsor Castle where she had a gallows erected and ordered that anyone coming from London was to be hanged.

The children of William Borton, by an unknown wife, were:

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------|--|
| i. | John Borton | Baptized 20 Jan 1579 in Aynho, England and died about two weeks later on 2 Feb 1579. |
| ii. | Alicia Borton | Baptized 22 Jan 1580 in Aynho. |
| iii. | Maria Borton | Baptized 9 Jan 1582 in Aynho. |
| iv. | Jane Borton | Baptized 23 Feb 1584 in Aynho. |
| v. | Margaret Borton | Baptized 4 Aug 1588 in Aynho. |
| + vi. | William Borton | Baptized 29 Nov 1590 in Aynho and died 25 Mar 1656 in Aynho. |
| vii. | Agnes Borton | Baptized 18 Oct 1595 in Aynho and died 20 Dec 1608 in Aynho at the age of 13. |

William Borton (Jr.), baptized on 29 November 1590 at Aynho, was born near the end of the reign of Elizabeth I, a time often called the Golden Age of England because it was a period of great achievement and prosperity. But tougher times were coming and he would live through one of the most turbulent times England had ever seen. In 1603, at the age of 13, he would live through another heavy outbreak of plague in England, but would live to see a number of marvelous things in his lifetime. In William's lifetime, the telescope and the barometer were invented, Kepler announced his laws of planetary motion, the Jamestown Colony was established in 1607, the King James Bible was published, the Mayflower landed at Plymouth and the subsequent settlements in New England began, and the world population hit an estimated 500 million in 1650.

But there were also dark moments during William's lifetime. This was a time when the burning of those considered heretics still occurred; Guy Fawkes attempted to blow up Parliament when William was 15; William would live through all 30 of the Thirty Years War and he would witness the devastation of the English Civil War while in his 50's. Aynho would not escape the awful time of the Civil War in England. Much of the area was burned to the ground by the Royalist troops of the Earl of Northampton in the 1645 Battle of Naseby. The troops had occupied the manor house at Aynho on the retreat from the Battle of Edgehill and retained it until nearly the end of the war. King Charles I is believed to have stayed the night there on his way to Oxford after that battle and it is known he wrote a letter from Aynho. The manor, the church and probably most of the village were burned by

the troops vacating the premises. Aynho still has tunnels from this era. In 1995 a young boy fell down a hole in the Rectory garden, which eventually led to the discovery of one of these tunnels. There is also a tunnel known to have run from the church to a nearby house, and there is a sealed door in the cellar of historic Grammar House which probably leads to a tunnel.

About 1613-1614, William Borton married someone named Elizabeth, last name unknown. Several exact dates in 1613 are widely circulated on the Internet (one that is popular is that William Borton married Elizabeth Reade on 16 June 1613 in Aynho). However trusted sources of early Borton genealogy just say "about 1614." In her book *300 Years of Bortons in North America*, researcher Betty Mann stated "From the records xeroxed from the records of St. Michael's Church in Aynho, for Helen Borton Ott, no marriage was found." Elizabeth outlived her husband by over fourteen years, dying at Aynho on 19 October 1669.

William and Elizabeth Borton had the following children:

- | | | |
|--------|-------------------------|--|
| i. | William Borton | Baptized 5 Jan 1616 in Aynho, England. Died young. |
| ii. | William Borton | Baptized 27 Mar 1619 in Aynho. |
| iii. | Elizabeth Borton | Baptized 29 Jul 1622 in Aynho. |
| iv. | Jane Borton | Baptized 7 Apr 1625 in Aynho. |
| v. | Margaret Borton | Baptized 3 Apr 1628 in Aynho, she died at 1 year and was buried on 1 Jun 1629 at Aynho. |
| vi. | Henry Borton | Baptized 10 Jan 1630 in Aynho. |
| + vii. | John Borton | Baptized 25 Jan 1634 in Aynho, he was the immigrant ancestor and died Jul 1687 in Burlington County, New Jersey. |

The mother, Elizabeth Borton, left a will dated 4 February 1669 in which she left £60 to her sons William (the one who survived) and John, and £12 to her daughter Elizabeth. It can be assumed the daughter Jane did not survive her mother. Her son Henry Borton was named executor of her will and, though not stated in the will, may have received the parent's land. This assumption is made on the basis of a will left by Henry Borton only nine years after his mother died in which he names "my freehold lands and tenements," which he bequeathed to his son William.

John Borton

John Borton was baptized at Aynho on 25 January 1634/1635. He grew up in the turbulent period of the English Civil War and at age 11 would have witnessed the burning of the Aynho manor house a very short distance from his home. This was a period of great social and political unrest in England. People, especially the younger people, were looking for answers and John Borton would find his with the Society of Friends. Even before the Civil War ended, George Fox had begun preaching all over England and it is very possible John Borton attended one of those rallies.

On 12 April 1658, in St. Michael's parish church, John Borton married Ann Kinton "of Croton." She has been endlessly reported as being the daughter of William and Elizabeth Kinton of Croughton, a neighboring village located just two miles east of Aynho and often spelled *Croton* in old records. However, the church records at Croughton were not begun until after John Borton and Ann Kinton were married, and no confirmable reference to her parents is known. Today the village of Croughton is known mostly for being the home of RAF Croughton, a United States Air Force communications base and one of the largest U.S. military communications centers in Europe. Nothing else is known about Ann Kinton or her parents.

Though he was apparently not a Quaker at the time of his marriage, John Borton soon converted to that religion and abandoned the Church of England. The birth of his first child was recorded in the records of the St. Michael's parish church at Aynho where the baptism of a daughter Jane was recorded on 13 March 1658/1659. But this was the last baptism for his family recorded in the Church of England registers. Seven more children were born to John and Ann Borton, their births recorded in the Quaker records. There is also no evidence that any other member of the Borton family other than John converted to Quakerism.

John's conversion to the Quaker faith immediately drew the attention of the civil and religious authorities (remember, in this period of history, there was little distinction between the two). Because of the events recorded in Joseph Besse's multi-volume work titled *Collections of the Sufferings of the People Called Friends*, published in 1753, we know of at least three instances when John Borton ran afoul of the law.

Besse wrote that in 1660, on "the 20th of the Month called January, John Parnel, Michael Gaines, Thomas Hewlett, Thomas Hiron, Richard Verney, William Mather of Holmly, Oliver Mellows of Halston, Thomas Gayling of Duston, Daniel Row and Henry Row, of Dallington, were taken from a Meeting at the House of Daniel Wills in Northampton, and sent to Prison." The Daniel Wills mentioned, in whose house the Quakers were meeting, also emigrated to New Jersey and lived on land adjoining that of John Borton. Besse also wrote that in "the same Month," John Bett and John Borton "of Aino" were "taken out of their own Houses by Soldiers, and committed to Prison for refusing the Oaths." It was not recorded how long their prison sentences were. But the same court sentenced another man, John Garratt of Findon, to nine months in prison because he had "refused to take an oath when summoned to serve on a jury."

Besse also wrote that in 1665, "John Bett, John Borton, Edward Hardly, and John Holcroft, poor Labourers, had their Goods taken by Distress for a Fine of 4 s. each, imposed for four Weeks Absence from their Parish-Church." Finally in 1674, it was recorded by Besse that the Oxfordshire court had "taken by distress for meetings this year, from John Holcroft, John Borton and Thomas Mercer, 1 pound, 15 shillings."

The Oxfordshire court was involved because records indicate John and Ann Borton attended Society of Friends meetings in Adderbury, a village only three miles northwest of Aynho, but across the line in neighboring Oxfordshire. Not all Quakers were "poor laborers" as John Borton was described. At Adderbury, a wealthy manor lord named Bray Doyley had been holding Quaker meetings since 1656, and in 1675, Doyley built a Quaker meeting house on his manor property. This action resulted in his imprisonment for two months. Today the meeting house suffers "from the rigours of time and no longer hosts regular meetings" but remains standing.

Probably because of the persecutions of him by English authorities, John Borton began to consider leaving England and emigrating to the wilderness of West Jersey in America. Until 1664 the area that would eventually become the state of New Jersey was under control of Sweden and later the Netherlands. Using the tip of Manhattan as their headquarters in America, the colony of New Netherlands flourished under Dutch control until 1664, when the British sailed into what is now New York Harbor and seized the colony. Seized might be too strong a word, since the British simply informed the Dutch they were now British citizens and the rather laid-back Dutch, who didn't like their governor Peter Stuyvesant anyway, simply shrugged it off and said it was fine with them.

King Charles II gave the region which later encompassed New Jersey to his brother James, the Duke



A Quaker meeting house in England the Borton family is known to have attended. The Society of Friends meeting house is in Adderbury, a village only three miles from Aynho where the Bortons lived, and across the line in neighboring Oxfordshire. A wealthy manor lord named Bray Doyley held Quaker meetings by at least 1656, and in 1675 built this Quaker meeting house on his manor property. For doing that, he was imprisoned for two months. Today the meeting house is not in the best of condition and no longer hosts regular meetings. It is, however, opened annually on the first Sunday in June for a presentation. About 1679, John Borton and his family moved to what is today Burlington, New Jersey.



Top, the Aynho parish church, and bottom, the former manor house at Aynho, which sits right next to the church. The original church was built during the reign of Edward III; all that remains of the original church is the 14th century tower, with the main body of the church from a much later period. The tower contains eight bells, six of which date to the 1600s. The Borton family lived in Aynho before their departure to America because of persecution for their Quaker beliefs. A building across the street from the manor house has a plaque which reads “Bortons Farm, Aynho.” Today, the manor house is privately owned and available for weddings and other special events.

of York, as a proprietary colony. A proprietary colony was a type of settlement in America designed to repay political and financial debts. The British crown, beginning with Charles II, awarded supporters vast tracts of land in colonial New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the Carolinas, expecting the proprietors to supervise and develop the colonies, and become successful enterprises for England.

In turn, James granted the land to two friends who had been loyal to him throughout the English Civil War, Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley. The two named the area New Jersey in honor of the island of Jersey off the coast of England, where Carteret had served as governor. The two proprietors of New Jersey tried to entice more settlers to the area by granting land to settlers and granting religious freedom to all of its inhabitants. In return for land, settlers were expected to pay annual fees known as quitrents. However the two proprietors found the collection of quitrents difficult, and on 18 March 1674, Berkeley sold his share of New Jersey to the Quakers. The sale divided the province into East Jersey and West Jersey, with the latter becoming a Quaker-controlled colony. East Jersey and West Jersey were governed as two distinct provinces for the next 28 years, though the boundary between the two provinces remained a point of contention the entire time.

What happened next was like a soap opera. The two Quakers who bought the West Jersey province, Edward Byllynge and John Fenwick, almost immediately had a falling out regarding the division of the property. William Penn, another prominent Quaker, was asked to arbitrate the dispute and awarded nine tenths of the tract to Byllynge. But Byllynge had over extended himself financially and soon had to sell his land holdings to satisfy his creditors. The West Jersey province was sold to two companies of Quakers, one of which founded a colony at present-day Burlington, New Jersey in 1677. That year 230 Quakers left England to settle in the Burlington area, with 800 more arriving over the next two years. By 1681 nearly 1400 settlers had come to West Jersey, a Quaker colony founded six years before William Penn, learning from this experience, founded his own colony of Pennsylvania.

The Burlington colonists brought with them a body of laws which have been described as “the broadest, sanest and most equitable charter drafted for any body of colonists up to that time.” It provided for a board of commissioners to be appointed by the proprietors and an assembly chosen by the people, which was to have full rights of making laws if they were not contrary to the charter or the laws of England. Called the *Concessions and Agreements of West New Jersey*, the forward-thinking charter provided for annual elections by secret ballot, trial by jury, no debtors prisons, the ability of a jury to nullify the judge’s action if contrary to their verdict, the right of self-representation, no court fees, the right of victims to pardon a defendant, no mandatory death penalties, and public records which were to be open and available to the public.

The *Concessions and Agreements* document was similar to a combination of the Constitution and Bill of Rights later adopted by the United States, though predating the earlier of those documents by a full century. The document was signed by 151 men, mostly Quakers, in London on 3 March 1676/1677. Among the 151 signers was John Borton.

It would be two more years before John Borton and his family would leave England. On 5 May 1679, John received a certificate of removal from Barton Monthly Meeting in Oxfordshire. John was identified “of Aynho belonging to Aderbury Meeting in y^e county of Oxon” (Oxon was an abbreviation for Oxfordshire, from the Latin form *Oxonia*). The 27 men who signed the certificate noted in typically odd Quaker fashion that they had known “y^e said John and Ann Borton these many years and that they have walked honestly among us.” The certificate stated that John “doth now intend to leave this, his native Country England, to go with Ann (Kinton of Croton) his wife and his family

for the isle called New Jersey.” Of course New Jersey was not an island, but this reflected the minuscule knowledge the English people had of the North American continent at this time.

The first representatives of the Quakers had sailed on the ship *Kent* to their newly purchased colony two years before, arriving at Newcastle on 16 August 1677. They then proceeded up the Delaware River to the place where Burlington now stands and with the help of interpreters from among the Swedes, the Quakers bought land from the Lenape Indian tribe. The Quakers bought the land where Burlington now stands, including roughly fifteen miles of land along the river in each direction. The land purchase was made in exchange for 150 pounds of gunpowder, 144 pipes, 100 fish hooks, 92 yards of cloth, 60 kettles, 36 rings, 30 blankets, 30 pairs of scissors, 30 guns, 30 axes, 30 awls, 30 knives, 30 needles, 30 mirrors, 30 pairs of stockings, 30 barrels of lead, 30 jews harps, 30 combs, 30 shirts, 30 bracelets, 30 bells, 30 flints, 30 steels, 12 tobacco boxes and 10 spoons of red paint. The Quakers proceeded to lay out a town at Burlington.

We do not know when John Borton and his family arrived in New Jersey but it was likely in the summer of 1679. We also do not know the name of the ship they came on, though there have been several suggestions made by researchers over the years, just none with any evidence. For example, it has been suggested John and Ann sailed on the *Amity* in 1682 (not possible as they were already in New Jersey by that time) and the *Griffin* (not proven, but possible). The book *Ship Passenger Lists: New York and New Jersey 1600-1825* by Carl Boyer, published in 2007, mentions two other ships, the *Success* and the *Willing Mind*, which arrived in New Jersey “with emigrants” in 1679. The Borton family could have been aboard any of those ships. However they arrived, John Borton and his family were not among the first settlers, for by the time he arrived 800 Quakers had already landed at Burlington.

There is an Indian deed handed down through the generations of Bortons and still held in the Borton family today. The undated deed was between John Borton and a Lenape Indian chief by the name of Mahamickwon. The Indian chief, who had been given the nickname “King Charles, King of the Indians” by the Quakers, also appears in early written records with the spelling Mahomecum, Mehemickwon, Mahamecun, Hummickson, Himmickon, Himocan, etc. Today this deed is in the possession of John C. Borton of Haddam, Connecticut.

The deed may represent the first land purchase made by John Borton after his arrival in New Jersey. The deed, written in very rudimentary English, states:

This indentor made the ___ day of the 8th between himmetkong (our king Charles) king of the Indians on the one part and John borton on the other part witnesseth that the s^d Himmitkon hath sold to y^e s^d John borton beginning at y^e head of the Cats swamp and from thence to a grove winding and to Osononds winter wigwam and from thence to the pond at the head of Quotoxing and from thence to the lowre end of quotoxing and from thence to quotoxing cart road and so down the road to a small path near the myry run and down the s^d path to the run by Osononds plantation and so down the run to the mill creek and from thence to the Cripes line and along Nathaniel Crip’s line to the Dead Swamp pond and from the Dead Swamp Pond to the myrey run bridge and so up by the side of the Dead Swamp to the head of the Cat Swamp the first menshoned place for which the s^d John Borton hath given in consideration the sum of twenty pounds and 7 shillings curent mony of west jersey in witness whereof the s^d king of the s^d indians hath hear unto set his hand and sell in the presens of ...

The deed has the marks of eight Lenape Indians, including two with the same name:

Himmitkon

lonorko

Osoxowkond his son
Quonipatto
Osonond

Osonond
Oloumitt
Moholos

It is unfortunate that no date was written on the old deed, though it appears the person who wrote the deed intended to refer to the 8th month (October) in whatever year the deed was created. The Nathaniel Cripps referenced in the deed, with his wife Grace, came to America in 1678 and settled at Burlington. By tradition Cripps was the founder of Mount Holly, New Jersey.

The land John Borton purchased directly from the Indians is probably the same land that was surveyed for John on 26 April 1682. In his book *Moorestown and Her Neighbors* by George Decou, this land was described as “Hillsdown,” the “ancestral home of the Borton family originally containing 200 acres.” This land was located on the south side of Rancocas Creek (then called the Northampton River) below Centerton and “extended back to the village of Masonville.” On 13 May 1682, John Borton purchased an additional 100 acres from John Maddocks of Salem County, New Jersey, land that adjoined the original 200 acres of the Hillsdown farm. This assumption is based on a survey which described the land as “100 a. on Henry Jacob’s Creek, adjoining his own and Wm Fleetwood’s” and the fact that his farm was described as 300 acres in John’s will.

A record from the New Jersey Archives indicates that John Borton also owned land on the north side of Rancocas Creek. A memorandum of deed dated “Third month 27th, 1680” reads as follows: “Daniel Wills of Rancocas New Jersey, Doctor of Physick, to John Boarton of the same place, husbandman, for 110 acres, north grantor and south John Payne.” It is not clear if they ever lived there or not, but from John Borton’s will it is clear the property had a house and barn. In his will, he left this farm to his son William.

Very early New Jersey land records are incomplete, and certainly not all land records were recorded. But John Borton apparently bought other land, since in October 1687 following John Borton’s death, a survey was done for his sons John and William for “325 acres adjoining Timothy Brandreth and Noell Mew,” with the surveyor noting the western 175 acres belonged to John and the other 150 acres to William. This was apparently land on Burlington Island (in the middle of the Delaware River near the town of Burlington) since it was referenced in John Borton’s will.

John Borton was appointed constable of the “London Tenth” in May 1682. The book *History of the Borton and Mason Families in Europe and America* by Freeman Clark Mason describes that “a tenth of land was considered as 32,000 acres and the inhabitants thereof were entitled to ten representatives in the General Assembly of West Jersey, which Assembly was empowered to appoint persons to fill all public offices from Counsellors to Constable.” These tenth-part divisions of the colony were later replaced by counties. A constable was an official with duties similar to a sheriff but more limited in power and jurisdiction. The office was a transplant from England to the American colonies. A constable’s main responsibilities were keeping the peace, serving the courts, and executing court orders and being a process server. Constables were appointed or elected at the local level for specific terms and were not paid, but often received payment by the courts for each writ served and warrant executed.

John Borton’s name also appears in several other records, including various legal transactions and donations to Friend’s collections. In 1681 he was assigned the task of taking care of “births and burials.” He and a man named Thomas Budd were assigned to take care of an orphan the next year. John was a member of the Assembly for the London Tenth in 1683, and in that same year he met with

other Quakers to consider “a burial carriage.” In 1684 he was a member of the “Assembly and Road Commission” and road commissioner for the London Tenth the next year. Maybe he didn’t do his job as road commissioner since there is a record of John Borton being “fyned 20 shillings for neglect of doeing his work and contempt” in 1684.

John Borton died at “Hillsdown” in 1687, leaving a will dated 28 July of that year and proved the “11th month and 14th day” of the same year. He requested in his will he be buried in the burial ground of the Burlington Friends, an old cemetery which dates from at least 1683. His wife Ann was still alive at the time of his death in 1687. No record of her date of death exists.

John Borton left the following will:

Y^e 28th day of y^e 5th mo. 1687.

I, John Borton of Hilsdown, being weak in body but perfect in memory, have made this my last will and testament in manner as follows:

Imprimis. I commit my soule to Almighty God who gave it me, and my body to y^e earth from whence it came, and to be laid in y^e burial place of Friends at Burlington.

Item. I give to my son John that Settlement called Hilsdown, lying on y^e south side of Northampton River, being in quantity 300 acres and somewhat more, together with barn, house and all other out houses with garden, orchard and all manner of improvements whatsoever, except one third part thereof which I give to my dear wife Ann Borton, with Five Pounds a year, which she will have during her natural life and widowhood. I also give to my son John a two and thirtieth part of a propertie through y^e County, and one yoak of oxen.

Item. I give to my son William the settlement fronting upon Northampton River northward, being in quantity one hundred acres and somewhat more, with house, barn, garden, orchard together with all manner of improvements thereunto belonging, with my three lots upon Burlington Island and also a two and thirtieth part of a property throughout y^e County with one yoak of oxen.

Item. I give to my grandchildren ten shillings apiece.

Item. All y^e rest of my cattle and goods I give to my wife and six daughters, my debts and legacys being first paid, as follows: viz: One third part to my wife, and y^e other two parts to be divided equally among my six daughters.

John Borton

Signed in y^e presence of us,

John Woolman

Enoch Coore

Thus John Borton gave the 300-acre family farm “Hillsdown” to his eldest son John, with the stipulation that a portion of the farm remain the property of his widow Ann while she was alive. Ann was also to receive £5 a year from John during her lifetime. This followed the usual custom in colonial times of the eldest son having to care for the widowed mother. The other son, William Borton, received the farm on the north side of the Northampton River (now Rancocas Creek) which his father purchased in 1680, perhaps with this idea in mind. The two sons split their father’s land holdings on Burlington Island, with William getting a slightly larger portion. They also each received a yoke of oxen (a “yoke” being an old word for pair). The oxen, of course, functioned as low-fuel-consumption tractors in 1687. All six of the daughters of John Borton were alive at the time he prepared his will. His estate was inventoried and valued at over £202.

John Borton and Ann Kinton had the following children:

- i. **Jane Borton** Christened on 13 Mar 1658 in Aynho, Northampton, England, she never married and died in Nov 1688 at Burlington.
- ii. **Anne Borton** Born on 18 Oct 1660 in Aynho, England, she died on 10 Sep 1688 in Burlington County, New Jersey. Anne married Thomas Barton on 8 Dec 1681 and had three children before her death at age 27. Thomas was also a signer of the *Concessions and Agreements*. Thomas and Anne lived on a 100-acre farm near the present-day village of Jacksonville, New Jersey.
- + iii. **Elizabeth Borton** Born on 27 Jul 1664 in Aynho, England, she died on 2 May 1718 at Burlington. She is buried in the Burlington burial ground.
- iv. **Esther Borton** Born on 25 Jul 1667 in Aynho, England, Esther died in 1719 in Burlington County, New Jersey. She married John Haines on 10 Dec 1684. John Haines was also from Aynho in England. According to a tradition handed down in the Haines family, John Haines wanted to marry Esther in England and John pleaded with his father to not sign the certificate of removal for John Borton and his family to go to New Jersey. However, this story seems far fetched since Esther was only 12 when the family embarked for America. John Haines preceded his parents to America in 1679, reportedly with the Borton family and reportedly on the ship *Griffin*. At the time of his death, Haines owned about 1500 acres of land and a saw mill. John and Esther had thirteen children.
- v. **John Borton** Born on 27 Nov 1669 in Aynho, England, John was still alive in 1736. John married three times : (1) Hannah (last name unknown) about 1695, (2) Ann Darnelly on 27 May 1717, (3) Mary Hillbourne on 19 Dec 1732. John received the family farm "Hillsdown" and lived there his entire life. He had five children by his first two wives.
- vi. **William Borton** Born on 20 Jun 1672 in Aynho, England, William married Hannah Cole on 7 Sep 1699 at his house. He lived on the north side of Rancocas Creek on the farm his father left him. He sold this 110-acre tract to John Woolman in 1698. No children have been identified for William and no other information is known of him, including a date of death.
- vii. **Susanna Borton** Born on 24 Oct 1675 in Aynho, England, nothing else is known of her, but she may have been the Susanna Wilkinson who signed the marriage certificate as a member of the family when her sister Mary got married in the house of Thomas Wilkinson.
- viii. **Mary Borton** Born on 5 Oct 1678 in Aynho, England, she married Francis Austin on 15 Sep 1696 in the home of Thomas Wilkinson. Francis Austin was born in England in 1674. The couple had ten children. She died in 1739 in New Jersey.

Our ancestor was Elizabeth Borton, who married into the Woolman family.

Woolman Family

As one might surmise, the surname *Woolman* is English in origin and an occupational name for someone who worked with wool, or perhaps was a dealer or merchant in that commodity. The name often appears with spelling variations like *Wollman*, *Woollman* or *Wolman* in early records. The fact that one of the immigrant ancestors was known to be a weaver, and may have come from a long line of weavers, might help explain the surname.

Unlike the Borton family, the exact origins of the Woolman family are uncertain. The first provable Woolman ancestor in our line is William Woolman, who at an advanced age accompanied his son John Woolman to the Burlington colony in West Jersey. No other family member is known to have come with them. It is often repeated that the Woolmans came to America from Painswick, England. This appears to be based mostly on the fact that other Quakers known to have originated in Painswick in Gloucestershire, England settled together near Burlington, and among them could be found John Woolman and his father. Thus, when it comes to the Painswick connection, the Woolmans are found guilty by association. However, no record proving John Woolman and his father lived at Painswick has been found.

In an article titled *A Note on John Woolman's Paternal Ancestors* by James Proud in the Fall 2007 journal *Quaker History*, Proud tries to make the case that William Woolman was born in the parish of Taynton in Gloucestershire. But this is based on two very flimsy assumptions. The first is that William Woolman was born in 1632, a date also repeated endlessly, including in several books on the Woolman family, but never with any supportive evidence. Armed with the 1632 date and stating incorrectly that the date "has been accepted as the birth year of William Woolman," Proud found an entry in the Taynton parish records for 1632 listing the baptism of "William sonne of John." Though the Woolman name can be found in the Taynton parish registers, no surname was given for this entry in the records. Proud suggests that this was the father of the immigrant John Woolman based on the fact that "there are very few christenings in that year, and none for any other person named William." This is hardly compelling. But Proud does point out in his article that on 15 August 1675 John Woolman signed as one of sixteen witnesses to a Quaker wedding "in the Painswick meeting" and that John was a witness at another Quaker wedding at Painswick on 23 April 1676.

It is interesting to note that a manuscript written in 1920 by Josephine E. Scattergood of Mt. Holly, New Jersey stated that Painswick was the English origin of the Woolman family, and attributed that to information "still preserved in the family." The whereabouts of that information today is unknown. Nonetheless, it is likely that John Woolman and his father William originated from Gloucestershire, England, and despite the lack of evidence, probably from Painswick or the area near it.

Proud also states that on the two successive days of 5-6 April 1677, John Woolman purchased "one conveyance by Lease and Release" of land in the new Quaker colony of West Jersey. Woolman bought the land from Thomas Hooten, a Chandler (a candle maker) "of Blackfryers London," who in turn, had purchased one of Byllynge's 90 proprietary shares in West Jersey and was making a profit by selling off pieces of that share. This land, unidentified in either location or amount of land in the original document, turned out to be 150 acres fronting the Rancocas River next to the land of John Borton, his future father-in-law.

The Woolmans and Bortons were both likely influenced by a broadside (an old term for an advertisement on a sheet of paper) titled *The Description of the Province of West-Jersey in America*. This notice, printed in July 1676, described West Jersey in very glowing terms. Like all land speculators before and since, the Quakers offering the land in New Jersey tried to make the land sound too good to be true. Extolling the land, waters, climate, flora and fauna, they wrote "*there's nothing*

wanting that can reasonably be desired ... for the Delight and Sustenance of Man.”

Apparently the sales pamphlet was the source of some controversy. William Penn and two other Quakers wrote a pamphlet two months later in which they pointed out in typical rambling Quaker fashion that some may have been misled in thinking the advertisement “*by the manner of its expression came from the body of friends, as a religious society of people, and not from particulars.*” They expressed concern the advertisement might “*allure people, to dis-settle and transplant themselves.*” They noted that “*several have on that account, taken encouragement and resolution to transplant themselves and families to the said province*” and expressed fear that some might “*go out of a curious and unsettled mind.*”

Whether or not the advertisement for West Jersey proved a lure, John Woolman and his father sailed for America in either 1678 or 1679 (almost certainly by June 1679). After arriving at Burlington, John took up land on the north side of Rancocas Creek between the lands of John Borton on the west and Walter Humphries on the east. Humphries was from Painswick and had also signed as a witness to the same two weddings as had John Woolman. It is very possible Humphries and Woolman sailed to America together. It is likely, though not proven, that William Woolman came to New Jersey at the same time as his son.

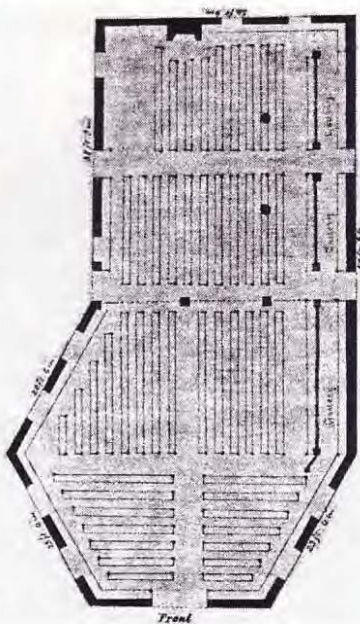
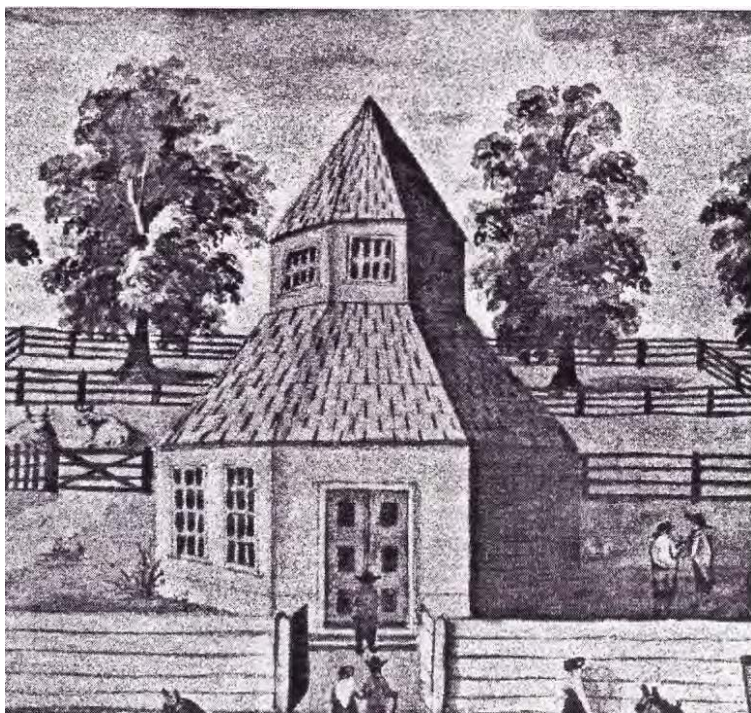
After his arrival in New Jersey, John Woolman added to his land holdings. In July 1685 a survey was made for John Woolman of 4 acres of “marrish” (marsh) opposite Enoch Core’s house on the south side of Rancocas Creek. On 30 January 1687/1688 John Woolman, yeoman, bought 200 acres of land from John Ridges, a skinner in London, through his attorney “Samuell Jenings” at Burlington. Woolman paid £20 for the land, which John Ridges had purchased on 2 March 1676 in London. Ridges apparently changed his mind about emigrating to New Jersey.

There are two other land records involving John Woolman. On 25 July 1691, he bought 50 acres from Isaac Marriott of Burlington, paying slightly over £2. And on 1 November 1698, John paid £40 for the 110 acres mentioned above that had belonged to John Borton, who by this time was deceased. John Woolman bought this property from William Borton, John Borton’s son. It was the custom in many colonial deeds to identify the occupation of both parties to the deed, and in both of these deeds John Woolman was identified as a “weaver”.

John Woolman also appears in the Burlington Monthly Meeting records. He was a signer of a paper the meeting sent to London in 1680, the first mention of his name in America. On 16 October 1684 John Woolman married “Elizabeth Bourton,” the daughter of John Borton. Colonial civil records also indicate that John Woolman contributed his time to civic affairs, serving on both grand juries and petty juries, acting as a highway overseer and, like John Borton, as constable.

John’s father, William Woolman, is mentioned in very few records. One exception is a survey returned on 3 March 1681/1682 for 200 acres owned by “Walter Humphrey” on the “Rankokus alias Northampton River” referring to land adjoining “Wm. Woolman.” William’s name never appears in the Quaker records for Burlington except to mention that he had died. Woolman historian Judy Hynes, who wrote the book *The Descendants of John & Elizabeth (Borton) Woolman* (1997), speculated in an email to another Woolman researcher that William may not have been a Quaker.

If that were the case, it might help explain the “*Strife and Great variance*” that developed between William Woolman and his son. From a number of different accounts of the Woolman family, it appears the two did not speak to one another for the last several years of William’s life. The fact that



Two illustrations of the original hexagonal meeting house built by the Quakers at Burlington, New Jersey. This structure was built in 1683, and was used for 100 years, even being seized during the Revolutionary War and used as a barracks. As can be seen from the top image, the original six-sided structure received an addition.

William Woolman did not sign as a witness to the marriage of his son is rather odd, and seems to indicate the father and son had an estrangement or ongoing quarrel which lasted for a number of years.

In a deed dated 19 February 1688/1689, John Woolman conveyed 75 acres of land to William Woolman, yeoman, “of Rancocas Creek.” This was one half of the land that John Woolman had purchased while still in London. This is based on the wording in the deed mentioning that John “hath already taken up and Surveyed for his first Dividend one hundred and fifty acres of land one end whereof abutteth upon Rancocas Creek.” The deed further states “*Long Continuance Divers Reckonings & accoumpts have Stood and Remain’d unsettled by and Between y^e s^d John Woolman and said William Woolman by Reason whereof Diferance Strife and Great variance was likely to accrue by and Between y^e said parties.*” The deed went on to describe that the conveyance of land was made in consideration “*of the Ending of all such Deference.*”

From this we can assume John was attempting to settle a long-standing dispute between him and his father. Since John Woolman was about 22 years old when he made his original purchase of land in New Jersey, he had probably not amassed much personal wealth yet. If his father had advanced some of the purchase price to his son, perhaps William thought he should have been half owner of the property in America, and the conveyance from his son was an attempt to correct this issue. This is speculative and we will probably never know. But we have to assume John’s act of giving land to his father didn’t help end their disagreement.

On 25 March 1692, not long before he died, William Woolman conveyed the same 75 acres to George Elkinton and his wife Mary. They were probably close family friends to the Woolmans, since Mary was the daughter of Walter Humphries. They had likely known one another in England prior to coming to New Jersey. When Walter Humphries died in 1698, John Woolman was chosen to inventory his estate, though Elkinton was the executor of the estate. The wording of the conveyance of land from William Woolman to the Elkintons would seem to indicate William Woolman was still angry. The deed refers to “*all that meadow which lyes at the end or bottom of my son John’s Land which also belongs to me though not expressed in the Deed.*” The deed referred to was the one where John had conveyed the land to his father. Obviously the father thought he should have been the owner of the whole 150 acres.

Many years later, on 17 September 1742, a man named John Wills gave a deposition which shed a little more light on the relationship (or lack of) between William Woolman and his son. Wills, who was 83 years old at the time he gave the deposition, swore that he “very well remembers” that “about the year 1688 there was an Arbitration between the said John & William & in consequence thereof the said Deed was made to the said William Woolman.” John Wills further deposed that the “said William Woolman had given the said George Elkinton & his Wife Mary One half of the One hundred & ffifty acres in the said Township which his Son John Woolman had conveyed to him & that he had made ‘em a Deed for it.”

John Wills stated he had known William Woolman and that William had lived with George Elkinton and his wife for “near four years” prior to Woolman’s death. He elaborated that the Elkintons had cared for William “in his Sickness” and buried him at their own expense. He further stated that William had gifted the property to Elkinton in return for the kindness they had shown him. The fact that John Woolman would not share in the expense of burying his own father serves to indicate how deep the hostility had become between father and son.

John Woolman had a home made of brick. The home was near the banks of Rancocas Creek,



This house, on Rancocas Road just west of I-295 near exit 45A-B, belonged to Asher Woolman, the brother of John Woolman, the minister. It is the oldest house known to have belonged to a member of the Woolman family of Mount Holly. It was built in 1754 (you can see the designation on the side of the house) and is in very bad condition. It is owned by a person who would like to sell the parcel of land for commercial development and wants \$3-4 million for the land. Ideas of moving the house to preserve it have been floated to the owner of the property, but nothing has occurred. In all likelihood, this house will disappear within a few years.

“opposite the forks of the creek.” This house was torn down in 1806 and the bricks were used to build a larger house several hundred feet further away from the creek, probably in part because the creek flooded from time to time. Some have written that the fact that John Woolman had a brick house indicated he was wealthy. But having a brick home in colonial New Jersey was not that unusual and not necessarily indicative of wealth.

An article titled *Early Brickmaking in the Colonies* by Nat Ewan, published by the Camden County Historical Society, points out there is “abundant proof that brickmaking was one of the very early industries established in the new Colonies. Brick-makers are noted as passengers on the pioneer vessels coming to America. The brick-making process was not complicated, kilns required but simple equipment, the best quality of brick clay was at hand, wood for fuel was unlimited and dried wild grass for a binder was found in profusion.” The General Assembly of New Jersey passed laws as early as 1683 establishing a standard size for a brick. To enforce the law, the Burlington court appointed Richard Fenimore and Francis Collins as “brick inspectors.”

The book *Colonial Architecture for Those About to Build* by Wise and Beidleman points out that by “the end of the century after Penn’s arrival four-fifths of the houses in Philadelphia were of brick.” Harold Gillingham wrote in an article appearing in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* in 1929 that in 1690, a man named John Goodson wrote to friends that “They Build all with Stone and Brick now, except the very meanest Sort of People, which Build framed Houses with Timber.” The reference to “meanest” does not refer to being cruel or spiteful, but rather an old use of the word meaning *miserly* or *stingy*. In the same letter, Goodson wrote “We have now Four Brick-makers, with Brick-kills.” Despite what many people may think, brick homes were quite typical in colonial New Jersey.

The Quaker records from Burlington meeting note the death of John Woolman in the “2nd mo., 1718,” i.e., April 1718 by the old calendar, at “age 63.” Based on this it can be assumed John Woolman was born about 1655. An exact date of 27 July 1655 often appears and is included in the book by Judy Hynes. However the source of the latter date is in question since no birth or baptism record for John Woolman has been found. According to family tradition, John and Elizabeth died within six days of one another (not quite right; see below).

John Woolman left a will dated 28 March 1711, possibly indicating he was in poor health well before his death seven years later. John Woolman’s will was probated 30 April 1718, indicating he probably died in early April of that year. The will read as follows:

I, John Woolman of Northampton in y^e County of Burlington, and Prov. of New Jersey being sick and weak of body but of sound and perfect mind and memory and considering the uncertainty of this life am willing to settle business here and to dispose of that outward Estate it pleased God to intrust me withall, I therefore make this my last will and Testament, made and ordained:

Imprimis: I Comitt my Soul unto the hands of all Mighty God, my Creator, and my body to y^e Earth to be decently buried at the discretion of my wife.

2dly. I give to my well beloved Wife, Elizabeth Woollman 1/3 of my personal Estate and £20 more to be paid to her out of my personal Estate; also £6 pr. year to be paid to her by my Son Samuel out of y^e plantation I now live on, in lieu of her thirds, Therefor the sd 6 pounds to be paid yearly to my said Wife during her natural life.

3dly. I give unto my Son Samuel Woolman y^e Plantation I now live on, paying as aforesaid to his Mother 6 pounds a year during her Natural life, also all other of my lands within the

Province of New Jersey aforesaid I bequeath unto my Son Samuel Woolman, his heirs and Assigns forever, Also I give unto said Son Samuel Woolman all my looms, and all other of my tools of all sorts belonging to the Weaver's trade.

4thly. All y^e remaining part of my Estate I give and bequeath unto my five daughters, Elizabeth, Mary, Ann, Hannah and Hester. I say I give all the remaining part of Estate to them or to y^e survivors of them, to be divided amongst them equally, and to receive their share as they shall come to y^e age of one and twenty.

5thly. and lastly, I make and ordain my said Son Samuel Woolman the Whole and sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament, hereby ordering him to pay all my just debts, and to receive all such debts as are justly due me.

In witness whereof I hereunto set my hand and Seal y^e day & year first above Written. I do publish and declare this to be my last Will and Testament.

John Woolman

The day after John Woolman's will was probated, probably a week or two after his death, his widow Elizabeth made her own will. Since her estate was appraised just twelve days later on 13 May 1718, we can assume Elizabeth (Borton) Woolman died within a few days of making her own will. The book *The Descendants of John & Elizabeth (Borton) Woolman* by Judy Hynes states that Elizabeth died 2 May 1718. Elizabeth's will read as follows:

I, Elizabeth Woollman Widdow and Relict of John Woolman late of Northampton in the County of Burlington and Province of New Jersey, deceased. Whereas my said husband did by his last will and Testament dated the 26th day of the first month called March 1711 did give unto me one third of his personal estate and twenty pounds over and above the said third as by the said will proved and in the Office at Burlington may more particularly and at large appear and I being sick and weak of body at this presant but of sound and disposing mind and memory do make and ordain this my last will and Testament and do hereby dispose of what my husband has by his last will given to me as followeth viz:

Imp'mis: I give unto my son Samuell Woollman a piece of gold value one pound nine shillings & three pence lawfull money of America.

2^dly I give unto my daughter Elizabeth Hunt fifteen shillings like money aforesaid to be paid to her within one year after my decease.

3^dly I give unto my daughter Ann Buffin the wife of John Buffin sume of fifteen shillings like money aforesaid to be paid to her within one year after my decease.

4thly I give and bequeath unto my daughter Mary Woolman one third part of the aforementioned thirds of my husbands estate after the legacies aforesaid are paid there out, to be paid to my said daughter Mary as soon as can be after my decease.

5 The other two thirds of the said third my will is that the same be equally divided between my two youngest daughters viz. Hannah and Hesther Woolman and their equall shares thereof to be paid to them or their Guardians as soon as can be after my decease and my will is that there respective shares thereof be put to Interest at the proper Risque and for the sole use of my said daughters

Moreover I give to my youngest daughter Hesther Woolman the twenty pounds above mentioned to be paid to her or her Guardians as aforesaid and in case that either of my two daughters viz. Hannah or Hesther should die before they arrive at the age of twenty one years or are married, that then the survivor or survivors of my said three daughters viz. Mary, Hannah and Hesther shall have the share of eather of the two so dying equally divided betwixt them and if it should so happen that both of my said daughters Hannah and Hesther should die before they arrive at the age aforesaid or are married that then my will is that my daughter Mary shall have the whole thirds and twenty pounds aforesaid

Lastly, I constitute appoint and ordain my son Samuell Woollman to be the sole Executor of this my last will ordering him to pay all my just debts funerall Charges and legacies aforesaid. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this first day of the month called May 1718

Elizab. Woolman

In his will, John Woolman had provided for his wife Elizabeth by leaving her the customary one third of his estate. Under English common law dating back to medieval times, and in colonial America, there existed the concept of *dower*. Dower was the share of a deceased husband's real property to which his widow was entitled following his death. While her husband was alive, a wife's dower interest was essentially meaningless. But upon her husband's death, it entitled her to a lifetime interest in one-third of the income produced by the land, but not the land itself, for the widow held no ownership interest. The widow generally could not sell or devise her dower interest, since it was hers for her lifetime only. After the widow's death, the real property was then inherited as designated in her deceased husband's will. She had no rights to sell or bequeath the property herself. In 1945 a federal law abolished dower, though in many states, a third of a husband's estate is still awarded to a widow automatically if he dies without a will.

But John Woolman's will provided for his wife Elizabeth by leaving her one third of his *personal* estate. This she was free to do with as she pleased and following his death she quickly had a will of her own drawn up to provide for her unmarried daughters. Since married daughters were considered to be cared for by their husbands and no longer the concern of their parents, Elizabeth left fifteen shillings to her married daughters Elizabeth and Ann. The unmarried daughters Mary, Hannah and Hester each received equal shares of the wife's third of John Woolman's personal estate.

John and Elizabeth (Borton) Woolman had the following children:

- i. **Elizabeth Woolman** Born on 22 Jun 1685 at Mt. Holly, New Jersey. Elizabeth married (1) Nathaniel Payne on 19 Jul 1703. Nathaniel died in May 1707. Elizabeth married (2) Robert Hunt on 7 Jun 1708. Robert died in 1716 and she married (3) John Harvey on 3 Nov 1718. She died on 27 Mar 1755 at Mansfield, Burlington County, New Jersey. The book *The Journal and Essays of John Woolman* states "Of her John Smith wrote, 'She was wife of John Harvey of Mansfield, in the county of Burlington, New Jersey, and daughter of John Woolman, of said County. An honest, circumspect woman, and a recommended minister for many years.'" The will of Elizabeth's first husband referred to minor children, but did not name them. Elizabeth had four children by Robert Hunt and five more by John Harvey.
- ii. **Samuel Woolman** Born on 14 May 1690 at Mt. Holly, New Jersey, Samuel married Elizabeth Burr, the daughter of Henry Burr and Elizabeth Hudson, on 21 Oct 1714. Samuel was a weaver like his father and continued to live on the family farm on the Rancocas River. He died on 5 Oct 1750 at age 60 from "fall fever." Today fall fever is known as leptospirosis, which can affect both animals and humans. It can spread from animals, even the family dog, to humans, causing an infection. Today it would be very treatable, but in colonial times could become a fatal illness involving the kidneys, liver and other vital organs.

- Samuel Woolman left 13 children, including the famous minister John Woolman.
- + iii. **Mary Woolman** Born on 7 May 1692 at Mt. Holly, New Jersey, Mary married William Hunt. She died about 1736 in Prince George's County, Maryland.
 - iv. **John Woolman** Born on 23 May 1694 at Mt. Holly, New Jersey, there is some question about the validity of this child. There is no other record of a John Woolman Jr., and the only record of his birth is in Hinshaw, Vol. II, p. 189. There is a possibility that the birth date of John was incorrect, and that he and Anne were twins. If he ever existed, he died young for there is no further record of him.
 - v. **Anne Woolman** Born on 23 Jun 1694 at Mt. Holly, New Jersey. Anne married John Buffin on 10 Nov 1712. They remained in the Burlington area. She had six children and died in 1750.
 - vi. **Hannah Woolman** Born in 1703 at Mt. Holly, New Jersey. The book *Journal and Essays of John Woolman* by Amelia Mott Gummere states that a certificate of removal was granted to Hannah Woolman from Burlington to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting on 7 Jul 1729. On 30 Jul 1731, she was granted a certificate to Nottingham Monthly Meeting. Gummere wrote "Hannah had been Treasurer of the Women's Meeting, Mt. Holly. There is in the list of marriages in the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, by the Governor's License, that of Hannah Woolman to Joseph Burgoin (Burgoyne), dated 2 mo. (April) 10, 1735. Family notes also indicate that this is the correct name of the husband of Hannah Woolman." By marrying outside of the Quaker religion, Hannah's actions would be condemned by Nottingham Monthly Meeting, which noted on 20 Sep 1735 "Hannah Woolman hath some time ago married a man not of our society and that by a priest." Five months later, on 20 Feb 1735/1736, the meeting noted "Hannah Woolman alias Bourgoin sent a paper condemning her outgoing. Copy sent to Goshen." Goshen Monthly Meeting was also in Chester County, Pennsylvania. Hannah had one child Sarah and may have died in childbirth since Joseph Burgoyne remarried 30 Nov 1737 at Christ Church, Philadelphia to Hannah Price. Joseph Burgoyne died Apr 1764 in E. Bradford Twp., Chester County, Pennsylvania.
 - vii. **Hester Woolman** Born on 7 Sep 1706 at Mt. Holly, New Jersey, her name is also spelled Hesther or Esther in old records. She moved with her sister Hannah to Philadelphia in 1729 and married John Allen on 15 Jan 1731 in that city. On 30 Jul 1731, along with her sister, "Esther" was granted a certificate to Nottingham Monthly Meeting. On 18 Mar 1731/1732, Nottingham noted "Esther Allin alias Woolman married out of unity by a priest." But three months later, on 17 Jun 1732, the Nottingham records noted that "Esther Allin condemns her outgoing in marriage." As a result, Hester was forgiven for marrying outside of the

Quaker religion. Hester and John lived in Chester County, Pennsylvania. John died in 1758. He and Hester, who died in 1778, had five children.

Before returning to an account of the children of William Hunt and Mary Woolman, something more needs to be said concerning the most famous Woolman descendant, the minister John Woolman, the son of Samuel Woolman and grandson of the immigrant John Woolman.

John Woolman became an itinerant Quaker minister, traveling throughout the American colonies and noted for his preaching against slavery. With the exception of George Fox, the founder of the Quaker religion, John Woolman is probably the most famous Quaker of all time.

In his famous journal, John Woolman told of a major turning point in his life when during his youth he happened upon a robin's nest with babies in it. Woolman, as many young people would do, began throwing rocks at the mother robin just to see if he could hit her. He ended up killing the mother bird, but then remorse filled him as he thought of the baby birds who had no chance of surviving without her. He got the nest down from the tree and quickly killed the hatchlings, believing it would be the most merciful thing to do. The experience weighed on his mind for years to come.

At age 23 a man he worked for asked John to write a bill of sale for a slave. Though John thought slave keeping was inconsistent with being a Christian, he wrote the bill of sale. On another occasion, Woolman refused to write a portion of a will describing the transfer of a slave and, in fact, convinced the man to set the slave free. Many Friends believed that slavery was bad but there was not a universal condemnation of it among Quakers. Some Quakers bought slaves from other people in order to treat them humanely and educate them, while other Friends seemed to have no conviction against slavery. Woolman began to speak up about his feelings against slavery to other groups of Friends, going on his first ministry trip in 1746 and traveling about 1,500 miles over a period of three months.

He convinced many Quaker slaveholders to free their slaves and attempted to avoid using any products of slavery. For example, he wore undyed clothing because slaves were used in the making of dyes. In his travels, whenever he stayed in the home of a slaveholder, he insisted on paying the slaves for their work in attending him. In his lifetime, Woolman did not succeed in eradicating slavery even among Friends in colonial America; however, his personal efforts changed Quaker viewpoints. In 1790, a few years after Woolman's death, the Society of Friends petitioned the United States Congress for the abolition of slavery.

Woolman's final journey was to England in 1772. During the voyage he stayed in steerage and spent time with the crew rather than in the better accommodations for passengers. He attended the London Yearly Meeting, and the Friends there were persuaded to oppose slavery in their Epistle (a type of letter sent to Quakers in other places). John Woolman went from London to York, where he contracted smallpox and died.

The *Journal of John Woolman* is considered a classic in English literature, as shown by its inclusion in the Harvard Classics. It is reportedly the longest-published book in the history of North America other than the Bible, having been continuously published since before the American Revolution in 1776. A memorial to him is located in Mount Holly, New Jersey on the site of one of his orchards, housed in a small home he reportedly built for his daughter and her husband. Probably hundreds of books and pamphlets about John Woolman have been published.

The Family of William Hunt and Mary Woolman

As mentioned before, William Hunt and Mary Woolman married in 1720 and during their lives had five children. In this chapter we look at the moves the family made and examine the lives of their children. Before their marriage, Mary lived on the south side of the Delaware River near the tiny village of Rancocas, while William lived on the north side of the Delaware. Since William did not own property, we have no record of precisely where he lived, but it is likely the two lived no more than 10 miles apart. Mary would have attended meeting at Burlington, New Jersey, while William would have gone to meeting at Fallsington, Pennsylvania.

We have no way to know how William Hunt came to meet Mary Woolman. Certainly Quakers on one side of the river occasionally rowed across the Delaware to visit their counterparts on the other side. Because William Hunt and Mary's father were both weavers, William may have visited the home of John Woolman on at least one occasion because of the trade skill the two men shared. William might simply have been singled out to meet Mary, since she was nearly 28 years old and unmarried and the number of eligible Quaker bachelors was limited.

However they met, after declaring his intentions of marrying Mary, William and his new bride-to-be were cleared to proceed with their marriage. On 14 April 1720, William Hunt and Mary Woolman formally married in a Quaker ceremony at the meeting house in Springfield Township, Burlington County, New Jersey. They signed a marriage certificate witnessed by 28 others. The marriage certificate read:

Whereas William Hunt of y^e County of Bucks in y^e province of Pennsylvania and Mary Woolman daughter of John Woolman late of Northampton & County of Burlington in the West Division of new Jersey Deceased Having declared their Intentions of Marriage with each other before several Monthly Meetings of the people Called Quakers at Burlington in the said Western Division of New Jersey afore said According to the good order Used amongst them Having Consent of Friends and Relatives Concerning Their said proposal of Marriage was Allowed of by the said Meeting. Now these are to Certify whome it may concern that for y^e full accomplishing of their said Intentions this fourteenth day of y^e second moth in y^e year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty they y^e said William Hunt and Mary Woolman appeared at a publick Meeting of the said people for that purpose appointed att Springfield in y^e County of Burlington afore said And the said William Hunt taking the said Mary Woolman by the hand did in a solemn manner openly declared that he took her the said Mary Woolman to be his Wife promissing to be unto her a loving and faithful Husband until death should Separate them And then and there in the said Assembly the said Mary Woolman did in like manner declare that she took the said William Hunt to be her Husband promissing to be unto him a Faithful & loving Wife until death Should Separate them And Moreover they y^e said William Hunt and Mary Woolman she according to y^e Custom of Marriage Assuming the name of her Husband as a further Confirmation thereof did then and there presents set their hands and wee whose names are hereunder also Subscribed being present at y^e solomnization of y^e said Marriage & Subscription have as Witnesses thereunto set our hand the day & year above Written, 1720.

It was the custom of the time for relatives of the bride and groom to sign the certificate in the right-hand column; other witnesses signed to the left. Mary's parents had both died before she married, but the certificate was signed by her four sisters and one brother and her three in-laws. No one known to

be a relation to William Hunt signed the document, reinforcing the notion that he had come to America without other family members.

The original meeting house in Springfield Township where William Hunt and Mary Woolman married no longer exists. A second meeting house was built on the site in 1775, which remains to this day as a private residence on Jacksonville-Jobstown Road, about a half mile east of Jacksonville, New Jersey. The house has a Quaker burial ground behind it. The site is known either as *Lower Springfield* or *Copany* or *Old Springfield Meeting*.

The old meeting house is located on an acre of land that was donated by Richard Ridgway, who had previously lived at Falls meeting across the Delaware River, where worship meetings were held in his home. Falls meeting noted on 4 December 1689 that “Elizabeth, wife of Richard Ridgway, hath fought with her neighbor Chorley’s wife, and women friends have spoken with her and that they find her stubborn, wilful and obstinate ...” As a result the meeting was moved from Ridgway’s house to another home. This may have contributed to the fact that Ridgway moved his family across the river to West Jersey less than a year later.

Burlington Monthly Meeting records indicate that a meeting for worship was established “during the winter months” of 1682/1683 at “Esiskunk Creek” (Assiscunk Creek). Later the meeting was permitted to meet on a year-round basis. The meeting was called Birch Creek Meeting for the years 1685-1694, and then referred to as Springfield Meeting. The present-day building on the site, while nearing completion, was used as a hospital for Hessian troops following the Battle of Petticoat Bridge on 23 December 1776. A bloody handprint is reportedly still visible on the ceiling of the house. This was not the same group of Hessians which George Washington’s troops severely thumped at Trenton three days later following his now famous crossing of the Delaware.

Following their marriage, Mary crossed the Delaware River with William and lived in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. She never again lived in New Jersey. While in Bucks County, the first three of their children were born.

By 1729 the family had moved to what was then considered Chester County, Pennsylvania. Mary received a certificate of removal from Falls Monthly Meeting at Fallsington and transferred her membership in the Society of Friends to Nottingham Monthly Meeting in Chester County. William, who by this time had been disowned by the Falls meeting, would never again receive mention in the Quaker records. Nonetheless he may have attended services at the Nottingham meeting house with Mary, which even disowned Quakers were permitted, even encouraged, to do.

We have nothing to identify exactly where William Hunt lived in Chester County other than a reference in old tax records indicating he lived in West Nottingham Township for the years 1729, 1730 and 1732. These are years for which tax records for Chester County are still in existence. The fourth child Hannah was born in 1730 and the youngest William about 1734; thus the fourth of William and Mary’s children was likely born while the family lived in Chester County.

The actual location where William Hunt and his family lived was likely in what later was declared the colony and state of Maryland. The confusion over the boundary began in 1632 when King Charles I granted the colony of Maryland to George Calvert, Lord Baltimore. Fifty years later King Charles II granted William Penn the territory to the north, the colony of Pennsylvania. The description of the boundaries in the two grants did not agree and there was confusion as to where the boundary lay. The problem seems to have been more with the Pennsylvania grant than with that of Maryland. According

1720

I shewes William Hunt of y^e County of Bucks in province
 of Pensylvania And Mary Woolman Daughter of John Woolman
 late of Northampton & County of Burlington in the west Division of
 new Jersey Decessed Having declared their Intentions of Marriage
 with Each other before severall Monthly Meetings of the people called
 Quakers at Burlington in the said Western Division of New Jersey
 afore said According to the good order Used amongst them Having
 Consent of friends and Relations Concerned their said proposal
 of Marriage was allowed of by the said Meetings

Now these are to Certifie whome it may concern that for y^e full
 accomplishing of their said Intentions this fourteenth day of y^e second Moth
 in y^e year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty they y^e said
 William Hunt and Mary Woolman appeared at a publick Meeting
 of the said people for that purpose Appointed at Springfield in y^e
 County of Burlington afore said And the said William Hunt
 taking the said Mary Woolman by the hand did in a solemn manner
 Openly declare that he took her the said Mary Woolman to be his
 Wife promising to be unto her a loving and faithfull Husband
 until death should separate them And then and there in the said
 Assembly the said Mary Woolman did in like manner declare that
 she took the said William Hunt to be her Husband promising
 to be unto him a faithfull & loving Wife until death should
 separate them And moreover they y^e said William Hunt and
 Mary Woolman the according to y^e Custom of Marriage Affirming
 the name of her Husband as a farther Confirmation thereof did
 then to these presents set their hands and wee whose names are
 are hereunder also subscribed being present at y^e solemnization
 of y^e said Marriage & Subscription have as Witnesses therunto set
 our hand the day & Year above Written 1720:

Tho Lambert Isaac Watfon John Carver James Carver Joseph Wood William Pancoast Joseph Atkinson Sam Woolston Richard Gibbs	Phebe Scattergood Thomasin Pancoast Hannah Pancoast Mary Addams Elizabeth Scattergood	William Hunt Mary Hunt Samuel Woolman Elizabeth Hervey Ann Buffum Hannah Woolman Esther Woolman John Buffum John Hervey John Haines Tho Wilkins Sumner Wilkins Elizabeth Woolman Michael Buffum Joshua Smith
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The Quaker marriage record for William Hunt and Mary Woolman. The text of the record indicates they married on the "fourteenth day of y^e second month in y^e year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and twenty," thus 14 April 1720 by the modern calendar. It was Quaker tradition for relatives to sign in the right-hand column under the groom's and bride's names. The fact that no other Hunt signed the marriage record indicates that William Hunt had come to America alone and without other family members.

to the Pennsylvania charter, that colony's southern boundary was the "*fortieth degree of Northern Latitude, and then by a streight Line Westward.*" But there must have been some really bad survey work because even the newly founded city of Philadelphia was slightly south of the 40th parallel.

Because there was a 28-mile wide strip of disputed territory between the two colonies, hostilities erupted in 1730 with a series of violent incidents prompted by disputes over property rights. The problem escalated until military forces were deployed by Maryland in 1736 and by Pennsylvania the following year. The Calvert and Penn families eventually appealed to the English courts to find a solution and it was finally declared in 1750 that the boundary between southern Pennsylvania and northern Maryland should lie fifteen miles south of Philadelphia. A decade later, the two families agreed on the compromise and set out to have the new boundary surveyed. But since colonial surveyors were no match for the difficult job, two experts from England had to be recruited.

The two, astronomer Charles Mason and renowned surveyor Jeremiah Dixon, will always be known for their famous boundary, the Mason-Dixon line. It took them four years to survey the boundary between the two colonies. The line would have been an obscure part of history were it not for the American Civil War, when the Mason-Dixon line became associated with the division between free and slave states.

The area in Chester County where most of the Quakers settled, including William Hunt, was originally called "Nottingham Lots," then Nottingham Township, later split into two townships, West Nottingham and East Nottingham. Nottingham Lots grew out of William Penn's desire to establish his southern border. In 1701, Penn granted a warrant for 18,000 acres for the Nottingham Lots, divided into 37 lots, each about one mile by three miles in size. It is believed prospective owners made selections by the drawing of lots, hence the use of the term "Lots." After the Mason-Dixon line was established only 1300 acres of the original Nottingham Lots remained in Chester County; the rest of the lots were in what is today Cecil County, Maryland.

The Quakers in West Nottingham Township, where William Hunt and his family lived, were near what today is Rising Sun, Maryland, in Cecil County. There was a Quaker meeting house built there in 1727. The first meeting house was a log building, used until the present brick building was built in 1811. The original log building was later moved and used as a shop, and then a stable. Some pieces of this wood structure are in the possession of the Friends of the Brick Meeting House at Calvert, Maryland. The Quakers also built a log schoolhouse about 1730, and the oldest of William Hunt's children undoubtedly attended school there.

About 1733 William Hunt moved his family to the Monocacy area of Prince George's County, Maryland, near the present-day town of Buckeystown. This involved crossing the Susquehanna River and a move of about 90 miles to the southwest. Beginning about 1725, many Quakers had begun to migrate to the Monocacy area, and after a fairly short stay in what was then Chester County, Pennsylvania, William joined the movement deeper into Maryland.

On 15 May 1736, Nottingham Monthly Meeting granted Mary Hunt and her daughter Margaret a certificate of removal to Hopewell Monthly Meeting, which was situated in Frederick County, Virginia. This was because in 1734 the Monocacy Quakers were assigned to the newly established Hopewell Monthly Meeting. Thus this was more a jurisdictional reassignment than a physical relocation at that time.

Unfortunately the first books of minutes for Hopewell Monthly Meeting were burned in a fire at the



After leaving Bucks County, Pennsylvania, William Hunt and his family moved to Chester County, Pennsylvania. He settled in an area originally called "Nottingham Lots," later known as Nottingham Township. Nottingham Lots grew out of William Penn's desire to establish his southern border, which was in dispute with the Maryland colony. Penn's warrant for Nottingham Lots was 18,000 acres, but after the Mason-Dixon line was established only 1300 acres of the original Nottingham Lots remained in Chester County; the rest of the lots were in what is today Cecil County, Maryland. William Hunt and his family lived near the present-day town of Rising Sun, Maryland in Cecil County, Maryland. Within a few years, the family moved on to the Monocacy area of Prince George's County, Maryland.

house of the custodian in 1759, so we do not have the benefit of their contents. For example, Mary Hunt is believed to have died about 1736, and there probably would have been a record of that. In 1745, the Monocacy Quakers were assigned to Fairfax Monthly Meeting in Virginia. Of course, no record of the disowned William Hunt appears in these records, but there are several records of his children.

The five children of William Hunt and Mary Woolman were:

- i. **Margaret Hunt** Born about 1721 in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, she died in 1796 at Center Monthly Meeting, Guilford County, North Carolina. She was buried at Center Monthly Meeting. Margaret married John Beals, son of John Beals and Sarah Bowater, about 1736-1738. John was born on 17 Apr 1717 in Chester County, Pennsylvania and died on 17 Apr 1796.
- ii. **Thomas Hunt** Born in 1723 in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, he died on 15 Sep 1763 at New Garden Monthly Meeting, Guilford County, North Carolina. He was buried in the New Garden burial ground. Thomas married Mary Ann Beals, daughter of John Beals and Sarah Bowater, about 1743-1744. Mary died on 10 Jul 1790 at New Garden meeting, Guilford County, North Carolina.
- + iii. **Eleazar Hunt** Born on 21 Aug 1725 in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, Eleazar married Catherine Cox, daughter of William Cox and Catherine Kinkey on 4 Dec 1752 at New Garden Monthly Meeting, Guilford County, North Carolina. Catherine was born about 1732 in Hockessin, New Castle County, Delaware. She died on 24 Feb 1785 at New Garden and was buried there. Eleazar died on 21 Jan 1781 at New Garden meeting, Guilford County, North Carolina and was buried there.
- iv. **Hannah Hunt** Born on 20 Jan 1730/1731 in what was considered Chester County, Pennsylvania at the time (today, Cecil County, Maryland), Hannah married William Kersey in Jan 1749 in Prince George's County, Maryland. William was born in 1722 in Pennsylvania. He died on 20 Nov 1764 in Rowan County, North Carolina. Hannah likely died 1790-1800.
- v. **William Hunt Jr.** Born about 1734, probably in Prince George's County, Maryland, William Jr. married Sarah Mills on 6 Oct 1753 at Cane Creek Monthly Meeting, Orange County, North Carolina. Sarah was born in 1734. She died on 14 Jul 1778 in Guilford County. William died on 9 Sep 1772 in New-Castle-on-Tyne, England.

Some people often attribute a sixth child, Rachel, to this family, but there is no evidence of such a person. This error can likely be traced back to a paper referenced in the Pearl Idol collection to be found in the Earlham College Archives. The paper was written by Nathan Hunt Jr. for his granddaughter and in the paper he stated the immigrant William Hunt, his great-grandfather, had "3 sons & 3 daughters." Nathan named the three sons accurately in the letter, but named the three daughters as "Rachel & Hannah." Obviously math may not have been Nathan's strong suit. Nathan went on to state that Rachel married "John Beak." It seems he was confusing the daughter Margaret, who married John Beals, with someone named Rachel or had confused Rachel Beals, the daughter of

Margaret, with a daughter of William Hunt. There is no evidence whatsoever that William Hunt ever had a daughter named Rachel.

What follows is an account of each child, saving our direct ancestor Eleazar for a future chapter.

Margaret Hunt

Margaret Hunt was the oldest child, born about 1721. The family had probably moved to Chester County, Pennsylvania by the time she was about seven or eight and on to the Monocacy area of Maryland when she was about twelve. Margaret married quite young, probably by the time she was 17. The marriage almost certainly took place in the Monocacy area of Maryland and would have been recorded in the Hopewell Monthly Meeting records since the Monocacy area Quakers belonged to that meeting until 1744. However a fire burned those records in 1759 so we don't know exactly when Margaret married.

Margaret married John Beals, a family accounted for in another portion of this book, being director ancestors through John's sister Prudence Beals. John was actually John Beals III, and he named a son John as well. John Beals' father, also John, was one of the owners of the Nottingham Lots. In fact, he owned two of the 37 lots. The Beals name was spelled *Bales*, *Bailes*, *Balles*, *Bayles*, *Beales* and several other ways in early records and according to several sources the name was originally pronounced "Bales" regardless of the spelling.

John Beals, son of John and Sarah (Bowater) Beals, was born in Nottingham Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania on 17 April 1717. He grew up on the family farm before moving in 1733 with his family to a newly formed settlement of Quakers in Prince George's County, Maryland (today, Frederick County). It is likely there, about 1738, that John Beals and Margaret Hunt married.

Following their marriage, John and Margaret moved across the Potomac to the Hopewell settlement of Quakers in Frederick County, Virginia. Hopewell meeting was situated about five miles north of present-day Winchester, Virginia and had been established about 1734. About four years before, Alexander Ross and several other Quakers had applied for a grant of 100,000 acres in the area of the Opeckan River and though the grant was not finalized until 1732, a large number of Quaker families soon began arriving in the area, some of whom had already migrated to the Monocacy area. By 1732 at least 70 families had settled in this region, at the time on the edge of the frontier to the west.

The first deed book for Frederick County shows that on 1 March 1743 John purchased 165 acres of land on Middle Creek for six pounds from his brother-in-law John Mills. He and Margaret remained on this land for eleven years until they sold the same parcel of land on 5 November 1754 for a mere five shillings to another Quaker, Benjamin Thornburgh. There is no direct evidence as to why John sold the land at such a loss, but others have speculated that it was the French and Indian War, which is likely correct.

The French and Indian War took place between the years 1754 to 1763 all across North America. The name of the conflict refers to the two main enemies of the British, the French army and various American Indian tribes which allied with them to drive out the British colonists. Armed hostilities began on 3 July 1754 when Col. George Washington got his future presidential butt badly kicked by the French near present-day Pittsburgh. For the next several years, the western areas of Pennsylvania and Virginia became a very dangerous place, with the Indians in the region given free license by the French to attack British colonial settlements.

The Beals family were joined by many others fleeing this area about this time because of Indian problems. The book *Hopewell Friends History, 1734-1934* mentions another Quaker meeting just ten miles away near Martinsburg called Providence Meeting. In 1758, “under stress of the French and Indian War and fear of ‘an Indian enemy,’ the attendance at Providence fell so low that the preparative meeting there was discontinued.”

John and Margaret Beals joined other members of his family in moving to North Carolina. The minutes of New Garden Monthly Meeting in Guilford County, North Carolina, show that John Beals and his family were received from Hopewell on 27 May 1758, on a certificate granted only a month before. But the same records indicate John and Margaret were already living in North Carolina before that date.

At New Garden meeting, John Beals became active in Quaker affairs, serving on committees and acting as a representative at quarterly and yearly meetings. However, this did not preclude an occasional fall from grace. The New Garden minutes for 27 January 1759 show that “John Beals, Sr. having some time ago drunk strong liquor to excess, now signifies his sorrow therefore in a paper produced to this meeting which is accepted for satisfaction.”

Land records from Rowan County, North Carolina (formed from Guilford County in 1771) show John Beals settled on land in the vicinity of what is now Jamestown, North Carolina in 1756. According to Richard S. Boone in his book *Some Quaker Families*, John and Margaret settled on a 300-acre tract near Pole Cat Creek. Later it appears that John and Margaret moved a few miles east to the vicinity of the Center meeting house. The log cabin that John built late in the 1750s was still standing and being used as a shed as late as the 1940s and a photograph of it still exists.

Margaret (Hunt) Beals also became very active in the Society of Friends at New Garden. In 1761 she was recorded as a “minister.” We even have an example of her writing in the form of a testimony to her younger brother William, the eminent Quaker minister. The testimony, an example of flowery Quaker-style writing, was preserved in the family for years and published in 1858 in the book *Memoirs of William and Nathan Hunt*:

In Remembrance of My Brother, William Hunt

A few words in remembrance of my brother, William Hunt, deceased: O my brother, how lovely and pleasant thou has been to me! Thou hast forsaken all that was near and dear to thee in this world to follow the Lamb both by sea and land. Thou didst obey the heavenly voice, and preferred the Lord's work before thine own. Thou has gone to and fro in many parts of the earth to sound forth the trumpet of the Lord, and hast been able to speak a word in due season. It was thy delight to meditate on the law of the Lord. Ah, my brother, what shall I say in remembrance of thee? Surely I may lament the loss of such a friend; although I have no cause to mourn though thou art laid in the silent grave, yet lovingly speaketh in the hearts of many. Oh, the many deep baptisms, trials and exercises thou hast gone through with much meekness and patience! Thou didst improve thy talents (as if thou knewest how short thy time should be) unto the praise of Him that first did raise thy mind from earthly things to heavenly. Thou hast been a valiant soldier in the holy warfare, to promote the honor and glory of God; so, after many hard labors and travails for the promotion of truth, thou hast ended thy days in a distant land, where I believe thou hast gone to everlasting rest and peace, with glory crowned, amongst saints and angels forever blest. Oh that the Lord would be pleased to raise up many more much faithful laborers in his vineyards! Now we are left behind; let it be our daily care to keep down

in humility, in patience and self-denial, in reverence and holy fear before the Lord, that, when this short and uncertain time here is at an end, we may be thought worthy of an inheritance amongst the sanctified, where we may sing praises for evermore. So saith one that wisheth well to all mankind.

Margaret Beals
4th of the 2nd Mo. 1773

John and Margaret Beals apparently spent their last years in the home of their daughter Hannah. John appears to have distributed his property among his children before his death, since he left no will or estate settlement. However, just before his death, John Beals had a remarkable experience which he recounted to a friend who recorded it. An account of the experience is preserved in the Quaker archives at Guilford College in Greensboro, North Carolina:

The “Near-death” Experience of John Beals

Recovering from a fit of sickness, a weak John Beals desired that his family retire for the evening sooner than was usual. The door to his room suddenly opened and a person, clothed in white raiment, drew to his bedside and bade him to arise and follow him. They went out of the room together and ascended up through the air. John was brought to Heaven by his Guide and was placed before the Great Being who was seated on a bright throne of glory. The Divine Being looked upon him and asked how he came to be there. He replied that a person in white raiment had come to him and brought him to this glorious place. The Divine Being told the Guide to take John and show him the glory of the Saints. What John saw caused his heart to be overcome with joy and he desired to remain there forever. He was informed that he must go back again to the world and remain for two and a half days. If he spent his time in faithfulness, he should return and have his inheritance among the Saints forever. John then asked the Guide to take him where he might have a fragrant smell. He was taken to a place where a door opened and released the most delightful odor he had ever experienced. He was soon filled with the odor and then was brought back by his Guide to his chamber and the bed where he lay. The fragrant smell remained in his nostrils for many days. He recovered very quickly from his sickness and believed that what he had seen would soon be fulfilled.

The minutes of Center Monthly Meeting show that John Beals died 17 April 1796, in his “80th yr.,” and was buried in the burial ground at New Garden meeting. Margaret died the same year, although the Center records do not provide the exact date, and she was also buried at New Garden. One account states that “Margaret Beals died on the farm on April 11, 1796 and John died there the following week on April 17.” In early Quaker tradition, neither grave is marked. Margaret Hunt, by her husband John Beals, had the following children, most of whom were born in Frederick County, Virginia (the dates for their births, if given, are approximate):

John Beals was married twice, first on 13 November 1760 to Sarah Dicks, the daughter of Peter Dicks and Sarah Elizabeth Hayes. Sarah died on 26 October 1777 at the age of thirty four and John married Susannah Johnson on 30 December 1778. John Beals died on 24 April 1804 and was buried in the New Garden burial ground in Guilford County, North Carolina. Susannah remarried on 14 February 1821 to Caleb Jessup Jr.

Ruth Beals married John Hoggatt at New Garden Monthly Meeting on 25 November 1758. John was born in 1728, the son of Phillip Hoggatt and Mary Glendenning. John died 5 June 1816. Ruth’s date of death was not recorded in the New Garden meeting minutes but both Ruth and her husband are buried at New Garden.

Lydia Beals was married twice, first to Christopher Hiatt on 23 September 1762. After

Christopher died, Lydia married the widower Joshua Hadley on 22 February 1800. Lydia died soon after, on 14 July 1801. Lydia and both husbands are buried in the Spring burial ground in Alamance County, North Carolina.

William Beals was born about 1740. He married Rachel Green on 19 October 1769 at New Garden. Rachel was a daughter of James and Mary Green. William and Rachel moved to Knox County, Tennessee (which was then part of North Carolina) about 1786. Rachel died there in 1799. William returned to central North Carolina in 1802 and married, about 1803, Rachel Johnson. William died in the summer of 1814 in Chatham County, North Carolina.

Hannah Beals was born about 1743. She married on 3 May 1760 to William Hoggatt, the brother of John, whom Ruth Beals married. William was born 14 July 1727 in Chester County, Pennsylvania. After William died in Guilford County on 27 April 1772, Hannah married Joseph Cloud. They were married at the Center meeting on 22 April 1790. Hannah and her second husband were both recorded as “ministers.” Hannah died 4 April 1804 in Guilford County.

Rachel Beals was born about 1745 and married James Dicks, the son of Nathan Dicks and Deborah Clark, in early 1768. The marriage was recorded at New Garden on 28 May 1768. They lived in Guilford County, where Rachel died on 22 August 1827 and is buried in the Center burial ground.

Thomas Hunt

Thomas Hunt was the second child and the oldest son of William Hunt and Mary Woolman. He was born in 1723 in Bucks County, Pennsylvania where the family lived near the Falls meeting. After spending his early years in Bucks County and Chester County, Pennsylvania, Thomas was about ten when the family moved to Prince George’s County, Maryland.

The first record of Thomas Hunt appeared in 1742, when at the age of 19 and along with his brother and father, Thomas signed a petition requesting the creation of a new Anglican parish in Prince George’s County. The same year his name also appeared on “A List of those persons who have been Deficient in Bringing in their Quota’s of Crows and Squirrells heads.” His name appeared on the same list three other years, until 1747 when the compilation of this list was halted in Prince George’s County.

On 11 December 1746, just weeks after his father died, Thomas Hunt signed as a witness to the marriage of Richard Williams and Prudence Beals (and both direct ancestors which appear in another section of this work). This marriage undoubtedly occurred in Prince George’s County under the observance of the Monocacy meeting, but those records have not survived, and we would not have known of this marriage were it not later recorded in the New Garden Monthly Meeting minutes in North Carolina.

By this time Thomas Hunt was married himself, since his wife “Ann Hunt” also signed the marriage certificate of her sister Prudence. But we don’t know the date of Thomas’ marriage because the Quaker records for the Monocacy area in colonial Maryland were kept at Hopewell Monthly Meeting to the west in northern Virginia. Unfortunately the first book of minutes for Hopewell meeting were burned in 1759 in a fire at the house of the clerk for the meeting, and the early records for Monocacy Quakers were lost forever.

A deed found for the “county of Frederick in the Collony of Virginia” dated 23 May 1744 shows that

Thomas Hunt and Ann Beals were married at least by that date. The deed was between “Thomas Hunt & Anne his wife of Prince George County in the Province of Maryland” and Samuel Walker of Frederick County, Virginia. Walker paid £5 for Anne’s one-third interest in 270 acres in Frederick County “whereof Rees Smith, late Dec’d Husband of said Anne was seized.” Anne Beals had previously been married to Rees Smith, who died soon after their marriage, and with the deed, Thomas and Ann were selling her 1/3 dower rights to property her deceased husband had owned.

Rees Smith had received a 150-acre patent from the colony of Virginia in 1734, but sold that land four years later when his father died and he inherited his father’s 270-acre farm. Rees’ family were Quakers and his father was sued by “Reverend William Williams,” probably a minister of the Church of England, for signing a “scandalous letter.” Rees Smith died between 1739 and 1744.

Following the death of his father in late 1746, Thomas Hunt became involved in a lawsuit possibly having to do with his father’s sale of his assets. In 1748, Frederick County was formed from Prince George’s County and included the area where the Hunt family lived. In the court records for the newly-formed county was a record that George Scott, who had purchased the assets of the family when William Hunt liquidated everything, sued Thomas Hunt. Thomas’ brother and two other men were called to appear in the March 1750 term of the court to testify on behalf of Scott. The case was still on the dockets a year later and the reason for and result of the lawsuit remain unknown.

In 1744, Fairfax Monthly Meeting was established, being set off from Hopewell Monthly Meeting, though the first Fairfax meeting was not held until 26 June 1745. From that point, the Quakers at Monocacy would fall under the control of the Fairfax meeting. It was agreed the actual meetings would alternate between the Fairfax meeting house and Monocacy meeting house. In the Fairfax Monthly Meeting minutes it was recorded on 26 August 1749 that Thomas Hunt was received into membership by request. This would also be true for a brother and sister of Thomas as well.

The fact that Thomas and two of his siblings were shown as being “received into membership” is quite interesting and not fully understood by researchers to this day. Quakers became members of a monthly meeting in one of three ways: (1) if they had not previously been members of the Society of Friends, they could be “received by request” into the care of the meeting, or (2) they could transfer their membership from another Quaker meeting (a certificate of removal), or (3) they were “birthright” Quakers, i.e., born to parents who were both members in good standing at the time of the birth. Theoretically, Thomas Hunt should have been a birthright Quaker. But a number of years and several family moves had passed since the disownment of Thomas’ father, and members of the Fairfax Monthly Meeting might have been unsure as to Thomas’ status as a Quaker.

On 25 August 1750, the Fairfax meeting records indicate that “Thomas Hunt and wife” were granted a certificate of removal to Carver’s Creek Monthly Meeting in Bladen County, North Carolina. Their certificate was received at the Carver’s Creek meeting on 25 October 1750. Thomas and his family had joined a large number of Quaker families who were migrating south into North Carolina from the Monocacy area about this time. By 1751, thirty Quaker families had settled in this area, including Thomas Hunt and his family.

When Cane Creek Monthly Meeting was established on 7 December 1751, Thomas Hunt was among the original members of that meeting, which was named for the stream near where the meeting house was built. As Hinshaw points out in the *Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy*, the area covered by the Cane Creek meeting “included all the present counties of Caswell, Person, Alamance, Chatham and Orange and parts of Rockingham, Guilford, Randolph, Lee, Wake and Durham” and that the “original

membership was scattered over a large territory.”

During the American Revolutionary War, following the Battle of Guilford Courthouse in 1781 (much more on that topic to follow), the British General Cornwallis made his headquarters at the Cane Creek meeting house for a week. During that time his men used the benches from the meeting house as “woodblocks” for butchering cattle and sheep they had taken from the colonists in the surrounding area, many of whom were probably Quakers.

Thomas Hunt was one of those “scattered over a large territory” from the Cane Creek meeting house. He had settled near the present-day city of Greensboro, North Carolina, approximately thirty miles to the west of the Cane Creek meeting house, in an area known from the beginning as “New Garden.” It is not surprising that the first piece of business to come before Cane Creek Monthly Meeting at their first meeting on 7 October 1751 was a request from Friends at New Garden for permission to hold a meeting for worship.

At this time a meeting house had yet to be built, and there is a tradition that the Quakers used “two great logs” placed to form an angle. The leaders sat at the point where the logs met, with men on one log and women on the other in the Quaker tradition of separating the sexes for meetings. To prevent their horses from straying during the meeting, the Quakers later brought the horses into the open angle, and using a third log, formed an enclosed triangle.

The Quaker settlement at New Garden continued to grow, as noted by the minutes of the Perquimans and Little River Quarterly Meeting on 25 May 1754 when it was noted:

Friends at New Garden requested this meeting to Grant them the privilege of holding a Monthly Meeting amongst them by Reason of the hardship they underwent in Attending the Monthly Meeting at Cane Creek; and it appearing to this meeting that there is Near or Quite forty families of Friends seated in them parts; In consideration of which, this meeting thought proper to grant them there request.

Thus Thomas Hunt and his family were among the founding members of the New Garden Monthly Meeting when it was formed 25 May 1754. We can also assume that Thomas was getting tired of sitting on a log during meeting, for he was also involved in building a meeting house at New Garden. “On the 19th of October, 1757, Henry Ballinger and Thomas Hunt bought of Richard Williams fifty acres of land for five shillings for the use, benefit, privilege and convienency of a Meeting House which is already erected upon the above and bears the name New Garden for the Christian people called Quakers to meet in for publick worship of Almighty God, as also the ground to bury their dead in.”

Thomas Hunt died when he was only about 40. According to Quaker records at New Garden, Thomas Hunt died the 15th of the 9th month 1763, which would be September using the new calendar which should have been in use for eleven years by this time. But this date is obviously in error since Thomas left a will dated 13 October 1763. The will is interesting:

In the name of God Amen, I Thomas Hunt of Rowan County in the Province of North Carolina, planter, being very sick & weak of body but of perfect memory & understanding, Thanks be to God for the same, Do make this my last Will & Testament in manner and form as follows, viz:

First and principally I commit my soul unto the hands of Almighty God that give it & my body to be decently buried at the discretion of my Executors hereinafter named.

Item. I given unto my eldest son Abner Hunt the one-half of the tract of land whereon I

*now live, beginning on the south end of the said tract of land & running north for the s^d
-----.*

Item. I give unto my son Thomas Hunt the remaining half of the said tract of land whereon I now live except only that my wife Ann Hunt shall have the benefit of willing the same land as long as she continues my widow.

Item. I give unto my wife Ann Hunt all of my working tools and two horses (to wit) a bay horse known by the name of Buck & a gray horse which I purchased of Isaac Thomas, the gray horse to be hers to dispose of as she sees fit, the bay horse to be hers as long as she continues to be my widow, but provided she marry the one half of the working tools to be divided amongst all my sons, the other half to the said widow & the said bay horse to be sold and the money equally divided among my daughters.

Item. I give unto my wife Ann Hunt four cows (to Wit) Alphin, Cherry, Browney, and Blackey and the rest of my stock of cattle to be divided equally amongst my children by my Executors.

Item. I give unto my daughter Sarah Hunt one young bay mare which has usually been called hers.

Item. I give unto my daughter Ruth Hunt one black mare & young colt running at Peter Kings.

Item. I give unto my son Jacob Hunt one young bay mare running at Peter Kings.

Item. I give unto my daughter Jemima Hunt one young mare running with a mare at Richard Williams.

Item. I give unto my son William Hunt one brown mare running at the Great Lick.

Item. Provided my wife be with child I give to that child one year old colt running at Great Lick with aforesaid brown mare.

Item. I give unto my son Isham Hunt the first colt that the bay mare given to my daughter Sarah Hunt raises, and I desire that two horses (to wit) a gray horse I purchased from William Robinson and a black horse I purchased of John Hoggatt be sold & the money to be equally divided between my three sons Jacob Hunt, William Hunt and Isham Hunt.

Item. I give unto my daughter Mary Robinson, wife of William Robinson, one ewe and the rest of my stock of sheep & likewise my stock of hogs to be for the family's use.

Item. I given unto my wife Ann Hunt the one-half of my household goods and the other half I give to be divided amongst my daughters, by my Executors.

Item. I give my wearing clothes to be disposed of amongst my sons as my wife sees proper.

Item. I desire that my still & wagon be sold and the money to be given to my wife to dispose of as she sees fit, and I do hereby constitute and appoint my brother Eleazar Hunt and my friend Nathan Dicks and my loving wife Ann Hunt whole and sole Executors of this my Last Will and Testament, hereby revoking and making void all other former Wills, Legacies, or Testaments by me made.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand & seal this thirteenth day of October A.D. 1763.

Thomas Hunt

Thomas did not leave a large inheritance to his family. An inventory of his estate was prepared by family friend Nathan Dicks and Thomas' brother Eleazar Hunt, and the value of Thomas' estate was determined to be just over £68 in value. Ann remained a widow for 25 years. Then on 18 June 1788, she married a third time to William Baldwin, who was 68 years old and a widower. Ann died two years later, on 10 July 1790.

Both Thomas Hunt and his wife Ann Beals were buried in the New Garden burial ground. The two had the following children:

Mary Hunt married William Robinson on 23 December 1761 at New Garden. Mary died 16 April 1792. In 1805, the family moved to Highland County, Ohio.

Ruth Hunt married Thomas Thornbrough at New Garden 26 March 1766. Ruth died 7 January 1767 and is buried at New Garden. Thomas accompanied William Hunt Jr. on his trip to England (see below).

Sarah Hunt was born 29 August 1747 and married John Unthank on 1 April 1767 at New Garden. John died in Guilford County on 29 January 1781 and Sarah married again in 1782 to Solomon Hiatt. Sarah moved to Indiana in 1819 with other members of her family. She died there in 1846, at age 99.

Abner Hunt was born in 1751 and was the eldest son. He married Mary Pope on 16 January 1771 at New Garden. In about 1812, they moved to Ohio, where Abner died in Clinton County on 28 September 1834 at age 83. Mary died on 27 November 1839 at age 86, and both were buried at the Newbury burial ground.

Jemima Hunt was born about 1753 and married Allen Unthank on 7 December 1774 at New Garden. They remained in Guilford County, North Carolina where Allen died on 30 May 1822 and she on 2 November 1840.

Jacob Hunt was born about 1755 in Rowan County and married Hannah Brittain on 8 May 1776. Jacob died about 1830, his will dated 12 October 1829 and proved in May 1830.

Isham Hunt was born about 1760 in Rowan County. He married twice, first to Ann Moon, daughter of Richard Moon, on 9 January 1781 at New Garden. After her death, he married Margaret Bundy on 14 November 1793 at Back Creek Monthly Meeting in Randolph County, North Carolina. They moved to Guilford County and Isham died there in the mid 1820s. In 1828 Margaret moved with others to Indiana. She died in Henry County, Indiana on 30 April 1846 and is buried in the Duck Creek burial ground.

William Hunt married Ruth Brittain, the sister of Hannah who married Jacob Hunt. William died 28 March 1791 and Ruth in 1847.

Thomas Hunt married Phoebe Coffin, daughter of Peter Coffin and Miriam Perry. She died 12 April 1816 and Thomas on 31 March 1859.

Ann Hunt was the unborn child mentioned in her father's will when he referred to his wife being "with child." Ann was born 22 February 1764, several months after her father died. She married Jacob Rogers at New Garden on 2 May 1788. They remained in Guilford County, North Carolina, where Jacob died on 13 July 1816 and Ann on 12 April 1830.

Hannah Hunt

Hannah Hunt was born on 20 January 1730/1731 to William and Mary (Woolman) Hunt while the family lived in Chester County, Pennsylvania (later Cecil County, Maryland because of a survey problem). Hannah's birth date is not recorded in the Quakers records, but an old Kersey family bible once in the possession of Mrs. Lee Andrews of Trinity, North Carolina lists her birth date as "20th of 11th mo. 1730." This date has been often translated incorrectly as being in November by those not mindful of old style dates. Hannah was only a few years old when the family moved to Maryland and probably about six or seven years old when her mother died. She was probably raised with the assistance of her older sister Margaret until the latter married.

The first record of Hannah is an entry in the Fairfax Monthly Meeting minutes for 27 November 1746 in which Hannah "daughter of Mary and Wm. Hunt, both deceased" requested to be received into the Society of Friends. This was just a few weeks after her father died and it would appear Hannah was anxious to regain active participation with the Monocacy Quakers that had possibly been missing since the death of Hannah's mother.

In “1st Mo. 1749,” i.e. March 1749 under the old-style calendar, the Fairfax minutes indicate that Hannah Hunt and William Kersey married “contrary to discipline” despite the fact they were “both members.” A marriage “contrary to discipline” usually meant the couple, despite both being Quakers, chose to be married by a Justice of the Peace or the clergy of another religion. To be married within the Society of Friends, the couple had to declare intentions before both the prospective bride’s and groom’s meetings to insure neither had any issues which would prevent them from marrying. A committee was appointed to look into the character of both and report back to the meeting. If they were found free to marry, they were granted permission to marry at the next meeting. This process usually took two to three months and sometimes couples, in the heat of passion, were not willing to wait that long.

This offense often meant disownment for the offending couple, but Hannah and William were able to make amends for their indiscretion. At the Fairfax Monthly Meeting of 26 September 1749, it was recorded that William and Hannah Kersey “both made acknowledgment” of their Quaker faux pas, which was “accepted by the meeting.”

William Kersey was the son of John and Lois Kersey, born in 1722 according to the old Kersey family bible. He was likely born in Pennsylvania. It is often repeated that William Kersey descended from the English mathematician John Kersey (1616-1680s?) and his son of the same name who was a noted lexicographer. This seems to be based on the story of a “razor hone” handed down through the generations which was etched on its side with the words “John Kersey brought this razor hone to America from Ayrshire, Scotland, in 1650” and reportedly still in possession of Kersey descendants today. The razor hone may exist but this legend is nonsense since neither the noted mathematician nor his son left England.

Whatever their origins, the Kersey family lived in what was then Frederick County, Virginia (today Clarke County) where John Kersey, William’s father, operated a ferry. John had obtained a right from the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1736 to operate a ferry over the “shenadoah River near the wagon road were he liveth,” which was on land owned by a Thomas Ashby. His ferry is mentioned a number of times in the Frederick County records and was likely located where U.S. Hwy 50 crosses the Shenandoah River today and where a small road called Kersey Lane comes down to the river.

An entry dated 9 October 1746 in the Frederick County Order Book ordered that “part of the road which leads ... to Kersey’s ferry be discontinued until next court.” Another entry in the same court mentions “John Kersey having set forth by his petition that he was aged & unable to get a livelihood prayed the court to let him free from paying of levies. The said Petition do adjudge the said John Kersey to be an Object of Charity & therefore do exempt him from paying taxes.” There are no further entries in county records which refer to Kersey’s ferry. According to one account, the old Kersey home near the ferry landing was still standing in 1937 when a photograph was taken showing a central log home with several additions. The home was severely damaged in a flood in the late 1930s and later razed.

William Kersey’s name appears in an interesting record in the county order book dated 5 August 1745, in which “William and John Kersey gave security to James Woods, Thomas Rutherford, Gent., Church Wardens of the Parish of Frederick for payment of Catherine McDonald’s fine for having a bastard.” It would be fascinating to know more about this court order. By an act passed in Virginia in 1727, the mother of a bastard child was subject to fine or flogging, and the reputed father had to give security to maintain the child. From the wording of the court order, that does not appear to be the case here, implying that perhaps Catherine McDonald was a relative.

By this time William Kersey had married someone named Elizabeth, last name unknown, by whom he had one son, William Jr., born 15 November 1745. Also by this time William Kersey and his wife had moved to the Monocacy area of Maryland for he was granted a 56-acre parcel of land called Gravelly Spring on 18 September 1745. William was a witness to a marriage along with his two future brothers-in-law Thomas and Eleazar Hunt on 11 December 1746. Either his wife died as a result of childbirth or very soon after, for by 1749, William had remarried to Hannah Hunt.

A land patent was granted to man named Daniel Dulany for a parcel of land called “Deeps” in Prince George’s County, Maryland on 13 November 1747. On that patent was a notation that this was land “whereupon a certain William Kersey has seated and made improvements without making rights to us.” This would seem to imply that William was a bit of a squatter. Also helping to show that he had moved to Monocacy by this time, a deed back in Frederick County, Virginia dated 28 January 1752 mentions property “situated on the south side of the Great Road that passes by Capt. Hite’s house to Ashby Gap where Wm. Kersey lately lived”.

There is an entry in the *Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy* which states that William Kersey served as overseer of the Monocacy meeting at one point, so he seems to have been active in Quaker affairs. But like many others, William Kersey soon joined the Quaker exodus into North Carolina. On 24 June 1758, William and Hannah, with their children and William Jr. by his first wife, were granted a certificate of removal to New Garden Monthly Meeting in North Carolina. They presented their certificate to New Garden on 28 October the same year.

According to several old accounts from Kersey descendants, the family either settled “on Richland Creek” or “on Deep River” or near the “town of Springfield” in what today is Guilford County, North Carolina. Actually all the accounts are correct. The family lived about three miles east of what was once the town of Springfield, today a part of the city of High Point, on Richland Creek, which empties into the Deep River a short distance away. There is a road named Kersey Valley Road which runs through the area where the family lived. William and Hannah lived about three miles away from the Quaker meeting house at Springfield.

According to a family story, William Kersey “blazed on trees around about 300 acres for each of his five boys, there then being no government land marks to go by. He then employed, at his own expense, a surveyor to estimate the number of acres, and paid the British Government 12½ cents per acre for it.”

William Kersey died in a tragic accident when he was about 42. On 20 November 1764 he was killed in a hunting accident, described in this old account: “William Kersey was in the act of building a stick and clay chimney to his cabin when a distant neighbor came along and proposed that he go with him to kill a deer, after which he would come back and help build the chimney. William consented and was walking in front of this man whose name was Beals, carrying a shot gun, when they saw a deer just in front of them. William squatted down, as Beals supposed, to let him shoot the deer with a good rifle he carried. Just as Beals fired, William raised up, the ball going through his head, killing him instantly. This left the widowed mother and her five boys alone on the homestead, which they all occupied until about 1825.”

The account was written by Asher Kersey, a great-grandson of William, who died in 1902. Asher’s grandson, Lawrence Kersey, wrote in 1944 that his grandfather had a “wonderful memory” and had told this story many times. Further, according to his grandson, Asher did not “fixup” stories and the grandson had “no doubt of its authenticity.” Since William Kersey was relatively young and left no

William Kersey
 Prince Georges County By Virtue of a Warrant granted
 Cert⁵ 6^{ad} Out his Lordships Land Office of this Province unto William Kersey
 of Prince Georges County for fifty six acres of Land bearing Date the
 25 day of march Anno Domini 1745
 Therefore Certifie as Deputy Surveyor of Prince Georges County under
 his Excellency Thomas Bladen Esq. Governor of Maryland I have carefully
 laid out for and in the Name of him the said William Kersey all that Tract
 of Land lying in the said County called the Gravelly Spring beginning at
 a bounded Rod Oak standing near the head of a Spring that runs into the
 South Branch of Ballingers Creek running thence North forty perches then
 North sixty seven Degrees West sixty perches then North seven Degrees
 East seventy four perches then North nine degrees West fourteen perches
 then south sixty Degrees West forty perches then south thirty four deg^{rs}
 East sixteen perches then south Twenty two degrees West Sixty four
 perches then south forty five Degrees East thirty two perches then south
 Fourteen Degrees East seventy perches then south sixty Degrees East
 Seventy six perches then by a straight Line to the Beginning
 Tree

553
 Tree Containing and now laid out for fifty six acres of Land to be hold
 of Calverton for Conegocheeg manner Surveyd this 18 day of September
 Anno Domini 1745
 Aug¹⁴ 21 1746 Exam^d & fast
 Robt Exam
 Of me Tho: Greenup, Dep^y Sur
 of Prince Georges County

A land grant of 56 acres was made to William Kersey on 18 September 1745 in Prince George's County, Maryland. Kersey was the son-in-law of the immigrant William Hunt, having married William's daughter Hannah after the death of Kersey's first wife. The reference in the metes and bounds deed to Ballenger's Creek places this land at least two miles north of the present-day town of Buckeystown, confirming it was outside of the perimeters of Carrollton Manor. Kersey was later killed in a hunting accident when a neighbor he was deer hunting with accidentally put a rifle ball through his head.

will, it is very likely the account of his death is accurate.

There is no record of the death of Hannah, nor of another marriage for her. “Hannah Kersey” was listed as an original member of the Deep River Monthly Meeting when it formed in 1778 and the Springfield Monthly Meeting in 1790. When her son Daniel Kersey married for a second time in 1800, he was listed as the son of “William & Hannah, dec.” This implies that Hannah Kersey died between 1790 and 1800.

William’s son by his first wife, William Jr., moved north to Pennsylvania in 1766 and became a “prominent member of the York meeting.” He married Hannah Bennett there on 8 September 1767. William Kersey and Hannah Hunt had five sons as well as, according to the diary of descendant Virginia Kersey, “a daughter that died in infancy.” Their sons were:

Amos Kersey was born 15 February 1749/1750 in Prince George’s County, Maryland. He married twice, first to Dinah Beeson on 29 March 1786 at Center Monthly Meeting in Guilford County, North Carolina, and second to Elizabeth Wilson on 19 April 1794 in the same county. Amos Kersey died on 7 July 1831 and was buried in the Springfield meeting burial ground near High Point, North Carolina. A rather amusing anecdote concerning Amos Kersey was told in an 1890 letter from David W. Hunt. He stated that Amos was buried under a “post oak” in the Springfield burial ground and that Amos had a “crooked leg” and “a raised place had to be made in the coffin lid for his leg.”

Jesse Kersey was born on 1 December 1753 in Prince George’s County, Maryland. He married Rachel Haworth on 16 May 1805 in Guilford County. He died 7 November 1822.

Daniel Kersey was born 6 November 1757 in Prince George’s County, Maryland. He married first to Mary Carter on 25 November 1778 in Guilford County, and second to Ann Irwin on 16 October 1800 in Guilford County, North Carolina. Daniel went to Ohio and then to Indiana, dying at Bethel, Indiana on 23 January 1835.

Thomas Kersey was born 15 September 1759 in Guilford County, North Carolina. He married Rebecca Carter on 10 April 1782 in Guilford County. He died 10 August 1835 in Clinton County, Ohio.

Eleazar Kersey was obviously named for his mother’s brother. He was born 27 August 1762 in Guilford County, North Carolina. He married first to Elizabeth Carter and second to Elizabeth Harlan on 12 July 1784 in Randolph County, North Carolina. Eleazar died 1 June 1816 in Guilford County, North Carolina.

William Hunt Jr.

The youngest child of William Hunt and Mary Woolman was their most famous, for he became a Quaker minister of considerable renown. There is no record of his birth, yet nearly every account concerning him reports he was born in 1733. This is likely because numerous accounts, some dating back to the mid-nineteenth century, state William was twelve years old when his father died, and the immigrant William Hunt was thought to have died in 1745. This work proves that William Sr. died in late 1746, so it is more likely William Hunt Jr. was born about 1734.

As stated previously, it is likely the immigrant William Hunt moved his family to the Monocacy area of Maryland in 1733 when the Beals family moved there. Thus William Hunt Jr. would have been born in Prince George’s County, Maryland. Confirmation of this comes from the journal of John Hunt, a prominent Friends minister from Burlington, New Jersey (and grandson of Robert Hunt and Elizabeth Woolman) published in *Friends Miscellany* in 1837 (volume X, page 254). Hunt wrote in his journal in 1789 while traveling within the bounds of Fairfax Quarterly Meeting “we lodged at

Richard Richardson's, near old Manoquacy meeting house, where my cousin William Hunt, of North Carolina, was born."

As mentioned previously, William's mother died when he was little and it is very doubtful he had any memory of her. Following the death of his father, he was sent to live with relatives, though their identity is not clear to this day. It has been widely reported that he was sent to live with "an aunt," but this seems unlikely.

William had no known paternal aunts since his father William Hunt had no known brothers or sisters in America. Mary Woolman had four sisters and we must count the wife of her only brother Samuel. All five signed the marriage certificate of William Hunt and Mary Woolman. William Jr.'s aunt Elizabeth Woolman never left the Burlington, New Jersey area, dying there in 1755. There is no evidence young William was sent away from the Monocacy area to be raised. Likewise, his uncle Samuel Woolman and his wife never left the family farm on Rancocas Creek. Also, it is unlikely William Hunt and John Woolman grew up in the same household or one of them would have probably mentioned it in their journals. William's aunt Anne also remained in the Burlington area, dying there in 1750. His aunt Hannah died when William was only a few years old. His aunt Hester never left the Chester County, Pennsylvania area.

Contradicting the "aunt" legend, an early account of William Hunt printed in 1830 in a Quaker publication titled *Miscellaneous Repository* stated "for his mother dying when he was young, ... and his father when he was about twelve, ...but after some time going to live with his sister." This account, describing that William went to live with his sister, predates any known account of him living with an aunt.

Margaret Hunt, the oldest of the children in William's family, was about 25 and married to John Beals when her father died. Margaret is likely the sister with whom William Jr. went to live after both of his parents were dead. Margaret was also described as a "minister" in Quaker records, which supports the idea she could have influenced his future in that respect. In addition, William's siblings Thomas, Eleazar and Hannah all went to North Carolina with certificates from Fairfax meeting, which controlled the Monocacy area, while both William and his sister Margaret were granted certificates to North Carolina from Hopewell meeting.

It is rare that we have a physical description of ancestors in this era. But about William Hunt, his nephew Amos "Crooked Leg" Kersey wrote in 1799 that William "was of a reddish fair complexion, his countenance serious, composed and solid; of middle sized stature and pretty big bodied".

Oddly, there is no record that William Hunt either requested membership in or was accepted as a member of the Society of Friends. A biography of his son Nathan Hunt states that William "was accepted by common consent as one of them because he was a very 'serious-minded' child." William must have been a serious-minded youth, for "so effectually was the Divine hand laid upon him that his mouth was opened in the ministry before he had completed his fifteenth year." In case the reader doesn't speak Quaker, this meant he had begun speaking in meeting when he was 15.

On 1 June 1752, William Hunt was granted a certificate of removal from Hopewell meeting to Cane Creek Monthly Meeting in North Carolina. He moved to the area near present-day Greensboro, North Carolina and when New Garden meeting was established in 1754, became a member of that meeting.

On 6 October 1753, the Cane Creek meeting minutes show that William Hunt was reported married

to Sarah Mills, the daughter of John Mills Jr. and Sarah Beals. Sarah Beals was the sister of Mary Ann Beals, who had married Thomas Hunt. Thus, William Hunt married his sister-in-law's niece. Such familial connections were common among the closed and rather small Quaker society.

It was not long before William Hunt Jr. began making ministerial visits to other Quaker settlements. Like his cousin John Woolman, William kept a record of his travels in the form of a journal, and much of it was published in 1858 as the *Memoirs of William and Nathan Hunt*, the latter being the son of William who followed in his footsteps. It has been written that William had "preached in nearly all the Friends' Meeting houses in America." In 1754, William made visits to other Quaker meetings throughout North Carolina and Virginia. In 1761, he visited those two states again, but also traveled as far as Maryland, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. In 1767, he ranged even farther, visiting Delaware and New England, including Maine and the island of Nantucket. It is recorded that William spoke before Quaker meetings, in the churches of other denominations, and "in sundry other public places".

While in Rhode Island, he was called on to settle a long-standing disagreement between two groups of Quakers. William kept the two parties together from morning until late into the night, and would not let them part until they had reached a settlement. Another incident related by a Joseph Walton of Philadelphia told of a time when William Hunt, sitting in silence before beginning to preach, noticed "a few Friends were sleeping." He then stood to speak and "stamped loudly upon the floor three times" before he began. It was once suggested that "nobody could or would want to sleep when William Hunt was speaking."

In 1771 William Hunt Jr. made another visit to the northeast, and then sailed on to England with Thomas Thornbrough, his niece's husband, as his companion. He was there for a year, traveling throughout England, Scotland and Ireland, even attending the London Yearly Meeting in 1772. The pair then went to Holland, and after a stay there, sailed back to England. His vessel had intended to land at Scarborough on the eastern English coast, but due to "contrary winds" had to put in even further north at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where they landed on 25 August 1772.

Three days later William became ill, "which was not apprehended to be the smallpox until the fourth day of his illness." A smallpox epidemic had broken out in both Holland and England at the time and somewhere in his travels, William Hunt came in contact with someone infected with the disease. Historically, thirty percent of smallpox cases progressed to death.

William Hunt knew he might die "when the eruption appeared" and spoke of this possibility to his friend. The end was often painful as the skin lesions spread into every bodily opening, including the mouth and eyes. When these lesions blackened and peeled off, they emitted a sweet and pungent odor known as the "smallpox smell." Today smallpox has been eradicated from the planet, the only human disease for which this is true.

William Hunt died 9 September 1772, after fourteen days of struggling with the disease. According to a testimony printed in England following his death, "a little before he died he said, triumphantly, 'Friends, truth is over all.'" William Hunt Jr. was buried in the Friend's burial ground at Newcastle-upon-Tyne two days later.

William's cousin, John Woolman, was in England at the same time as William and he noted in his journal: "At this place I heard that my kinsman, William Hunt, from North Carolina, who was on a religious visit to Friends in England, departed this life on the 9th day of the ninth month, instant, of

the smallpox, at Newcastle. ... I once heard him say ... that his concern was ... to be devoted to the service of Christ so fully that he might not spend one minute in pleasing himself; which words ... were a means of stirring up the pure mind in me.”

Smallpox would strike down John Woolman as well, who as mentioned earlier, died in England of the same disease only 28 days after William Hunt died. William’s relative and traveling companion, Thomas Thornbrough, returned to the American colonies. Ironically, fifteen years later in 1787, he died of smallpox in Pennsylvania.

William Hunt Jr.’s son Nathan Hunt wrote years later: “The death of my father left my widowed mother with a large family to care for. We had many difficulties and trials to contend with. The country was thinly settled, the Meeting house was two miles away; when meeting day came my mother would ride the horse with one child before and another behind her, while the older ones walked. She never failed to attend meeting when she was able to do so; although she never spoke in any open meeting, the action of her daily life was a continual sermon to me.”

A collection was taken up for the support of the family of William Hunt, both in America and in Great Britain. Samuel Neale, an Irish Quaker, had visited William Hunt’s family while traveling in America while, about the same time, William had visited the Neale family in Ireland during his travels there. Neale returned to his home in Ireland just a week after William’s death. Upon hearing this news, Neale wrote a letter to John Pemberton, a wealthy Quaker merchant from Philadelphia, that the “removal of dear William Hunt has much affected my mind ... and has made a deep impression on many minds by which I can learn ... His dear wife and children I feel for, and I hope the willing-hearted amongst [Friends] in Philadelphia will do a little for her ... and I will endeavour to do something of the same.”

On 25 April 1773, Neale wrote from Ireland of his intention to remit some money. In another letter to John Pemberton dated 26 May 1773, written from County Kildare, Neale spoke of an “Irish remittance” and of money he knew was being sent from “London and Norwich” via “Captain Curtis.” The latter was likely Richard Curtis, master of the *Charlotte*, the vessel Neale sailed home on in 1772. The money was “to be put in trustee’s hands for the widow and her children, either to distribute amongst ‘em or to purchase land for their use and accommodation.”

A letter was later written, apparently to Pemberton, by six trustees: “Understanding there to be a sum of money lodged in thy care belonging to (or for the use of) the children of William Hunt, Deceased, should be willing to have it conveyed by the first opportunity ... direct the money to Eleazar Hunt, he being administrator with the widow.” The letter was signed by Eleazar Hunt, Sarah Hunt (William’s widow) and four others. This fund continued for many years. The final request for the balance of the support fund was made in 1784, after both the brother Eleazar and the widow Sarah had died.

William Hunt and Sarah Mills had the following children:

Uriah Hunt was born on 14 October 1754. He married Lydia Hiatt on 18 October 1775 in Guilford County, North Carolina. He died on 1 August 1781 at the same place at age 26. Lydia remarried to Samuel Hoggatt.

Isaiah Hunt was born on 16 October 1756 and married Elizabeth Floyd on 2 Aug 1775 at New Garden meeting. He was disowned less than a year later, on 29 June 1776.

Nathan Hunt was born on 26 October 1758 and became a noted Quaker minister himself. He married Martha Ruckman on 12 November 1777 at New Garden, and following her death, he married Prudence Thornbrough on 6 April 1791 at New Garden. According to

his memoirs, during the American Revolution, “he experienced much privation by being robbed of his horses, cattle, and other property, leaving him almost destitute of the necessary means of subsistence.” Like his father, as a minister he traveled to distant meetings, and even visited Indian tribes in Canada. Also like his father he visited England, Scotland and Ireland in 1820-1821. In 1832, Nathan made extended visits to the newer meetings in Ohio and Indiana at the age of 74. It has been written that Nathan was possessed of great oratorical powers, and had a large influence over Quakers in North Carolina. Possibly because his own education consisted of learning “by the light of a pine knot at the hearth” at home, Nathan took a deep interest in education and was a supporter of New Garden Boarding School, which later grew into Guilford College. At age 80, he resigned his leadership role in the New Garden meeting “lest, through age, he might not discern the right time for closing meetings.” His memory gradually failed and at the end of his life he suffered from a cancerous growth on the side of his face. Nathan Hunt died 8 August 1853, at age 94.

John Hunt was born on 30 October 1760. He married Rachel Haworth (or Hayworth) on 9 August 1780 in Guilford County. They moved to Ohio in 1805 and then to Indiana in 1817, where they lived in Hamilton County near Westfield Monthly Meeting.

Eleazar Hunt, named for his uncle and direct ancestor in this work, was born on 12 November 1762. He married Lydia Worley on 6 November 1782 at New Garden. During the American Revolution, Eleazar and his wife Lydia reportedly furnished supplies to the militia of North Carolina and Virginia, plus £120 in cash. Eleazar Hunt died on 23 November 1840 at New Garden, at age 78.

Margaret Hunt was born on 18 January 1765. She married William Hinshaw. They moved to Lost Creek meeting in Tennessee, where Margaret died on 18 January 1828 on her 63rd birthday.

Hannah Hunt was born on 26 January 1767. She married Uriah Baldwin on 18 February 1784. Hannah died on 11 November 1831 at West Grove, Wayne County, Indiana. Uriah died 15 Nov 1844 at the same place.

William Hunt was born on 11 February 1769, the third in a row to carry this name. He married Susanna Clemmons, probably about 1792 though no record of this marriage has been found. William died before 1817 when his widow Susanna remarried a direct ancestor. The astute reader should remember her name, for she will pop up later in this work.

We will continue with the child that was skipped, Eleazar Hunt, the direct ancestor, after examining the Cox family, who married into the Hunts with Eleazar.

Cox and Kinkey Families

The earliest Cox ancestor of whom we can be sure is William Cox who married Catherine Kinkey. One of the daughters of this couple married Eleazar Hunt, the son of William Hunt and Mary Woolman.

Kinkey Family

The origins of the Kinkey family are sketchy. Some have written that the immigrant Kinkey ancestor originated in Holland while others contend the family came from Germany. Some have even stated that the first Kinkey ancestor was born in Hamburg, Germany, though the latter assumption must be considered highly speculative. As with all unusual names recorded in the colonial era, the name can be seen spelled in any number of imaginative ways, such as *Konke*, *Kinke*, *Kanke*, *Kinche*, *Kinkey* and *Kankey*. The latter spelling became the most common during the mid 1700s and may possibly be the original and correct form.

The earliest known Kinkey ancestor that can be traced is a Herman Kinkey, who was born about 1672, almost certainly in Europe, and probably in Germany. His first name was listed in original records as *Hereman*, *Herman*, *Hermon* and *Harman*, by county clerks and other officials who recorded names phonetically, based on the way they heard them.

About 1700 or soon after a man named “Hereman Konke” settled on Red Bank Creek in New Castle County, “Pennsylvanie.” Today this stream is known as Red Clay Creek, and though still in New Castle County, this area is now in the most northern part of Delaware. Kinkey bought 350 acres there in 1702, which he sold in 1725. A deed on file in the courthouse of Cecil County, Maryland shows Herman Kinkey also bought 600 acres on 5 September 1717 from Ephraim Augustine Herman and his wife Isabella. This land was just to the west in Cecil County, Maryland, and was part of Saint John’s Manor, lying on the north side of the Elk River. The price Kinkey paid was £165 “current silver money of Maryland”.

An act for the naturalization of “Herman Kinkee,” a “Dutch man,” and his children was passed in April 1720. Although this record refers to Herman Kinkey as a “Dutch man,” it does not prove he was from Holland as many have supposed. In this period, people were typically referred to as “Dutch” who were in fact German. For example the famous Pennsylvania Dutch were actually German people who immigrated to that colony. Germans referred to themselves as “Deutsch” (pronounced “doych”) and it was commonly written by English-speaking clerks as “Dutch”.

Herman married someone named Margery (last name unknown). Nothing else is known of her, though some have speculated she was a member of the Harman family who originally settled Saint John’s Manor, but that remains unproven. Herman and Margery had four children known to us. He and his son John Kinkey operated a ferry on Elk Neck and Herman reportedly kept a tavern. His plantation was on Elk Neck, a portion of land that extends into the bay in the very northeast corner of Maryland.

Herman Kinkey died in the spring of 1732. His will was dated 22 April 1732 and was proven on 16 June the same year. His will tells us nearly everything we know about the members of his family. Notice the pathetic spelling in the text of the will as it was recorded in the Cecil County courthouse. Particularly notice the spelling of Cecil County, proving that incompetent government employees are nothing new. An abridged version of the will of “Harmon Kankey” reads as follows (the words in

square brackets were added to assist the reader):

In the Name of God Amen this Twenty Second Day of Aprill In the Year of our Lord God One Thousand Seven Hundred and thirty two I Harman Kankey of Siscelle County in Maryland being Sick and Wake [weak] of body but of perfect mind and Memory thanks to God but Calling to mind the Mortalty of my body and knowing that it is appointed for all men once to Dey [die] Do make and ordain this my Last Will and Testament ...

Imprimis and first of all I Give and bequeath unto Margery my beloved Wife whome I make and ordain and Constitute my Ex^{tr} the new Dwelling house on my pantaion dewring [plantation during] her Life and I gave here [her] the third of my movable Estate to her Disposelle as the Law doth allow.

Item I allso Give unto my well beloved Son John Kankey whome I allso make odain [ordain] and Constitute Exacator all my Land Lying on Elke River in Sisell County in Maryland with the Improvements thereon, and the other two thirds of my movable Estate but if the Said John Kinkey do dey [die] without an heair Lawfully begotten of his Body then my three Daughters Catharren Margery & Mary and their heirs Shall posses the Said Land.

Item I allso Give to Catherren one Hundred and Twenty five Pounds Current Lawful Money of the Province of Penselvani [Pennsylvania] which I Order my Son John Kinkey to pay out of my afforesaid Estate twenty five Pounds Yearly Commencing from ye Deate [date] hereof.

Item I allso Give to Margery my daughter one hundred and Twenty five Pounds Current Lawful Money as aforesaid which I Order my Son John Kinkey as before to pay out of my Estate twenty Five Pounds Yearly commencing from the Deate hereof.

Item as to Mary my beloved Daughter, I have given here [her] a Tract of Land lying near Actorarah which Is her Shear [share] Except twenty Shillings which I now Give her.

I do hereby disanulle Revoake and Denounse all and Every other Will and Wills heretofore by me maid Relateing and Confirming this and no other to be my Last Will and Testament.

In his will, Herman Kinkey (notice both the *Kinkey* and *Kankey* spelling of the family name in the will) left his wife Margery the use of the “new dwelling house on my plantation” during the remainder of her life and the usual one-third dower of his personal estate. To John, apparently his only surviving son, he left all his land along the Elk River and the other two-thirds of his personal estate. To his daughters Catherine and Margery, presumably his eldest daughters, he left £125 of the current money of “Penselvani,” despite the fact that the family lived just across the border in Maryland. To his daughter Mary he left a tract of land near Octoraro, an area in Cecil County, Maryland just northwest of the present-day small town of Port Deposit.

Herman’s widow Marjorie is believed to have died about 1740 in Cecil County, Maryland. The location of their graves have never been identified.

Catherine Kinkey, at the time she received £125 from her father’s estate, to be paid over a period of five years, was married to William Cox. The inheritance was a sizable amount of money in its day.

Cox Family

The ancestry of William Cox, who married Catherine Kinkey, is even more confused than that of his wife. Several different sets of parents for William Cox have been given by various published genealogies of the Cox family. For example, William Feters states in his extensive *Six Columbiana County, Ohio Pioneer Families* that William’s parents were William and Rebecca Cox, based

exclusively on naming conventions of those thought to be William's siblings. Another Cox family history states his parents were John and Rachel Cox. At least three published histories of the family identify William's parents as William and Amy Cox, though two of them seem to simply replicate what William E. Cox wrote in his 1955 work *Descendants of Solomon Cox of Cole Creek, Va.* A more recent publication titled *Kenworthys Marry* by Louise Thiessen, published in 1990 and amended in 1993, proposed that William's parents were Francis and Katherine Cox.

The William Cox who married Catherine Kinkey lived in Mill Creek Hundred in New Castle County, Delaware near present-day Hockessin, less than a mile from Pennsylvania. The assumption that William's parents were William and Amy (it is more probable her name was *Emma* or *Emy*) Cox is likely based on the fact that on 21 December 1734, William and Amy Cox purchased 100 acres of land on the north side of Christiana Creek from John and Thomas Embly for £35. A complete metes and bounds description of the property mentions Beach Run, Christiana Creek, and Muddy Creek. Two months later, on 19 February 1735, William and Amy Cox sold the same property to William Cox, farmer of "Ocasson," for £15 and 15 shillings. The property description was identical to the deed two months before. So there was at least a property transfer connection between the two men named William Cox, leading many to assume they were father and son.

However in 2001, researcher Linda Koehler provided information she found in New Castle County deeds and from church records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church in Wilmington, Delaware which indicates that William and Amy Cox lived in New Castle county at the same time as William and Catherine (Kinkey) Cox, and further estimates the two couples, rather than being of two different generations, were likely about the same age.

Previous research by Nancy Speers of Swarthmore College indicates that a Francis Cox, a weaver from "Charleswoods" in Surry, England married Katherine Stenning of Ifield, the marriage recorded by the Quaker's Dorking and Horsham Monthly Meeting on 20 August 1682. Charlwood is located about a mile northwest of the location of Gatwick airport today. This couple had five sons whose births were recorded in the Quaker records:

Francis Cox	b. 26 Jun 1684	
Thomas Cox	b. 6 Jul 1687	
John Cox	b. 18 Dec 1690	
William Cox	b. 11 Dec 1692	
Edward Cox	b. 6 Mar 1694	d. 3 Aug 1697

The father, Francis Cox, died 6 August 1697, three days after his youngest son, suggesting that possibly some type of epidemic swept through the area at the time. Since there is some evidence that William Cox had brothers named Thomas and John, and that William was born about 1692, coupled with the fact that this Cox family was Quaker, makes it very possible that these were the parents of the immigrant William Cox.

Whoever his parents were and wherever he was born, William Cox apparently was in the American colonies by at least 1721. On 10 May 1721, "William Cocke, yeoman of New Castle County" bought 300 acres of land from the attorneys for William and Letitia Aubrey, which was just a small portion of Letitia's 15,500-acre Manor of Stenning.

Letitia Aubrey was the daughter of William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania. To be more exact, a really spoiled brat of a daughter. The book *The Family of William Penn* by Howard M. Jenkins, first published in *Pennsylvania Magazine* in 1896, described her in rather kind terms as "a lively and probably a self-willed girl." Letitia, whom Penn referred to as "Tishe" or "Tish" in his letters,

accompanied her father and stepmother to Pennsylvania in 1699. When Penn was preparing to return to England in July 1701, his wife and Letitia, who did not like America, pleaded to go with him. He thought he would be returning soon, and urged them to remain in Pennsylvania. They persisted and Penn wrote in a letter to his second-in-command in Pennsylvania, James Logan, *"I cannot prevail on my wife to stay, and still less with Tishe. I know not what to do."* Later he wrote *"the going of my wife and Tish will add greatly to the expense. But they will not be denied."*

Following their return to England, Letitia Penn married William Aubrey. The marriage seems to have been arranged by her father after her return to England. This despite the fact there was talk of an prior engagement to William Masters, a Philadelphia merchant. Before her departure from Pennsylvania, care had been taken to procure a certificate for her stating she had *"behaved herself here very soberly and according to the good instructions which she hath received in the way of truth"* and indicating that, as far as they knew, she was under no engagement of marriage.

But Logan wrote to Penn *"informing thee of what has been too liberally discovered of her, and among the rest by some that signed the certificate, viz.: that she was under engagement of marriage before she left this place to William Masters; the said signers, upon some unhappy information given them, lately expressed so great dissatisfaction at what they had done that it had been proposed to send over and contradict or retract it."*

William Aubrey was described as an *"exacting and unpleasant person."* His father-in-law's letters complained frequently of Aubrey's demands for money and wrote in 1707 *"my son-in-law Aubrey grows very troublesome."* Almost from the first day of the marriage both Letitia and her husband pestered Penn for money. Aubrey insisted on a prompt payment of his wife's marriage portion. Penn was in financial trouble and nearing bankruptcy but felt compelled to yield to the insistent demands of Aubrey and his wife. Letitia, after receiving the huge land gift from her father on 23 October 1701, began trying to dispose of it almost immediately, though it was some years before she was able to sell all the land.

It was a small portion of this land that William Cox purchased. The 300 acres William Cox bought was described as being *"adjacent to Henry, William and Thomas Dixon on the south."* On 16 November 1725, William Cox bought another fifty acres of land from Henry "Dickson" which was part of 100 acres that Dixon had purchased just eight days earlier.

No record of William Cox selling this land has been located. However, a mortgage between two men named John Dixon and John Richardson dated 10 June 1755 clearly indicates how the land was disposed of and connects it to William and Catherine Cox. That mortgage even includes a reference to the Hockessin meeting house. This mortgage reads exactly like a deed, a common problem with colonial-era mortgages, but a note along the edge of the recorded entry identifies it as a mortgage discharged in the 1760s (the exact date is illegible).

In that document (New Castle County deed book S, p.57-59), John Dixon of Mill Creek Hundred mortgaged to John Richardson, a merchant of Christiana Hundred, two parcels of 300 acres and 50 acres respectively in Mill Creek Hundred. The mortgage provides a precise history of the land, mentioning the 300 acre parcel which was granted by Letitia Penn by patent to William Cox and the 50 acre tract divided off a 100-acre tract of Henry "Dixon" which was sold by Henry and his wife Ruth to William Cox. The document describes these two parcels were sold by William Cox and his wife Catherine to "John Dixon" by indenture dated 11 May 1755 *"excepting ½ acres & 26 perches where the meeting house stands"*.

William Cox and his family were members of Newark Monthly Meeting, later renamed Kennett Monthly Meeting. The first mention of him in those Quaker records was on 25 December 1721 when he was among the witnesses at a wedding. Early Quaker records indicate that worship meetings were held in his house at Hockessin, in Mill Creek Hundred of New Castle County, Delaware, at least by 1730 (and probably earlier). The house where he lived at Hockessin, and which he may have built, still stands today. The initials “W.C.C. 1726” believed to be for him and his wife are reportedly carved in the main room of the house.

In the 7 November 1953 edition of the *Wilmington Journal* was an article by Betty Harrington describing that a “small meeting house” was built “of whitewashed stone” in 1738 on the property, and a “frame addition was added in back in 1745. The eaves have a deep overhang, and there is a small hood over the entrance.” It was described that on “meeting-day the Quakers descended from their horses and carriages by means of a high stepping-block; the big stone with its four steps is still there, and so are the long, low carriage sheds in the rear.”

William Cox was disowned for unknown reasons by his fellow Quakers in 1750, but in 1757 he was accepted back into the membership when he made an acknowledgment, “*hoping for a prosperous future through Divine assistance and to be more careful.*” Between these two dates he had followed his children and others in joining the Quaker migration to North Carolina.

The Newark Monthly Meeting recorded on 7 January 1758 that “*Where as application was made to our Meeting on behalf of William Cox sen. for a certificate to recommend him to the care of your meeting, he being for several years removed within the compass thereof – These may therefore certify you on his behalf, that after the usual inquirie made We find that he left these parts in reputable circumstances, was a diligent attender of meetings for many years, and as a member amongst us we think him worthy of the notice and care of friends ...*”. This record indicates that William Cox had gone to North Carolina “several years” before 1758 without a certificate of removal and requested one later. That move likely occurred soon after he sold his property in May 1755.

William Cox returned to Delaware at least one more time, when in “ye 4th month 1761” he produced a certificate from Cane Creek meeting in North Carolina “setting forth his circumstances and services amongst them.” The meeting in Delaware noted the “*Friends appointed about William Cox’s certificate have produced an Essay, which is approved and endorsed on the back of that he brot from Carolina and signed for him.*”

The Quaker records are rather quiet regarding William’s wife Catherine. There is no mention of her death in the records, but she likely died between 1744 and 1749, well before William moved to North Carolina. She was presumably buried in the Quaker burial ground at Hockessin, on land provided by her husband.

After arriving in North Carolina, William Cox purchased or was granted large amounts of land in what was then Orange County (today Alamance County). In September 1755, William Cox purchased 180 acres from William Piggot and another 70 acres from James Dunney. In September 1758, William Cox received a grant from the Earl of Granville for another 375 acres, which he sold to his son Harmon six months later. That same month, in March 1759, he also purchased 428 acres from Hugh Smith.

William Cox, undoubtedly with the assistance of his sons, built a mill on Mill Creek near where it empties into the Deep River. The mill was known as Cox’s mill, where William and his sons likely

ground wheat, corn and an assortment of other grains for neighboring farmers. This property has remained in the possession of the Cox family for about 250 years and today can be found where Mill Creek Road crosses Mill Creek several miles south of Ramseur, North Carolina.

William Cox either bought more land or received more land grants until he was a very large landholder in Orange County. The land grants William received were from the Earl of Granville in what was known as the Granville District. What later became North Carolina was originally granted by King Charles II to a group of eight of his supporters, known as the Lord Proprietors. The eight proprietors each held narrow strips of land lying east to west, which theoretically extended to “the South Seas,” i.e., the Pacific Ocean. Seven of the eight Lord Proprietors sold their lands back to the crown in 1729, the exception being Sir George Carteret, later the Earl of Granville.

Granville’s proprietorship was about 60 miles wide, extending south from the border between Virginia and North Carolina, and included the present-day Alamance County where William Cox settled. All land grants issued in this area before 1763 were Granville grants. Thus you either received a land grant from Granville or bought land from another person who had. In theory, each recipient of a land grant was supposed to pay a fee to Granville for every acre in his land grant. Thus it was to the advantage of the Lord Proprietor to have the land settled and farmed under a land grant. The more land in cultivation, the more his rental income. But in reality the land owners were unable to pay the required land rents and Granville usually had to forgive the rents.

The Cox family became associated with what became known as the *Regulators*. As William E. Cox wrote in his work *Descendants of Solomon Cox of Cole Creek, Va.*, “William Cox and his five sons were loyal Quakers and sturdy pioneers with a deep love for liberty, but they would not hesitate to contend for their rights, even to resort to force, if it became necessary, even though their Meetings forbade such actions. William and his sons were Regulators, a body of citizens who under the name of Regulators, were trying to obtain less extortionate fees from the king’s officers.”

This whole episode of early North Carolina history is unknown to most, but it was an important time in colonial history and served as a precursor and catalyst to the American Revolution. What was later called the *Regulator Uprising*, *War of the Regulation*, *Regulator Rebellion* or *Regulator War* was a rebellion in North Carolina, lasting from about 1764 to 1771, in which citizens took up arms against corrupt colonial officials. Though centered in old Orange County where William Cox settled, thousands of citizens in the western part of North Carolina were extremely dissatisfied with the wealthy North Carolina officials whom they considered cruel, arbitrary, tyrannical and corrupt. In other words, much the same as government officials today.

Taxes collected by local sheriffs, whose authority was supported by the courts, often never found its way to government coffers. The sheriffs and courts had almost total control over their local regions, and the entire system depended on the integrity of these local officials. But many of them engaged in extortion, with tax collections usually enriching only the tax collectors. Sheriffs were accused of intentionally destroying the records of their tax collection in order to tax citizens even more. Even worse, this system of corruption was endorsed by the colonial governor, who feared losing the support of county officials.

The goal of the Regulators was simply to force the government to behave and act within the law. The wealthy ruling class, though only about five percent of the population, maintained almost total control of the government at this time, and these individuals saw this as a grave threat to their power, not to mention their illicit income. Ultimately they brought in state militia to crush the rebellion, and then



A photo taken in 2007 of the Cox Mill on Mill Creek near the Deep River in rural Randolph County, North Carolina near the town of Ramseur. This old mill was near the original mill operated by William Cox and his sons at the time of the Revolutionary War. This mill is located on Mill Creek Road where it crosses the stream of the same name. Raymond J. Cox, who died in 1986, was the great⁵-grandson of William Cox through his son Harmon Cox, the Regulator who was nearly hanged. Raymond's widow Flossie still lived in the nearby house in 2007.

hanged its leaders. It has been estimated that out of the 8,000 people living in Orange County at the time, roughly 6,000-7,000 of them supported the Regulators.

The straw that broke the camel's back was when Governor William Tryon had an extremely lavish home built in New Bern, which became the focus of resentment for the Regulators. The North Carolina legislature authorized £5,000 for the building of Tryon's mansion. Tryon told the legislature that the sum was not enough for the plans he had, that building it "in the plainest manner" would cost no less than £10,000 without including the outbuildings he envisioned. Tryon sent his architect to Philadelphia to hire workers, further insulting his constituents by saying native North Carolina workers would not know how to construct such a building. Tryon was able to convince the legislature to increase taxes for the project and built the house, later described as "a monument of opulence and elegance extraordinary in the American colonies."

Despite already having a substantial tax burden, the citizens of North Carolina were taxed even more to pay for the governor's extravagant mansion. One Regulator, William Butler, typified the prevailing opinion when he wrote "We are determined not to pay the Tax for the next three years, for the Edifice or Governor's House, nor will we pay for it."

With the feelings very intense about the actions of the governor and the tax-sucking sheriffs, it was not long before acts of violence broke out. In 1765, settlers in Mecklenburg County, who were there illegally, drove away government surveyors. Minor clashes occurred over the next several years in nearly every western county. In 1768, Regulators stormed North Carolina's provincial court at Hillsborough, broke up the court, and dragged those they viewed as corrupt officials through the streets. They also cracked the church bell of the Church of England.

But the only true battle of the war was the Battle of Alamance, which occurred on 16 May 1771, named for nearby Alamance Creek where the battle took place about eight miles southwest of the city of Burlington. This was in what was then Orange County, probably about 25 miles from where William Cox lived. Governor Tryon had finally had enough of the scattered acts of violence and led militia troops west to quell the rebellion.

The Regulators knew they were coming, and with approximately 2000 men to Tryon's 1000, hoped to gain concessions from the governor by intimidating him with a show of superior force. Tryon marched his troops south from their campsite on Alamance Creek, confronting the Regulators in formation along the road. The book *The War of the Regulation and the Battle of Alamance* by William S. Powell describes Tryon "gave the Regulators a choice — to return peacefully to their homes or be fired upon. They had one hour to decide. After the hour was up Tryon sent an officer to receive their reply. According to traditional accounts, the Regulators' reply was 'Fire and be damned.'"

The governor ordered the cannons to give the attack signal, but there was hesitation. Tryon gave the order a second time, more forcefully, and five cannons broke the stillness. Almost immediately the militia's first line fired a volley, then knelt to reload their weapons as the second line discharged their guns. The Regulators, without a battle plan, any clear leadership, military discipline or the supplies and munitions of the trained militia, scrambled for cover. Soon men were crouched behind rocks and trees, each man waging his own private war against the far superior militia forces. Many of the Regulators fled when the shots broke out, leaving their bolder comrades to fight on. The battle was over in two hours.

The Regulators lost the battle and with it, their rebellion. Losses for Tryon's militia included nine

dead and 61 wounded. The Regulators were said to have fallen in much greater numbers, but it seems only slightly so as historians have estimated about a hundred Regulators were wounded and somewhere between 10 and 15 killed. Tryon took thirteen prisoners, one of them being executed back at their base camp, and six executed later in nearby Hillsborough. Many Regulators quickly escaped to frontier areas beyond North Carolina, many of them going to Tennessee. Governor Tryon pardoned others on condition they pledge an oath of allegiance to the government.

Tryon's right to hang seven of the Regulators stemmed from the Johnston Riot Act, signed into law on 15 January 1771. The law gave the government additional powers and "defined the rules of violence and response." When the news of this act had reached them, it only further enraged the Regulators, who simply added the act to their list of grievances.

Following the battle, Tryon's militia army moved through the area and required that known Regulators and their sympathizers sign loyalty oaths, as well as destroying the property of the most notorious Regulators. Within six weeks after the Battle of Alamance, over 6,000 former Regulators had taken the oath of allegiance and received pardons. The movement had been completely crushed. As an additional insult, Tryon later raised taxes even more to pay for the cost of his militia's defeat of the Regulators.

Returning to the court at Hillsborough, Tryon presided over a court martial for the twelve remaining prisoners, all of whom were convicted of high treason and condemned to death. Six were hung on 19 June 1771. But six others, Forrester Mercer, James Stewart, James Emmerson, Herman Cox, William Brown, and James Copeland "were respited until the King's pleasure could be known," i.e., given a pardon.

Two myths exist concerning the Regulators and their rebellion. The first myth is that the goals of the Regulators were the same as those of the American Revolution and therefore the Battle of Alamance should be considered the first battle of the Revolution. There is historical evidence to the contrary. Repeatedly, in petitions, advertisements and private letters, the Regulators swore allegiance to the British crown. Whereas the patriots of the American Revolution wanted a new government, the Regulators seemed to have preferred improving the existing one.

The second myth is that nearly all Regulators became Loyalists during the Revolutionary War. One reason for this belief may be that Tryon's successor, Governor Josiah Martin, reported that Regulators could be counted on to put down rebellion in the colony as the revolution loomed on the horizon. The governor's statement was probably based on the fact that North Carolina had received thousands of oaths of loyalty from former Regulators as prerequisites for their pardons. In addition, it seems illogical that the Regulators would want to align themselves with their former battlefield enemies, the militia men who were now wanting to declare independence from the British crown. Though many of the Regulators did side with the British during the early days of the Revolution, as the war continued, many of them drifted toward the colonial cause.

William Cox died before the Battle of Alamance but there is clear evidence that he and his sons were involved with the Regulators. For instance, Cox's Mill was the site of Regulator meetings. William and his sons were frequent signers of Regulator petitions sent to the governor. James Few, one of the most prominent Regulators and the one who was hanged first after the Battle of Alamance, even before Tryon's militia left their base camp, was well known to William Cox, who had sold land to him in 1759.

Perhaps most telling was the fact that William Cox and several of his sons were disowned by the Society of Friends for their aggressive transgressions during the Regulator rebellion. Most Quakers supported the goals of the Regulators, but not at the expense of violence, which was always contrary to Quaker beliefs. Records in the minutes of the Cane Creek Monthly Meeting indicate that William Cox and his sons Harmon, William and Solomon were all disowned during the period 1767-1769. William's other two sons may have escaped being disowned but the account *Descendants of Solomon Cox of Cole Creek, Va.* states that "William Cox and all of his sons were Regulators." It further states that although William died before the Battle of Alamance, "it is certain that all of his sons took part in this battle".

William Cox left a will dated 20 January 1767; the will was proved just 21 days later on "the Second Tuesday in February," meaning that William Cox likely died within days of making his will. His will read as follows:

In the name of God Amen, I William Cox, of Orange County in the Province of North Carolina, but being weak in Body but in perfect senses, praised be God, Do make this my last will & Testament.

Imprimis, I give to my son Harmon Cox, that whole tract of Land on the East side of Deep River whereon he now lives to him & his heirs forever.

Item. I give to my son William Cox that whole tract of Land called the Thickett on the west side of Deep River to him & his Heirs forever.

Item, I give to my son John Cox part of the tract of Land I now live on, Beginning for the Division between him & my son Thomas at a Sycamore or Button wood tree on the River bank a little below my fence marked with three notches on the West side of the River front, thence Running West till it comes to a Hollow Leading down to the Mill Creek, thence Down the said Hollow about twenty poles to the Mill Creek, thence up & with the Creek till it Entersect a West line, thence along the line North to the River, thence Down the River to the Beginning, and also that Whole tract of Land lying on the Mill Creek containing two Hundred & twentyfive acres, above William McFarsons Land, both which Pieces of Land I give unto my said son John to him & his heirs forever.

Item. I give to my son Solomon Cox that whole tract of Land lying on little Brush Creek where Benjamin Williams formerly lived, where my son Solomon now lives to him & his heirs forever.

Item. I give to my son Thomas Cox the Remaining part of the aforesaid tract of Land I now live on Divided from my son John by a West line from the Sycamore as aforesaid, having the Lower end including Mills & Improvements thereon and also One hundred and Eighty acres out of the tract my Brothers formerly lived, Beginning at the Original – Beginning W.O. tree Running thence West thirty-five Chains or one hundred and forty poles to the Corner. Thence South fifty five and a half pole, Thence East One hundred and fifty six poles to the line of the whole Tract. Thence North along the said line One hundred and fifteen poles and a half to the first Corner W.O. Thence West two hundred poles to the first beginning, to him & his heirs forever.

Item. I give to my five sons Harmon, William, John, Solomon and Thomas two tenths of the land and mines and tools Equally Divided, lying on Crawford Road on the Round Mountain to them & their heirs forever.

Item. I leave to my Daughter Rebecca Dixon in Pennsylvania five Shillings Sterling.

Item. I leave to my Daughter Mary Lindley wife to James Lindley five Shillings Sterling.

Item. I leave the living stock as they now are with those that has them a keeping.

Item. I leave to my Daughter Martha Ferrel wife of William Ferrel three Pounds.

Item. I leave to my Daughter Margery Nichols wife of Isaac Nichols three Pounds.

Item. I leave to my Daughter Catherine Hunt wife to Elezar Hunt three Pounds.
Item. I leave to each of my five sons, Harmon, William, John, Solomon and Thomas three pounds each.
Item. I leave the rest of my Estate both real and Personal in the Province or else where, Lands, Goods, and other Effects after the payment of my Just Debts, to the Disposal of my Executors and I do appoint my trusty and well beloved son & Cousin William Cox and Isaac Cox my sole Executors of this my last will and Testament.

William Cox and Catherine Kinkey had the following children (exact birth dates mostly unknown and the order of children only approximate):

- i. **Rebecca Cox** Born about 1717 in Hockessin, New Castle County, Delaware, Rebecca married John Dixon on 26 May 1742 at Hockessin meeting house, Newark Monthly Meeting, New Castle County, Delaware. She was the only one of the ten children to stay in the Delaware/Pennsylvania area when the rest of the family moved to North Carolina in the 1750s. Rebecca was mentioned in 1787 as a member of Westland Monthly Meeting in Washington County, Pennsylvania. She died in Aug 1805 in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, and the death was recorded by Redstone Monthly Meeting in that county. Rebecca was buried in the Redstone burial ground.
- ii. **Martha Cox** Born about 1721 in Hockessin, New Castle County, Delaware, Martha married William Ferrill (or Farrell) on 26 Sep 1744 at Hockessin meeting house, Newark Monthly Meeting, New Castle County, Delaware. They moved to North Carolina in 1751.
- iii. **Harmon Cox** Born about 1723 in Hockessin, New Castle County, Delaware, Harmon, whose name was often spelled *Herman* in colonial records, married Jane John on 25 Dec 1745, the marriage recorded at Fairfax Monthly Meeting in Loudoun County, Virginia. He and his family moved to North Carolina in 1753 and Harmon became a member of Cane Creek meeting. Harmon was a member of the Regulators and a significant part of the leadership of that group. Because of this, he was disowned from the Society of Friends on 1 Apr 1769. He was one of the twelve men who were captured at the Battle of Alamance and was sentenced to be hanged. However, he was one of the six given a pardon by Governor Tryon and allowed to go home after being forced to sign a oath of allegiance. Harmon operated a mill on the east side of Deep River, just south and opposite of the mill his father had owned. He made out a will dated 23 Jul 1795, but it was not probated until Feb 1812.
- iv. **Margery Cox** Born about 1724 in Hockessin, New Castle County, Delaware, Margery married Isaac Nichols Jr. on 26 May 1742 in New Castle County.
- v. **William Cox** Born about 1726 in Hockessin, New Castle County, Delaware, William married Juliatha (last name unknown) on 6 Sep 1755. Many family accounts for this individual indicate he married

Juliatha Carr, but there is no evidence to indicate this is valid (there was a Juliatha Carr, sister of Thomas Carr, who was a member of Cane Creek meeting, but she returned to Gunpowder meeting in Maryland in 1753 to marry and isn't the same person). William Jr. and his family went to North Carolina about 1753, where he joined the Cane Creek Monthly Meeting on 6 Sep 1755. Like his older brother, William was involved with the Regulators and was disowned on 7 Feb 1767, along with his wife, who apparently was a Regulator supporter as well. After the Battle of Alamance, and almost certainly because of the threat to his safety, William and his family quickly departed North Carolina for the area near Chestnut Creek in Virginia (then Montgomery County, today Grayson County). They eventually owned 593 acres of land near the present-day town of Galax, Virginia. In 1789, William moved his family to Hawkins County, Tennessee where his daughter Catherine and her husband had settled five years earlier. There William had a 145-acre farm. About 1798-1799, William moved again, this time to Knox County, Kentucky, where according to a history of that county, William died in 1801 when his estate was appraised.

vi. **John Cox**

Born on 25 Apr 1728 in Hockessin, New Castle County, Delaware, John was the only Cox child to have his exact date of birth recorded, which happened years later in the Cane Creek meeting records in North Carolina. John married Mary Scarlett on 22 May 1755 in Delaware, and was the last of the Cox children to migrate to North Carolina.

vii. **Solomon Cox**

Born about 1730 in Hockessin, New Castle County, Delaware, Solomon reportedly married Naomi (last name unknown) in 1755, though there is disagreement about the name of his wife. Like his brothers, Solomon was a member of the Regulators and was disowned by the Quakers in 1767 for those activities. Like his brother William, he fled to Virginia where he lived "on the waters of Chestnut Creek." According to one account of a descendant, Solomon Cox fought in the Revolutionary War at the battle of Kings Mountain. The story was handed down through the generations that as they advanced on the enemy, Solomon witnessed the man next to him die. Supposedly because of the trauma of that, Solomon reportedly never allowed his "name to be enrolled as a soldier." Solomon continued to live in Virginia until about 1799, and after a return to North Carolina, eventually moved to Ohio where his son Joseph had migrated earlier. Solomon Cox died in Ohio in 1812.

+ viii. **Catherine Cox**

Born about 1732 in Hockessin, New Castle County, Delaware, Catherine married Eleazar Hunt, son of William Hunt and Mary Woolman, on 4 Dec 1752 at New Garden Monthly Meeting in Guilford County, North Carolina. She died on 24 Feb 1785 in New Garden MM, Guilford County, North Carolina and was

ix. **Mary Cox**

buried at New Garden Meeting House.

Born about 1733 in Hockessin, New Castle County, Delaware, Mary married James Lindley, who apparently was not a Quaker, because on 5 Oct 1754, Mary Lindley was disowned for “marrying out of unity.” Land records indicate James Lindley was in Orange County, North Carolina by 1753 and was there until 1766. He reportedly had 1170 acres in Granville Grants in Orange County (today Chatham County) on Terrel’s Creek. In 1767 he moved his family to Berkeley County, South Carolina, and from 1768 until the beginning of the Revolution he held a commission granted by the Crown as Justice of the Peace in Craven County, South Carolina. James Lindley was a Tory or Loyalist and fought for the British during the Revolutionary War. In 1775, he was listed as a Captain of the Upper Saluda Regiment of the South Carolina Provincial Militia. David Fanning, the infamous Tory leader (see below), was a sergeant in Captain Lindley’s company. Lindley’s company joined Col. John Boyd’s Tory forces that marched into the Georgia back country, where they were surprised and defeated at the Battle of Kettle Creek in Wilkes County, Georgia on 14 Feb 1779. Lindley and four other Tory leaders were tried in South Carolina and hanged for treason in Apr 1779 by the rebel forces. South Carolina state records later showed the Sheriff of Ninety-Sixth District compiled a list as part of his claim for money owed to him by the state for “the gaol fees on commitment of Jas Linley, John Anderson, Aquilla Hall, Sm. Clegg and Charles Draper who were hanged &c ... £86 : 4 : 0 each.” James was mentioned as deceased in his father’s will dated 15 Mar 1780. Other Lindley family members didn’t fare much better in the war. James’ father, Thomas Lindley, died on the day of the Battle of Lindley’s Mill in North Carolina, fought on his property. In a real irony, on 13 Sep 1781, David Fanning (who had fought under James Lindley) conducted a raid on Lindley’s Mill near Hillsborough in North Carolina, which had been taken over by rebel forces under General Butler. Thus this was an attack on the home of his former commander’s father. The attack on Lindley’s Mill was a devastating four hour battle that continued until Butler and his rebel force retreated. James’ son, William Lindley, was also captured following the Battle of Kettle Creek and tried for treason but was released before his father’s execution. William subsequently went to North Carolina and on 16 Jul 1781 was commissioned a Captain in the Chatham County Loyalist Militia under the notorious David Fanning. Towards the close of the war, when the Tories began to think that the rebels would eventually triumph, Lindley and many other Tories thought it prudent to leave the part of the country where they were known. William Lindley fled across the Blue Ridge Mountains where he planned to stay until the fate of the war was determined.

Three men formerly under his command, whom he had “given some offence,” followed him into the wilderness and hacked him to death with swords in Jan 1782. Colonel Fanning found out about the murder and had two of the killers, William White and John Magaherty, tracked down and hanged from the same tree limb. The third murderer escaped.

x. **Thomas Cox**

Born about 1736 in Hockessin, New Castle County, Delaware, Thomas married Sarah Davis on 24 Jan 1760. He was mentioned in 1753 as being a member of Cane Creek meeting, but the family later moved to Ohio. Thomas may not have participated in the membership of the Regulators, or if he did, managed to not get caught. He received his father’s mill at the point where Mill Creek emptied into Deep River, and owned it at the time David Fanning seized it and used it as a base of operations. Thomas Cox died Jul 1809 in Clinton County, Ohio and was buried in Clear Creek Cemetery there.

It is impossible to mention the Cox family and not give an account of David Fanning, who has been described as the Osama bin Laden of his time. Fanning was born in Virginia but grew up in Johnston County, North Carolina. He was apprenticed to a man who treated him harshly, causing him to run away when about 16 or 17, a very scarred individual. Fanning claimed to have been originally a patriot, but said that mistreatment by them caused him to change sides. In the latter part of the Revolutionary War, he was commissioned the colonel of a regiment of Loyalist militia and began plundering and murdering anyone associated with the rebel cause. It has been stated that all who wrote about David Fanning “assigned him a high rank in the annals of infamy”.

Fanning was as disgusting personally as he was militarily. He reportedly had “scald head, had lost nearly all his hair,” and “the scalp was so offensive that he never ate at the table with the family or slept in a bed.” Later in life Fanning reportedly wore a silk skull cap, and even his most intimate friends never saw his head. Fanning suffered from what was then known as scald-head or tetter worm, an ulcerated crust or scab which spreads over the scalp, with a bad smell and violent itching. Since there was no treatment at the time, scald-head degenerated into ulcers that formed a hard crust, sometimes a half inch to an inch in thickness, which spread gradually over the entire head. Today the disease is known as *tinea capitis* or ringworm of the scalp. At the time, scald-head was described as a disease “born of scrophulous parents”; scrophulous means “morally degenerate.” With scrophulous parents, no wonder Fanning turned out to be such an evil dirtbag.

By early 1781, the outcome of the Revolutionary War had become clear and it appeared the American colonies were going to become independent of Great Britain. This fate was later sealed with the surrender of Cornwallis on 19 October 1781. But in North Carolina, the thrust of the war ended with the Battle of Guilford Courthouse on 15 March 1781. But David Fanning continued his efforts to secure a British victory. Using Cox’s mill near Deep River as his headquarters much of the time, Fanning committed all kinds of atrocities, including hanging those who had done him personal wrongs. He killed and plundered with impunity, and was very good at it and his militia forces dominated central North Carolina with their guerilla raids.

In the *History of North Carolina* by Daniel Harvey Hill, Fanning was described as “chief among the Tory leaders of the worst class” and “bold, ready, vicious, heartless.” Hill wrote that in “his angry moods, no crime was too black for him: no pity stayed his hand. Women as well as men fell before

him. In his wild raids, he rode a fleet-footed bay mare called from her color and speed Bay Doe, and man and horse seemed charmed against death. His very name became a terror in his section.”

As evil and feared as he was, Fanning was also very successful due to the “rapidity and secrecy of his movements.” At one time he dashed into the village of Pittsborough, while court was in session, and carried off the judges, lawyers, officers, and a number of citizens. Three weeks later he captured a Colonel Alston and thirty men in his own house. But Fanning’s most noted deed was the capture of the governor of North Carolina. In June 1781, Governor Thomas Burke set out for Salisbury, but stopped for a few days in Hillsborough. On 13 September, Fanning’s Tory forces slipped into Hillsborough and captured Governor Burke, his staff, and members of his staff. This daring deed was performed with the loss of only one of Fanning’s men.

After the Revolutionary War ended, the North Carolina legislature made an exception of him in their acts of amnesty towards Tories, and Fanning had to flee to Florida and then the Bahamas before escaping to New Brunswick, Canada. He lived some years there and was a member of the House of Assembly. But in 1800, he was accused of rape, found guilty and sentenced to death despite contradictions in the evidence against him. He was later pardoned but exiled from the province and expelled from the provincial assembly. Fanning settled in Digby, Nova Scotia where he died in 1825.

In 1790, while in Canada, Fanning finished his *Narrative of Colonel David Fanning*, a journal of his military exploits in North Carolina. The work was not published until 1861, and was reproduced in the primitive way it was originally written, complete with numerous misspellings. In his journal, Fanning mentions Cox’s mill numerous times, telling of setting out from there and returning to it frequently. It was obviously his base of operations.

Fanning wrote that “*On the 10th of Dec’r Colo. Isaacs came down from the mountains, with a party of Three Hundred men; and formed his camp at Coxe’s Mill, in the settlement I had formerly ranged in; in order to take me; where he continued nearly three months ...*” Colonel Elijah Isaacs was a rebel commander and Fanning noted in his journal that “*During Col’o Isaacs’s stay at Coxe’s Mill, he ravaged the whole settlement, and burnt and destroyed a number of houses belonging to the friends of the Government.*”

Obviously Cox’s Mill, which had belonged to William Cox and later to his son Thomas Cox, was the center of guerilla action during the latter stages of the American Revolution, and itself suffered as the result.

Catherine Cox

Our direct ancestor, Catherine Cox, received a certificate from Newark Monthly Meeting in Pennsylvania to transfer her membership in the Society of Friends to North Carolina, where it was noted in the minutes of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting on 1 August 1752 that Catherine was received from Newark meeting. It didn’t take long for her to meet someone to marry, for just four months later, on 4 December 1752, the minutes of New Garden Monthly Meeting reported that she and Eleazar Hunt, the son of William Hunt and Mary Woolman, had married.

An account of Eleazar Hunt and the former Catherine Cox will continue next.

Eleazar Hunt (I)

We continue with an account of Eleazar Hunt, the son of William Hunt and Mary Woolman, and who married Catherine Cox. Eleazar's siblings were named Margaret, Thomas, Hannah and William, all relatively common names for the period. The name *Eleazar*, pronounced "ell-ee-AY-zar," was anything but common, even in the colonial era. The name comes from the Bible, Eleazar being the third son of Aaron. In biblical lore, Aaron was the first Jewish high priest and traditional founder of the Hebrew priesthood. According to the Old Testament, Aaron was the older brother of Moses. After Aaron died, his office was given to Eleazar. The character of Eleazar was even cast in the classic 1956 movie *The Ten Commandments*.

Eleazar Hunt was given his unusual name after being born 21 August 1725 while the family still lived in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. This was a very bad time for the family as Eleazar's father was having to appear in court on the charge of having received stolen property about this time, and even worse, had to make a trip to the public whipping post when Eleazar was just a few weeks old. Eleazar was born the same year as Casanova and the same year the Russian czar Peter the Great died. Given his unusual name, it should not surprise the reader that Eleazar's name is often found misspelled in colonial records. It was often spelled *Eleazor* or *Eleazer* and a few dozen other ways.

By the time Eleazar was about four, his family had moved to what was then considered Chester County, Pennsylvania, where they lived in West Nottingham Township near the small town of Rising Sun, today in Cecil County, Maryland. Four years later Eleazar moved again with his family to the Monocacy area of Prince George's County, Maryland, near the present-day town of Buckeystown, where he grew to manhood.

Though we don't know her exact date of death, Eleazar's mother likely died when he was about eleven to thirteen years old. Eleazar continued to live with his father, helping out with the farm chores on the 130-acre "plantation" his father leased on part of Carrollton Manor. Eleazar's father died in the fall of 1746 shortly after having sold all his assets for £298, which likely went to his children though there is no public record of that. But not having a public record of an inheritance from their father was the whole point of William Hunt liquidating his assets the way he did.

Speaking of public records, the first one we have of Eleazar was when he signed a 1742 petition to the Maryland Provincial Assembly requesting the formation of an Anglican parish for the "inhabitants of Seneca & Monocacy in Prince George County." He would have been 17 at the time. That may seem a bit young to be signing public petitions, but under English common law observed in eighteenth century colonial America, at age 14 a boy could witness documents, testify in court, sign contracts, act as an executor, etc. At age 16, he could own land and be mustered into the militia. Due to shortened life spans compared to now, manhood came much earlier than today.

The name of Eleazar Hunt also appears twice on the infamous "List of those persons who have been Deficient in Bringing in their Quota's of Crows and Squirrells heads ..." for Prince George's County. Like his father and older brother Thomas, Eleazar's name appears on the deficient list for the years 1745 and 1746. The use of the list was discontinued by the county in 1747.

There is a strong possibility that after the death of his mother, Eleazar no longer attended Quaker meeting. Due to his father's disowned status, Eleazar and his siblings might not have been encouraged, and maybe even overtly discouraged, from attending meeting. If so, that would account for the fact that, a few months following the death of his father, Eleazar was "received by request" into

the Quaker faith by Fairfax Monthly Meeting in Virginia on 28 March 1747, when the clerk of the monthly meeting noted both his parents were deceased. The Quakers in the Monocacy area of Maryland fell under the control of Fairfax Monthly Meeting at that time.

Jerry Richmond, who maintains a website called “The Quaker Collection” notes that membership in the Society of Friends was considered hereditary at this point in history. Quakers had nothing comparable to the baptism or christening rituals so common in other forms of Christianity. Rather membership was considered automatic if *both* parents were members in good standing at the time of a person’s birth. Thus Quakers became so through birth-right membership as opposed to membership by conversion, or what Quakers termed “convincement”.

Richmond notes that in the vast majority of cases, membership by convincement (the “received by request” situation) was attributable to an existing Quaker familial relationship and not the result of “proselytizing amongst heathens.” Typically those persons “received by request” had at least one parent who was a birth-right member even though perhaps later disowned. Richmond further notes that even “after disownment, former members tended to remain in the Quaker culture and passed on the culture to their children.”

This would appear to pertain to the situation in our Hunt family. Though his father was not disowned until some months after his birth, Eleazar grew up in a household that had only one member of the Quaker faith in good standing. And since his mother died about ten years before his father, it is understandable that Eleazar would have to request membership into the Society of Friends even though he likely grew up in the Quaker culture.

Eleazar Hunt, along with his two brothers and two sisters, stayed in the Monocacy area of Maryland for about four years following the death of his father. There is no record that he owned property, and with the sale of the lease of his father’s farm, we can assume he worked as a farm laborer and lived with another family. He possibly lived with his older brother Thomas, who was married by the time their father died.

The minutes of Fairfax Monthly Meeting indicate that Eleazar was already “removed & settled in North Carolina” when he was granted a certificate of removal dated 26 October 1751 to Cane Creek Monthly Meeting in Orange County, North Carolina. The minutes of Cane Creek meeting indicate he was received into membership there from Fairfax meeting on 7 March 1752.

Thus Eleazar Hunt joined another Quaker migration. Through history, Quakers frequently moved en masse from one area to another. The first had been when members of the Society of Friends began leaving England and Wales to sail to America. As early as 1660 George Fox had suggested that land be purchased in America and a Quaker colony established there. The low cost of land in America and increasing persecution in England contributed to many Quakers acting on Fox’s suggestion. When William Penn acquired a proprietary charter for forty thousand square miles of land in America, the very low land costs and gushy pamphlets describing the prospects in “Pennsylvania” attracted Quakers by the thousands.

Eleazar’s father, William Hunt, had been part of the first Quaker migration, coming to America in 1719. Later, William moved his family from Chester County, Pennsylvania to the Monocacy area of Maryland, joining another migration from Penn’s original colony south into Virginia and Maryland. Eleazar became part of yet another migration when he joined Quakers by the thousands moving to North Carolina.

Cane Creek Monthly Meeting was established in 1751, being located on the stream from which it took its name, in the central part of the large area which then comprised Orange County. This area included all the present-day counties of Caswell, Person, Alamance, Chatham and Orange and parts of Rockingham, Guilford, Randolph, Lee, Wake and Durham. The area where Eleazar Hunt settled was what today is the northwest edge of the town of Greensboro, North Carolina in present-day Guilford County. The area was called New Garden, and the monthly meeting that would be established there a couple of years later was called that as well.

The book *Southern Quakers and Slavery* by Stephen Weeks notes that the “first settlement at New Garden was about 1750. In 1751 a meeting for worship was granted by Cane Creek Monthly Meeting. For the next three years the monthly meeting circulated between Cane Creek and New Garden. The settlement must have grown rapidly, for New Garden Monthly Meeting was set up in 1754. It was destined to become the most important meeting in the State, and was the mother of many others.” When the first marriage was recorded at New Garden on 22 April 1752, Thomas Hunt and Eleazar Hunt both signed as witnesses.

New Garden Monthly Meeting was “set up” when the Friends at New Garden requested a monthly meeting of their own “by Reason of the hardship” they underwent “in attending the monthly meeting at Cane Creek.” They were hoping to save themselves a thirty mile horseback ride once a month to attend the monthly business meeting. It was noted in the request from New Garden that there were “Near or Quite Forty Families of Friends seated in them parts.” Among the early settlers in this area were the three brothers, Thomas, Eleazar and William Hunt. Their sisters Margaret and Hannah would also arrive in the New Garden area with their husbands, but not until 1758.

Though various members of the Hunt family may not have arrived in North Carolina at the same time, they likely all came by the same route, on what later came to be called the Great Wagon Road. The “Great Wagon Road” was an American colonial route from Pennsylvania to North Carolina, a heavily traveled route for migration to the southern colonies, particularly the “back country.” At this early period, the road had not yet achieved much greatness, nor was it really a wagon road south of Winchester, Virginia, nor for that matter was it actually much of a road. In 1752, a better name might have been the Not-so-Great Horse Path, but it got our ancestors to North Carolina.

The road began as a buffalo trail (yes, there were a lot of buffalo in the east at one time, but the eastern wood bison have been extinct since 1825) and was later followed by Indians, becoming known as the *Great Warrior Path* from New York to the Carolinas. Later as a road for pioneer settlers, it went by many names. Since the road traveled through the Shenandoah Valley, it was also called the Great Valley Road or the Shenandoah Valley Road. Because it served western Pennsylvania, it also was called the Philadelphia Wagon Road. The book *The Carolina Quaker Experience* mentions the road was used so much by Quaker families that it was “often called the Quaker Road.”

Over the years, both in colonial times and during the early years of the United States, the road was gradually improved. In 1834, the Valley Turnpike Company was incorporated to improve and maintain the road, and the “Valley Pike” was operated as a toll road for many years. The road was taken over by the state in 1918 and later designated U.S. Route 11. The building of Interstate 81 parallel to this route is proof that you can go from buffalo trails to interstates given enough time.

The migration to North Carolina was a bit of a land rush. “The country,” wrote colonist Nathaniel Rice in 1752, “is in a flourishing condition, the western parts settling very fast.” In 1730, the population of North Carolina was 36,000, with most people living along the coast. By 1750 the

population had risen to 70,000 and in 1770 it was 180,000, with most of the growth being in the Piedmont region. Land in the Piedmont was cheaper than it was in Pennsylvania, Virginia or Maryland. There were fewer problems with hostile Indians, and there was rich soil and abundant game.

The Quakers were concerned about their ability to practice their faith as members of the Society of Friends once they arrived in North Carolina. For many of them, the memories of the extreme harassment they suffered in England were still fresh. Pennsylvania, founded by a Quaker as a religious tolerant colony, had been the perfect haven for them. Maryland had also proved to be quite tolerant of the Quakers.

But the Quakers had justifiable concerns about North Carolina. After all it was the duty of the colonial governors to establish and maintain Church of England parishes in their colony. But it turned out that the people of North Carolina weren't nearly as intolerant as the people of New England had been. As early as 1703, a deputy governor in North Carolina was removed after he required that all provincial assemblymen be Anglicans.

Though by pushing south from Pennsylvania, the Quakers were moving to more remotely settled frontier areas, they experienced far less Indian problems in the Piedmont area of North Carolina. There was a good reason for that; there were no Indians in the New Garden area. Though several Indian tribes had occupied the present-day Guilford County area for centuries, including the Saura and Keyauwee tribes, repeated troubles with the nasty Iroquois had caused them to abandon the area by about 1711. Of the Indians, the Quaker settlers wrote "only a few of them were seen walking around after the 1740's and the 1750's".

As was typical within the Society of Friends, there was concern among the Quakers at New Garden that the Indians be compensated for the land the white men were quickly occupying. In 1764, a committee was appointed at New Garden to investigate any Indian claims against land occupied by Quakers, but after two months the matter was dropped because no Indians could be found.

Eleazar Hunt lived in the New Garden area near present-day Greensboro, North Carolina for the remainder of his life, though if one examines the entries of his name in county records, one would not get that impression. When Eleazar Hunt married in 1752, he was listed as being "of Orange County." When he was listed in land records a few years later, those land records were recorded in Rowan County. Late in life, he was listed as being a resident of Guilford County. Actually, all of these are correct. Eleazar Hunt never moved, and rather, the records are indicative of the rapid formation of new counties at this time in North Carolina history.

North Carolina's Orange County was formed in 1752, about the time Eleazar Hunt showed up in the province. The county covered a large wilderness area and was named for the infant William V of Orange, whose mother Anne, daughter of King George II of Great Britain, was then regent of the Dutch Republic. At the time, Orange County included the area of present-day Greensboro where Eleazar settled. Only a year later, Rowan County was formed from parts of Orange County, and for the period 1753-1771 the inhabitants of the New Garden area were in that county. Rowan County was named for Matthew Rowan, acting governor of North Carolina from 1753 to 1754. Finally Guilford County was formed in 1771 from Orange County on the east and Rowan County on the west, named for the Earl of Guilford, the father of the Prime Minister under King George III during the American Revolution.

For nearly the first twenty years the Hunt family lived in the area, they were in Rowan County, a huge county at the time. Rowan's western boundary was the Pacific Ocean, though the people at the time weren't really sure where that was. Eventually, twenty four others counties in North Carolina and the state of Tennessee would be formed from what was once Rowan County.

Until the sons of William Hunt, the immigrant ancestor, moved to the colony of North Carolina, the Hunt family had never owned land in America (the land the family lived on in the Monocacy area of Maryland was leased). William's sons Thomas and Eleazar were able to procure land with the assistance of the £298 that they likely received from their father just before his death.

During the period when the New Garden area was located in Rowan County, Thomas Hunt received a land grant from the Earl of Granville, land which he would later share with Eleazar. Mentioned previously, most of the territory that was the Carolinas and Georgia was originally granted by King Charles II to a group of eight of his supporters who would be known as the Lord Proprietors. All of the Lord Proprietors later sold their lands back to the crown except one, the Earl of Granville, who kept his 60-mile wide strip of land in North Carolina which adjoined the Virginia boundary, land which became known as the Granville District.

The New Garden area of present-day Guilford County lay within the Granville District. All land obtained before 1763 were Granville grants. In that year the Granville office closed, never reopened, and North Carolina confiscated the remaining Granville lands during the Revolution.

A man obtained a Granville land grant through a four-step process. The first step was when a man made an application, called an "entry," for a grant of an unclaimed piece of land with the Granville Land Office. The entry included a rough description of the land, its estimated acreage, references to landmarks associated with the tract, and the names of adjacent landholders. The second step was the issuance of an order to survey the land, called a land warrant. The warrant was sent by the land office to the county surveyor. Often a considerable amount of time passed, sometimes several years, between the issuance of a warrant and the survey of a land claim. The third step was the survey of the land. The issuance of the land patent or grant, which conveyed the land to the applicant, was the final step. At this point, the applicant paid his fees and he owned the land.

On 5 December 1753, Thomas Hunt, Eleazar's older brother, applied for a Granville land grant. The applicant could apply for up to 640 acres of land, but the physical lay of the land or adjoining land owners often prevented the applicant from getting that much. Thomas had to pay a modest fee of "10 shillings sterling" (£0.50). The application was granted in October 1756, and Thomas received 445 acres of land on the east side of Horsepen Creek adjacent to Thomas Beals. Thomas Beals was "family"; he was Thomas Hunt's brother-in-law. Thomas Beals was the brother of Mary Ann Beals, Thomas Hunt's wife, and also the brother of John Beals, who had married Margaret Hunt. In addition, he was the brother of Prudence Beals, who married Richard Williams, both direct ancestors described in a later chapter.

Though not a direct ancestor himself, Thomas Beals is interesting enough to deserve further mention. He was noted in the New Garden Monthly Meeting minutes as being a minister, and during the time he lived there, Thomas Beals made several extended religious visits to various Indian tribes. On 28 September 1777 Beals was granted a certificate by New Garden Monthly Meeting to "visit, in gospel truth the Mingo & Delaware Indians. William Robinson to accompany him." On 28 March 1778 it was noted "Thomas and companion, William Robinson, returned from their visit to Indians & gave account that they were detained prisoners some weeks & Thomas had his certificate taken from him."

Additional information about the activities of Thomas Beals comes from a letter from a man named Gersham Perdue to a William Foster in 1871, later reprinted in *The Southern Friend*, published by the North Carolina Friends Historical Society. Perdue tells of another journey in 1775 when Thomas Beals was accompanied by his nephew Bowater Sumner, William Hiatt and David Ballard, when the four were arrested by the British for being confederates of the hostile Indians. Thomas Beals reportedly held a “religious meeting with the soldiers and was released and sent home.” Perdue got the date wrong, as New Garden meeting noted the granting of a certificate to the four on 25 March 1780 to “be near and labor with the Delaware Indians near the Ohio River.”

This happened near Clinch Mountain in Virginia, and the British officers, understanding that one of them was a preacher, requested “a sermon before they went in for trial.” Thomas Beals held a Quaker-style meeting with the soldiers, which proved so successful a young man named Beverly Milner from the fort “was converted and, some time after, joined the Friends.” This person “at a very advanced age, bore public testimony to the truth of the principles of which he was convinced at the fort” and before he died in 1848 at age 87, Milner spoke of the “heavenly man by whom he was converted.” After the meeting, “the Friends were kindly entertained and told that they were at liberty to go on their journey.”

This all happened during the American Revolutionary War, and a very dangerous time to be traveling in the outback due to Indian hostilities, which was probably the whole point for a zealous Quaker minister seeking to convince the Indians of their errant behavior.

According to Perdue, in 1781 Thomas Beals and his family moved to Bluestone in Giles County, Virginia, where a meeting of twenty or thirty families was established. Their “sufferings were very great for the necessities of life” and Beals’ son-in-law James Horton, husband of his daughter Margaret, was taken prisoner by the Indians, taken to Ohio, and killed. This information is confirmed by the New Garden Monthly Meeting records dated 26 October 1782 which state that Thomas Beals and others had “moved out to the back inhabitants.” A committee appointed to visit them reported back in Quaker-speak that “they are in a very low situation, and it is most consistent for them to return back to where they moved from.”

In 1801, Beals moved to Ohio, where on 29 August he died after being knocked off his horse by a low hanging tree limb. He was buried in a hand-hewn coffin on the farm of Presley Caldwell, a few miles west of Richmond Dale in Ross County, Ohio. The coffin was “of regular shape, hollowed out of a solid white walnut tree by his ever faithful friend, Jesse Baldwin” who “covered the coffin with part of the same tree, which had previously been selected for this purpose by the deceased.”

Returning to the Hunts, on 17 July 1759, Thomas Hunt sold 212 acres of his 445-acre land grant to his brother Eleazar for a nominal “£5 sterling.” The land was described as being “on Horsepen Creek adjacent to Thomas Beal (sic)” and further that it was part of the land granted by Granville on 5 December 1753. We can presume from this record that the two brothers had worked together to clear the granted land and make improvements, and that their intention had been to divide the land at some point. Although land was relatively cheap in North Carolina, the £5 Eleazar paid his brother did not come close to market value of improved land sold in other private transactions.

Thus the two brothers Thomas and Eleazar Hunt lived adjacent to one another on the east side of Horsepen Creek in what today is Guilford County, North Carolina. Because of the old metes and bounds land descriptions, it is very difficult to identify exactly where their land was located, but it would have been 4-5 miles northwest of downtown Greensboro and about two miles north of New

Garden meeting house, which is still located today where it was in Eleazar Hunt's time.

By this time Eleazar Hunt had married and started a family. The Quaker monthly meeting records show that Eleazar Hunt "of Orange County" married Catherine Cox, who was noted as being from the same county. The marriage took place on 4 December 1752 at the Cane Creek meeting house because there was no meeting house at New Garden at this time.

That would soon change. On 19 October 1757, Thomas Hunt and another Quaker named Henry Ballinger purchased 53 acres of the Granville land grant to Richard Williams (another direct ancestor, later in the book) for a nominal £5, to be used for a meeting house and burying ground. Apparently the meeting house had already been built by this time as the deed made reference to the "*Conveniency of A Meeting House, which is already Erected upon the above Said premises.*"

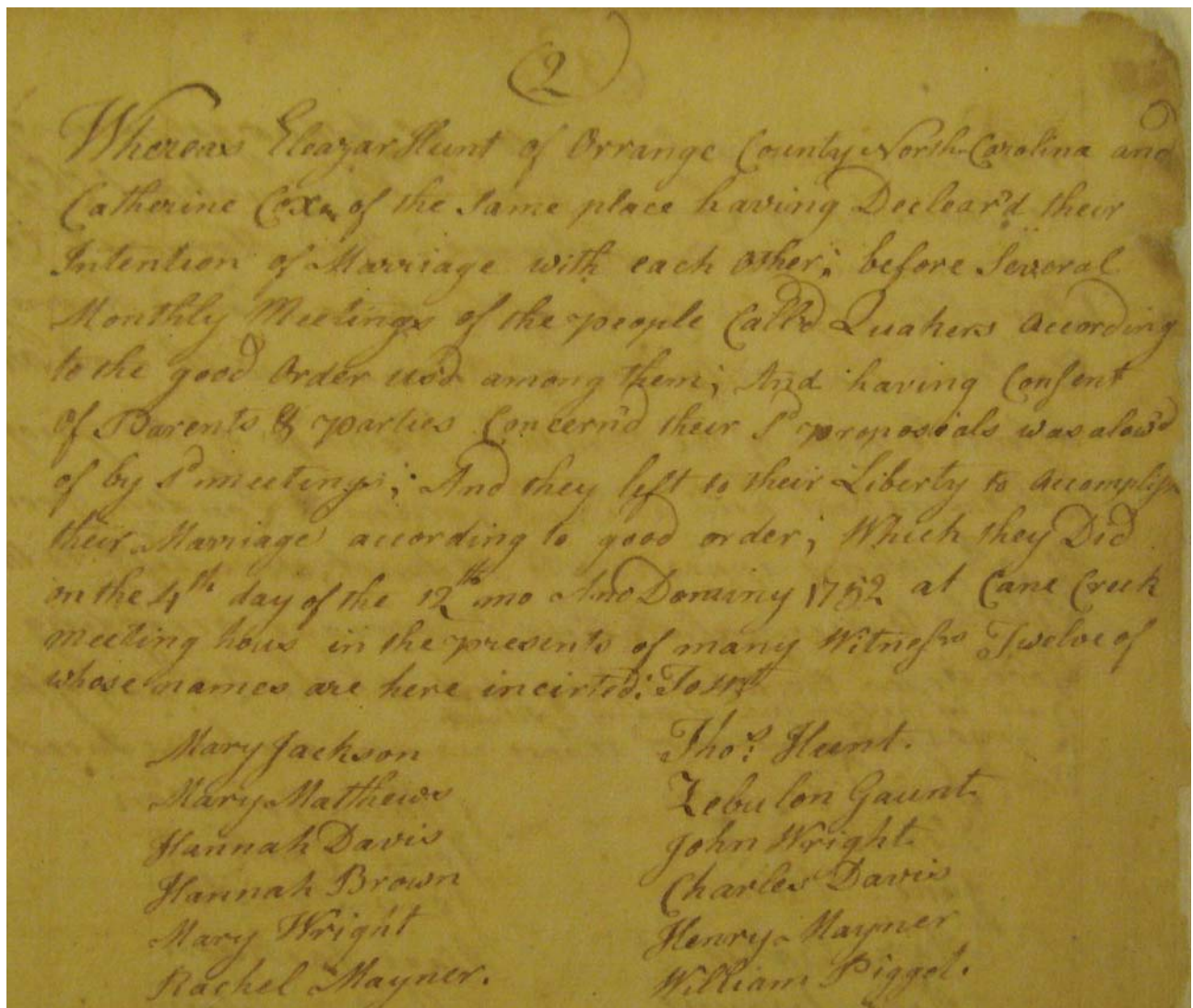
Unlike his father, we can assume Eleazar Hunt was a well-behaved Quaker who was in good standing with his church. In *Quaker Biographical Sketches, 1682-1800*, edited by Willard Heiss, there's a tale of a prominent Quaker who was traveling through the North Carolina Piedmont area in April 1778, during the middle of the Revolutionary War. The traveler wrote in Quaker speak that, "*on the 11th*" he "*rode to Eleazar Hunt's at New Garden, where on the 12th, he had a meeting. In this meeting the condition of the true church was set forth, and the primitive purity as typified by a woman clothed with the sun, and with the moon under her feet.*" Reading this kind of prose, one fights the urge to assume the group had been hitting the psychedelic mushrooms.

Eleazar Hunt stayed on his farm on Horsepen Creek in Guilford County, North Carolina for the rest of his life. During those years, he bought additional land either adjoining or very close to his farm. For example, in 1773 he bought 125 acres of land on the waters of Buffaloe Creek from Henry Sigfret for £47, the land being part of the original land grant of Robert Thompson. Three years later, he paid Thomas Jessop a mere £10 for 13-3/4 acres on Horsepen Creek, part of the original land grant to Thomas Beals. Then in 1779, during the middle of the American Revolution, Eleazar Hunt bought another 198 acres for £320 on the east side of Horsepen Creek next to the land of Henry Ballinger.

Even Eleazar's wife got into the act in obtaining land. Though it was somewhat unusual in the colonial era for women to buy or be granted land, on 7 April 1779 a land warrant was issued to "Cathrine Hunt" for 400 acres on "the dividing ridge between North Buffloe Creek and Horse Penn Creek." It was indicated the land "joins Elezer Hunt's deeded land, & includes head waters of Horse Penn Creek." This warrant was the result of a land entry for a "state" land grant, though the state of North Carolina would not exist until 1789.

After the land warrant was issued, it took some time before it could be surveyed, which had to be paid for by the prospective land owner. The record indicates the land was surveyed on 24 February 1786 "by Robert Brattain; William Stanley & William Hunt, chain carriers" and that the requested land officially contained 329 acres. Finally, the land grant was issued on 26 November 1789, five days after North Carolina became the twelfth state in the union. This was several years after both Eleazar and Catherine had died, but the land would become part of the inheritance of their sons.

Eleazar Hunt died 21 January 1781, as the Revolutionary War was drawing to a close. His wife Catherine lived another four years, dying on 24 February 1785. Both were buried in the New Garden burial ground. Oddly, the records for Guilford County, as well as neighboring Rowan County from which Guilford was formed, show no probate or will record for Eleazar Hunt. But we know that he left a will because in 1799 their son Abner Hunt sold 59 acres of land to his brother Eleazar Jr. In the



A photograph of the marriage record for Eleazar Hunt and Catherine Cox made by the Quakers at New Garden Monthly Meeting in Orange County, North Carolina. The New Garden area ultimately ended up in Guilford County after a succession of counties were created and divided into other counties. The couple married on 4 December 1752.

deed, the land was described as being land “*Bequeathed to the Said Abner Hunt by s^d Eleazar Hunt Dec^d in his Last Will & Testament.*” According to the deed, the date the will was “made” was 20 February 1781, but this is in error because this date was a month after Eleazar died. The date was almost certainly the probate settlement date.

Eleazar Hunt and Catharine Cox had eleven children, all born in the New Garden area of Guilford County, North Carolina. The births of all their children were noted in the records of New Garden Monthly Meeting:

i. **Mary Hunt**

Born on 25 Mar 1754 at New Garden MM, Guilford County, North Carolina, Mary married Silas Williams, son of Richard Williams and Prudence Beals, on 16 May 1770 at New Garden MM. Silas was born on 5 Oct 1747. According to the book *Maude (1883-1993)* by Mardo Williams, when Silas asked Eleazar Hunt for permission to marry his 16-year-old daughter, Eleazar said she was too young. Silas responded “but she will get older every day.” Not your most compelling argument, but hard to argue with. Silas must have won the argument because he and Mary got married and had eleven surviving children, plus an unnamed twin of their first, Rachel. In 1793 the family moved to Surry County, North Carolina near the Virginia border. In 1813, they joined the mass exodus to Ohio, transferring their membership to Darby Creek Monthly Meeting. Silas Williams died in Champaign County, Ohio on 10 Jan 1831, and Mary there in 1840.

ii. **Esther Hunt**

Born on 21 Sep 1755 at New Garden, Esther married William Coffin on 28 Sep 1777 at New Garden. William was born on 25 Sep 1747, and had just recently arrived in North Carolina from Nantucket Island, Massachusetts. Esther died on 21 Oct 1787 at age 32, just ten days after the birth of her fourth child and likely from complications associated with that birth. William Coffin married again, to Elizabeth Vestal, and had four more children by her. William died on 11 Oct 1796 at New Garden MM. Both William and Esther are buried at New Garden.

iii. **Rebecca Hunt**

Born on 29 Aug 1757 at New Garden, Rebecca married Samuel Piggott there on 28 Nov 1774 at age 17. Samuel was born on 7 Oct 1758 in Orange County, North Carolina. They lived for about ten years in Orange County and then the family moved several times, ending up in Surry County, North Carolina in 1792. After that, the record is less clear, but they likely joined the migration to Ohio and Rebecca is probably the Rebecca Piggott who died at Flushing Monthly Meeting in Ohio in Mar 1819 and was buried there. The record gets even fuzzier at this point, but it appears Samuel went to Goose Creek MM in Virginia in 1825 and, in 1830, married “out of unity” and was disowned. A record in the Goose Creek MM records indicates Samuel Piggott had “*removed to the western country and wishing friends to take no further trouble with him.*”

iv. **Asa Hunt**

Born on 1 May 1759 at New Garden, Asa married (1) Priscilla

(5)

Eleazar Hunt. Son of William Hunt. was born y^e 2^d
day of y^e 8 month 1745

Mary Hunt. Daughter of the above married
Eleazar Hunt & Catherine his Wife was born y^e
25 day of the 3^d month 1754

Ephraim Hunt. Daughter of the same was born y^e
21 day of y^e 9 month 1755

Rebecca Hunt. Daughter of the same was born
y^e 29 of the 8 month 1757

Ma Hunt. Son of the same was born y^e 1st day
of the 5 month 1759

William Hunt. Son of the same was born y^e
1st of the 4 month 1761

Phineas Hunt. Son of the same was born y^e
26 of the 3 month 1763

Hannah Hunt. Daughter of the same was born y^e
19 of the 4 month 1765

Eleazar Hunt. Son of the same was born y^e
30 of the 12 month 1766

Abner Hunt. Son of the same was born y^e
3 of the 11th month 1769

Libni Hunt. Son of the same born y^e 10 of y^e 9 month
1771 And Deceased the 26 of the 1st month 1781

Catherine Daughter of the same was born y^e
3 day of the 7 month 1773

Eleazar Hunt. Father of these Children Deceased
the 21 of the first month 1781 and was buried in
friends burying ground at New Garden
between the 11th and 12th of the 1st month 1781

A page from one of the New Garden Monthly Meeting record books shows why the ancestry of Quaker ancestors is a "piece of cake" to trace compared to ancestors who were not members of the Society of Friends. A basic tenet of the Quaker religion from the beginning was to note in their record books the birth and death dates of members of Quaker families. This page shows Eleazar Hunt (I) and all his children (his wife Catherine was overlooked except for the last entry on the page which noted her death). Notice in the first line that Eleazar Hunt was listed as the son of William Hunt, which helps genealogists establish ancestral links.

Coffin on 2 Feb 1785 at New Garden. Priscilla was born on 11 Oct 1765. She died on 28 Dec 1793 at New Garden at age 28, and Asa married (2) Sarah Gifford on 11 Feb 1796 at Deep River Monthly Meeting in Guilford County. Sarah was born on 28 Apr 1776 in Guilford County. Asa had two children by his first wife and seven more by the second wife. According to several accounts, the family moved to Highland County, Ohio in 1805 and settled on Clear Creek, though the Quaker records indicate this was in 1807. Asa is alleged to have died about 1825 in Highland County, Ohio. His second wife Sarah died on 21 Mar 1844 at Walnut Ridge MM, Rush County, Indiana.

v. **William Hunt**

Born on 1 Apr 1761 at New Garden, William was named for his grandfather, the immigrant ancestor. On 5 Mar 1783, William married Ann Rayle, who was born 15 Jul 1765 at New Garden. They lived in the New Garden area for a number of years, and had six children listed as born there, the last in 1800. In 1802, William Hunt and family were granted a certificate of removal "over Ohio River." The family eventually moved to Indiana. Ann died in Parke County, Indiana on 5 Jun 1843 (Bloomfield MM records) and was buried in the Bloomingdale cemetery. An odd notation in the Bloomfield MM records indicates that William Hunt "probably died" in Vigo County, Indiana, which adjoins Parke County on the south.

vi. **Phineas Hunt**

Born on 26 Mar 1763 at New Garden, Phineas married Elizabeth Piggott on 23 Jan 1782 at New Garden. She was born on 5 Oct 1764. Phineas Hunt later was granted a certificate to Center Monthly Meeting in Guilford County near the Randolph County line. In 1792 Back Creek Meeting was formed from Center meeting, and the family's membership was transferred there. On 27 Feb 1796, Phineas Hunt was disowned by Back Creek Monthly Meeting. In 1804, as the family planned to move to Ohio, Phineas Hunt was restored to Quaker membership by request and granted a certificate to Miami Monthly Meeting in Ohio. The youngest of their nine children was born in Highland County, Ohio in 1806. According to one account, Phineas "settled in the new territory called Ohio with a cousin Enos Baldwin. The place is still called 'Quaker Bottoms' and they 'built their house with sassafras logs.'" Phineas Hunt died in Ohio.

vii. **Hannah Hunt**

Born on 19 Apr 1765 at New Garden, Hannah married Solomon Dixon on 9 Apr 1784 at Cane Creek MM in Guilford County. Solomon was born on 8 Oct 1761. Hannah died on 2 Oct 1821 at Cane Creek MM and Solomon married (2) to Sarah McPherson. Solomon died in 1827. Solomon was a fuller (one who "fulls," i.e., cleans and thickens freshly woven cloth) by trade, and also wrote wills, deeds, etc. Solomon Dixon's father built the Dixon Mill near Snow Camp, North Carolina in 1753. The mill was the scene of General Cornwallis' camp during the Revolutionary War. The British troops are said to have

slaughtered seventy cattle in a nearby field, the meat being cut on the benches taken from Cane Creek meeting house, while rails from the Dixon's fences furnished fuel for campfires. The Dixon's house, built of stone, was Cornwallis' headquarters, the family having to use other quarters. The family story tells that some soldiers thought Dixon's father possessed money and tried vainly to force him to give it up by punching him with red hot tongs. These tongs are now in possession of a resident of the community. Solomon Dixon's older brother was struck in the head by the sword of a Tory and "died soon after from the effects of the blow." Dixon's Mill was built on Cane Creek.

+ viii. **Eleazar Hunt (II)**

Born on 30 Dec 1766 at New Garden MM, Eleazar Jr. was our direct ancestor. He married twice, and died on 7 Oct 1846 in Indiana. More on him later.

ix. **Abner Hunt**

Born on 3 Nov 1769 at New Garden, Abner married Mary Rayle on 3 May 1792 at New Garden MM. Mary was born on 11 Nov 1769. Quaker records show that, in 1799, the family moved to Surry County, North Carolina (Westfield MM, later Mt. Pleasant MM) and returned to New Garden in 1806. In 1801, while under the jurisdiction of Westfield MM, Abner Hunt was disowned. Though the famously incomplete records fail to show it, Abner apparently was soon reinstated as a member for he continues to show up in later Quaker records. In 1820, the family moved from North Carolina, transferring to Honey Creek MM in Vigo County, Indiana.

x. **Libni Hunt**

Born on 10 Sep 1771 at New Garden, Libni died on 26 Jan 1781 at age nine. Since he died just five days after his father, there is a strong possibility there was a outbreak of some sort of disease in the area at the time.

xi. **Catherine Hunt**

Born on 3 Jul 1773 at New Garden, Catherine married Hanuel (or Hannuel) Edwards on 8 May 1793 at New Garden MM. Hanuel was born on 16 Mar 1767. There was more than one person with that unusual name, and he was not the "Hanuel Edwards" whose name appears on a gravestone in the New Garden burial ground, indicating he died 21 Oct 1831 as has been widely reported. Hanuel and Catherine became members of the Hopewell MM in Guilford County in 1824 when it was formed. This meeting was only about four miles from New Garden. The couple had eleven children, their names all recorded in the Hopewell MM records. Three of the children died within a 16-day period in the fall of 1815, likely indicating an epidemic had swept through the area about that time. In 1834, Hanuel Edwards and his family followed some of their children in moving to White Lick Monthly Meeting in Indiana. Hanuel died on 10 Jun 1843 and was buried in the Spring Burial ground in Clay Township of Hendricks County, Indiana. Catherine was also buried there in 1852.

We will continue the discussion of our direct ancestor, Eleazar Hunt (II), in a future chapter.

The Battle of Guilford Courthouse

It would be unforgivable to provide an account of the Quaker families who lived at New Garden (today, Greensboro, North Carolina) without mentioning the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. This battle of the American Revolution took place in the backyard of the Quakers who lived in the New Garden area, and it would have a profound effect on their lives, though they seem to have shaken it off and most of them never mentioned it in their writings.

The American Revolution began in 1775 when the skirmishes at Concord and Lexington convinced the leaders on both sides that talking wasn't going to resolve anything. The war between Great Britain and the colonial "riffraff" dragged on for eight years, though for all practical purposes, it was over in 1781. After three years of firing muskets at one another and very little to show for it, in 1778 the British decided to cease virtually all offensive operations in the northern colonies and concentrate their efforts in the south.

The book *Another Such Victory* by Thomas E. Baker states that the "key factor that induced the British to completely overhaul their American strategy was the belief that there were vast numbers of loyalists in the South who awaited only the appearance of the King's red-coated soldiers to spur them to take up arms against their rebellious brethren. With the assistance of such loyalist auxiliaries, the South could be subdued and held without the use of large numbers of British regulars."

Baker wrote that this "impression, based largely on the exaggerated claims of former royal officials and resident loyalists, had little basis in fact. The loyalists were a distinct minority in the South, probably never comprising more than one-third or one-fourth of the region's total population. Later events discouraged even these Tories from playing the active role in the fighting that the British envisioned. But the belief that the loyalists could win the war in the south was so seductive that the King's ministers clung to it long after British officers in America discovered it to be a fallacy."

The British started at the southernmost of the thirteen colonies, Georgia. They invaded Savannah, which surrendered in December 1778, and marching inland, soon took Augusta and other colonial outposts. The British returned their royal governor to his previous position and soon bragged they had taken "the first stripe and star from the rebel flag." Their success continued in the next colony up the line, South Carolina. In May 1780 the British took Charles Town (today, Charleston), the largest town in the south and the rebels' chief southern seaport. The surrender of Charleston's 5000 defenders crippled the rebel effort in the south.

With the exception of Francis Marion (the "Swamp Fox"), the British had had their way in the South to this point. Marion, who almost single-handedly invented modern guerilla tactics, caused the British a great deal of grief by attacking their supply trains and smaller outposts, and then disappearing into the swamps. Despite tremendous efforts to eliminate him, Marion's forces kept attacking and vanishing like ghosts, and the British never did catch him.

In September 1780, Lord Cornwallis, the British commander in the South, started for North Carolina, his third targeted colony in the South. There, things began to go wrong. While Cornwallis' main force was delayed, one of his British majors by the name of Ferguson got his butt severely kicked at the Battle of King's Mountain, just a mile from the border between the two Carolinas. There a bunch of back woodsmen capable of shooting the eye out of a squirrel decimated the British force of 1100 men, despite being outnumbered. Even worse, stories circulated for months thereafter about how the rebels had little use for prisoners, preferring to deal with the hated British by putting a musket ball in

them.

By this time, General George Washington had assigned one of his best battle tacticians, General Nathanael Greene, to push into the south and try to slow the British (Greene's first name was spelled *Nathanael*, not *Nathaniel*). He made an excellent choice. In the book *General George Washington: A Military Life* by Edward G. Lengel, the author argues that Washington was only a mediocre battlefield tactician. Lengel points out that Washington's record on the battlefield was "mixed" but as an administrator, political general, and moral leader, Washington was unmatched. This is quite accurate; Washington lost more battles than he won and had a nasty habit of leaving his flanks unprotected. Were it not for other generals like Daniel Morgan, Nathanael Greene and Henry Lee, Americans might be speaking the Queen's English today.

Greene made a habit of correctly guessing what Cornwallis was going to do. He positioned General Daniel Morgan (sometimes, it seems the rebel forces had almost as many generals as they did privates) to the west of Cornwallis, anticipating that Cornwallis would split his army. He guessed right. Because of that, things got worse for the British. Cornwallis instructed one of his best officers, Colonel Banastre Tarleton, to search out Morgan's forces and destroy them. But Morgan, who was possibly an even better field tactician than Greene, sucked the cocky Tarleton into a trap at the Battle of Cowpens in January 1781 and killed or captured most of Tarleton's 1050 men.

Morgan used an extremely clever *double envelopment* tactic, with his forces deployed in three lines. Each time the British routed one line, they encountered another. When the last line turned and ran, the exhausted British troops chased after them, but were stunned when the colonials turned and fired on them at point-blank range with devastating results. All of this was preplanned by Morgan. Tarleton managed to escape with a few men, but nearly all of his force was either killed or captured. Regarding his tactics at Cowpens, historian John Buchanan wrote that Morgan may have been "the only general in the American Revolution, on either side, to produce a significant original tactical thought."

When the news of the defeat of Tarleton at the Battle of Cowpens was received by Cornwallis, he was shocked. He wrote "the late affair has almost broke my heart." As the book *Another Such Victory* states: "in the span of four months the British and their loyalist allies had been defeated in two major engagements, losing upwards of 2,000 men while inflicting negligible casualties on the Americans."

There were other logistic problems for the British. As fall had turned to winter, food supplies dwindled. Even though the British scoured the countryside for provisions, they could not find sufficient supplies to adequately supply their army. Nor could they find sufficient horses and wagons to haul the rations they did have. Perhaps Cornwallis should have retrenched at this point, but it was not his nature to do so. His aggressive character forced him to pursue and destroy Greene and Morgan. There were other more practical reasons to pursue Morgan. As the book *Another Such Victory* describes: "Illness and battle losses had begun to take a serious toll of British manpower. Tarleton had lost 900 men at Cowpens, among them 600 unwounded prisoners of war. If he could overtake Morgan and liberate these captives, Cornwallis would appreciably strengthen his army."

Cornwallis set out in pursuit of Morgan with 2400 men, including Tarleton and a few stragglers who had managed to escape the debacle at Cowpens. They were just hours behind Morgan but could never catch him. Under Greene's orders, the British prisoners had been spirited away to the safety of Virginia to prevent Cornwallis from retaking them, and Morgan and Greene finally joined forces on 30 January 1781.

Aware that Cornwallis was in hot pursuit, Greene decided to continue the retreat that Morgan had begun. For the next several weeks Greene and Cornwallis sparred, but never with one another's main forces. Greene proved to be very evasive. The continual movement proved very difficult on both armies. "Rain fell almost constantly and the roads, churned and rutted by the army's transit, became almost impassable. The combination of cold, rain, mud, and inadequate clothing was brutal for enlisted men and officers alike." Greene and South Carolina Governor John Rutledge, along on the campaign, sought shelter one night in an abandoned shack, only to be joined during the night "by a hog who had crawled into their bunk to escape the cold and rain."

Another Such Victory reports that "Greene's handling of the retreat from North Carolina was brilliantly conceived and masterfully executed. Although the American general had temporarily ceded control of still another southern state to the British, he had kept his army intact and saved its supplies, all the while drawing the enemy deeper into hostile territory." From his headquarters in Virginia, Greene received reinforcements from local militias there.

Cornwallis, always on the outlook for Tory support, was informed that 300 Tory militiamen assembled by Colonel John Pyle were marching to Hillsborough. Encouraged by this report, the British general directed Colonel Tarleton to take his cavalry and escort these loyalists to him. Unfortunately for them, the American's Henry "Harry Lighthorse" Lee reached the Tories before Tarleton's men. Pyle initially mistook Colonel Lee for Tarleton, and discovered his error too late to escape disaster. Lee's ruse was made all the better by the fact that he and his men were wearing green jackets similar to Tarleton's and two recently captured British officers, cooperating under threat of death, completed the deception. The encounter was quick but bloody. Only a handful of Tories survived the massacre, which came to be known as "Pyle's Hacking Match." Colonel Pyle himself survived by fleeing to the safety of a pond where he hid under water by breathing through a reed.

With his reinforcements from Virginia, Greene now had about 4400 men, and finally decided to turn on the pursuing Cornwallis near New Garden. Lee, whose fast cavalry unit often skirmished with some of the advanced columns of Cornwallis' army and caused Cornwallis an immense amount of grief, had slowed up the British army. Pursued by the reckless Tarleton, Lee entered a stretch of the colonial road described as a "long lane with high curved fences on either side of the road." Realizing that Tarleton would be unable to deploy his forces properly in this situation, Lee waited for the British soldiers to "press tightly into this narrow alley" before ordering his men to "wheel about" and charge their pursuers.

As Lee wrote later, the "whole of the enemy's section was dismounted, and many of the horses prostrated; some of the dragoons killed, the rest made prisoner; not a single American soldier or horse was injured. Tarleton retired with celerity." As Lee described, Tarleton retreated after getting his fanny whipped once again. Lee pursued him, but on a different road that was a shortcut. The two groups simultaneously reached the Quaker's New Garden meeting house at about the same time as Cornwallis' main army. Lee was suddenly in trouble, as the British troops "displaying in a moment, gave the American cavalry a close general fire." But Lee's riflemen were very good and they gave the larger British force all they wanted for a half hour before deciding it might be prudent to retreat as more of Cornwallis' force arrived. In this skirmish, British Colonel Tarleton lost the index and middle fingers of his right hand to an American musket ball (more about that later).

With Lee's steady pestering of the Redcoats, Greene had time to set up his positions at Guilford Courthouse, an area he had first noticed months before when he had passed through the area to take command of the rebel army in the south. He had been impressed at the time that the area would make

a favorable battle site. The site of Guilford Courthouse was only about three and a half miles from the New Garden meeting house.

Nathanael Greene quickly developed a strategy similar to the one utilized by Morgan at Cowpens, one that would counter the style of the British military of the eighteenth century. Warfare from that era seems very strange to people today. The European-style of warfare at that time dictated that long rows of soldiers in brightly colored uniforms marched forward shoulder to shoulder until they stopped, aimed and fired. They reloaded while standing in the open in front of the enemy, then marched forward again, and repeated the process. This technique, which seems to defy any sense of self-preservation, was developed because of the questionable accuracy of rifles at this time.

Another Such Victory reports that the “standard infantry weapon of both the British and American armies in the Revolutionary War was the flintlock musket. Because the musket was smooth bored, it was wildly inaccurate, particularly at ranges greater than 100 yards. Since no officer could rely on the marksmanship of his troops, the accepted tactics of the period called for the arrangement of scores of men in tight lines, firing their weapons in volleys. Although individually untrustworthy, a number of muskets discharged at the same time, and in the same general direction, could inflict substantial damage.”

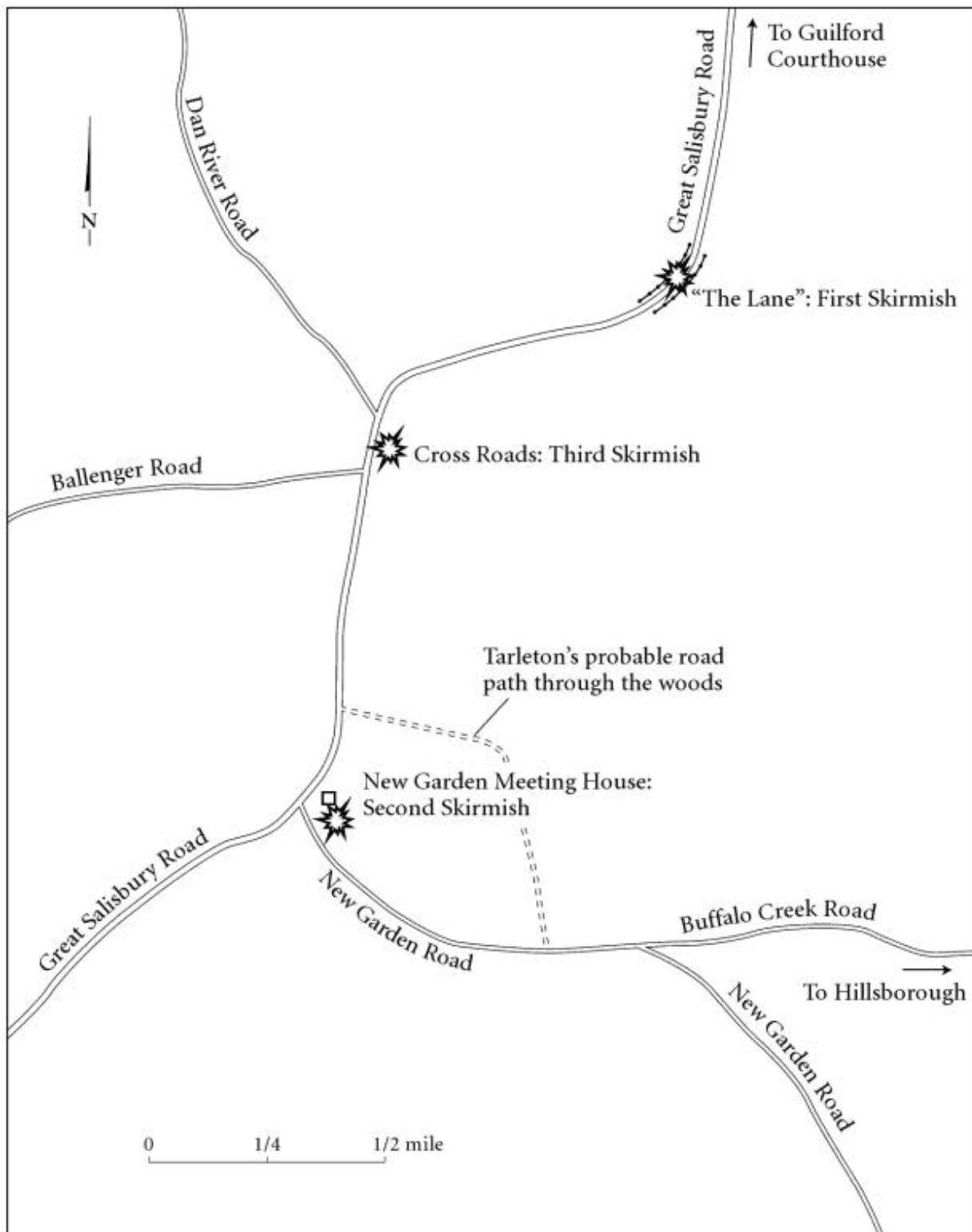
But few engagements were decided by musket fire alone. The real deal was the bayonet, a 14-inch blade fitted on the end of the musket, which transformed the weapon into a pike. After shooting at their enemy, the British troops would charge their adversary and bayonet them. The bayonet had great psychological value, since it took great courage and discipline to hold your position when you could see a row of bayonets approaching. This was especially true for the rebel militia, few of whom had bayonets themselves.

The militia was a problem for Greene, as it was for all the generals in the rebel army. These citizen soldiers were mostly farmers that were fighting for their right to be free of excessive taxation. Most of them just wanted to go home to their families and take care of their farms. It is no surprise that few militia groups performed well in combat with well-trained professional armies. Greene reportedly shared General Washington’s opinion that “to place any confidence upon militia is, assuredly, resting upon a broken staff.”

At Cowpens, Morgan had told his line of militia to fire when ordered, reload, fire again, and then retreat behind the next line of marksmen. As had Morgan, Greene knew the militia often broke and ran at the first volley of fire from the Redcoats. Knowing the militia line would probably break, he set the same standard that Morgan had: fire two rounds, then fall back. Greene divided his army into three lines. The least experienced, the North Carolina militia, formed the bulk of the first line, with strong parties of riflemen from the Continental army at the flanks. Behind them 300 yards were the more experienced Virginia militia, about 1200 men. Some 500 yards past them were 1400 Continental army troops, with the most battle experience.

About 1:00 p.m. on 15 March 1781, the Battle of Guilford Courthouse began. As expected, the Redcoats marched in close formation toward the rebel’s first line. At 140 yards out, the militia fired their first volley. Many British fell, but they closed ranks and continued forward. At 50 yards, they stopped, took aim and fired a volley at the militia, then charged. As anticipated, some of the militia fled, though many fired their second volley before hastily retreating.

But the second line of Greene’s defense was in the trees and pockets of thick undergrowth required



Before the main Battle of Guilford Courthouse on 15 March 1781, there were three skirmishes between the British troops and the American forces. The map above helps put some perspective on where these occurred between 7:00 a.m. and 10:00 a.m. that morning. The main battle in the afternoon was technically a victory for the British, but at a very heavy cost. The British never fully recovered from the devastating losses they suffered at Guilford Courthouse and ended up conceding the American Revolution to the Americans just seven months later. The skirmish at the "Cross Roads" was very near the Hunt farm, and may have involved a young member of the family (see the chapter for Eleazar Hunt II).

the British line to break and form in pockets. The Virginia militia engaged the British in a series of running firefights before retreating. When the British reached the third line, they met the fiercest combat yet, thunderous volleys of musket fire and even some hand-to-hand combat. The battle was teetering in favor of either side until Cornwallis ordered his cannons to be fired with deadly grapeshot into the melee. The volleys cut down Continentals and Redcoats alike, but had the desired effect. Greene ordered a retreat; better to live and fight another day. Greene believed the caution he had given Daniel Morgan: "it is our business not to risk too much."

The ferocious battle consumed about two and half hours. Technically, the British had won. But as author Thomas Baker described, Greene's "army had fought well enough to sell Lord Cornwallis a very insignificant piece of real estate at a very high price." It was what is known as a "pyrrhic victory," i.e., one won at too great a cost to have been worthwhile for the victor. As a member of the British Parliament's anti-war minority commented when the news of the battle reached London, "Another such victory would ruin the British army," leading to the title of Baker's oft-quoted book.

Cornwallis did not pursue the retreating Greene. His men were exhausted; they had not eaten since 4:00 p.m. the previous day; and the weather had turned cold and rainy. Instead, they maintained their position on the battlefield littered with hundreds of dead and wounded soldiers from both sides. An account of that night was later written by a British soldier named Charles Stedman, who authored the *History of the American War* published in 1794. Stedman wrote: "*The night was remarkable for its darkness, accomplished with rain which fell in torrents. Nearly fifty of the wounded, it is said, sinking under their aggravated miseries, expired before the morning. The cries of the wounded and dying, who remained on the field of action during the night exceeded all description. Such a complicated scene of honour and distress, it is hoped, for the sake of humanity, rarely occurs, even in a military life.*" Stedman himself "was wounded in his sword hand, in single combat with an American dragoon, and was only saved from being cut down by the appearance of a British light horseman, who slew his adversary."

The British devoted the next day to burying the dead and collecting the wounded (more on this in a moment). When the casualty reports were complete, Cornwallis learned that his army of 1,924 men who engaged in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse had suffered 532 casualties, either killed, wounded or missing. This represented a staggering 27% of his army. By comparison, only about six percent of Greene's forces were killed or wounded.

Greene later took the role of the pursuer as Cornwallis' forces limped back to Wilmington, the one place in North Carolina where his troops "could enjoy respite from their months of hardship." The two armies skirmished a few times, but neither wanted another battle like the one at Guilford Courthouse. Cornwallis' army never recovered from this blow. He stayed in Wilmington until late August 1781, when they set out for Virginia, where larger British forces awaited him.

The additional troops didn't help. The American forces under General Washington, with the significant aid of the French forces who had landed in America to help, eventually surrounded Cornwallis near an obscure Virginia village called Yorktown. After a three-week siege and suffering over 600 more casualties, Cornwallis was forced to surrender his remaining army of over 8000 men. This effectively ended the war, though it was two more years before a peace agreement was signed officially ending the conflict.

When the British had left the New Garden area following the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, they took 17 wagons of wounded with them. These were men "whose cases will admit of their being again with

the army,” i.e., the least seriously wounded of whom a recovery was expected. They left behind 64 of their most seriously wounded, plus a similar number of Americans they found on the battlefield, in the care “of the Quakers at New Garden.”

Even worse, when Greene came back through New Garden in pursuit of the retreating Cornwallis, he dumped his wounded on the Quakers as well. As author Baker describes: “The area’s Quakers probably hoped that the Americans would take charge of the wounded that the British had left behind, but Greene had no intention of further delaying his pursuit or of encumbering his army with scores of wounded men. Like Cornwallis before him, Greene sent word to the gentle Quakers, asking them to care for these injured soldiers.”

Nathanael Greene reportedly stopped at New Garden to urge the Quakers to do what they could for the wounded. Nearly a week later he “sent word,” as Baker called it, with a strong appeal by a letter to the Quakers dated 26 March 1781. Greene referred to “your humanity for the relief of the suffering wounded at Guilford Court House.” He pandered to the Quakers when he mentioned he knew “of no order of men more remarkable for the exercise of humanity and benevolence; and perhaps no instance ever had a higher claim upon you than the unfortunate wounded now in your neighborhood.”

General Greene knew what he was talking about when it came to the Quaker religion. He had been one. Raised Quaker in his native Rhode Island, Nathanael Greene was fascinated with military history and read everything about military tactics he could find. This drove his fellow Quakers nuts, and in 1773, Greene and a cousin were “read out” of their local meeting for attending a place they shouldn’t have been. Tradition identifies this as a militia muster, but the official Quaker resolution called it a “place of Publick Resort,” which at that time could have meant anything from a tavern to a bawdy house.

The Quakers at New Garden promptly wrote back to Nathanael Greene:

Friend Greene:

Agreeable to thy request we shall do all that lies in our power, although this may inform that from our present situation we are ill able to assist as much as we would be glad to do, as the Americans have lain much upon us, and of late the British have plundered and entirely broken up many among us, which renders it hard, and there is at our meetinghouse in New Garden upward of one hundred now living, that have no means of provision, except what hospitality the neighborhood affords them, which we look upon as a hardship upon us, of not an imposition; but notwithstanding all this, we are determined, by the assistance of Providence, while we have anything among us, that the distressed both at the Court House and here shall have part of it with us. As we have as yet made no distinction as to party and their cause – and as we have none to commit our cause to but God alone, but hold it the duty of true Christians, at all times to assist the distressed.

Guilford Court House, N.C. Third mo. 30, 1781

As the Quakers expressed to Greene, they were in dire straits trying to care for themselves, without the burden of nursing over a hundred badly wounded soldiers. Their farms had been raided and plundered by troops on both sides of the conflict for weeks, and they had nothing left to give other than their inherent compassion for their fellow man. There is strong evidence the Quakers at New Garden remained true to their peaceful ways during this time of trouble. There is a story of a Quaker who was so enraged at the British plundering of his farm that he told his wife he was going hunting

the day of the battle, and returned home empty-handed after being gone all day. The story is probably factually correct, but researchers found the man wasn't a Friend at the time, and didn't join the Quaker faith until later.

The title of the article *The Battle of New Garden* by Algie I. Newlin, which appeared in the journal *The Southern Friend* in 1994, is a reference to the half-hour skirmish near the New Garden meeting house prior to the larger Battle of Guilford Courthouse a few miles away. Newlin wrote: "Friends in the New Garden community had felt the sting of war before the battles exploded in their midst. For several weeks prior to the battles they had been victims of foragers from both armies. The impression is given that all of the farms in the area were hit by this scouring of the country for supplies. Nathan Hunt, a young married man, lived on New Garden Road. His farm was a target for foragers. His food supplies and his livestock were taken. One party took his horses, and another took his milch cow. The raids left Nathan and Martha Hunt and their children almost destitute. Elijah Coffin, reared on a farm near that of Nathan Hunt, said, '... the citizens of that part of the country felt in various ways the cruelty and horror of such a conflict.' The struggle between the Whigs and Tories for the control of the government of North Carolina resulted in a breakdown of law and governmental authority, followed by a rash of all sorts of crimes. Robbers, pretending to be soldiers, came to the Coffin home in the middle of the night, threatened the life of William Coffin, and then proceeded to rob one of his neighbors. At another time, soldiers came to the Coffin home and took clothing from the family. Everybody in the community suffered ..."

The care of the wounded by the New Garden Quakers was a prolonged task that must have continued for weeks. The total number of wounded soldiers cared for by the Quakers at New Garden can only be estimated based on "bits of information from scattered sources," but Newlin estimated the count to be between 170 and 190.

There was certainly not enough floor space in the old meeting house to accommodate anywhere near this number of men. Tarleton referred to the wounded being cared for in "adjacent buildings," almost certainly a reference to many of these soldiers being cared for in nearby Quaker homes.

Newlin wrote: "History permits few glimpses into New Garden homes as they were filling the role of hospital wards. The two story log house which stood near the Cross Roads has been referred to as a hospital for the wounded and is reputed to have been filled with casualties from the battle at that place. The number of men treated in this house is not known. Caring for the wounded in the homes was done at great risk to members of families, for some of the wounded men brought the dreaded plague of smallpox with them."

Many of the severely injured soldiers could not be saved, and died from their wounds. They were buried by the Quakers in the New Garden cemetery. A marker was placed in the cemetery in memory of these soldiers: "The old oak tree covered historic plots, in one of which lie twelve, in the other thirteen British and American soldiers, Englishmen and American, sleeping side by side, earthly enemies, reconciled in earth's common fate." The Quakers thought it fitting to lay two soldiers in each grave, one a British soldier and the other an American, the head of one at the feet of the other.

The "old oak tree" referred to on the marker came to be known as the Revolutionary Oak, a legend unto itself in the New Garden area. The tree was located in the old section of the cemetery not far from the old Meeting House. It was a very large tree, even at the time of the Revolutionary War. By tradition, many of the injured soldiers were laid under the huge oak's limbs while receiving care from the Quakers, and later those who died were buried under it.



The New Garden burial ground near Greensboro, North Carolina. Top left, the location of the New Garden Meeting House at the time of the Revolution and, top right, the marker to commemorate it. Bottom left, the marker commemorating the Revolutionary Oak tree, removed after Hurricane Gracie in 1959. Bottom right, the location of the mass graves of Revolutionary War soldiers, British and American.



The New Garden Meeting House that stood for years in Guilford County, North Carolina near the present-day city of Greensboro. The painting at the top was painted in 1867 at the time of a Quaker Yearly Meeting. The lower photograph was taken after the structure had been abandoned and a new meeting house built. The building in the photograph was built about the time of the Revolutionary War and was only partly finished at the time of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. Because it was used as a hospital to house wounded British and American soldiers, they were laid on new lumber which was later used to finish the ceiling. As a result, the ceiling had bloody footprints and handprints on it which were visible for the entire time the structure was used.

In 1959, the tree reportedly measured 25 feet in circumference and was 104 feet high. A tree company took a boring of the tree about 1909 and found the tree to be between 450 and 500 years old. Because of its historical significance, considerable money was spent over the years in an effort to keep the Revolutionary Oak alive and healthy. It was fertilized, trimmed and holes in the tree treated.

On 8 June 1955, while Eleanor Roosevelt was speaking of her world travels nearby in the New Garden meeting house, an explosion was heard. Someone, who we can presume didn't like the Roosevelts, had set off a dynamite charge in the Revolutionary Oak, which caused a large portion of the tree to crack. A reward of \$500 was offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction of those responsible, but they were never identified. Significantly weakened from the explosion, the tree finally fell four years later when the category 3 hurricane Gracie came through the area.

One interesting but less serious battle casualty that occurred during the Battle of Guilford Courthouse deserves note. British Colonel Tarleton, as mentioned previously, lost parts of two fingers on his right hand to a musket ball. During the remainder of the day he rode in all the battles in which his men were engaged with his right hand bandaged and his arm in a sling, unable to use a weapon of any kind. Who bandaged his hand? A New Garden Quaker named Elijah Coffin later wrote in the family remembrances for that day: *"During the progress of the battle, a soldier came in great haste to my mother at the dwelling, having two fingers shot off and bleeding which she kindly dressed for him as well as she could and he hastened back to the conflict."* Was Hannah Coffin's patient Colonel Tarleton? She never said; perhaps she did not know. But it seems quite likely.

That several of our direct ancestors were greatly affected by the Revolutionary War battles fought on 15 March 1781 is beyond dispute. As described in a future chapter, one of them died as a result. Eleazar Hunt (I) had died less than two months before the battle, but his widow Catherine and their children were certainly witness to it. The location of their farm on Horsepen Creek, roughly estimated to have been midway between the New Garden meeting house and Guilford Courthouse, would have placed them squarely in the midst of the fighting.

Newby and Related Families

Before continuing with an account of the next Hunt ancestor, it is necessary to make a large “detour” and describe the ancestry of the wife of Eleazar Hunt (II). Her name was Ann Newby, and she had a large and interesting family tree. Some of the families in that tree are among the oldest ancestors to appear in this work, having lived in the early 1400s. After a description of the Hatch, Huckstep, Bigge, Tilden, Sutton, Fletcher, Page, Shattuck, Nixon, Ratliff, Tomes and Newby families, we will return to the Hunt family.

Hatch Family

The Hatch family lived for at least six centuries in the county of Kent, England. The family name is derived from the Anglo-Saxon word *haec*, Middle English *hacche*, later *hatch*, meaning a gate or wicket. For instance, Shakespeare wrote: “*In at the window, or else o’er the hatch.*” The surname appears in the hundred of Calehill, County Kent, as early as 1328, with the name during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries taking the form “*atte Hacche.*”

The name was almost certainly assumed originally by a man who lived near a gate or wicket, such as those found at the entrance to the village churchyard or the grounds of a manor house. Many family names had a similar origin during the reign of Edward I (1272-1307), when surnames became a requirement by law. For example, John who lived near a hatch was called *John atte Hacche*, William who lived near a well was called William *atte Well*, etc. This type of surname remained in use for about two centuries, until the early 1500s, and then, as a rule, the *atte* either was dropped or was combined with the word which followed. Today such surnames as Atwell, Atwater and Atwood are common.

First Generation

The first Hatch ancestor that we can trace is John at Hacche, or as his name appears in his will, *John at Hecche*, who it is estimated was born about 1415. He was probably a miller since there is a reference in his will to his “mills.” John lived in County Kent in the small village of Sellindge in the late 1400s, and like most places in England, is still there today. The village is sometimes spelled *Sellinge*, and today consists of a ancient parish church and little else. John had a wife named Agnes, named in his will, but we know nothing else about her other than she was still alive when John wrote his will.

At the same time that John at Hecche lived at Sellindge, there were several others with the same surname in the village of Charing, about 13 miles to the northwest. There is a good possibility these were his brothers or cousins, as John at Hecche makes mention in his will of “his lands in Westwell and Charing.” Based on this, it is likely he originated in the Charing area, as he seems to have been the first of his surname in the parish of Sellindge.

John at Hecche left a will dated 15 November 1464, the oldest will the compiler of this work has ever seen, and certainly the oldest one to appear in this work. One must realize that a will such as this pre-dates most written records, even in England. Church parishes did not begin keeping track of the births, marriages and deaths of people until the mid-1500s, and wills, probate records and court records are rare before this time as well. A copy of the will was kept on file at the Archdeaconry Court of Canterbury in County Kent, and survives to this day.

The Archdeaconry Court was an ecclesiastical court (i.e., a church court), the only type of court in existence in the 1400s. Ecclesiastical courts still exist, but are restricted to matters involving spiritual or religious matters. The Archdeaconry Court was the lowest level of a church court, presided over by the local Archdeacon.

The will of John at Hecche “of Sellyng next Monks Horton” (the latter is another small village near Sellindge) was written in Latin, the language of choice for many legal documents until as late as the eighteenth century. The translated and abridged will reads as follows:

Ultima voluntas Johis
at Hecche de Seltinge

Hec est ultima voluntas Johis de Hecche de Seltinge nunc habitantis in Herten in eorum fidei
 possessione facta cum legibus suis pariter et cum Johanne Wille de Herten in eadem
 de die 15^{to} Novembris 1464^{to} fuit facta et cum ad hoc est apud Seltinge per nos
 deus. Et ideo de 10^{to} hinc septem post mortem nostram per nos vult idem Johes supradictus
 intente caritate quod dicitur per nos post mortem suam vendat vestrum supradictum sine aliquo
 velle et ante 1464^{to} idem finem suum ad solvendum debita sua et legata et ad defendendum
 1464^{to} suum in aliis locis si aliquis vult habere ad dictum finem vult etiam idem Johes
 et Hecche quod dicitur per nos post mortem suam si finem sola et in maritata tunc
 pape etiam etiam sine aliquo 1464^{to} et tunc quod dicitur per nos et Hecche finem dicit Johes
 aut Hecche vult ad statum per nos annorum et annorum ad statum per nos annorum vult quod
 ad finem per nos dicitur etiam finem et pape per nos etiam etiam per nos dicitur 1464^{to}
 tunc per nos vult idem Johes et Hecche quod dicitur per nos post mortem suam finem et
 pape finem per nos etiam per nos dicitur 1464^{to} tunc ad vult ad statum per nos annorum vult
 etiam idem Johes et Hecche quod annorum finem suum vult ad statum per nos annorum
 quod finem dicitur per nos finem dicitur Johes et Wille de eadem finem 1464^{to} et finem finem
 etiam finem et assignat finem per nos ita quod quod solvitur legatum matris sue vult dicitur Johes
 et Hecche per nos annorum finem suum solvitur ad nos annorum finem vult
 Et si omnes dicti finem defuncti non erant per nos finem de consensu eorum tunc per nos
 quod finem vult idem Johes et Hecche quod dicitur legatum finem omnia finem dicitur 1464^{to}
 finem vita sua ad finem vult et post mortem dicitur legatum si ad finem defuncti non erant
 per nos vult idem Johes et Hecche quod dicitur finem vult ad finem 1464^{to} finem ad finem
 finem annorum per nos finem finem et moneta nunc vult finem quod finem
 ad finem finem ad finem in eadem de Seltinge per nos finem finem finem finem finem
 defuncti per nos finem finem finem finem finem finem finem finem finem finem finem

The first Hatch ancestor, and the oldest ancestor in this work, was John at Hacche, or as his name appears in his will, John at Hecche, estimated to have been born about 1415. He was likely a miller since there is a reference in his will to his "mills." The will, above, is dated 15 November 1464, making it the oldest document to be referenced in this work. Such a document pre-dates nearly all English written records. The will is written in Latin, as were all official documents in England before 1733.

My testament regarding all my lands. William Knyght, John Parys, William Smyth, John Webbe, and William at Melle are the feoffees of my lands and tenements at Selling, by indenture dated 10 October, 25 Henry VI. My woods upon my lands at Westwell and Charing to be sold to pay my debts and legacies. My feoffees to permit Agnes my wife if she remain my widow, to hold all my other lands and tenements until Thomas at hecche, my son, shall come to the age of twenty-four years, when he shall have one third of the lands. My son John to have a third of the lands when he shall come to the age of twenty-four years; and when my son William shall come to the age of twenty-four years, then my feoffees shall make over the lands to my three sons equally, forever, they paying to Agnes their mother 20s. a year during her life. If all my sons die before the age of twenty-four, then my wife Agnes shall have the lands for her life and after her death they shall be sold and the money shall be employed to provide a chantry priest to sing and pray in the church of Selling for the space of two years, the residue to be expended in charity for the poor of Selling and for the souls of my father and mother and all the faithful departed. If my wife shall marry before the said Thomas, John, and William reach their full ages [i.e., 24 years], my feoffees shall allow her 20s. a year and shall use the remainder of the profits of my lands for my sons and for the repair of my messuages and mills. To each of my feoffees for their pains 6s. 8d.

There were no witnesses to the will, nor was there a record of probate. Notice that John named five men as “feoffees.” To understand this, one must have a grasp of land ownership in fifteenth century England.

Early English common law did not allow for a man to dispose of his land using a will. He could have a will and use it to give money or personal property to others, but he could not give his land to others. Prior to the enactment of the Statute of Wills in 1540, land could only be passed by descent, and was subject to the harsh rules of primogeniture, which dictated that land passed to the eldest son and only that son. If a man had no children, or only surviving daughters, his family would lose the land, which reverted to the Crown.

As a method of evading this issue, the creation of “uses” and “feoffments” became common in fifteenth century England. These terms refer to what would be called a “trust” today. Though a man might own the land where his home or farm were located, he would enter into a trust (then called a “use”) with men he trusted. This agreement was known as a feoffment, and the landowner would transfer the legal title of his land to the “feoffees” (who acted as trustees). The landowner would continue to live on the land, though he was not the legal titleholder to the land.

The importance of this arrangement became apparent when the landowner died. Without a feoffment, the landowner had no say in what happened to his land after his death. He could not divide the land between several sons, or leave it for the use of his wife if he wanted. The use of a feoffment allowed the landowner to direct to the “legal” owners of the land, i.e. the feoffees, how the land was to be used after his death. The feoffees could give the land to a daughter, or divide its use among sons, depending on the landowner’s instructions. The landowner could also provide for his widow; since man and wife were considered to be one person under English common law, a man could not convey land to his wife. This problem was overcome by using a feoffee to carry out your wishes.

It should be noted there were other benefits of feoffment, such as the avoidance of taxes due upon the landowner’s death (yes, even then the dreaded “death tax” was in use) and creditors seizing your land because of debt (since the landowner was not the “legal” owner). These things did not go unnoticed

by the Crown, and as you might imagine, they were not big fans of the use of feoffments. By the mid-1500s, the laws changed, and the use of feoffments diminished, and although not common, their use can still be found today.

John at Hecche had named five men to act as “*the feoffees of my lands and tenements at Selling*” by a feoffment “*indenture dated 10 October, 25 Henry VI.*” The reference to “25 Henry VI” may puzzle the reader. It’s a date; the 25th year of the reign Henry VI, the way years were written at this early time (called regnal years, they were common until the eighteenth century). The date translates to 10 October 1446, which indicates that John at Hecche had been living at Sellindge for at least 18 years.

In his will, John at Hecche directed his feoffees to sell the “woods upon my lands at Westwell and Charing.” It is not completely clear what this means. Did he mean the timber was to be sold and not the land itself? Or the wooded portion of the land was to be sold? It does seem clear from the wording that John did not intend for the entire property to be sold. He directed his feoffees to permit his wife Agnes to hold “my other lands and tenements” and to receive an income of twenty shillings a year. Eventually the land was to be divided among John’s three sons equally as they came of age. Without the use of the feoffment, working like a modern-day trust, this could not have been done.

If none of John’s sons were to reach the age of 24 (a distinct possibility in an era when the use of leeches was considered high-tech medicine), following the death of the widow, the property was to be sold. The money from the sale was to be used to pay a Anglican priest to sing and pray on the departed’s behalf for two years. This request, though it may seem bizarre to us today, was extremely common at this time. Finally, John’s will provided for payment to each of the five feoffees “for their pains” in carrying out his instructions.

Based on the will, we know that John at Hecche and his wife Agnes had at least the following children:

- + i. **Thomas at Hacche**
- ii. **John at Hacche**
- iii. **William at Hacche**

Second Generation

The eldest son, Thomas at Hacche, was our direct ancestor. Very little is known about him because no will or administration of his estate has been found. He is believed to have been born about 1442 as he was at least 21 years old in 1464, when his father appointed him one of the executors of his will, but was still under the age of 24. The surname *at Hacche* has been applied to this generation since it was the more common spelling, though the name rarely appeared in writing, and there is no evidence that Thomas’ name ever did other than its appearance in his father’s will.

Thomas inherited a portion of his father’s lands in Sellindge, and probably married soon after his father’s death, though there is no record of it since this marriage pre-dates the recording of marriages in the parish. Only one child of Thomas is known:

- + i. **Thomas Hache**

Third Generation

The spelling of the surname for this third generation of the Hatch family reflects the way it was written in his will, and signifies the fact that use of an “at” prefix in surnames was disappearing from use by

the early sixteenth century.

It has been estimated that Thomas Hache was born about 1465. He does appear in a few other records, unlike his father and grandfather, but once again, most of what is known about him comes from his will.

Thomas Hache held the “manor of Hodyford,” or what later what was known as Hodyford Mill, so we can surmise that he was also a miller by occupation. Most references to “Hodyford” have vanished but there is evidence that a place of that name once existed since a white marble monument inscribed in 1758 at the Stodmarsh church refers to man who was “of Hodyford in the Parish of Sellinge.” Thomas was assessed as “Thomas Hache the elder” in the Hundred of Street in the subsidy of 1524, his lands assessed at 100 shillings, and taxed five shillings.

The “Great Subsidy” of 1524/1525 was a tax on the English people, which listed all persons over the age of 16 years with income from land, taxable goods worth £2, or with annual wages of £1 or more. This was one of several English “lay subsidies,” called that because the taxes were assessed against the *laity* (i.e. the “lay” or “common” people). A “hundred” was an administrative subdivision of a county; the name referred to an area capable of providing a hundred men in times of battle, or in other words, containing roughly a hundred dwellings. The “Hundred of Street” was the geographic division which contained Sellindge, and derived its name from the ancient Roman road in the area later called “Stone Street.”

Thomas Hache likely died in December 1534, since his will was proved on 31 December of that year. The name of his wife has not been found, but six children are named in the rather strange will of “Thomas Hache the elder of Sellyng.” He requested he “be buried in the churchyard of Sellynge” and it is assumed he is. He instructed his executors to have “masses and prayers sung for my soul and all Christian souls in said church for eight years.” His will, dated 12 December 1530, reads in part:

To Thomas Hache, son of John and Elioner Hache, 40s., 20s. at the age of twenty-four and 20s. at the age of twenty-five, to be paid by my son John. If the said Thomas die within age without heirs, then it is to be paid to his sister Agnes, and if she die within age without heirs, reversion to my son John. To my son John my best brass pot. To my daughters Agnes, Margarete, and Alice 6s. 8d. apiece. To my son William all debts he owes me and two silver spoons, and to his daughter Agnes Hache 6s. 8d. To Agnes, daughter of John Hache the elder my son, now dead, 6s. 8d. To Thomas Hache, John Hache the younger, Johane Hache, Agnes Hache, and Alice Hache, sons and daughters of John Hache, 6s. 8d. apiece.

To William Hache my son my manor of Hodyford and all those parcels of land, viz., Hodyford Broke lying in three parcels, a parcel called Horselife, one called Hodyford grove with hemphaw and gardens, a parcel called perce gardyn, one called Stone regg, one called Sandpytts, and other parcel which he there now occupyeth of me, he paying for the same 20 marks, at the rate of 26s. 8d. a year until paid. To my son John Hache my new house with the lands thereto belonging and all my other lands and tenements in Sellyng, he paying therefor to Thomas Hache, son of John Hache late of Sellyng, deceased, 40 marks, as before specified.

The will was proved by his executor and son, John Hache. The younger one! It was first stated in the research of Elizabeth French, published in 1916, that Thomas Hache had two sons named John. That in itself is not strange, since in earlier times parents often gave a second baby the same name as an

older sibling who died young. In those times of very high infant mortality, numerous examples can be found where three or more children were given the same name until one finally “stuck” and the child lived beyond infancy.

But Elizabeth French made the case that Thomas Hache had two sons named John, and both lived to adulthood, married and had families. Despite a determination to debunk this bizarre assertion, and reading the will about twenty times, the compiler of this work was forced to agree with French that no other explanation can explain the wording of the will. This is reminiscent of the boxer George Foreman, who has five sons, all named George.

In two places in the will of Thomas Hache he refers to “my son John” and “my son John Hache,” leaving him “my best brass pot,” “my new house” and naming him the executor of the will. Clearly he existed. The other son John had died by the time Thomas wrote his will. Thomas made bequests to Thomas and Agnes, the children of “John and Elioner Hache,” and in another part of the will, refers to “Agnes, daughter of John Hache the elder my son, now dead.” In addition, “Elioner Hacche of the parish of Sellinge” left a prior will dated 1 November 1519 naming her two children Thomas and Agnes, and left money to “father Hache to have the keeping of my children for ten years.”

So there were definitely two sons named John. The older son married an “Elioner” and died after having two children (and probably in his mid to late twenties). His widow Elioner soon died as well, leaving the two children to the care of her father-in-law. Since Thomas Hache left generous bequests to his grandson Thomas, it is clear he was raised by Thomas much like his own son. This begs the question of whether Thomas Hache originally named both sons John at birth, or whether the younger John was renamed upon the early death of his older brother. We will never know.

Thomas Hache, by an unknown wife, had the following children:

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|---|
| i. | William Hache | William Hache is estimated to have been born about 1488 in Sellindge, County Kent, England. As the oldest son, he inherited the bulk of his father’s estate, including the mill and lands at Hodyford, near Sellindge. His father also forgave “all debts he owes me” and mentioned William’s daughter Agnes. Nothing else is known of him. |
| ii. | John Hache (elder) | The elder John was probably born about 1490 at Sellindge, but died before 1519 and before his father. |
| iii. | Agnes Hache | |
| iv. | Thomas Hache | The existence of this son is debatable; he was not mentioned in his father’s will, and if he existed, likely died before 1530. However, researcher Elizabeth French inferred his existence based on the fact that his father was called “Thomas Hache the elder” in the 1524 subsidy. |
| + v. | John Hache (younger) | It is estimated that “John Hache the younger” was born about 1495. He was our direct ancestor. |
| vi. | Margaret Hache | |
| vii. | Alice Hache | |

Fourth Generation

John Hache (the younger), as he has become known to genealogists, was likely born at Sellindge, County Kent, England, probably about 1495. The spelling of his name reflects the way it was written

in his will, with the addition of a “t” since that letter had begun to creep into the surname by this generation. The “e” at the end of the name would eventually be dropped as well, until the name was spelled as it is today.

By the will of his father, proved in 1534, John Hatche inherited lands and tenements in Sellindge, including his father’s “new house,” which John left to his three sons a year and half later. John’s five eldest children are named in the will of his father. Though John left a will himself, and mentioned his wife, he failed to provide her name, and her identity remains unknown to us.

John Hatche left a will dated 13 April 1535, and evidently died a year later since his will was proved on 26 April 1536. In his will, John left two ewes to “every of my children,” to his unnamed wife “two kine [cattle], two hogs, six ewes, and half my household stuff.” The word “stuff” is an old British reference to woven material, especially woolens. Hatche instructed his two executors, one of whom was his wife, to sell the “residue of my goods” to “pay my debts and legacies.” He gave money to a man “to help my wife with the writings,” presumably to assist his illiterate wife with the estate sale. The rest of John’s will read as follows:

A piece of land called Mewlyng and my mill beside Hythe to be sold, and the money, and also £9. 20d. which Thomas Dylcott owes me, to be used to pay my debts and legacies. Hodyforth mill and half the meadow to be put to farm and the money used for the same purpose. My sons Thomas, John, and Stephen to enter into my new house and lands at their ages of twenty years. My wife to have the other half of the meadow by the names of Lytle Somerles, greate Somerles, and Rayfelde until my children be twenty years of age, giving to each his share as he attains that age. To her also for life the house and lands at Somerffeld, with reversion at her death to my children. If all my sons die under age, reversion to my daughters, the lands being equally divided. To each daughter 40s. at marriage. If all my children die, the money to be used to have an obit kept for twenty years, and the lands to be sold and the money to go to my brothers and their heirs. To Thomas Hatche, son of John Hatche the elder, 13s. 4d.

Notice that John “the younger” left money to “Thomas Hatche, son of John Hatche the elder,” again confirming an older brother of the same name.

John Hatche owned a mill, and so was a miller like his ancestors. He owned land “called Mewlyng” and a mill “beside Hythe,” Hythe being a town on the English channel seacoast, about four and a half miles from Sellindge. He requested that these be sold to “pay my debts.” The mill at Hodyford that his brother William inherited apparently ended up in John’s possession since he requested in his will that the “Hodyforth mill and half the meadow” apparently be abandoned and “put to farm,” ordering that the profits from that also be used to pay his debts. It appears John Hatche was deeply in debt, since he had to sell two mills and other property rather than bequeath them to his sons.

But he was far from destitute. He left his “new house,” the one he had only recently inherited from his father, to his three sons when they reached the age of 20. The “other half of the meadow” near the Hodyford mill and “the house and lands at Somerffeld” were left to the unnamed wife, with these properties to go to John’s sons after his widow’s death.

John Hatche (the younger) had the following children by a wife not important enough to have been named in his will:

- i. **Johane Hatche**

- ii. **Agnes Hatche**
- + iii. **Thomas Hatche**
- iv. **Alice Hatche**
- v. **John Hatche**

Our direct ancestor, Thomas was probably born about 1525.

Probably born about 1527, he may have been the John Hatche of Tenterden whose wife Agnes was buried there 26 Jan 1588/1589.

- vi. **Stephen Hatche**

Stephen was probably born about 1532 (he was not named in his grandfather's 1530 will but was in his father's 1535 will). He had no children and may not have married as a younger man. He did, however, marry late in life on 5 Dec 1603 to Elizabeth Goldsmith of Maidstone, County Kent. He lived most of his life at Sellindge, where he seems to have taken possession of the family mill at Hodyford. In 1592 he was the defendant in a suit in the Court of Requests, when the Archbishop of Canterbury and his farmer, Ralfe Heyman, brought suit against "Stephen Hatch of Sellinge." The plaintiffs claimed three acres as rectory farm land out of ten acres of meadow. This was "glebe land," i.e., land farmed with the profits going to the church. Hatche claimed nine acres of the meadow were his by inheritance. The plaintiffs stated the only way out of the church's meadow land was through Hatche's land and over a "carrying bridge over a brook" to a lane into Hatche's Hodyford mill, and that Hatch had destroyed the bridge and refused them a right of way. Hatche stated that the land was an inheritance from his ancestors, and that the original right of way from the glebe land was across land belonging to the farmer. Hatche lost the lawsuit. Stephen Hatche died before 9 Mar 1607/1608, when his will was proved. Since he had no children, he left his lands to the sons of his brother Thomas.

Fifth Generation

Thomas Hatche lived at Sellindge early in his life, but later moved to the larger village of Tenterden in County Kent. He married, probably about 1552, to someone named Joane, last name unknown. Thomas Hatche was listed as the churchwarden at Tenterden in 1565. Thomas died intestate before 13 October 1568, when the administration on his estate was granted to his widow. Joane married again, before 25 October 1574, to Richard Brissenden, when the account of "Joane Hatch alias Brissenden, administratrix," named her four daughters by Thomas Hatche. The names of his three sons appear in the 1606 will of his brother Stephen of Sellindge. The 1628/1629 will of his eldest son, John Hatche, names the children, grandchildren, and even some great-grandchildren of Thomas Hatche.

Thomas was listed as a parish churchwarden for at least a year. Though the churchwardens' duties varied according to the customs of the parish, they were responsible for the property belonging to the church, day-to-day maintenance of the church buildings, and keeping order during services. There usually were two churchwardens in each parish, one selected by the incumbent and one by the parishioners.

Thomas and Joane Hatche had the following children:

- + i. **Winifred Hatche** Born about 1553, she married twice, including our direct ancestor, Stephen Huckstep.
- ii. **John Hatche** Born about 1555, John was listed as a “yeoman” of Tenterden. He married Dorothy Philpott, who outlived him, dying in 1638. They had no children. The will of John Hatche names his brothers and sisters, their children, and many of their grandchildren. He was buried at Tenterden 31 Mar 1629.
- iii. **Katharine Hatche** Born about 1557, Katharine married a man with the last name of Dunke and had six children. She died before 1628/1629.
- iv. **Eleanor Hatche** Eleanor was born about 1559 and was still alive in 1628. She married a man named Chittenden and had at least four children.
- v. **Elizabeth Hatche** Though alive in 1574, Elizabeth evidently died fairly young, as neither she nor any descendants are named in the will of her brother, John Hatche, in 1628/1629.
- vi. **William Hatche** Baptized at Tenterden 9 Dec 1563.
- vii. **Thomas Hatche** Baptized at Tenterden 30 Jun 1565, Thomas was married “by licence” dated 22 Sep 1587 to Margaret King of Cranbrook, widow, who married again 2 Apr 1614 to John Allen of Canterbury, gentleman. Thomas Hatche was listed as a churchwarden at Tenterden in 1599, but was later “of the parish of St. Peter, Canterbury.” He had at least two children. He died between 27 Dec 1611 and 5 Jun 1613.

Sixth Generation

Winifred Hatche was born about 1553, probably at Tenterden in County Kent, where she was buried on 6 October 1592. She married twice. Her first husband was Richard Wills, whom she married at Tenterden on 18 June 1576. After having four children by Wills, he died, and Winifred remarried to Stephen Huckstep at Tenterden on 14 February 1583/1584.

Huckstep Family

The name *Huckstep* can be found spelled with numerous variations, like *Huckstepp*, *Hucstepp*, *Hucsteppe*, *Hucksteppe*, *Hucstepe*, etc. The origin of the name is believed to be a corruption of *De Hoghstepe*, which means “from the high steep,” with such a reference found in thirteenth century Sussex records. *Steep* is an old term which means just that, a precipitous slope. So the first person to adopt this surname probably lived on the side of a steep hill.

The first Huckstep ancestor that can be traced is Lawrence Huckstep, who was probably born about 1520 in County Kent, England. He later lived at Tenterden, and may have been born there. On 17 August 1546, just two years after parish records began being kept at Tenterden, the marriage of “Lawrence Hooksteppe” and “Jone Pope” was noted in the parish registers. The christenings of three children of “Lawrence Hucsteppe” were noted in the Tenterden records in 1551, 1553 and 1555. There likely were one or two other children born earlier than those dates who were not recorded.

Lawrence Huckstep died soon after that, likely while still in his thirties. The book *The Huckstep Family* by Larry A. James mentions, but does not quote, the will of “Laurence Huckstede” of Tenterden, made in 1556. The existence of this will has been confirmed in Kent will indexes, but not personally observed. Thus we can assume Lawrence died in 1556 in Tenterden, England.

Lawrence Huckstep and Joan Pope had at least the following children:

- + i. **Stephen Huckstep** Born about 1548, he was our direct ancestor. The connection to this family is only known because of the will of his brother John.
- ii. **Edward Huckstep** Edward was christened 21 Feb 1551/1552 in Tenterden, Kent, England. No further record.
- iii. **John Huckstep** John was christened 15 Jan 1553/1554 at Tenterden. He was buried in the same place on 25 Nov 1624. He left a will proved 17 Feb 1624/1625 in which he left money to “my brother Stephen Huckstepp” and several of Stephen’s children. John also left £5 to “my kinswoman Lydia Tilden, wife of Nathaniel Tilden,” our direct ancestors. With the exception of several monetary gifts, John left “all my goods and chattels” to his son Lawrence, but allowed the executor to have the “use of said goods” until Lawrence was 21. The will was contested, but upheld on 5 Apr 1625 by the court.
- iv. **Denis Huckstep** “Denis” (Denise), a daughter, was baptized on 10 Oct 1555 at Tenterden. No further information.

Second Generation

The birth of Stephen Huckstep, estimated to have been about 1548, pre-dates the baptism registers in the parish of Tenterden. Thus we have no direct linkage of him as a son of Lawrence Huckstep and Joan Pope. But their son John, who does appear in the baptism registers at Tenterden, mentioned his brother Stephen in his will, as well as several of Stephen’s children.

Stephen Huckstep married Winifred (Hatche) Wills 14 February 1584/1585 at Tenterden. Winifred was born circa 1553 in Kent, England, the daughter of Thomas and Joane Hatche. She was the widow of Richard Wills. The date of the marriage of Stephen and Winifred is as reported in the New England



Top, the parish church at Sellindge in County Kent in southeastern England as it appeared in 2008. This church had been utilized by generations of members of the Hatch family, who lived in the small village of Sellindge. Bottom, the parish church at Tenterden, attended by the Huckstep family for many years. Both churches were having maintenance work done and had scaffolding attached.

Historic Genealogical Register (NEHGR), based on the work of the noted researcher Elizabeth French. However, either this date or the date of the christening of their first child may be in error.

The Tenterden burial register indicates that the body of “Winnifreth wife of Stephen Hucsteppe” was interred 6 October 1592. Stephen was likely the “Steven Huckstepp” who, sixteen months later at Tenterden, married Priscilla Benison on 13 February 1593/1594. The parish record of Tenterden notes “*Stephen Huckstepp a verie Auncient man was buried the 20th June*” of 1633. He was about 85 years old when he died, indeed “very ancient” for the early seventeenth century.

Stephen Huckstep and Winifred Hathe had the following children:

- i. **Thomas Huckstep** Thomas was christened at Tenterden, Kent, England on 22 Nov 1584. Although NEHGR reports his christening as Stephen’s son before the marriage to Winifred Wills, the will of John Hathe calls Thomas Huckstep the eldest son of his sister Winifred. Thomas married Mary Reeve 28 Mar 1611 at Tenterden. The book *The Huckstep Family* states Thomas Huckstep was the father of two immigrants to Virginia, Walter and Samuel.
- ii. **John Huckstep** John was christened 22 May 1586 at Tenterden. The NEHGR article about the Huckstep family reported his body was interred at Tenterden on 15 Oct 1630, but there are problems with this date. John’s will was written with the date “6 November 6 Charles,” a regnal date which translates to 6 Nov 1630 (also reported by NEHGR). A codicil to the will was added 15 Aug 1631 and the will was proved 2 Dec 1631. The dates associated with the will and its administration are consistent; the burial date must be viewed with suspicion, and probably should be 1631. The wording of John Huckstep’s will indicates his father Stephen was still alive. The will was witnessed by “Nathanaell Tilden,” his brother-in-law.
- + iii. **Lydia Huckstep** Our direct ancestor, Lydia Huckstep was christened 11 Feb 1587/1588. She married Nathaniel Tilden.

Third Generation

Lydia Huckstep married Nathaniel Tilden about 1606, though no record of the marriage has been found.

Bigge Family

The first known member of the Bigge family is Richard Bigge, who lived in Benenden, Kent, England and died there in May 1474. This early a date is at the very edge of written records and one does not find reliable recorded dates much older than this (and only one older to be found in this work). The Bigge family was extensively researched in England by Elizabeth French for the New England Historic Genealogical Society (NEHGS) and the results published in 1912.

Elizabeth French was a prodigious contributor to the Society's journal, the *Register*, and was responsible for uncovering the English origins of dozens of early New England families. French lived for years in London, and funded by the NEHGS, abstracted records of early immigrants to New England and contributed to numerous articles between 1909 and 1917. She alone deserves the credit for this portion of this work.

First Generation

Richard Bigge was probably born in Benenden, England, though there is no record of his birth, which simply pre-dates written records for that community. He married someone named Agnes (last name unknown), known to us only from his will, and who lived until at least 1480. Richard Bigge's estate was probated 14 June 1474 in the Archdeacon Court at Canterbury, England. As he had two granddaughters born before that date, it may be assumed that his eldest son was born by at least 1445, and Richard himself may have been born about 1420.

This was a period of great unrest in England because of a violent struggle between the houses of Lancaster and York, and King Henry VI was deposed and imprisoned in 1461 by his cousin, Edward of York, who became King. However, it is doubtful that these problems would have had much effect on a common Kentish farmer. However it is possible that Richard may have participated in the 1450 populist Jack Cade rebellion, which began in Kent. Kentish peasants protested against what they saw as the weak government leadership, unfair taxes and corruption. In other words, pretty much the same as today.

In June 1450 about 5000 rebels, mostly peasants from Kent, gathered at Blackheath, near London. The King fled and sought refuge in Warwickshire while the rebels advanced into London itself. They then took out their frustration on a few people in the King's court, including the Lord High Treasurer, who along with a few other favorites of the King, were beheaded and their heads put on pikes and made to kiss each other. Many of the rebels proceeded to loot London. When the group attempted to leave London, a battle broke out on London Bridge resulting in heavy casualties among the rebels.

Cade, as the leader of this mob, was killed near Heathfield on 12 July 1450, after which his body was taken to London and quartered for display in different cities. His preserved head ended up on a pike on London Bridge, along with those of other leaders of the rebellion. Despite all the rebels having been pardoned, thirty-four of them were later executed. We don't know if Richard Bigge participated in the Jack Cade rebellion, but it certainly is a possibility.

The will of Richard Bigge, dated 12 May 1474 and translated from Latin, mentions that he requested to "be buried in the parish church of St. George of Benynden." In his will, Richard referred to his "feofees" (actually *feoffees*), which were like a trustee. As explained earlier, in old England, a feoffment was a transfer of property that gave the new owner the right to sell the land as well as the right to pass it on to heirs.



The St. George parish church in the small town of Benenden in Kent, England. This town was the home to the Bigge family, and members of that family certainly attended this elegant church.

The key portions of Richard Bigge's will read as follows:

This is my last will regarding my lands. My feoffees to make an estate to Robert my son his heirs and assigns in my tenement called Bowmannys containing seven acres, my lands and woods called Strodes containing five acres, lying betwext Euvyndens Crosse and Hellynden on the north side of the street, a piece of land called Pettefeld containing five acres, two pieces of land called Southlands containing eight acres, and one acre lying in Maythammys marsh, he paying to my wife every year during her life four loads of wood and 26s. 8d., and to Thomas Bygge my son 20 marks. My feoffees to make an estate to my son John in all my lands and tenements not before assigned, he to pay to my wife Agnes one hog, certain "pulleyne," and 26s. 8d. yearly during her life, and to my son Thomas £20. My wife to have the west end of the hall of my principal tenement and her easement in hall, kitchen, bakehouse, garden and lands, half the fruit in the garden during her life, pasturage for a cow and "fire and fleet" by the custom of the country, to be found by the said John. My feoffees to sell a piece of land lying next to Thomas Frennche, and of the money to pay to Agnes, daughter of Robert Bygge, 26s. 8d., to Johane his daughter 6s. 8d., and the residue to amending the church way from the church to Walkhurst gate.

The will was proved 14 June 1474 by the executrix (the widow) named in the will. The other executor, Thomas Henley, renounced, meaning he opted out of acting as an executor for one reason or another. In his will, Richard Bigge divided his land, totaling 26 acres divided among six different parcels to his eldest son Robert, leaving other lands to a son John and some money to a son Thomas. The widow Agnes was granted use of half of the house, half of the garden's crop and "fire and fleet," a very old phrase referring to the comforts of home ("fleet" was an old term for a floor).

Richard Bigge and his wife Agnes had the following children:

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| + i. Robert Bigge | Died in 1500. Robert was our direct ancestor. |
| ii. Thomas Bigge | |
| iii. John Bigge | Probably died in 1480, when his will was probated on 17 May 1480 in Benenden, England. His mother was still alive and was named the executrix of his will and to whom he left all "my lands and tenements" (a slight conflict of interest today). John married Alice (last name unknown). |
| iv. Katherine Bigge | Not named in her father's will, but mentioned in the will of her brother John. |

Second Generation

Robert Bigge, likely the eldest son, is also known to us only through his will. Robert probably died between 1 July 1500 (the date of his will) and 17 July 1500. His estate was probated 15 September 1500 in Archdeacon Court at Canterbury, England. His will read in part:

To Agnes Watt and Johan Lellysden my daughters. William Dey, Harry Bigge, Harry Asten, and John Watt, my feffers, to deliver to Elizabeth my daughter two pieces of land lying at Benynden in the parish of Rollynden, to her and her assigns forever. The residue of all my goods I give to Thomas Bigge and Edward my sons, whom I make my executors.

Robert Bigge, by an unknown wife who died before him, had the following children (order based on names in his will):

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------|--|
| i. | Agnes Bigge | Married someone named Watt. |
| ii. | Johan Bigge | Johan (Joanne, a female) married Thomas Lellysden. |
| iii. | Thomas Bigge | |
| + iv. | Edward Bigge | |
| v. | Parnell Bigge | Parnell (a female) married Richard Astyn. |
| vi. | Elizabeth Bigge | She died in 1500 at Benenden, within weeks of her father. This might indicate there was an epidemic which went through the area about this time. In her will, dated 17 Jul 1500, she left over £3 to “an honest priest to sing in the said church for my soul, my father’s and mother’s souls, and all Christian souls for half a year.” This was a form of lobbying to get into heaven. |

Third Generation

Of Edward Bigge we know even less than about his father and grandfather. We know he had a wife named Alice (last name unknown). Were it not for the will of his sister Elizabeth, in which she named Edward’s son Robert, we would not know of any of his children.

Edward Bigge and his wife Alice had the following child:

- + i. **Robert Bigge**

Fourth Generation

Though the connection is a bit tenuous, most researchers assume the Robert Bigge previously mentioned, son of Edward Bigge, was the same person of that name who died at Benenden in 1548. Robert lived through all of the reign of Henry VIII, and died under the boy king, Edward VI. When Robert died, he left a widow Elizabeth (last name unknown), who survived him, and eight children, seven of whom were under age.

Robert’s estate was probated 2 June 1548 in Archdeacon Court at Canterbury. In his will dated 13 January 1547/1548, Robert Bigge bequeathed:

To wife Elizabeth, if she continue unmarried, all my stuff and household implements; if she marry again, half my stuff and household implements to my daughters, to be equally divided at age eighteen or day of marriage. To my wife all my corn and sundry livestock. To my son Walter two steers. To my sons Richarde and Thomas a heifer each at eighteen, and to my son John two steers at that age. All my cattle, wheat growing, and other moveables unbequeathed to be sold by my executrix and the money employed to pay my debts. I give to my wife Elizabeth my lease of churchfield, and make her executrix and William Fowle of Benenden overseer. My wife to redeem two pieces of land at Walkhurst, mortgaged to John Moyse of Byddenden for 10 pounds, and also to pay to Elizabeth Vsborne £40 for which I stand bound.

My last will regarding the disposition of all my lands and tenements. I will to Elizabeth my wife for life my messuage and garden at Benenden forstall and four pieces of land at Walkhurst, she releasing all her right of dowry in all my lands. The messuage and garden at Benenden forstall to go to my son John and his heirs at my wife’s decease. To my son Richard and his heirs at my wife’s decease four pieces of

land at Walkhurst. My executrix to take the profits of all my other lands and tenements until they amount to £40, to be paid to Elizabeth, Dorothe, Elionor, and Alyce, my daughters, to each £10 at day of marriage or age of twenty years. If any die before such day or age, reversion to the survivors, to be equally divided. After the said £40 be levied I give to my son Thomas and his heirs forever my messuage and lands at the lane of Rolvenden and my half of a meadow called dukes mede in Tentwarden [Tenterden], of which Lawrence Day holds the other half, and a piece of marsh land at Frencham containing ten acres, my executrix to have the said lands until son Thomas come to the age of twenty-two. After the said £40 be levied, to son Walter and his heirs forever seven pieces of land called the sixe acres, Wadyfeld, gardeyn of begtylte, the porteke, the upper shurfeld, the Longfelde, and the nether shurfeld, lying upon the den of Begtilte in Benenden, he to pay to my son Richard 20s. a year during the life of my wife and after he enter into the said land. After the said £40 be levied, I give to son John and his heirs a piece of land called the field about the house and another called Euerynden's felde, both upon the den of Bigtilte.

It would appear that Robert Bigge was a large landholder, though he also had considerable debt. The reference to *messuage* in the will is an old word for dwelling house. The reference to “Elizabeth Vsborne” was as it appeared in the will.

Robert Bigge and his wife Elizabeth had the following children:

- + i. **Alice Bigge** Alice was our direct ancestor and married Thomas Tilden on 10 Mar 1575/1576 at Tenterden in Kent, England. She was buried on 13 May 1593 at Tenterden.
- ii. **Walter Bigge** Researcher Elizabeth French wondered if he might be the “Walter Bigge tailor” who was the executor of Richard Tilden’s will in 1565. French wrote there “were several of this name.”
- iii. **Richard Bigge**
- iv. **Thomas Bigge**
- v. **John Bigge**
- vi. **Elizabeth Bigge**
- vii. **Dorothe Bigge**
- viii. **Elionor Bigge**

Fifth Generation

Alice Bigge married into the Tilden family.

Tilden Family

The book *The Tilden Family*, published by John Tilden in 1968, notes the earliest record of the Tilden surname is of *Henr' de Tildenn*, described as being “of East Sutton or Holyngbourne, County Kent.” This record appeared in something called the *Placita De Quo Warranto*, printed in Latin and dating back to the time of King Edward I. In the record, Henr' de Tildenn was listed as a witness in a legal controversy in the year 1293 involving the King and the Prior of St. Johns Hospital of Sutton de la Hone, County Kent. The witness was listed as 58 years old, thus placing his date of birth about 1235.

Throughout the years the name *Tilden* has been spelled various ways, such as *Tildenn*, *Teldenn*, *Teldenne*, *Tylden*, etc. The surname seems to have originated in Kent, probably from the old town of Tilden, no longer in existence, but which has been found on an old Artillery Map just a few miles from both the existing towns of Hollingbourne and East Sutton. Surnames were not in general use until required by law during the reign of Edward I (1272-1307). As a result, people often adopted the name of the place they were born as their surname, and the Latin “de Tildenn” translates to “of Tildenn” in English.

In *The Tilden Family*, a lineage is presented from Henr' de Tildenn down to the first Tilden ancestor to appear in this work. That lineage included ten generations, but is considered by the compiler of this work to be quite tenuous, and it will not be replicated here.

First Generation

The first Tilden ancestor of whom we can be certain is Richard Tylden, who was likely born between 1510 and 1520, probably at Benenden, County Kent, England. There is an exact date of birth reported for him often, but that is junk genealogy as no record of his birth has ever been located. Likewise, his parentage remains unknown, though at least five theories exist as to his ancestry. But no proof of his ancestry has yet to be found.

Richard Tylden (or Tilden, if you prefer; the name appears a number of ways) married an Elizabeth (last name unknown). Because in his will, Richard Tylden referred to “*my brother-in-law Thomas Glover of Benynnden*” it has been suggested many times that Richard’s wife Elizabeth was a sister of Thomas Glover. However, Thomas Glover also left a will and made bequests to, and named, the children of his brother and three sisters, and made no mention of any sister Elizabeth, nor any Tilden relative. However it is quite possible that Richard Tylden and Thomas Glover married sisters. Adding to this likelihood is the fact that Thomas Glover’s wife was named Thomasine, a name Richard and his wife gave to one of their daughters.

Richard Tylden died between 22 January 1565/1566, when he made out his will, and 15 May 1566, when his estate was probated. He was listed as living at Tenterden, Kent, England at the time he died. His wife Elizabeth was possibly the “Elizabeth Telden, widow” who was buried on 30 December 1585 in the parish of Cranbrook, just a couple of miles from Benenden.

Richard Tylden left a very long will, which is quite fascinating with its use of Old English terms and expressions (the will has been abridged and is annotated with explanations to assist the reader). Almost everything we know about him is a result of this lengthy will:

I bequeath my soul to Almighty God, my Saviour and Redeemer, and my body to be buried in the Parish where it shall please Almighty God to take my life from me.

I will that there shall be given to poor people within the Parish of Tenterden, at the day of my burial, one branded bull to be killed and given piece-meal, by the discretion of mine Executors.

I give and bequeath to Elizabeth, my wife, the one-half of all my household and household stuff; and I bequeath to the said Elizabeth all my poultry, bacon, cheese, butter, hogs; and all my fish, with one-half barrel of herrings; and my best mare to take her choice, with her saddle and bridle, and four of my best kine [cattle, i.e., domesticated bovine animals as a group regardless of sex or age] which she shall choose, and ten of my best ewes, and have to keep her four kine withall until the Feast of St. George, the Martyr next coming; and two seames [an old English measure of grain, containing eight bushels] of oats. I also bequeath to the said Elizabeth my wife, those five semes of barley and five semes of wheat which I shall receive and have of William Gervys from time to time as appears in a pair of Indentures made between him and me during the whole term of the years contained in the said Indentures.

Also, I bequeath to the said Elizabeth, my wife, all my woolen cloth not made into garments; and one Angel noble [an Angel was a gold coin, introduced into England by Edward IV in 1465 as a new issue of the “noble” and so at first called the “Angel-noble”] and one double ducat [a gold coin], and twenty shillings of the current money of England; and all my wool and the residue of my household stuff, I will to remain to my four daughters, by even portions.

I give and bequeath to every of my four daughters, viz: Julyan, Agnes, Thomasene and Mary Tylden, £30 apiece of the lawful money of England to be paid to every of them at their several days of marriage, or at their several ages of twenty years which shall first happen to any of them. And if it fortune any of my said daughters to die before their said marriage or age as aforementioned, that then I will her, or their, part or parts so dying to remain to the survivor, or survivors of them.

I bequeath to John Milles my servant, for and in consideration of a reckoning between us in full satisfaction of accounts between him and me, £30 of lawful money of England; and if the said John Milles be not contented and pleased with the same, that then I will this, my bequeath to him, be utterly void, and he to take his advantage in law.

I bequeath to the said John Milles my best cloak [a loose outer garment, such as a cape].

I bequeath to John Tilden, my son, four pair of my hose and two of my coats, one of marble and one of russett, and two hats – my best and my worst – my two new leather jerkins [close-fitting, hip-length, collarless jackets having no sleeves but often extended shoulders, belted and worn over a doublet by men especially in the 16th century]; my doublet [a close-fitting jacket, with or without sleeves] of chamblett [a version on “chambray,” a fine cloth of cotton, silk or linen] and my white doublet.

I bequeath to Thomas Tilden my son, a coat to be had of Peter Peyrs (Pyers) and my next best hat and a pair of hose.

I bequeath to Richard Adams of Benenden, my third-best coat and my best black fustian [a coarse sturdy cloth made of cotton and flax] doublett, and a pair of plain hose of winchester russet [a coarse reddish-brown to brown homespun cloth from the town of Winchester, in Hampshire].

In several more pages of the will, Richard Tylden then proceeded to bequeath a number of miscellaneous items to various people he knew. After dispensing much of his personal possessions, his will dealt with the administrative details of his will:

I do give and bequeath to John Tylden my sonne; which John Tylden and Walter Bygge of Tenterden aforesaid, Taylor [his occupation, a tailor], I make and ordain myne executor of this my present Testament and last will.

I will and ordain that the said John Tylden my son shall not meddle in this my last will til he comes to the age of four and twenty years (except it fortune the said Walter Bygge to die at any time the said John come to the age of 24 years). And when the said John shall accomplish of four and twenty years, and at any time before if it fortune the said Walter Bygge to die, that then the said Walter Bygge, being alive, shall yield a good and true account unto the said John my son, as well of all my moveable as of the receipt of the profits of all my lands and tenements. ... And be it further provided that if it fortune the said John my son to die before he come to the age of four and twenty years, then I will that Thomas Tylden my son shall have and succeed all and all manners of things and things I have willed and ordered to my said son John Tylden to do at such time and age as is afore appointed to my said son John.

Thus Richard Tylden left instructions that his son John not “mettle” (which meant “to be involved” or “to benefit”) from the will until age 24, at which time he was to receive a full accounting of his inheritance. In the event that the eldest son John died before he was 24, then the younger son Thomas was to receive the inheritance otherwise due John.

Richard Tylden’s will then left careful instructions regarding the care of his widow:

I will that Elizabeth my wife shall have my parlor and buttery [an old term for a room in which liquor was stored] thereto adjoining, and the two chambers over the parlor and buttery, and the garret loft over said chambers, and the buttery next to the hall door of my messuage [a dwelling house with the adjoining buildings and lands] which I now dwell in, in Tenterden aforesaid, with free egress and regress at all time and times at her pleasure, and her assignees; And also free going, coming and occupying into and from the said parlor into the bakehouse, brewhouse and malthouse, and the garden called the malt east garden, and water of the petts, or ponds belonging to the said messuage, and to bake, brew, malt; to hang her linen and woolen; and to keep poultry and swine; and have and fetch water upon the premises aforesaid for her necessities. The said Elizabeth to have and hold all the aforesaid things in the premises aforesaid during the term she is my widow. And further the time she is my widow, I will unto her the occupying of the hedd of my barn called the tanhouse, and in the other barn to have the room to lay her corn in; and to have free liberty to thrash out the same there; and to have the same way with the straw at her pleasure.

I will and give more unto the said Elizabeth my wife during the time she is my widow,

yearly eight loads of logwood and two hundred of faggot [a fagot was a bundle of twigs, sticks, or branches bound together] to be delivered to her by my executor or their assigns at my messuage in Tenterden aforesaid, and there she to have some convenient place to lay the same. Also, I will to the said Elizabeth my wife all that my garden called the new garden and five pieces of land containing, by estimation, twenty acres of land and wood lying together being at the back side of my said messuage in Tenterden.

And also I will unto the said Elizabeth my wife three other pieces of land called pig holes containing, by estimation, seventeen acres of lands and woods, with the ways leading to both the aforesaid parcels of lands and woods. To have and to hold all the said lands before willed, unto such time as my sonne John Tilden shall accomplish the age of four and twenty years (if she fortune to be my widow for so long time.)

And if it fortune the said Elizabeth to marry any time after my decease, that then I will the said Elizabeth to be entirely void of all the occupation of my said messuage and all the lands to her before willed; anything to the contrary afore-written to the contrary notwithstanding.

Despite the obvious difficulty of attempting to understand the lives of someone who lived over 450 years ago, Richard Tylden's detailed will provides some insights into the lives of these people. He obviously was a man of considerable wealth; his home was essentially a manor, complete with a parlor, a liquor storeroom, brewhouse, malthouse and barn. The grounds included two gardens, 20 acres of land to the back of his home, and "three other pieces of land" totaling 17 acres.

In his will, Richard provided for his soon-to-be widow by providing her access to the house and gardens, and ample firewood to cook and heat the home. One must remember that at this time in history (and for several hundred years later), women were treated as little more than property, and at his death, everything a man owned went to his eldest son. Unless a man specifically provided for his wife and other children in his will, they got virtually nothing.

For centuries, English common law gave the right of the eldest son to inherit the estate of a parent to the exclusion of all other heirs. If a landholder died without descendants, his land would escheat (revert) to the Crown. The reason for this was feudalism, which permitted a lord to keep his holdings intact to ensure the rents and fees which arose from his land holdings. Otherwise a person holding land from a feudal lord might distribute his tenure among his sons in a way that would defeat the economic basis of the feudal structure. Not until the Statute of Wills, passed by Parliament in 1540, was it possible for landholders to determine who would inherit their land upon their death.

Richard Tylden's will also dealt with the substantial real estate he held:

I give and bequeath all my lands and tenements, with all and singular their appurtenances, set and being in Tenterden, aforesaid, to my son John, to have and to hold to him, and to his heirs and assigns forever, when he shall accomplish the age of four and twenty years (always except out of the same my gifts and bequests so willed to the said Elizabeth, my wife).

I give and bequeath to Thomas Tilden my son, all my lands and Tenements, with all and singular their appurtenances, set, lying and being in the Parish of Benynden,

aforesaid. To have and to hold the same to him, his heirs and assigns forever, when he shall accomplish the age of four and twenty years.

Thus, John, the elder son received the home where the family lived at Tenterden. The second son Thomas, and our direct ancestor, received his father's property at nearby Benenden:

I will that myne executors shall take down and sell to the best profit they can, the long houses along the streets at my tenement in Benenden, and there to set a sufficient pole and gate for the passage into the said premises. I will that my Executor immediately after my decease shall set up and build one sufficient barn thereat my house in Bynenden where it stood before of the length of 36 feet and 20 in breadth.

It would seem that the family had not lived at the property in Benenden (less than six miles from Tenterden by road) and that the land had been leased or rented to other families. In his will, Richard ordered that "the long houses" (perhaps equivalent to migrant worker housing) be removed and a gate built along the road, probably one fitting for landed gentry, which his youngest son was soon to become. One might also surmise that Richard's Benenden property had fallen into disrepair in his absence, or there had been a fire, for his will required a new barn be built there where it had "stood before."

As a result, both of Richard Tylden's sons inherited homes, complete with barns and land. As was the custom of the time, daughters were not his responsibility, since they would be taken care of by their husbands when they married. Nonetheless, Richard sweetened the pot a bit by giving each of his four daughters £30 when they turned 20 years old or got married, whichever happened first. This was to make them look more attractive to potential suitors.

Richard's will continued for several more pages, in which Richard made sure that every possible contingency was covered, including the deaths of both sons and all four of his daughters. Lest one think that is being somewhat paranoid, remember epidemics during the 1500s were quite capable of wiping out entire families and occasionally did. The will was almost certainly prepared with the assistance of a lawyer.

John W. Linzee published a history of the Tilden family way back in 1873. He wrote of Richard Tylden: "It is difficult to determine what was his occupation. At this period woolen cloth was the staple production of this part of the country, and from bequests of all his 'woolen cloth not made into garments', I conjecture that he was in some way engaged in that trade, perhaps in the whole sale manufacture of woolen garments, designed partly for the government (for use of the Army and Navy) and partly for the retail trade of the larger towns. This business, to a much later period, was one of the best in the country, and at that time was confined chiefly to the counties of Kent and Essex. Those following it were known as 'Clothiers,' though sometimes called themselves 'Taylors'. From these wealthy clothiers of Kent and Essex, many of the present families of the English nobility had their origin."

Richard and Elizabeth Tylden (Tilden) had the following children:

- i. **John Tilden** Born after 1541, John married Patience Casslen on 23 Jan 1569/1570 in Tenterden, England. Patience was buried there on 23 Nov 1615. In the book *Old Tenterden* written by J. Ellis Mace in 1902, it was written that John Tilden had a "cloth works at West Cross." John was buried on 29 Jan 1625/1626

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| | at Tenterden. |
| + ii. Thomas Tilden | Born after 1541, Thomas was our direct ancestor. |
| iii. Julyan Tilden | Born after 1546. |
| iv. Agnes Tilden | Born after 1546. |
| v. Thomasine Tilden | Born after 1546. |
| vi. Catherine Tilden | Christened on 30 Sep 1554 at Tenterden, England. Died young. |
| vii. Mary Tilden | Christened on 8 Jun 1556 at Tenterden. Died young. |
| viii. Alice Tilden | Christened on 6 Apr 1559 at Tenterden, Alice died at age one and was buried at Tenterden on 30 Sep 1560. |
| ix. Mary Tilden | Christened on 15 May 1561 at Tenterden. |

Second Generation

Thomas Tilden (that spelling of the surname will be used from this point despite the fact the family name can be found spelled in many varied ways) was born after 1541, and probably about 1543-1544, and probably at Tenterden, County Kent, England. As with his father, much of what we know of him is the result of his will.

Thomas Tilden married three times. His first wife, and the mother of most of his children, was Alice Bigge (see *Bigge Family* chapter). They married at St. Mildred's Church at Tenterden on 10 March 1575/1576, as a record of the marriage appears in the ancient parish records. Some have claimed she was the sister of Walter Bigge, who was the executor of Richard Tylden's will. Alice gave her husband Thomas Tilden six children, but with the birth of the seventh child, a son named Thomas, there apparently were complications. Alice died about ten days after giving birth and was buried at Tenterden on 13 May 1593.

Thomas remarried six months later, to the day. Regarding this, in an old account of the family titled "Old Notes" from the 1800s, the author stated: "Hasty re-marriages were very common during the 16th and 17th centuries, and were not regarded either improper or disrespectful. I have hundreds of instances where they took place within three months; many within two; and some even a less period after the death of the husband or wife: but the conventional term of abstinence, which has been extended to twelve months, was then only six; and it will be seen that Thomas Tilden waited exactly this period to a day. If any further excuse for him were needed, it is to be found in the fact that he was left a widower with six (living) children, the eldest but fourteen years old, and the youngest only a few days."

On 13 November 1593, six months to the day, Thomas Tilden married the widow Ellen Evernden at Tenterden. She had been married twice before, first to Thomas Couchman and then to Emanuel Evernden. She had children by her first husband, mentioned in his will, but none by the second. Likewise, she had no children by Thomas Tilden. Ellen's maiden name was Hubbarde (Hubbard) and she was from the village of Rolvenden, located about halfway between Tenterden and Benenden.

Thomas' second wife Ellen died before 1603 (one researcher claims she died 22 July 1601 in Ashford, County Kent, but this has not been verified). Tilden then remarried to someone named Alyce (Alice) but the record of this marriage has not been found. John G. Hunt, in the book *English Origins of New England Families*, suggested that she may have been Alice Bourne, daughter of Thomas Bourne of Boughton Monchelsea, Kent, whose will was proved 6 June 1608. This Alice Bourne had a brother with the unusual name of *Freegift*, who inherited lands in Tenterden. However, the will of Thomas Bourne refers only to his daughter Alice, without surname, so this conjecture will likely never be

proven.

Thomas Tilden had one more son by his third wife, who was named Freegift, and Alice was named in his will. The third wife, Alice Tilden, outlived Thomas and was buried on 6 June 1617 at Wye, County Kent, England.

Like his father, Thomas Tilden was a man of extensive wealth and influence. He was named the eleventh Jurat in Queen Elizabeth's charter for Tenterden, dated 1600. The duties of a *jurat* are hard to explain as there is no similar position today, but the term meant literally a "sworn man." A jurat was a member of the ruling body, the position combining the duties of a magistrate, an alderman or town councillor.

The occupation of Thomas Tilden goes unmentioned in the scanty records which name him, but like many people in Tenterden at this time, it is likely that he was involved in the cloth business. In the book *Old Tenterden* written by J. Ellis Mace in 1902, Thomas' brother John was described as having a "cloth works at West Cross," which is on the western end of the village of Tenterden. The Tilden family was said to have "sold cloth to London Merchant-Tailors, and purchased woad, anil and other materials for dyeing." Woad and anil are each plants that produce blue dyes. It is quite likely that Thomas Tilden was in the same business as his brother.

Thomas acquired lands in County Sussex, near East Guldeford, though it is not known when or if he lived there. Tilden later moved to the town of Wye in County Kent at some point, possibly as a result of his third wife, who may have been from that area. His son Thomas also lived at Wye, whereas most of his children seemed to have stayed at Tenterden.

Thomas Tilden died at Wye, County Kent, England in early June 1617 as it was noted in the Wye parish registers that "Mr Thomas Tilden, an aged man, was buried 6 June." As with his father, Thomas Tilden left a lengthy will, though less than half the length of that of Richard. Thomas' will was dated 14 March 1616/1617 and he was described as "of the parish of Wye in the County of Kent."

In his will, Thomas Tilden left 20 shillings to the poor, and £5 "to be distributed among the poor ministers." He named his son Joseph his executor and bequeathed to him "all that debt due me from James Thetcher of Willingdon in the County of Sussex," proving Thomas had financial ties to Sussex even late in life. He provided for his third wife:

I will that Alice, my loving wife, shall have the use and occupation of all ... my household stuff and moveable goods whatsoever, during her natural life, with liberty to give and dispose them, to all or any of my children during her life; and at her decease, to dispose of that shall remain, not given or worn out, to such of my children as shall then be living and not elsewhere.

Thomas Tilden then proceeded, in his will, to divide up his land holdings among his sons, with one exception. He apparently was disappointed in or disapproved of his son Thomas, whom he left a mere £5 "to be paid three years after my decease."

He left to "*Nathaniell my sonne his heyres & Assignes shall for ever holde and enjoye a peece of fresh marshe land lying in the parish of East Gyldeford in the Countye of Sussex called by the name of Cowelees contayneinge by estymation xxx acres accordinge to one deede of feafment*" The description in the will of the marsh land referred to "xxx acres," which is presumed to be a reference

to 30 acres in Roman numerals. The land was located in the parish of East Guldeford in County Sussex, today about a mile northeast of the town of Rye.

The area around East Guldeford (pronounced “Guilford” and often misspelled that way) was either “underwater or marshland” until the 1400s. In 1480 Sir Richard Guildford from the town of Guildford miles to the west paid for the “inning” (reclamation) of 1500 acres of the marsh and then rented the land. The name *East Guldeford* was derived from *Guildford* and the direction from that town, and it was further noted that it “was not Guildford.” By drying shallow sea water pools of what were previously salt marshes, the area developed a thriving salt manufacturing industry.

Thomas Tilden gave 20 acres of marsh land to his sons Joseph and Hopestill, the area known as the “Lesser Spaniards.” Thomas gave his youngest son, Freegift Tilden, “if he shall live to accomplish the full age of one and twenty years,” 15 acres of marsh land that adjoined *Cowlees*, the piece of land Thomas gave to his son Nathaniel.

All of this marsh land was apparently generating a profit, presumably from the production of salt from the area, since the will referred to the money going to his widow Alice, and “*the residue of the profits of the said piece of land shall be employed for and toward the bringing up on the said Freegift Tilden in learning.*” Thomas was obviously concerned that his youngest son receive a good education. If he lived to 21 years of age, Thomas’ son Freegift also was to receive “*my messuage or tenement, with the barn and other buildings thereunto belonging, with all the orchards, gardens and seven pieces or parcels of lands with the appurtenances, containing be estimation seventeen acres and now in the occupation of Widow Gylbert.*” This land was in the parish of Cranbrook, west of Tenterden.

While his widow remained alive, Thomas Tilden wanted her to receive “the profits of all of the lands given to my son Freegift,” but if she should die before Freegift reached the age of 21, then Thomas directed his executor to use the profits to see Freegift “brought up in learning.”

The will was proved in the Canterbury Court on 20 June 1617, just fourteen days after Thomas was buried. However the will was soon contested, for on 23 September 1617, the widow Alice Tilden and sons Nathaniel Tilden of Tenterden, Hopestill Tilden of the town of Sandwich, and Thomas Tilden and Freegift Tilden of Wye filed a suit against the executor Joseph Tilden, apparently alleging that Thomas Tilden was insane at the time he wrote the provisions of his will.

The reason for the lawsuit is not known but it was likely because Thomas Tilden left his son Thomas only £5, while the other sons received generous portions of land, with the big winner the youngest son Freegift. The latter was but 13 years old when his father died, and it appears that he was his father’s favorite. There is little doubt that Thomas Tilden played favorites, as his bequests were far from equitable, especially when all of the sons received valuable income-producing land and Thomas was cut loose with a small cash payoff. Despite the inequities, the Consistory Court of Canterbury found the will to be valid, ruling on 27 March 1618 that the testator was sane at the time the will was made.

It has been noted that “Thomas Tilden gave the peculiar Christian names of Hopestill and Freegift to two of his sons which names are among the earliest examples of the old Puritan nomenclature, and indicate clearly the religious sentiments of himself and family.” Thomas Tilden had the following children, all but the last by his first wife Alice Bigge, and the son Freegift by his third wife, also named Alice:

i. **Sarah Tilden**

Christened on 30 Aug 1579 in Tenterden, Kent, England. She was probably the “Sarah Tylden” who married John Stanshame

- on 20 Nov 1600 at Tenterden. She was not mentioned in her father's will.
- ii. **Abigail Tilden** Christened on 26 Feb 1581/1582 in Tenterden, Abigail died at age one and was buried at Tenterden on 5 Aug 1582.
 - + iii. **Nathaniel Tilden** Christened on 28 Jul 1583, Nathaniel was our direct ancestor and emigrated to America.
 - iv. **Joseph Tilden** Christened on 28 Nov 1585 in Tenterden, Joseph later moved to London. He became a girdler (one who makes girdles) and referred in his will to "the company of Girdlers whereof I am a member." His will was dated 1 Feb 1642 and in it, he referred to his brother Freegift and Hopestill. There is no evidence in the will of a wife or children, and it is probable Joseph did not marry. He is believed to have been the Joseph Tilden that was one of the "Merchant Adventurers," a group of investors whose capital funded the Pilgrims' voyage on the *Mayflower* in 1620.
 - v. **Hopestill Tilden** Christened on 1 May 1588 in Tenterden, he married someone named Deborah, perhaps not his first wife, who survived him. He lived in Sandwich, England as early as 1614, and was a jurat of that town at the time of his death. Sandwich is in the very easternmost part of Kent, just north of Dover. Hopestill was a grocer, as the marriage license of his daughter states. Hopestill was buried in the Church of St. Mary at Sandwich, England on 19 Dec 1661.
 - vi. **Theophilus Tilden** Christened on 11 Oct 1590 at Tenterden, he died on 20 Apr 1613 in Oxford, England, at age 22. He is reportedly buried at the old St. Peter of the East Church at Oxford, today St. Edmund Hall, the college library of the University of Oxford. A "Theophilus Tylden" was registered at the University of Oxford in 1610, so he was attending college there at the time of his death. Oxford was used for the education of England's elite dating back to the 12th century.
 - vii. **Thomas Tilden** Christened on 1 May 1593 in Tenterden, Thomas was the unlucky son when it came to his father's will. He received but £5 while his brothers all received land in his father's will. One cannot dismiss the possibility that because his mother died just days after his birth, this son may have been hated by the father because his wife died giving birth to the boy. Though just conjecture, stranger things have happened. Thomas was married at the time of his father's death, though the name of his wife is unknown. He had a son Samuel, who in turn had daughters Anne and Elizabeth, all of whom were named in the will of Hopestill. A person named Thomas Tilden arrived in the Plymouth Colony in the summer of 1623 with a wife named Ann and an unnamed child, aboard the ship the *Anne*. It is suspected, though not proven, this was Nathaniel's brother, a known Plymouth immigrant. In the land division of 1623 Thomas received three acres, probably one each for himself, wife and child. His name does not appear in the division of cattle held in the Plymouth Colony on 22 May 1627, so he

viii. Freegift Tilden

likely had died or left the colony by that time.

Christened on 29 May 1604 at Tenterden, he may have received his name because his father received the unexpected gift of another son from his third wife. Freegift married Sarah Muddle and was buried 5 May 1662 in Langley, County Kent, England.

Third Generation

Nathaniel Tilden was our immigrant ancestor. Baptized in St. Mildred's Church at Tenterden, County Kent, England on 28 July 1583, Nathaniel grew up in the town of Tenterden. He lived there until he decided to leave England and migrate to the American continent when he was 51 years old.

Nathaniel Tilden grew up in a family of substantial wealth and importance, and like his father and grandfather, would obtain significant wealth himself. He inherited lands in the salt marshes of Sussex from his father, which produced a substantial income for their salt production, but it appears Nathaniel always lived at Tenterden. Tenterden was a prosperous and important place in those days and the principal town in the open rolling upland of Kent.

Nathaniel Tilden was called "Mr." in both English records and after settling in America, and "gentleman" in his brother Hopestill's will, indicating a man of importance. Unlike today, the term *mister* was considered a title hundreds of years ago. English people of that era, below the nobility (i.e., baronets and knights) and above the common folk (i.e., farm workers and shop keepers) were called *esquires* and *gentlemen*. They bore the respectful titles of *Master* or *Mister*, depending on their age. They were men of prominence and wealth, nice homes and servants, men who could live without having to do manual labor. Nathaniel Tilden was one of these.

Nathaniel served as the mayor of Tenterden in 1622 and as jurat (again, a *jurat* was sort of a combination town councillor, justice of the peace and magistrate) for the years 1624, 1625, 1627 and 1629. In other words, he was a "mover and shaker" in the town.

By 1634, and possibly well before, Nathaniel Tilden had begun making plans to migrate to "the plantation of New England" in America. His plans for emigration had likely been heavily influenced by Timothy Hatherly, who was a merchant and feltmaker living in St. Olave's parish, Southwark, Surrey, across the Thames River from London. Hatherly was one of the investors in the Plymouth Colony in Massachusetts and there are many examples of Hatherly's work on the colony's behalf.

Hatherly first came to the Plymouth Colony in the summer of 1623. But after his arrival, his "house with all of his belongings burned" and he returned that winter to England "much impoverished and much discouraged." But Hatherly continued to travel between England and the Plymouth Colony yearly from 1631 to 1633, and settled permanently in the village of Scituate in 1634. Scituate is located on the Massachusetts coast south of Boston.

As the Plymouth colony grew, the settlers there investigated the area nearby for further settlement. Hatherly seems to have been a key part of this expansion, for in 1633 the colonial court ordered a tract of land be set aside at "Satuit" which extended from the high water mark of "Satuit brook" three miles into the woods. The tract was granted to Timothy Hatherly and three other men in 1637. By 1646, Hatherly had bought out the others and had formed a stock company called the "Conihasset Partners."

The village at Scituate was laid out in 1633 along what today is Kent Street. The houses were built

of logs, the roofs being thatched. A meeting house was also built in 1633 on what is known as Meeting House Lane, which leads off Kent Street. By the time Rev. John Lothrop arrived in September of 1633, nine houses had been built; by 1637 there were a total of 51. One of those belonged to Nathaniel Tilden.

Tilden and his family immigrated in February 1634/1635 to Scituate, sailing aboard the ship *Hercules*. It is quite rare to know how early emigrants to the American colonies got there, but in this case luck was with us. An account in volume 47 of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* (published in 1916) describes a deposition from the English High Court of Admiralty by a man named Comfort Starr. Starr was from Ashford, County Kent and a “chirurgion, aged 45.” A *chirurgion* is an old (and the original) spelling for *surgeon*. Before the reader thinks of scalpels, Starr was likely to have been far more accomplished with leeches.

Starr deposed on 11 February 1634/1635 “*that about the latter end of November last John Witherley of Sandwich, mariner, did buy at Dunkirk a certain Flemish built shipp lately called the St. Peter, now the Hercules of Sandwich, for the sum of £340 the first penny, which shipp now lies at Sandwich, and is of the burthen of 200 tonnes. Examine, being noe seaman, cannot tell of what length, breadth or depth she is, but he guesseth her to be about twelve foote broad above the hatches, fowerscore foote longe, and sixteene foote deepe. She belongs to this examine. John Witherley, Nathaniel Tilden and Mr. Osborne, and William Hatch is to have a parte in her with this examine.*”

The reason for the deposition was that the High Court of Admiralty, which dealt with ships and legal issues unique to the sea, apparently wanted to know the provenance and ownership details of the *Hercules*.

The deposition was given prior to the *Hercules*’ departure for New England. Thus Nathaniel Tilden came to America in a ship in which he had a partial ownership, or at least some financial interest, since it is unclear exactly what it meant “to have a parte in” the ship. Starr, the man who gave the deposition, was part owner of the ship and provided a description of the *Hercules*, albeit probably a rather bad one. He admitted he was “no seaman” and was guessing that the ship was 200 tons in capacity and “fowerscore foote longe,” i.e., 80 feet in length. This was not a large ship in which to be crossing the Atlantic, but there are many examples of it being done in far smaller vessels. It is astounding to have a physical description of a ship which brought over our early colonial ancestors. Even the dimensions of the *Mayflower*, the most famous immigrant ship of them all, remain unknown to us today.

As if the information in the deposition were not pleasing enough, a passenger list for the *Hercules* also exists, another rarity for early voyages of colonial immigrants. The list was discovered in 1921 in some old ledgers called *Yearbooks C and D, 1608-1642* for the town of Sandwich, England. The existence of the list had been known since 1792, when a version of it was published, listing only the heads of each family. It was not until 1921 that the original list was rediscovered and published in its entirety.

Sandwich, in County Kent on the east coast of England, was a major port in its day. Before the River Stour silted up, the river was wide and deep enough for large sailing ships. It was from this port in 1635 that the *Hercules* set sail for America.

The passenger list began: “*A list of all such persons as imbarqued themselves in the good shipp called the Hercules of Sandwich of the burthen of 200 tonnes or thereabouts whereof next under God John*

Witherly was master and therein transported from this town and port of Sandwich to the plantacon [plantation] called New England in America ...” Beneath this heading was a list of 179 passengers (59 heads of households, 77 children and kin, and 43 servants).

The reason the passenger list existed at all was because two oaths, the Oath of Supremacy and the Oath of Allegiance, were to be administered to all persons who sailed for an English colony in America, especially the Pilgrims. The latter were considered of questionable allegiance to the British crown, and the British government wanted to remind them, that even across the Atlantic, they were to remain loyal British citizens. The *Hercules*’ passenger list referred to the passengers having “*certificates from the ministers where they have dwelt*” swearing to “*Conformity to the orders and discipline of the Church,*” and proof that “*they had taken the oath of Allegiance & Supremacy ...*”.

The entry of “*Nathanel Tilden of Tenterden in Kent, yeoman, & Lidia his Weif [wife]*” appears at the top of the passenger list, along with their seven children and the names of seven servants. Their group was the largest of any of the families, and they had the most servants. His position at the top of the passenger list, together with the large number of servants, places Nathaniel Tilden at the highest rung of social status among the passengers of the *Hercules*.

Certificates had been supplied for the Tilden family by the vicar, mayor and jurat of Tenterden, bearing the dates “4 March 1634.” The dates on these certificates, as for other passengers whose certificates bore dates from February and March “1634,” have led many historians, even notable ones, to claim the *Hercules* sailed to America in 1634. That is incorrect. The *Hercules* did, in fact, sail that year to America and back, but with another set of passengers.

The issue is the age-old problem of interpreting Julian calendar dates properly. Until England and its colonies shifted to the Gregorian calendar in 1752, the first day of the year was March 25th in the honor of the conception of Jesus. Thus all of January and February, and March up to the 25th would be considered to be part of the previous year. Therefore, the day following 24 March 1634 would have been 25 March 1635, when the year changed, just like it does today on January 1st. To help clear up this confusion, we now write the old-style date “4 March 1634” as 4 March 1634/1635 to remind ourselves the year would have been 1635 by a modern calendar. The Tilden family arrived in America in 1635, not 1634 as has been endlessly repeated in error.

So Nathaniel Tilden and his wife Lydia sailed to America in probably either late March or early April of the year 1635, along with the following children (left) and servants (right):

Joseph	Tho ^s Lapham
Thomas	Geo Sutton
Stephen	Edwd fford
Marie	Edwd Jeakins
Sara	Sara Couchman
Judeth	Marie Perien
Lidia	James Bennet

The names are written as they appeared on the list (please note the “ff” is the equivalent of a capital “f” today, thus the third servant on the list was *Edward Ford*). Nathaniel and Lydia Tilden had twelve children, and their family was complete by the time they left England for America. However, five of their children died young and were buried at Tenterden. Only seven accompanied their parents to America.

The *Hercules* probably arrived at Scituate, Massachusetts in the late spring or early summer of 1635.

It has been debated for years whether or not Nathaniel Tilden had come to America earlier than this and had returned to England for his family, thus, the voyage on the *Hercules* in 1635 being his second trip. This assertion is, however, provably incorrect. The extensive 1862 book *A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England* by James Savage started the rumor by suggesting Tilden “may have visited our country before and went home to bring his household; but it does not appear by any facts.” The mere suggestion of anything incorrect in genealogy has a way of morphing into factual content given enough time. As an example, Savage also suggested that Nathaniel’s wife was perhaps the “daughter of Thomas Bourne.” Today one can find hundreds of citations of this on the Internet, but this was proved incorrect almost a hundred years ago.

The suggestion that Tilden had been to America before 1635 is based on a deed for land sold by Henry Merritt to Nathaniel Tilden, the deed dated 10 April 1628, a full seven years before Nathaniel arrived on the *Hercules*. The deed was recorded in 1644, after the death of Nathaniel, by Josiah Cotton, clerk and “Keeper of ye Colony Records.” Because Scituate was not incorporated until 1636 and not known by that name until that year, the reference to “Scituate” in a deed dated 1628 would not have been possible. Further, one of the witnesses to the deed, Thomas Lapham (one of Tilden’s servants), did not arrive in America until 1635. Therefore, experts have concluded the date of the original deed was recorded incorrectly, and probably the date of the deed should have been 1638.

Though he had migrated to the Plymouth colony, Nathaniel Tilden did not settle at Plymouth itself, but at Scituate, several miles to the north. He was joined by others aboard the *Hercules* in doing so; the original settlers of Scituate mostly came from Kent, England, and named their main street in the town Kent Street, a name it retains to this day.

In the book *Tildens in America* by John Leslie Tilden, the author suggests that Tilden was influenced by Timothy Hatherly to settle at Scituate because Hatherly had done so; also there were “desirable unallotted lands” at Scituate, whereas much of the better land around Plymouth had already been taken. So Nathaniel settled in the “burbs” of Plymouth Colony. *Tildens in America* states that Nathaniel Tilden “built his home on Kent St. between Greenfield Lane and the Driftway, and it is to be presumed that it was on arable land allotted to him soon after his arrival about April 1635, which was either on or near the Third Cliff. The lot allotted to others was each eight rods wide and extended a quarter of a mile back into the woods. It is presumed that Nathaniel Tilden had the same allotment.” All of the landmarks named still exist today.

During the years 1636-1639, Nathaniel Tilden received an additional land grant of 120 acres from the town of Scituate and proceeded to purchase even more land from his neighbors. He eventually owned “extensive areas of upland and marsh” and his holdings included both banks of the North River separating Scituate from Marshfield.

On 17 May 1637 Nathaniel Tilden and Timothy Hatherly were appointed as commissioners for the Plymouth Colony to establish the long-disputed boundary between the Plymouth Colony and the Massachusetts Bay Colony to the north. The two, along with two men from the other colony, were given the task of resolving the issue. The patents for both colonies were somewhat vague and the boundaries overlapped in places.

The *History of the Plymouth Plantation* by William Bradford, the governor of the Plymouth Colony, was published in 1856, based on the governor’s journal written between 1620 and 1647. Bradford wrote: “In y^e end boath Courts agreed to chose 2 comissioners of each side, and to give them full & absolute power to agree and settle y^e bounds betwene them; and what they should doe in y^e case should

stand irrevocably.” The four commissioners had a hard time reaching an agreement. The Massachusetts Bay Colony patent allowed for their southern boundary to be three miles south of any tributary stream to the Charles River. That colony had found a small stream that originated well into the Plymouth Colony and claimed it eventually emptied into the Charles.

The problem was, in those days, they weren’t exactly sure which river was the Charles. “The River Charles” as laid down on Captain Smith’s map, first published in 1616 and used as a basis for the Massachusetts Bay patent, was clearly not the stream which later bore the name. The matter was discussed at some length, and the issue dragged on, but as Bradford noted the “*next year y^e same commissioner had their power continued or renewed, and met at Scituate, and concluded y^e mater.*” The matter was resolved in 1639.

Nathaniel Tilden died two years later. His will was dated 25 May 1641, and he died before the end of July that year. He left to his wife Lydia “*all her wearing apparell both linen and wollen, also one bed furnished w^{ch} shee shall please to take also the great trunck, also I give unto my said wyfe three paire of sheets and two paire of pillow-coats w^{ch} shee shall please to take, one long table cloth one square table cloth one dozen of middle napkins and half a dozen of other napkins two long towells twelve peeces of pewter w^{ch} shee shall please to choose, and of wodden vessels so many as see shall thinke to be convenient for her use also three silver spoones & two of my best cusheons.*”

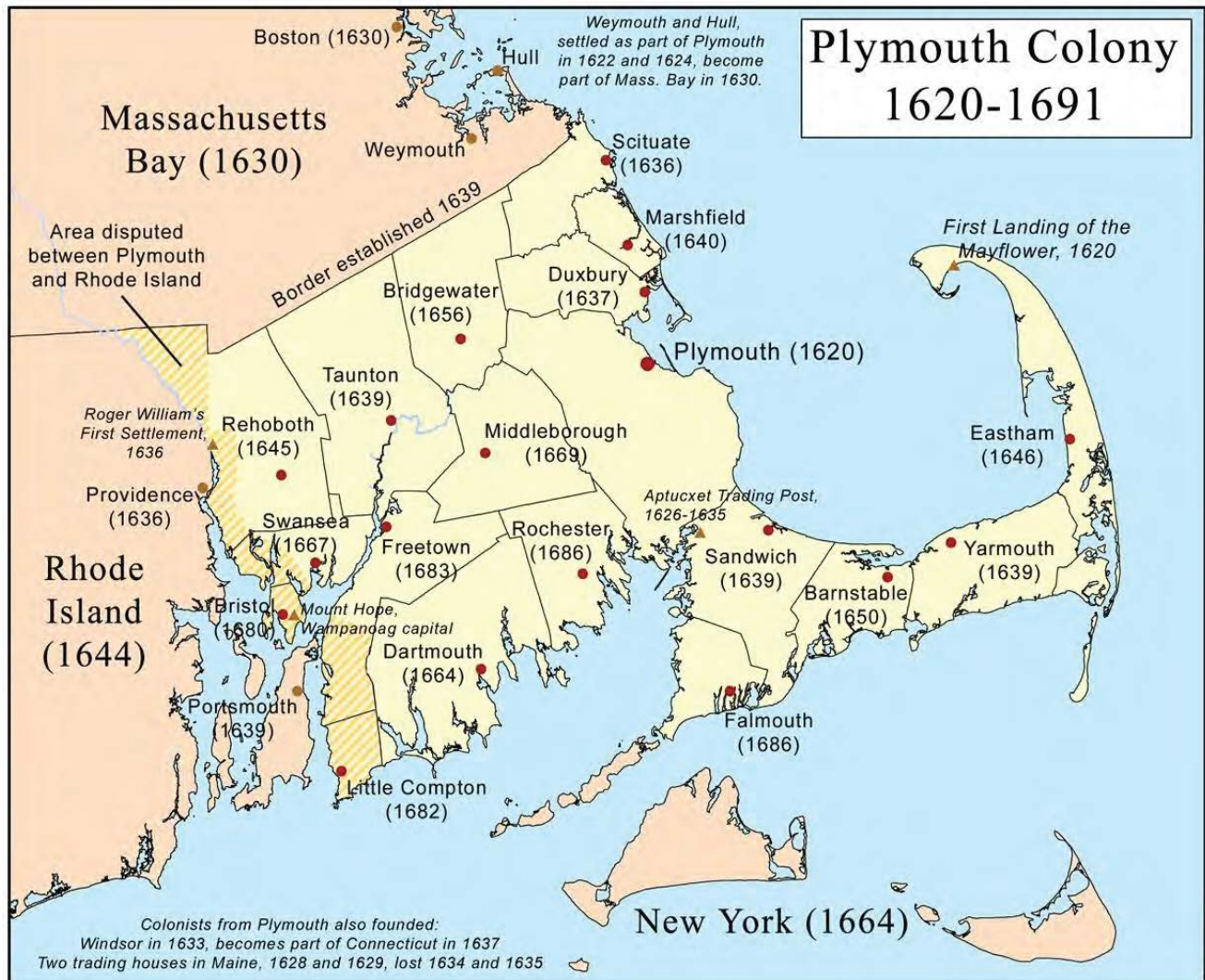
Tilden also provided for Lydia by giving her the income from property he still owned back in Tenterden, England. He stated “*my said wife shall have and enjoy the profits of one house and the lands hereunto belonging wherein one Richard Lambert now Dwelleth being in the parish of Tenterden in Kent in old England.*”

The instructions in his will for the division of Nathaniel Tilden’s property reminds you of one of the puzzles in the Sunday paper’s magazine section. The eldest son Joseph was named the executor of the will, and he was to receive twice as much as the two younger sons. But the youngest daughter was to receive one half as much as one of the younger sons. Can you work it out? The division was 4/9, 2/9, 2/9 and 1/9 between the four children. The other three daughters, all married, received a nominal bequest.

Nathaniel still had two servants at the time he died, including the Edward Jenkins who had come over on the *Hercules* with the family. In his will, Tilden instructed that the two servants were to “*serve up the remaynder of their tyme of service w^{ch} by covenant is Due unto me*” with the eldest son Joseph. This implies these men were indentured servants, who had agreed to work for Nathaniel Tilden for a certain period of time, probably in return for their passage to America.

In July 1641 an inventory “*of the goods and chattells of Nathaniell Tilden late of Scittuate*” was prepared. An abridged (and slightly edited) version of the inventory appears here (note the use of Roman numeral counts, e.g., “I muskett” is “1 musket”; also note the values are in pounds, shillings and pence):

	£ sh d
<i>in the Hall one table, one forme [a long bench] & chaires</i>	00.12.00
<i>[16 named books] & thirty other bookes</i>	05.00.00
<i>I muskett, I sword & birding peece</i>	01.00.00
<i>in the inner roome I bed furnished</i>	03.00.00
<i>3 pair of sheets, 2 pair of pillowcoats, napkins, table cloaths, towels</i>	03.00.00
<i>xii peece of pewter</i>	00.12.00



When Nathaniel Tilden and his family arrived in America from Tenterden, England aboard the ship *Hercules*, they settled in the town of Scituate, Massachusetts, part of the Plymouth Colony. This map helps the reader with the names of the many townships in the Plymouth Colony, many of which appear in this work. Note the border between the Plymouth Colony and the Massachusetts Bay Colony to the north. Like several American colonies, the boundary between them was ill-defined and two representatives from each colony were chosen to resolve the issue. Nathaniel Tilden was one of the representatives from the Plymouth Colony.

<i>iii silver spoons</i>	00.15.00
<i>two cloakes</i>	02.00.00
<i>I truncke</i>	00.06.08
<i>in the hall chamber I bed furnished</i>	03.00.00
<i>three chests</i>	00.14.00
<i>in the Inner chamber one flock bed furnished</i>	01.00.00
<i>three chests</i>	00.06.00
<i>I smale pairs of brand Irons</i>	00.02.06
<i>I old case of bottells</i>	00.03.00
<i>2 old flock beds, two bouldsters, three blankets & a pillow</i>	02.00.00
<i>in the servants chambers two flock beds furnished</i>	02.00.00
<i>x silver spoons</i>	02.00.00
<i>the rest of his warding apparel</i>	05.10.00
<i>the rest of the pewter</i>	03.10.00
<i>the bras [brass]</i>	05.00.00
<i>the irons belonging to the chimney</i>	00.14.00
<i>iii iron pots</i>	00.16.00
<i>ii frying pans & a dripping pan</i>	00.10.00
<i>scales & waights</i>	00.12.00
<i>I grindle stone</i>	00.05.00
<i>brewing vessels, milk vessels, beere Vessels & other tubbs</i>	05.00.00
<i>certaine spruce boards</i>	01.00.00
<i>other smale things necessary about the house</i>	00.10.00
<i>all the Iron and workeing tooles belonging to husbandry</i>	03.10.00
<i>the Cart & all things belonging to yt [it] & a set of harrow tynes</i>	03.06.08
<i>two oxen, two bulls, two steeres, I yeareling, one Cow and a calfe</i>	50.00.00
<i>ii hoggs and foure piggs</i>	07.00.00
<i>foules [chickens] about the house</i>	00.13.04
<i>tenn stocks & swarmes of bees</i>	10.00.00
<i>fishing netts</i>	01.00.00
<i>pouder & shott</i>	01.06.08
<i>Indean Corne in the house about 37 bushells, about 5 bushells of sumer wheate, I bushell and helf of peas & about one bushell & half of mault</i>	07.00.00
<i>xiii acres of Corne on the ground</i>	30.00.00
<i>in Debts hopefull & Desprate</i>	27.00.00

It is fascinating to look at the relative values placed on things in 1641 (note that at this time there were 20 shillings to a pound, and twelve pence to a shilling). Books were considered very valuable; the value of the roughly 46 books owned by Tilden was eight times the value of the table and chairs. Beds were valuable, as were the sheets, pillowcases and other linens. Trunks and chests were inexpensive by comparison.

There are other insights from the inventory of the estate. The house that Tilden occupied was large enough to have “servants chambers.” He owned a musket, a “birding piece” and a sword, as well as “pouder and shott” for his guns. Nathaniel owned an assortment of farming tools, a cart (“with all things belonging to it”), a harrow (a farm implement with teeth for breaking up the ground) and what no farmer can do without, a tractor (i.e., two oxen). He also had an assortment of farm animals, and with the “hoggs” and “foules” around the place, probably enjoyed bacon and egg breakfasts.

Tilden also had 37 bushels of corn, five bushels of wheat, one and a half bushels of peas, and a bushel and a half of malt stored away. The inventory also listed a surprising 14 acres planted in corn. This was obviously a main staple for the family. In case they wanted honey with their cornbread, ten stocks of bees were listed. Though Nathaniel Tilden probably wasn't the first beekeeper in New England, he is the first person in America documented to have kept bees (even being mentioned in the book *The World History of Beekeeping and Honey Hunting*).

Nathaniel Tilden was buried in the "Cemetery of the Men of Kent" at Scituate. Following the death of her husband, Lydia (Huckstep) Tilden married Timothy Hatherly. They were still married at the time Hatherly's will was exhibited to the Court at Plymouth on 30 October 1666. Her date of death is unknown.

Nathaniel Tilden and Lydia Huckstep had twelve children, all born at Tenterden in England. Five of the children died young, the other seven accompanied their parents to America. All seven later married in the Plymouth colony:

- i. **Thomas Tilden** Christened on 23 Oct 1608 in Tenterden, Kent, England, Thomas died when he was 10 years old. He was buried at Tenterden on 19 Jan 1618/1619.
- ii. **Mary Tilden** Christened on 20 May 1610 in Tenterden, Mary sailed to America with the rest of the Tilden family. She married Thomas Lapham at Scituate on 13 Mar 1636/1637 in a double wedding with her sister. Thomas died in 1648 at Scituate; his estate was probated 1 Oct 1651.
- iii. **Joseph Tilden** Christened on 12 Jan 1611/1612 at Tenterden, Joseph died after two months and was buried at Tenterden 15 Mar 1611/1612.
- + iv. **Sarah Tilden** Christened on 13 Jun 1613 in Tenterden, Sarah migrated to the Plymouth colony with her family in 1635. She married George Sutton, one of her father's servants, in a double wedding with her older sister Mary on 13 Mar 1636/1637.
- v. **Joseph Tilden** Christened on 29 Apr 1615 in Tenterden, Joseph married Elizabeth Twisden on 20 Nov 1649 in Scituate. He inherited the bulk of his father's estate. He died May 1670.
- vi. **Stephen Tilden** Christened at Tenterden on 31 Mar 1617, Stephen died at age two. The boy was buried 21 Oct 1619 in Tenterden.
- vii. **Thomas Tilden** Christened on 19 Jan 1618/1619 at Tenterden, Thomas married twice. The first marriage was about 1653 to Elizabeth Bourne, the daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Bourne. Elizabeth died 12 Dec 1663 at Marshfield in the Plymouth Colony. Thomas then married Mary Holmes on 24 Jan 1664/1665 at Marshfield. Thomas died in 1705 at Marshfield at 86 years of age.
- viii. **Judith Tilden** Christened at Tenterden on 22 Oct 1620, Judith later married Abraham Preble.
- ix. **Winifred Tilden** Christened on 20 Oct 1622, Winifred died at age four and was buried at Tenterden on 14 Sep 1627.
- x. **Lydia Tilden** Christened on 30 May 1624 at Tenterden, Lydia lived only three months. She was buried at Tenterden on 15 Sep 1624.
- xi. **Lydia Tilden** Christened on 28 Sep 1625 at Tenterden, Lydia went with her family to America. She married Richard Garret.
- xii. **Stephen Tilden** Christened at Tenterden on 11 Oct 1629, Stephen married

Hannah Little, the daughter of Thomas Little and Ann Warren,
15 Jan 1661/1662 at Scituate. Hannah died 13 May 1710.
Stephen died 22 Aug 1711 in Scituate at 81 years of age.

It would be an injustice to complete this account of the immigrant ancestor, Nathaniel Tilden, without mentioning his famous descendant, Samuel J. Tilden. The latter was the great³-grandson of Nathaniel. Samuel Tilden served as governor of New York for the years 1875-1876, and in 1876 was selected on the Democratic ticket to run for president. His opponent was the Republican candidate, Rutherford B. Hayes. The election was one of the most highly disputed votes in the history of presidential elections, exceeding even the Bush-Gore election in this regard. As with the Bush-Gore contest, Tilden won the popular vote but lost the electoral vote (this has actually happened four times in presidential election history).

Since history has a way of repeating itself, the state of Florida determined the outcome of the election in Tilden's case as well. Both sides claimed victory though the Democratic claim was tainted by violence and the Republican by fraud. The state of Florida, as well as Louisiana and South Carolina, couldn't determine who had won due to disputed ballots and sent two sets of electoral votes to Congress. Because the Constitution does not address how Congress is to handle such a dispute, a constitutional crisis appeared imminent. Congress finally created a 15-member Electoral Commission to determine which set of votes were valid.

The Commission consisted of five members from the Republican-controlled Senate and five from the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives. The remaining five members were chosen from the Supreme Court, originally two Republicans, two Democrats, and independent Justice David Davis. However, Davis, having been elected to the Senate from Illinois, resigned from the Court and turned down the commission appointment. A Republican was named to replace him. The Commission proceeded to vote 8-7 along party lines to award all the votes to Hayes, who became president. As today, the election was in early November. The issue was not settled until 2 March the next year, just two days before the inauguration.

Returning to our Tilden lineage, Nathaniel Tilden's second daughter, Sarah, is our direct ancestor. She married George Sutton and they converted to the Quaker faith.

Sutton and Fletcher Families

Sutton Family

George Sutton, who sailed to America on the *Hercules* in 1635 as a servant of Nathaniel Tilden, went from being a servant to being a son-in-law within two years. In a double wedding with her older sister Mary, Nathaniel Tilden's daughter Sarah married George Sutton on 13 March 1636/1637 at Scituate in the Plymouth Colony. At the time she married, Sarah was 23 years old. Nothing else is known of the origins of George Sutton, though theories abound, all without a shred of proof. It is a good assumption that George Sutton was born about 1610 and was from Kent in England, but even that is conjecture.

Also aboard the *Hercules* was a Simon Sutton, who was a servant to William Hatch. Hatch was related to the Tildens; he was the first cousin of Nathaniel Tilden's wife Lydia. Though no known connection between George Sutton and Simon Sutton is known, it has been suggested they were brothers. This is not an unreasonable assumption since they were both unmarried and both servants to closely related families. Simon also served as a witness to the will of Nathaniel Tilden in 1641. However any record of Simon Sutton soon disappeared in the Plymouth colony records, and he may have died soon after that date.

Another connection with the Hatch family is interesting. William Hatch had a son, also named William Hatch, and also a passenger on the *Hercules*. There was apparently a friendship between the younger William Hatch, who died in Virginia in 1657, and George Sutton. Before Hatch undertook the long journey to Virginia, he wrote his will, entrusting the keeping of it not to his own brother-in-law, Lt. James Torrey, the town clerk, but to George Sutton.

In 1638, the year after he married, George Sutton received land at Scituate on "the 1st. Herring brook," with his house "near John Daman's at the south-west end of Green field lane, where it unites with the Drift way." George Sutton was listed as a constable at Scituate in 1647.

At some point, George Sutton became attracted to the Quaker religion and joined that faith. This probably occurred at Scituate, but there is no record of that. Quakers began to meet at Scituate early and the group eventually attracted members of some of the best local families, but the group grew slowly and they were not numerous enough to need a meeting house until 1678.

However, ten years before that, about the year 1668, George Sutton emigrated with much of his family to North Carolina. His presence there and his identity are clear from the following record from the Massachusetts archives dated 23 May 1673 regarding his son: "*I Joseph Sutton of Corralinah doe Testify that in the yeare 1671 my mother Sarah Sutton did Receive in Corralinah from the hands of Caleb Lambe the sum of five pounds in English Goods sent with a bill of Ladeing which five pounds was in full of a Legacy Given by my grandfather Mr Timothy haterly and payed or sent by my onkell Mr Joseph Tilden Executrix: he the said Joseph Tilden being appointed to adminnester to the estate of Mr. hatherley.*"

The Quakers grew and flourished in North Carolina, since unlike in New England, they were not persecuted and imprisoned. In no other American colony, with the exception of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, were the Quakers as numerous. It is safe to assume that George Sutton and most of his family went to North Carolina because of their Quaker faith, as did many New Englanders. One of George's sons, William, moved to New Jersey, where he and his family settled near Piscataway.

George Sutton settled in what later would become Perquimans County in North Carolina. It was then known as Perquimans Precinct, established about 1668. One of the earliest Quaker meeting houses in North Carolina was built towards the end of the seventeenth century on Sutton's Creek, probably called that because it flowed through the lands of George Sutton or his sons.

Sutton died not long after the family's arrival in North Carolina, records showing he died on 12 April 1669. His wife, the former Sarah Tilden, died in the same place on 20 March 1677 at age 64.

The children of George Sutton and Sarah Tilden were as follows (all children born at Scituate, Plymouth Colony, Massachusetts; order of children unknown and only estimated):

- i. **Joseph Sutton** Born about 1637, Joseph married Deliverance Nicholson, daughter of Christopher Nicholson and Ann Atwood, possibly as late as the 1680s. Joseph died in Perquimans County on 17 Jan 1695/1696.
- ii. **Daniel Sutton** Born about 1639, Daniel married at Charlestown, Massachusetts in 1667 to Mary Cole, possibly the daughter of Isaac Cole, who was aboard the *Hercules* in 1635 with the Tildens and George Sutton. He had at least one son, Daniel, born at Charlestown. He later lived at Burlington, New Jersey.
- iii. **William Sutton** William, estimated to have been born about 1641, moved from Scituate to Cape Cod. On 5 Jun 1666 he had to appear in court at Barnstable, a town on Cape Cod, where he was fined £1 for "purloining the Bible from the meeting house" and ten shillings "for telling a lye about the same." Within a couple of weeks, on 11 Jul 1666, he married Damaris Bishop, the daughter of Richard and Alice Bishop, at Eastham on Cape Cod. They soon moved to Piscataway, New Jersey, where Damaris died 6 Feb 1682/1683. William was a Quaker at Piscataway, where he had 249 acres of land. He married again to Jane Barnes, the daughter of John Barnes, on 3 Jan 1683/1684. He died there 28 Jun 1718.
- iv. **Nathaniel Sutton** Born about 1643, Nathaniel married, in Nansemond County, Virginia about 1668, Deborah Astine. He died in Perquimans County, North Carolina in 1682.
- v. **Lydia Sutton** Christened 13 Sep 1646.
- vi. **Sarah Sutton** Christened 3 Dec 1648, Sarah died in infancy.
- vii. **Sarah Sutton** Christened 15 Sep 1650, Sarah married in Perquimans County in 1668 to John Barrow.
- + viii. **Elizabeth Sutton** Christened on 28 Aug 1653, Elizabeth is our direct ancestor. She married in what is now Perquimans County about 1674 to Ralph Fletcher.

Fletcher Family

Our Fletcher ancestry consists of three men in a row named Ralph Fletcher. To minimize the confusion, we will add "(I), (II) and (III)" to the ends of their names in this account.

Much of what we know about the Fletcher family comes from the 1931 book *The History of Perquimans County* by Ellen Winslow. It is noted that some of the information in that book "was

submitted by persons living in the Middle West, whose ancestors migrated there from N.C. carrying with them Quaker records of great value. ... These records are true copies of the old ones in Perquimans, which have been destroyed.” This may be the case with some of the Fletcher family records, since confirming evidence of what was printed in the 1931 book cannot be located today. Therefore some of the Fletcher ancestry, though likely accurate, cannot be confirmed.

The parents of Ralph Fletcher (I) remain unknown at this time. Normally it would not be necessary to add “at this time” to the end of the previous sentence, but there is some interesting work now being done in genealogy to try to determine common ancestry using DNA testing. A DNA project currently underway, sponsored by the *Fletcher Family Research Bulletin*, may turn up something in the future. There is a possibility that Ralph Fletcher may have been the son of Hannibal and Elizabeth Fletcher of Surry County, Virginia, but that remains unproven.

The *History of Perquimans County* indicates that Ralph Fletcher stated in an affidavit made in Chowan County in 1694 that he was born in 1632. The book speculates that Ralph was related to the Fletchers who “came from Surry Co. Va., although no positive proof can be found. Hannibal Fletcher was living in said county very early. His wife Elizabeth came to Virginia in [the] *Primrose* of London, 1635, and he is spoken of as ‘Hannibal Fletcher of Chippoakes Creek.’” The book further notes that “Hannibal Fletcher was transported to Virginia in [the] *Middleton*, by Capt. Adam Thorogood, 1634.”

It is not known when Ralph Fletcher (I) came to North Carolina, but he was there by November 1663, when his land on the north side of the Perquimans River is mentioned in the deed of another man. In numerous early references to the man, he is called “Capt.” Ralph Fletcher, though never does an explanation of the title appear. The *History of Perquimans County* states that Ralph Fletcher “was one of the early Justices in Perquimans County, serving for years in that capacity. He is called Steward, or Judge, in the Justice Court” in court records as early as April 1689. At the court held at the house of Anthony Dawson 8 April 1701, Capt. Ralph Fletcher was called “Judge of the precinct.”

The first county in North Carolina was Albemarle County, in the very northeast corner of the colony. It was a large county, and was subdivided into several “precincts.” Seven of these precincts later became counties of their own, and Albemarle County was eliminated. What was once Perquimans Precinct of Albemarle County later became Perquimans County.

Very old documents exist in the North Carolina Archives for early Perquimans County. Those documents, extracted in the book *Perquimans County Births, Marriages, Deaths & Flesh Marks, 1659-1820*, show that Ralph Fletcher (I) married “Elizabeth Sutton” on 11 March “167-,” the exact year unknown since the original document is torn. It was likely to have been 1673-1674 based on the birth of their first child.

Capt. Ralph Fletcher (I) received on 15 May 1694 a grant of land of 370 acres on the Perquimans River, “at the mouth of a Swamp” and described as being adjacent to Jenkins Williams. From several deeds, the location of Ralph Fletcher’s land can be identified as being near “Grassy Point” about seven miles southeast of Hertford, North Carolina. Fletcher lived near his wife’s family since a 1700 deed acknowledged in court refers to Williams as having 150 acres “*between lands of Mr Ralph Fletcher, & Joseph Sutton.*”

By this time, Ralph Fletcher was getting old and probably unable to attend to his farm as he once could. On 12 January 1703/1704, Ralph Fletcher (I) of Perquimans Precinct, for “*Love, & Natual Aff*” that I do bear to my Son Ralph Fletcher Jun’r, Bequeath to said son all my plan’ [plantation] lying

betwixt land of Francis Toms Sen'r, & Land of Rachel Snelling." Two days later, Ralph Fletcher (II) *"for Love & Aff" I bear My father Ralph Fletcher Sen'r, do give to him half of that plan'.*" Thus father gave son the family farm, and son gave half back. The reason for this double swap is lost to us today.

"Ralph Fletcher Seinor of y^e precinck of pequimons and County of albemarl" left a will dated 20 February 1726/1727, which was probated in court on 21 January 1728/1729. In his will, he bequeathed "my manner [manor] house & plantation" to his son Ralph and "my lower house, & plantation" to his son George, which showed he had two separate farms at the time of his death. The "lower plantation" was the 104 acres that Ralph Fletcher purchased from Thomas Collins on 10 January 1721/1722, identified in a 1757 deed when son George finally sold the land after moving from the area. The crudely written will identifies children to whom the *"Remainder part of my Estait to be Eaquely devided amongst"* and a *"true and wellbeloved wife"* who was to have the *"Euse and benifet of it durieng hir Natural life or till Shea marries again."*

The Perquimans precinct (later county) was the only area in North Carolina where a regular register of births, marriages and deaths was kept this early. The birth dates of some of the children of Ralph Fletcher (I) are listed in the registers, though some of the dates are problematic. In his will, Ralph appears to have named all his surviving children; another daughter Margaret has been identified, but she may have died before her father.

The children of Ralph Fletcher (I) and Elizabeth Sutton were as follows (dates, where provided, as recorded in the precinct register):

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|--|
| i. | Elizabeth Fletcher | Born 22 Feb 1675 (precinct register). |
| + ii. | Ralph Fletcher | Born 24 Dec 1676 (precinct register). |
| iii. | George Fletcher | Born 4 Apr 1679 (precinct register), George married Susanna Burtonshall on 17 Feb 1701. He was alive and living in Hyde County, North Carolina in 1757. |
| iv. | William Fletcher | Born 10 May 1687 (precinct register). Died young. |
| v. | William Fletcher | Born 9 Dec 1688 (precinct register). Died young. |
| vi. | John Fletcher | Born 21 Jan 1689; died 25 Jun 1689 (precinct register). |
| vii. | James Fletcher | Named in will. |
| viii. | Joshua Fletcher | Named in will. |
| ix. | Jane Fletcher | Daughter "Jan" named in will. |
| x. | Margaret Fletcher | Named in <i>The History of Perquimans County</i> , Margaret married Thomas Harvey on 27 Jan 1701/1702. In a deed dated 21 March 1702/1703, "Ralph Fletcher Sr." gave 170 acres of land "to daughter Margaret." |

Further Fletcher Generations

It is not clear if Ralph Fletcher (I) was a Quaker, though there is a good likelihood of that. However, his children seem to all have been Quakers; it should be assumed that all of the people mentioned below were Quakers.

Ralph Fletcher (II) left far fewer records than his father. An article in *The Nebraska and Midwest Genealogical Record* in January 1929 states that Ralph Fletcher Jr., in the Colonial Records of North Carolina, "is referred to as Colonel Ralph Fletcher. He was prominent in the Indian wars of the period, and in protests against the treatment received by the colonists from the King and his ministers." The title of "Colonel" and being a Quaker are usually mutually exclusive, so this

information may be a bit questionable, though it's certainly possible that the Colonel converted to Quakerism late in life.

According to the precinct records for Perquimans Precinct, Ralph Fletcher (II) married Jane Morgan, the daughter of James and Jean Morgan, on 2 March 1698/1699. Little is known of Jane's ancestry. A notation in the early precinct registers indicate that James Morgan "came from 'Mary Land'," where he had married Jane Knea on 12 October 1673. Although James Morgan married in Maryland, they were in Perquimans County by 1694. No dates of death have been found for them, but they probably died in Perquimans County. James Morgan was granted 300 acres in Perquimans Precinct on 22 May 1694, "on a branch of Vosses Creek" adjoining William Vosse and Francis Toms. He called this land "Broad Neck," and later it was spoken of as "on Morgans Swamp" and it apparently was situated on the south side of Vosses Creek. Vosses Creek today is called Mill Creek and is located near the town of Winfall, North Carolina.

The known children of Ralph Fletcher (II) and Jane Morgan were (from precinct records):

- + i. **Ralph Fletcher** Born 22 Apr 1703.
- ii. **George Fletcher** Born 15 Jun 1705.
- iii. **Joshua Fletcher** Born 5 Nov 1718.

Ralph Fletcher (III) married Mary Guyer on 23 December 1728. Nothing else is known of Mary Guyer, though she was likely the sister of John Guyer, who also lived in the Perquimans area. Mary's son, Ralph Fletcher (IV, if you're keeping count), was the executor of John Guyer's estate, indicating a probable familial connection. Ralph (III) left a will dated 5 April 1752 and proved in the July 1752 session of the court in which he named his sons Ralph (to whom he left "my manner plan" [plantation]) and Joshua, and daughters Jane, Miriam and Ruth Fletcher (presumably all unmarried) and Mary Ratliff. He also mentioned his wife Mary. His executor was Joseph Ratliff (his son-in-law).

The children of Ralph Fletcher (III) and Mary Guyer were:

- + i. **Mary Fletcher** Our direct ancestor, Mary, married Joseph Ratliff.
- ii. **Ralph Fletcher** Born Feb 1729/1730, he left a will which was probated in Perquimans County in Jul 1785. He married Sarah Newby 1 Aug 1753. It is noteworthy that he did not have a surviving son named Ralph, ending a long standing tradition.
- iii. **Joshua Fletcher** Born 23 Jul 1734 (from Rich Square Monthly Meeting records), Joshua's will was proved 24 Oct 1784 in Wayne County, North Carolina. He left a son named Ralph.
- iv. **Jane Fletcher** This was probably the "Jane Flitcher" whom Perquimans (Piney Woods) Monthly Meeting reported married to Joseph Smith Jr. on 5 Dec 1759.
- v. **Miriam Fletcher** She married Joseph Pierce 4 Nov 1767, reported in the Perquimans Monthly Meeting records.
- vi. **Ruth Fletcher** She married (1) Samuel Winslow 13 Mar 1771 in Pasquotank County, North Carolina, and married (2) John Morris on 29 Sep 1774, son of Aaron Morris and Mary Pritchard.

Mary Fletcher, our ancestor, married into the Ratliff family when she married Joseph Ratliff at Old Neck Monthly Meeting in Perquimans County on 13 March 1747. We will continue with an account of that family after another brief "detour."

Page and Shattuck Families

Shattuck Family

The account of the Shattuck family begins with a woman, not a man. Damaris Shattuck, a widow, showed up in Salem, Massachusetts in 1641, when the records there show she was admitted to the Anglican church in Salem on 2 July of that year. How she got to America or what happened to her husband are unknown. It has been suggested that her husband either died on the voyage to America or very shortly after the family's arrival in Massachusetts. Damaris subsequently married Thomas Gardner, who historian Lemuel Shattuck described in an 1855 book as a "distinguished merchant and citizen of Salem." This description has been repeated endlessly by others.

Capt. Gardner was actually an innkeeper (or tavern owner, if you prefer) in repressive Salem, infamous for its rigorous, stern, witch-burning, utterly intolerant sense of morality. Gardner was repeatedly licensed during the 1660s to retail "strong drink," but in June 1667 the license was amended to allow him to sell only to "strangers" and not to townsmen. Gardner did hold many offices and positions in the colony, including selectman, constable, and the always-important "fenceviewer."

Following his marriage to the widow Damaris Shattuck (the date of which is unknown), Gardner apparently continued his involvement with the Church of England for the remainder of his life; at least there is no written evidence to the contrary. However, his new wife had become a Quaker and bumped heads with Anglican church officials routinely. "The wife of Thomas Gardner Sr." was fined for frequent absence from church services, along with a number of other Quakers. This was the beginning of a long string of fines and official harassment which eventually convinced several of Gardner's sons to move away from Salem.

Thomas Gardner's will was written 7 December 1668, in which he gave to "my wife Damaris" all the estate she had brought with her "according to our agreement," which sounds suspiciously like a prenuptial agreement. Men in this period usually did not make out their will until they were on their deathbed, and we often find that people died within days or weeks of the date of their will. However, that was apparently not the case with Gardner who wrote "*Weighing the uncertainty of man's life, I do therefore in the time of my health, make this my last will.*" He lived another six years, dying at Salem on 29 December 1674. Damaris had died on 28 November 1674, just a month before her husband.

In his will, Thomas Gardner mentioned his six sons and three daughters, all by his previous wife, but gave no mention of Damaris' children. Interestingly enough, two of Gardner's sons married daughters of Damaris (marrying your stepsister was not taboo even in Salem). By other records and accounts, these are the children of Damaris Shattuck by a former husband (several other children including a son William often attributed to Damaris are not likely):

i. **Samuel Shattuck**

Samuel was a feltmaker or hatter. He joined the First Church at Salem on 15 May 1642, but later became a prominent Quaker. He married and had nine children, some with weird Quaker names like a son *Retire* and a daughter *Return*. They were said to have been named this because of their father's retiring to England and then returning. Samuel Shattuck was one of those who suffered persecution for "being called a Quaker." In a previous chapter titled "The Society of Friends," there was an account of Christopher Holder, who had a glove

and handkerchief stuffed into his mouth while trying to speak out in church at Salem. Samuel Shattuck was present that day and tried to prevent “their thrusting the handkerchief into Holder’s mouth, lest it should choke him.” Shattuck was also taken to Boston and imprisoned until he had given bond to answer to the charges at the next court. He was warned not to attend any Quaker meetings. Shattuck obviously did not heed the warning. He was rearrested in 1658 while attending a Quaker meeting at the home of Nicholas Phelps, about five miles from Salem. He was transported to Boston once again, jailed for three weeks and then released. On 11 May 1659, Samuel Shattuck again appeared before the court for taking part in Quaker meetings. He and others were banished from the colony and given two weeks to depart or receive the penalty of death. Four days later, Shattuck, Phelps and Josias Southwick sailed for England. After Shattuck’s arrival in England, he immediately “laid the subject of their suffering” before King Charles II. A mandamus was created instructing the magistrates of New England “to forbear to proceed any further” against the Quakers. Shattuck was appointed the king’s deputy to carry the mandamus back to New England. As a result of the King’s intervention, a law was passed in Massachusetts suspending the laws enacted against Quakers and releasing them from custody. For his part, Samuel Shattuck was permitted to live in Salem in peace, though there were still fines “for absence from public worship” and imprisonment for not paying those fines. Such was Quaker life in New England. Samuel died in Salem on 6 Jun 1689.

+ ii. **Damaris Shattuck**

The daughter Damaris was our direct ancestor. She married Isaac Page, and they also were Quakers.

iii. **Mary Shattuck**

Mary married a man named *Hams* and lived in Boston. We know of her connection because she petitioned the Boston court on 17 May 1659 to permit her brother Samuel, who apparently was under house arrest in her custody, to accompany her from her house “to the Rev. Mr. Norton’s house.” The court granted the permission provided “the keeper” or some other public officer go with them. There is no evidence that Mary was a Quaker.

iv. **Hannah Shattuck**

She is believed to have been the wife of George Gardner, Thomas’ son. This was so stated by Lemuel Shattuck in his 1855 account of the Shattuck family, but is open to some dispute.

v. **Sarah Shattuck**

Sarah married Richard Gardner, son of Thomas, in 1652. They were both persecuted for attending Quaker meetings, so Richard had become a Quaker himself. In 1666, they moved from Salem to Nantucket. Richard died on Nantucket in 1724, reportedly at the age of 92.

Damaris Shattuck, daughter of the widow of the same name, married a man named Isaac Page in Boston on 30 September 1653, recorded in the original record as “*Isaac Pag was married to Damaris Shattock 30 : 7 : 53 p^r M^r William Hibbins.*” William Hibbins was the official who married the couple. The month of “7” was not July, but September under the old-style Julian calendar (remember Latin “sept” is seven).

The man who married them, William Hibbins, was a leading merchant of Boston and Assistant to the General Court there. As such, he had the right to marry people. After Hibbins died in 1654, his widow Ann ran into problems with the court herself. Governor Hutchinson later wrote of the case that “Losses in the latter part of her husband’s life had reduced his estate and increased the natural crabbiness of his wife’s temper, which made her turbulent and quarrelsome, brought her under church censure, and at length rendered her so odious to her neighbors as to cause some of them to accuse her of witchcraft.” She was put on trial for being a witch, found guilty, and hanged on 19 June 1656. Let that be a lesson to the reader: do not be “turbulent and quarrelsome” in Massachusetts.

Nothing is known of Isaac Page’s ancestry. He likely arrived in Massachusetts from England, but his point of origin remains unknown. People were immigrating to Massachusetts by the thousands by the 1640s despite the colony being such a model of intolerance, as exhibited by an occasional hanging of a “turbulent and quarrelsome” individual. Page was noted in the Boston records of 1658 as being a bricklayer.

Like some of her Shattuck siblings, Damaris and her husband Isaac Page became Quakers. About 1663, they left New England and went to North Carolina to avoid the persecution which members of their religion received. We know the approximate date because on 13 September 1679 “Isack Page” was listed as one of the signers of a document addressed to the Lord Proprietors of North Carolina, disclaiming any part of the “seditious actions which hath happened in this County of Albemarle” The document stated that “most of us whose names are hereunto subscribed have been Inhabitants in Carolina since the yeares 1663 and 1664.”

Isaac Page and his family settled in the old county of Albemarle in the colony of North Carolina, living in that part that later became Pasquotank County. This is near present-day Elizabeth City in the very northeast part of the state. Isaac Page made a will, dated 30 June 1680, which was found recorded in the records of Symons Creek Monthly Meeting (later called Pasquotank Monthly Meeting). The will was recorded by Henry White, the clerk of the monthly meeting, and also a direct ancestor. Henry White was one of the “*trew and lawfull Exsekitors*” of the crudely written will.

In his will, which reads more like a rambling sermon than a will, Isaac Page did not mention his wife, so we assume she had died before him. He mentioned only two daughters in the will, so without sons, his family name died out with him. He left cattle to his daughters Damaris and Elizabeth, and what daughter wouldn’t be excited about a gift like that. Damaris was already married, as Isaac mentions her children, but Elizabeth had not yet married. Isaac seemed to have been concerned Elizabeth might not marry within the Quaker sect, so he had Henry White add an interesting clause to the will. Isaac Page stipulated that “*if my daughter Elezabeah shall marh [marry] with Samuell hill or any other frind*” then Elizabeth was to receive the remainder of her father’s estate. But if “*she marhis [marries] not in truth*” then Isaac’s executors were to keep the remaining portion of the estate and give it to “the next” of either of his daughter’s children who should marry a Quaker.

Isaac Page died 4 July 1680, as his friend Henry White noted in the Quaker minutes. White recorded that Isaac “died at a good old age” and further noted Isaac was “Bearing a faithful testimony for the

truth till his death.”

The only known children of Isaac Page and Damaris Shattuck were the two daughters he mentioned in his will (and both are direct ancestors in this work):

- i. **Damaris Page** She married John Morris, another Quaker, and a direct ancestor in this account. Their story will be told in more detail in another part of this book. After John died, she married Henry White (yes, the one who wrote her father’s will).
- + ii. **Elizabeth Page** Our direct ancestor, we turn to her next.

No, Elizabeth Page, the younger daughter of Isaac and Damaris Page, did not marry Samuel Hill. But as her father had hoped, she did marry a Quaker and presumably collected on the remainder of the estate promised her in her father’s will if she stayed in the Quaker religion.

The man she married was Zachariah Nixon.

Nixon and Ratliff Families

Nixon Family

Let's start by dispelling the rumor that this branch of the family is related to Richard Nixon. Our Nixon ancestors were Quakers who lived in North Carolina. The former president was also descended from Quakers, but only on his mother's (Milhouse) side. His paternal Nixon ancestors were from Pennsylvania and had a number of military officers among them, definitely not Quakers. No connection has been found between our Nixon ancestors and Richard Nixon.

In the excellent resource *The History of Perquimans County*, printed in 1931, it was stated that the first Nixon ancestor in that area of North Carolina was Zachariah Nixon, who was the "son of Zachariah, of Nottingham, Parish of North Masrom, England." It is always nice to have the point of origin for immigrant ancestors identified, and this information has been replicated an endless number of times in other accounts. There's only one tiny problem: there is no such place. Many genealogists are fact replicators, and not fact checkers, and missed this subtle issue entirely.

No account of the Nixon family in the Perquimans area has correctly identified their point of origin until now. Zachariah Nixon was from Nottinghamshire in England, but the name of the parish where his family lived was North Muskham. The village is located about four miles north of the city of Newark in the northeastern part of England.

The parish of North Muskham was very small. For example, for the year 1673 there were only eleven baptisms. The next year birth records are available, 1680, there were only thirteen. Unfortunately almost all of the early parish records are no longer in existence. Only one page of the parish records exists between the years 1638 and 1673, which is the period the immigrant Zachariah Nixon would have been born. However, two entries in older surviving parish records for North Muskham are interesting. One entry is "*Thomas Nicson sonne of Zacharye Nicson bapt July 23th 1623,*" the other is "*Henry Nixon sonne of Barnabe Nixon and Mary bapt Feb. 2nd 1633.*"

The Zachariah Nixon who had a son Thomas born in 1623 is unlikely to have been the father of the immigrant of the same name, though he could have been his grandfather. Many families had a tradition of handing the same given name down from generation to generation. With an eye on the only two North Muskham parish record entries identifying someone with the Nixon surname, it is interesting that the immigrant Zachariah Nixon named his first son Zachariah and his second son Barnabe (Barnaby).

The immigrant ancestor, Zachariah Nixon, married Elizabeth Page "according to Quaker rites, 2, 1mo 1681" (2 March 1681) in the Perquimans Precinct. She was the daughter of Isaac Page and Damaris Shattuck. It is interesting that the clerk of the Quaker meeting made the rather unusual and entirely redundant notation "according to Quaker rites" concerning the marriage, since all Quaker marriages met that description. However, remember that Elizabeth Page was the daughter who had an additional inheritance riding on marrying a Quaker man, and the clerk was almost certainly aware of that. Or perhaps Elizabeth or her new husband lobbied for the notation to be added.

On "the -- day of ----- 1684" (the original record was written that way, with dashes where the day and month should have appeared) a land patent was given to Zachariah Nixon for "323 acres English measure on the East side of little River in Pasquotank Precinct, joining Solomon Poole." Years later, on 9 July 1748, a deed was recorded in Pasquotank County which elaborated on what happened to that



The parish church of North Muskham, Nottinghamshire, England, the origins of the Nixon family. For 80 years the ancestral home of the Nixon family who settled in the Perquimans area of North Carolina has been identified incorrectly as North Masrom, which does not exist. Even today, North Muskham is small, with a population of less than a thousand.

land: “Whereas Zachariah Nixon of the County of Pasquotank and Province afsd. in the year of our Lord 1684 having taken up, surveyed and patented in his own name ... N.E. Side of Little River contg ... 323 acres bounded on the lower side on the land that William Turner now dwells on and on the upper side on the land that Solomon Pool now dwells on ... the said Zachariah Nixon dying intestate his Son Zachariah being his Surviving Heir inherited all the abovesaid Land and cultivated the same several years and then at his Death by last Will and Testament ... bequeathed it between his two Sons Zachariah and Barnabee Nixon, Zachariah to have that Moiety or half part joining the afsd. William Turners land ... and Barnabee the part near the main Road, running to the old School House.”

Thus upon the death of the immigrant Zachariah Nixon, who died without a will, his land grant passed to his son Zachariah. The second Zachariah left a will and, upon his death, the land was divided between his two sons Zachariah and Barnaby. The third Zachariah, grandson of the immigrant, decided to plat a town on his inherited half. The 1748 deed mentioned above goes on to refer to the 161½ acres being a tract of land “now Known by the name of Nixonton.” The town was platted with one hundred half-acre lots, complete with a commons. The grandson kept lots 5 and 6 for himself.

In a second deed dated the same day, the grandson Zachariah Nixon sold two half-acre lots in Nixonton for £38, and in the description of the parcels, names four other people who had already purchased lots. The deed also required the purchaser of the lot to comply with the terms of “building a good reputable House not less than 20 feet long and 15 feet wide within five years from the date of the Sale of said Lots.”

In 1758 the North Carolina colonial assembly passed “An Act for establishing a town on the lands formerly belonging to Zachariah Nixon, lying on the North east side of Little river, in Pasquotank County.” The act noted that “there are now upwards of twenty habitable houses erected thereon, and upwards of seventy inhabitants; and the same might soon be improved, if it was erected into a town by lawful authority.” With the act the town became incorporated, and established it “shall be called by the name of Nixon’s Town [sic].”

The town seemed to flourish for a time. It was the first incorporated town in Pasquotank County, and until 1810 was the largest town. It was also the county seat for the years 1785-1799, and the area’s principal port, with numerous references to the “ship-building yard.” At its peak, about 600 people lived in Nixonton, which had a courthouse, jail, four stores, a gin, a sawmill, a coach factory, three taverns, and two ordinaries (a tavern or inn providing a meal). For many years a lively trade was carried on between Nixonton and ports in the West Indies and England. After 1800, when the county seat was moved to Elizabeth City, the town began to fade, and today Nixonton is a quiet suburban community with a few dozen families.

The immigrant Zachariah Nixon, whose name is often found in old records spelled *Zacharias* or even *Zachary*, died 3 February 1691/1692. The Pasquotank (Symons Creek) Monthly Meeting minutes noted that he died “in the evening as the sun went down, and continued his testimony for God’s truth to the end, and now is at rest with the faithful, where is soul’s satisfaction.” His widow Elizabeth lived another 34 years, dying on 4 December 1726. Both deaths were recorded in the minutes of the Pasquotank Monthly Meeting.

The children of Zachariah Nixon and Elizabeth Page were (the births of the first four children listed in the Pasquotank MM records):

+ i. **Damaris Nixon**

Born 8 Aug 1682, Damaris married twice. Her first husband was Joseph Pierce, the son of John Pierce and Mary Scott (also

- direct ancestors). They married on 11 Jul 1699 at Little River MM. Joseph was born on 8 Mar 1674 (noted in the Perquimans MM records) and he died on 16 Nov 1705. Damaris then married our direct ancestor, Richard Ratliff.
- ii. **Zachariah Nixon** Born 22 May 1684, Zachariah Jr. married Elizabeth Symons, the daughter of Thomas Symons and Rebecca White (also direct ancestors). This occurred “at a Meeting at Symons Creek, Pasq Co” on “11, 1mo 1707/8” according to *The History of Perquimans County*. Elizabeth was born on 22 Apr 1691 (Pasquotank MM records) and died 27 Oct 1725. Zachariah Jr. had a grant of land in Perquimans County on 21 Jan 1712/1713 for 105 acres “in the fork of Little River, adj John Tomlin.” He received another grant in Chowan County, North Carolina for 110 acres “in the fork of Coniby Creek Swamp, adj Edward Moseley” on “Xber 21, 1712.” The “Xber” is an old reference to December, the tenth month of the year under the old calendar (remember “Dec” is the Latin prefix for ten, and the Roman numeral “X” is ten; thus *Xber*). Zachariah Nixon Jr. died on 12 Oct 1739. It was his son Zachariah who laid out the town of Nixonton, North Carolina.
 - iii. **Barnaby Nixon** Born 21 Jan 1686/1687, Barnaby died “1-30-1711” according to the Pasquotank MM records. There is no record that he married.
 - iv. **Francis Nixon** Born 20 Oct 1689. No further record.
 - v. **Elizabeth Nixon** Elizabeth was not listed as a child of this family in the Pasquotank MM records, perhaps because she was born shortly after her father died. Her father Zachariah died 3 Feb 1691/1692, a little over two years after the previous child was born. This was about the time another child would have been due. The existence of Elizabeth is confirmed by the notation in the Pasquotank MM records that “Elizabeth Nixon, daughter of Zachariah & Elizabeth, Little River, married Joseph Newby at Little River meeting house” on 1 March 1716/1717.

Following the death of her first husband, the young widow Damaris (Nixon) Pierce married Richard Ratliff.

Ratcliff/Ratliff Family

The name *Ratcliff*, and its many variant spellings, such as *Radcliff*, *Radcliffe*, *Ratcliffe*, *Radclyffe*, and *Radecliffe*, is a locality-based surname from various places in England such as the villages of Ratcliffe in the counties of Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire, Radcliffe in Lancashire and Nottinghamshire, Redcliffe in Bristol and Warwickshire, Radclive in Buckingham shire, and Rathclyffe and Rathcliffes in the county of Devon. The place names, and later the surname, originate from the Old English word ‘read’ meaning *red* plus ‘clif’ meaning a cliff or sometimes a riverbank.

There were at least two Quakers named Richard Ratcliff who appeared in early colonial America. A Richard and Alice (Rawsthorne) Ratcliff who left records in Marsden Monthly Meeting in Rossendale, Lancashire, England (which recorded the names and birth dates of their children) later settled in Talbot

County, Maryland. There is no known connection between this Richard Ratcliff and our ancestor of that name, despite accounts of the two often being confused.

Our ancestor, Richard Ratcliff, whose surname seems to have usually been spelled with a “c”, first appears in the Quaker records of the Chuckatuck Monthly Meeting in Virginia. In a number of records he is listed as Richard Ratcliff “of Terrascoe Neck,” which helps identify the location of his plantation in southeastern Virginia. “Terrascoe Neck,” called that from at least 1656, is seen spelled dozens of ways, and has even been shortened to *Rascoe’s Neck* and even *Rascal’s Neck*. Today the area is located on the east side of U.S. Hwy 17 leading to the Crittenden Bridge, about fifteen miles west of Norfolk, Virginia.

The ancestry of Richard Ratcliff remains unknown, though there have been many suggestions, including that he was a descendant of Capt. John Ratcliffe, the captain of the *Discovery*, one of three ships which sailed from England on 19 December 1606 for Virginia to found the Jamestown colony. They arrived in 1607 and two years later John Ratcliffe was killed slowly by the Powhatan Indians by having his flesh “scraped from his bones with mussel shells.”

Richard Ratcliff lived in Isle of Wight County and the birth dates of his seven children are found in the Chuckatuck Monthly Meeting records there. He had a wife named Elizabeth, but her maiden name is unknown. The Quaker records from the Chuckatuck meeting also have a number of notations concerning Richard Ratcliff. In 1684, and again in 1688 and 1692, it was noted that Quaker meetings were held in his house. In 1702 Richard Ratcliff was a representative to the first recorded yearly meeting of Quakers in Virginia.

This was written in the *Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy, 1750-1930*: “That there were numerous Quaker meetings in private and semi-private buildings in the Isle of Wight County from 1658-1679 is without doubt, but we know so little of them that we cannot write much of them with any degree of certainty. Most of the meetings were held in secrecy because of the heavy penalties attending any who to any degree encouraged, sympathized with or supported the Quaker assemblies. An act of 1663 mentions that ‘Quakers are maintaining a secret & strict correspondence amongst themselves’. At least part of this secrecy was caused by the cruel and unmerciful treatment of that arch-enemy of all Quakers - Governor Berkeley.”

Some of the entries in the Chuckatuck records were of a more personal nature. In 1702, Richard Ratcliff and Daniel Sanbourn, both of Isle of Wight County, agreed by bond that they would abide by the decision of two “arbitrators” to determine and settle the boundary line between their lands. The matter was settled peacefully, though we don’t know the outcome.

On 25 January 1703, Richard Ratcliff suffered the seizure of 179 pounds of tobacco “for the use of Thomas Pitt” and taken by George Green, sub-sheriff. About the same time, it was noted that “Richard Rattliff Senior” suffered the seizure of 160 pounds of tobacco “for the priest Andrew Monroe & other church rates,” taken by Thomas Pitt, the High Sheriff of Isle of Wight County. On 24 February 1704, “Richard Rattcliff” had another 179 pounds of tobacco seized for “parrish levies,” this taken by John Watts.

The sheriff was not just seizing Ratcliff’s crop; it was his money. Early Virginia colonists found that tobacco grew well in Virginia and sold profitably in England. The colonists soon began to plant it in every available clearing and it remained the staple crop in colonial Virginia for many years. As gold and silver the colonists brought with them from England became scarce, they began to rely on tobacco

as a means of currency. Tobacco was the safest and most stable currency the colony had, and it always had a value in exchange for gold. In addition to being used for the purchase of goods, tobacco was also used to pay fines and taxes. It truly was the currency in use in Virginia at this time. Thus these seizures of tobacco were fines, levied against the Quakers for their refusal to pay the normal tithing required for the support of the Church of England parishes in which they lived.

Several years after the birth of his last child, Richard Ratcliff made out his will, which was dated 6 September 1686 and acknowledged in the Isle of Wight court on 4 March 1686/1687. His wife Elizabeth was named the executrix of the will and one of the overseers he named was John Copeland. The reader may find the name familiar from the earlier chapter titled *The Society of Friends*. Copeland, along with Christopher Holder, had been brutally whipped in Boston. He returned to England after losing his right ear. Copeland eventually returned to America and settled in Virginia. When the minister Thomas Story visited the area in 1698, he was hosted “at Terrasco Neck east of Chuckatuck by old John Copeland” who had lost an ear. Copeland became something of a celebrity in his old age as one of the old Quakers who had suffered for his beliefs, and he was asked on several occasions to display his mutilation to sympathizers.

Despite making out his will in 1686, possibly because he was ill and anticipated he would die, Richard Ratcliff would live many more years. He made out a second will 27 years later, dated 8 October 1713, very similar to the first. It has been suggested that the two men were not the same Richard Ratcliff, but the two wills name the same wife, the same children in the same order, and even the same sons-in-law, even though two of Richard’s daughters had died before him. His will was signed with an “RR” mark, indicating Richard was illiterate. Possibly indicating he was a hypochondriac, Ratcliff lived another five years after writing his second will. The will of “Richard Ratcliff of Lower Parish, Isle of Wight Co.” was probated 27 October 1718.

In his will, Richard left his son Richard the plantation “*Whereon I now live after his Mothers Decease.*” So while she was alive, Richard left his plantation for the use of his widow Elizabeth, to whom he also left “*all of my five Negroes Tony Quomony & Moll and her two Children Nanny & Simon.*” Following his widow’s death, the five slaves were to be “equally divided” among his five surviving children. To the sons-in-law of his two deceased daughters, Richard left “*a Negro Girl named Nanny*” and a “*Negro Girl Calld Sarah,*” both of whom were “*already in hand Received.*” During the early eighteenth century, it was not uncommon for Quakers to be a slave owner; it was not until the late 1700s that most Quakers freed their slaves.

The children of Richard and Elizabeth Ratcliff were (all believed to have been born in Isle of Wight County, Virginia):

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| i. Elizabeth Ratcliff | Born 21 Sep 1668, Elizabeth married James Jordan on 29 May 1688. She died before her father made out his will in 1713. |
| ii. Sarah Ratcliff | Born 19 Nov 1670, Sarah married Joseph Kenerly of Dorchester County, Maryland on 20 Sep 1696. She also died before 1713 when her father wrote his will. |
| + iii. Richard Ratliff | Born 13 Sep 1672, Richard Jr. was our direct ancestor. |
| iv. Cornelius Ratcliff | Born 15 Mar 1674/1675, Cornelius married “in a publick meeting att Chuckatuck” the widow Elizabeth Jordan (thought to be Elizabeth Sanborn, the widow of Joshua Jordan) on 23 Nov 1721. He lived to be about 87 years old as his will was probated in Isle of Wight County on 4 Feb 1762. |
| v. Mary Ratcliff | Born 5 Apr 1679, Mary married Thomas Newman on 13 Apr |

- 1699.
- vi. **John Ratcliff** Born 20 Apr 1681, John was alive at the time of his father's will in 1713. No further record.
 - vii. **Rebecca Ratcliff** Born 3 Jul 1684, Rebecca married Richard Jordan on 22 Aug 1706. The marriage banns identify her as "daughter of Richard Ratcliff of Trerasco Neck" and her father appears among the witnesses to the marriage certificate, not difficult to believe since the marriage took place in his house.

Second Generation

The son Richard Ratliff, our direct ancestor, was born 13 September 1672 according to the Chuckatuck Quaker records. His surname seems to have been mostly spelled without the letter "c" and that spelling will be used here. Richard Jr. married twice. The Chuckatuck record states that Richard "of Trerasco Necks" married in "his father's own house" on 18 September 1700 to Elizabeth Hollowell. She was the daughter of Henry Hollowell, who had died by the time of her marriage.

In 1718, after the death of his father, Richard received his father's plantation as directed by his father's will. In his father's first will the farm was described as being 200 acres, and only described as a "plantation" in the second will of 1713, but by 1704, Richard's father was paying quit rent on 380 acres. Richard received the entire plantation because of primogeniture, the common law right of the firstborn son to inherit the entire estate, and even though he had left Virginia by the time his father wrote his will.

Richard Ratliff's first wife died soon after their marriage and there is no record of any children from this union. Richard moved to Perquimans County, North Carolina, where on 9 November 1706 he married at a "public meeting in her house" Damaris (Nixon) Peirce. Damaris was the widow of Joseph Peirce and the daughter of Zachariah Nixon and Elizabeth Page. Richard had "produced a certificate of clearness as to his marriage from Chuckatuck."

There is an interesting entry in the Quaker records for Perquimans Monthly Meeting. On 5 September 1716 it was noted that Richard Ratliff was "*complained of for seting in meeting with his hat on & declaring he had no unity with Mary Tomes preaching.*" It was Quaker tradition that while in meeting, Quaker men kept their hats on "lest taking them off would be construed into adoration of the temple." The one exception was if someone prayed out loud; then other members would rise to their feet and remove their hats (it was acceptable to leave your hat on if someone else spoke but was not "offering up a prayer"). After the amen, everyone sat down again and the hats went back on.

It was not uncommon for there to be squabbles between Quaker members, whether over the other person's theological viewpoints or simply because one person just didn't like the other. Sometimes there was no better way to let them know what you thought of their opinions than to remain seated with your hat on when they prayed before the group, kind of a Quaker "up-yours" statement. Evidently Richard Ratliff did exactly that when Mary Tomes led the group in a prayer. The reader should make an effort to remember the Tomes name, as that family will be described later in this book.

"Richard Ratlif" paid £20 to Edward Maudlin for "part of" a tract of land encompassing 60 acres on the northeast side of the Perquimans River. The land was described in the deed registered on 20 May 1723 as being the "third part of 200 acres, of which Richard hath the other two thirds."

Richard made out his will soon after this, filing a will with Perquimans County on 17 June 1724. The will was proved 14 July the same year. In his will Richard Ratliff left lands in both Virginia and North Carolina to his sons Thomas and Joseph, so it appeared that he still owned his father's plantation, though there is no indication he lived there after his father died. His widow Damaris and his brother Cornelius were the executors of his will.

Damaris lived another ten years, leaving a will filed 12 February 1734 and proved 24 February 1734. The children of Richard Ratliff and Damaris Nixon were (named in the Perquimans Monthly Meeting records):

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|---|
| i. | Elizabeth Ratliff | Born 4 Jan 1707/1708, Elizabeth died 13 Feb 1727/1728 at age 20. |
| ii. | Mary Ratliff | Born 22 Jul 1710, Mary married John Moore on 10 Dec 1729. |
| iii. | Sarah Ratliff | Born 3 Apr 1714, Sarah married Thomas Winslow on 21 Jan 1734/1735. |
| + iv. | Joseph Ratliff | Born 26 May 1719, Joseph was our direct ancestor. |
| v. | Huldah Ratliff | Born 6 Sep 1722, Huldah died before 1734 (there is an entry in the Perquimans Monthly Meeting records that Huldah died, but no date was given). |

Besides the children above, Richard Ratliff named a son Thomas in his will of 1724. The Perquimans Monthly Meeting records (see Hinshaw, Vol. I, p.90b) name the five children of Richard and Damaris Ratliff and list their dates of birth, given above. On a separate page they list the deaths of Elizabeth, Huldah and Thomas. The fact that Thomas was not listed with the other five children makes a strong case that Thomas was a son of Richard Ratliff by his first wife, who may have died as a result of childbirth. The Perquimans Monthly Meeting records indicate Thomas Ratliff died 15 May 1728.

Third Generation

Joseph Ratliff was born 26 May 1719 in Perquimans County, North Carolina. On 13 May 1747 he married Mary Fletcher, daughter of Ralph Fletcher. It was noted in the Perquimans Monthly Meeting records that the marriage took place at the Old Neck meeting house. This was a very old meeting house, located about four miles east of present-day Hertford, North Carolina. It served as the site of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting from 1698 until 1785. In 1786 "powerful winds" (probably a hurricane) destroyed the old building. A new building was in place by 1788 but the number of members soon declined due to westward migration, and the meeting was discontinued in 1797.

Joseph was appointed clerk of the Perquimans Monthly Meeting in 1752, and three years later was recommended to a "meeting of ministers and elders," indicating he was an influential member of the Quakers. Joseph evidently took over his father's farm, as a number of deeds make reference to land on the northeast side of the Perquimans River "adjacent Joseph Ratliff."

Joseph Ratliff was dead by 2 April 1760, evidently dying without a will, as an inventory of his estate was submitted on that date. An old book titled *Barclay's Apology* is in the historic collections of Guilford College in Greensboro, North Carolina; the book is inscribed "Joseph Ratliff, his book and name, this 27th day of the 7 month in the year of 1743." Confirmation that this book actually belonged to Joseph Ratliff is the entry in the inventory of his estate for "one Robt. Barclay's Apology." The book was written in 1675 as a justification of early Quaker belief and practice and was an important book to Quakers.

On 11 April 1760, Joseph Ratliff's uncle, Cornelius Ratliff "of Isle of Wight County, Virginia," gave "one negro man, named Auger" to "Mary Ratliff, widow of Joseph." For the "love I bear Children of Joseph Ratliff," the uncle also gave "one negro woman, named Judah, & all her children, now in possession of Mary, the widow of s^d Joseph, to be divided between them when the eldest comes of age, of 21 years."

On 18 January 1769, the widow Mary Ratliff and her son-in-law William Newby (husband of Elizabeth Ratliff, both our direct ancestors) petitioned the court to divide the "Residue of the Estate" among the family and to "Divide Sundry Negroes amongst the children of Joseph Ratliff which was given them by Deed of Gift by Cornelius Ratliff of Virginia." There were nine slaves to be divided among members of the Ratliff family, and it would seem the family could not agree as to how the slaves should be divided.

In the North Carolina archives there is a collection of old estate papers from Perquimans County. One of these papers, a large 13" x 16" sheet, is a settlement of the estate of Joseph Ratliff dated 12 February 1770, a full decade after he died. The paper was identified as being "*Pursuant to an order of Court to us Directh to Settle the Estate of Joseph Ratliff, Dec[eased] ... and divide the residue to and among the children and widow and also to divide Sundry Negroes given by Cornelius Ratliff of Virginia to Joseph Ratliff's children agreeable to the deed of gift ...*".

The settlement dictated that daughter Elizabeth receive a "negroe man named Simon"; son Joseph, a woman and boy named *Judith* and *Isaac*; son Joshua, a woman named *Rose*; son Cornelius, a girl named *Pegg*; son Thomas, two boys named *Lango* and *Anthony*; and son Richard, a boy and a girl named *Samm* and *Rachel*. Some of the children received more money from their father's estate than others in order to compensate for "the Negroes being found of unequal value."

All of this demonstrates the Ratliff family were still slave owners in the 1760-1770 time frame. This was, however, in growing contradiction to Quaker principles by this time. Though southern Quakers, like other plantation owners around them, owned slaves, the religious conviction that slavery was morally wrong developed slowly, led by the efforts of John Woolman. After all, a custom which had been in existence since the beginning of recorded history did not go away overnight.

Southern Quakers were not able to dispense with the problem of slavery either quickly or easily. In many instances, as with the Ratliff family, slaves had been inherited. Setting them free would have likely led to their recapture by slave traders who would have sold them to other plantation owners who weren't Quakers. Many Friends reasoned the most humane action was to allow the slaves to remain in "nominal bondage," which was freedom compared to the status of slaves of non-Quaker owners. In one court decision, the judge observed "when Quakers hold slaves nothing but the name is wanting to render it at once a complete emancipation."

For Quakers, the purpose of holding slaves in what could be considered a form of protective custody was to insure their safety and well-being. The irony of this was, by doing so, Quakers became legal participants in a system which they abhorred. This issue caused great debate among Quakers, but the practice of holding slaves in protective custody continued until the Civil War.

But evidently at least one of the sons of Joseph Ratliff didn't buy completely into the Quaker principles surrounding slavery. The Perquimans Monthly Meeting records indicate that Joshua Ratliff "of Old Neck" was disowned on 3 June 1778 for "selling a negro."

The children of Joseph Ratliff and Mary Fletcher were (order of children unknown):

- + i. **Elizabeth Ratliff** Our direct ancestor, Elizabeth married William Newby.
- ii. **Joseph Ratliff** Joseph married 5 Oct 1774 to Sarah Newby. He died in 1787, as an inventory was taken of his estate on 31 Jul of that year.
- iii. **Joshua Ratliff** Disowned for selling a slave, nothing more is known of him.
- iv. **Cornelius Ratliff** Cornelius, was bound as an apprentice to Josiah Jordan “to learn the Art of a Cordwainer.” A *cordwainer* was someone who made shoes (as opposed to a *cobbler*, who repaired them). Evidently named for his great-uncle, Cornelius married 10 Jan 1781 to Elizabeth (Saint) Charles. Cornelius died in Wayne County, Indiana on 6 Apr 1828.
- v. **Thomas Ratliff** Like his older brother, in Jul 1771, Thomas served as an apprentice to Josiah Jordan to learn to be a shoemaker. Thomas married Hannah Munden, the daughter of Benjamin and Betty (Pearson) Munden, on 3 Feb 1779. He went to Indiana and died there before 1819.
- vi. **Richard Ratliff** Born 4 Nov 1759, Richard married Elizabeth “Betty” Pearson on 13 Mar 1784. Richard died in Henry County, Indiana on 11 Feb 1826.

Elizabeth Ratliff married into the Newby family.

Tomes Family

The first member of our Tomes family was Francis Tomes, who immigrated to Virginia at a very early date. He became a Quaker, and a very influential one. Much has been written about him, though some of the information is of questionable accuracy. Francis Tomes was literate and spelled his surname with an “e” but one or two generations later the name was frequently spelled *Toms*.

We know nothing of Francis Tomes’ ancestry or point of origin before coming to America. There are accounts of him being one of three brothers who emigrated from Wales (yet another example of the recurrent family legend involving emigrating brothers). Other tales have him being of Scottish origin. None of the legends involve a shred of proof, and must be considered nothing but fanciful stories.

Late in life, Francis Tomes gave us a rare glimpse into his early life when he provided a declaration to commissioners attempting to determine where the border between North Carolina and Virginia should be. The boundary had been in dispute as early as 1663 due to the usual conflicting grants to English proprietors. In 1710 commissioners tasked with settling the boundary dispute talked with many of the older men in those colonies in an attempt to get an understanding of where certain landmarks were understood to have been in the earliest periods.

As recorded on 27 September 1710, the declaration by Tomes consists mostly of accounts of where certain rivers were thought to be or what streams were thought to have been named. But Francis Tomes provided some valuable personal information as well. He stated that he was 77 years old “or thereabouts” which meant he was born about 1633. The “or thereabouts” meant that he probably wasn’t sure exactly how old he was, which was not uncommon for people in this era. He also told the commissioners that *“in or about the year of our Lord 1649 he came into Virg^a & dwelt nine years in Martin’s Brandon on the South Side of James River & thence removed to Ware neck in Surry County.”*

Martin’s Brandon, where Francis Tomes lived for the first nine years he was in Virginia, was the name at that time for what is now known as the Lower Brandon Plantation (or simply Brandon or Brandon Plantation) located on the south shore of the James River near Burrowsville, Virginia. The plantation was part of a 1616 land grant to Captain John Martin, one of the original Jamestown colonists. The original name was a combination of his own and his wife’s maiden name. Declared a National Historic Landmark in 1985, the plantation manor house is open to tours and the land is still farmed today, making it one of America’s oldest continuously operated farms. Ware Neck, Virginia is about twenty miles northeast of Williamsburg.

In his declaration, Tomes also related an interesting tale of the English having to go rescue some Indians. Tomes said that *“in or about the year 1661 or 1662 he was one of those men that were sent out under the Command of Capt. Potter to bring the Weyanoak Indians in among the English Inhabitants after the Weyanoak King had been murdered by the Nansemond Indians.”*

It was actually September 1663 when the Weyanokes requested asylum among the English after their *weroance* (chief) and six other people were killed by the Pochick Indians. Modern historical accounts mention that the English who collected the survivors from the Indian village found an English-style house and an apple orchard, but that the chief’s body was treated in the traditional manner by being taken outside the fort and “laid on a scaffold & covered with skins and matts.” These modern accounts are based almost word for word on Francis Tome’s declaration.

Francis evidently came to America as an indentured servant, meaning his passage to Virginia was paid

for in exchange for agreeing to be bound as a servant (i.e., an employee) to someone, customarily for a period of seven years. In a court proceeding on 27 October 1656 in Charles City County (in which Martin's Brandon plantation then lay) it was mentioned that Francis Toms "serv't to ffrancis Grey hath illegally and negligently absented himselfe from his Duty severall times amounting to tenn monthes." It was ordered that Toms "give satisfaction by Doubling the time of service so neglected" after the expiration of the indentured period.

The court concluded Toms had left his servitude several times, being absent a total of ten months, and granted an extra twenty months of servitude to his master, Francis Grey. Usually indentured servants fulfilled their obligations, and to be absent "several times" implied something was amiss, such as a master who enjoyed abusing his servants, especially since "bodily punishment for not heeding the commands of the master" was permitted.

This conjecture would be purely speculative were it not for a complaint of spousal abuse filed by Grace Grey, the wife of Capt. Francis Grey, on 1 August 1665 in Charles City County. In the complaint, the "unfortunate and deplorable wife" claimed she had been his wife for 24 years and bore him six children, and in that time had been a loving and obedient wife. She further claimed that her husband "*hath for many yeares most egregiously abused your petitioner by private unspeakeable devices, by the worst of words, by desperate and unmercifull blowes, and by Cutting her eares and keeping her under the quality of a most contemptible slave in the hands of an Imperious tyrant, not permitting her to come neere his table on a Sabbath day nor to eat of what remained when he had done.*" Such complaints were quite rare in colonial times, and it must be assumed that Francis Grey, despite being a major land holder and a justice of the peace, was also an abusive jerk.

Francis Toms evidently was a cooper by trade, i.e., one who made wooden barrels, casks and tubs. A record from Surry County, Virginia dated 30 June 1663 refers to a William Mills who agreed to "serve Francis Toms for two years, to learn the trade of a cooper." Francis must have stuck with the profession, for when he died 49 years later, he left his son Francis "all my Coopers Tools."

Francis Toms stated in the 1710 declaration that "in the year 1664 or thereabouts, he came to live in North Carolina." He was married three times. His first wife, whom he married about 1667, was named Priscilla, but little else about her is known. She died between 1680 when she witnessed a marriage and 1683 when Francis remarried. On 6 May 1683, Francis Toms married the former Abigail Bailey, who had previously been married to William Charles and John Lacy (and another direct ancestor through William Charles). Abigail died 4 March 1687 in Perquimans County and Francis Toms married a third time to someone named Mary, who died on 19 November 1717.

A reference is made to Francis Toms in the journal of the famous Quaker missionary William Edmundson. In the spring of 1672, Edmundson went to North Carolina and held a meeting at "*Henry Phillip's House by Albemarle river.*" Edmundson noted in his journal "*One Toms, a Justice of the Peace, and his Wife were at the Meeting, who receiv'd the Truth with Gladness, and desired to have the next Meeting at their House, about three Miles off, on the other side of the Water; so we had a Meeting there the next day, and a blessed Meeting it was. For several were tender'd with a Sense of the Power of God, receiv'd the Truth and abode in it.*"

The person named "Toms" noted in Edmundson's journal was Francis Toms, because of the similarity of the name and the fact that Francis Toms was the Justice of the Peace. This was just but one of the positions he would hold. He became a prominent leader in the proprietary government of North Carolina. Besides being a Justice of the Peace, Toms was apparently a member of the House

of Burgesses (one of the houses of the provincial assembly) about 1677. During the Culpeper's Rebellion, he was seized by the rebels when he returned from Virginia as part of a group which had gone to meet with Governor Thomas Eastchurch.

Culpeper's Rebellion was an uprising against proprietary rule in the Albemarle section of North Carolina, provoked by the efforts of the proprietary government to enforce the British Navigation Acts. These trade laws denied the colonists a free market outside England and placed heavy duties on commodities. The colonists' anger was aimed at the deputy governor, Thomas Miller, who also served as the customs collector. Led by John Culpeper and George Durant, the rebels imprisoned Miller and other officials, convened a legislature of their own, chose Culpeper governor, and for two years ran the colony. Culpeper was finally removed by the proprietors and tried for treason and embezzlement but was found not guilty.

Francis Tomes later served as a justice of the Albemarle County Court in February 1683/1684, April 1684, June 1684, October 1684, and February 1684/1685. It was probably about this time that he became Deputy to the Lord Proprietor Thomas Amy. As Deputy, he sat as a member of the Governor's Council from 1684 to 1704 and on the General Court. On 20 August 1695 he was appointed deputy collector of customs for the "part or parts of North Carolina, reaching from Cape fear to Virginia" His house was even used for government meetings on at least one occasion, for the Palatines Court met there on 9 December 1696.

Francis owned considerable land, receiving a number of land grants, possibly due to his prominence. There is some evidence that the first of his land holdings in Perquimans was a tract of 578 acres west of the Perquimans River "near Wilson's Creek." Though the land was granted to him in 1684, the language of the grant implies the land had already been granted to him by Sir William Berkeley prior to 25 December 1663. Francis Tomes conveyed 300 acres of this grant to his stepsons Daniel and Samuel Charles on 26 March 1687, and the remaining 278 acres to his son-in-law Gabriel Newby on 22 July 1693.

After remarrying in 1683, Francis appears to have moved to the area where his new wife had lived, north of the Perquimans River. On 11 June 1683 Tomes bought 260 acres there from Charles Prows, the executor for Ann Prows. This tract adjoined land which had belonged to William Charles, the first husband of Tomes' new wife Abigail. Francis then bought 140 acres owned by Charles in March 1687. Both these tracts were later mentioned in a grant of 640 acres which Francis Tomes obtained on 1 May 1695. Francis also received a land grant of 375 acres on 26 February 1696 north of the Perquimans River "adjoining beaver dam swamp and bridge branch."

Tomes was also very active among the Quakers. The names of Francis and Priscilla Tomes appear on the oldest extant record at Perquimans, a marriage certificate for Christopher Nicholson (another direct ancestor) on 11 April 1680. Both monthly and quarterly Quaker meetings were held at his house for many years. A Quarterly Meeting held in 1698 agreed they should hold "*the yerely meeting for this Cuntree at the house of francis tooms the Elder ...*". This earliest known record of a North Carolina Yearly Meeting shows it was to meet at Francis Tomes' house in 1698.

On 7 January 1705/1706 Francis Tomes donated one acre of the land where he lived for a building "built to Worship God in." This meeting house was soon known as the Lower Meeting House and later as Old Neck Meeting House.

But life for the Tomes family was not completely harmonious and blissful. A fracas developed within

the family in the 1709-1710 time period that was serious enough to have required intervention on the part of the other Quakers, and was noted in several of their records.

A serious quarrel developed between Francis Tomes' third wife, Mary, and his son-in-law Gabriel Newby (and another direct ancestor). On 7 September 1709 the Perquimans Monthly Meeting intervened in the family feud, deciding Mary had been too forward in charging Gabriel Newby "with things she could not make appear." Both were requested "to live in unity and to avoid giving aggravations."

Francis Tomes was a party to the disagreement as well. On 3 October 1709 the Yearly Meeting for North Carolina was called upon to settle the family dispute, noting in their records: "*Where as their has been divers Quarrels and Controversies between, Francis Toms and his Son in Law Gabariel Newbey: They haveing Laid it before this meeting They condesending, To Choose Six Friends to Deside it. Gabariel Newbey Condesended that his Father Toms might Choose them. And he did Soe, And they haveing brought them. To promise Each other to Live together in peace and Love, And pass by all offences that are past. & not to reap up any Thing that is Past where by Controversie may Arise.*"

Perhaps this turn-thy-cheek stuff may have worked for Francis Tomes, but it apparently didn't work with his wife Mary. Her "unity" with Gabriel Newby did not persist and, at another meeting nearly a year later, on 2 August 1710, several Friends testified that Mary had called Gabriel an "Impident durty fellow." Pretty nasty take-the-gloves-off stuff for gentle Quakers!

Since Mary's son-in-law bashing had occurred in public at Quaker meeting, Friends considered it a disgrace to the meeting as well as abusive to Gabriel. Mary was ordered not to appear in public until she "gave satisfaction" to the meeting. On 28 August she wrote the meeting an apology, saying she was "*harttily Sorry*" for what had happened and for "*Rash words and unseaviery Expressions which [were contrary] to truth.*"

She still was required to answer for a breach of the meeting's decision about living in unity and on 9 October 1710 she submitted a response in the usual Quaker-babble but admitted having a "*Proud and unstable minde which I doe Condemn being the fruits of unrighteousness ...*".

The proudness or instability of her mind evidently reasserted itself a few years later, and the Quarterly Meeting on 27 June 1714 had to settle a difference between Mary Tomes and Humphrey Wadey. Humphrey claimed Mary "*hath given him bad language such as doth not become such an one as she ought to be.*" Thinking "*she is not fitted to preach the gospel,*" he could not "*freely put off his hat when she goes to prayer.*" In turn, Mary complained that Humphrey "*hath called her an old wicked woman ... [who] need not be in haste to go to meeting for the good she would do there.*"

The meeting decided that Humphrey should remove his hat when Mary prayed "*if not in respect to her then for the good order of the truth.*" Another member mentioned earlier, Richard Ratliff, also disliked Mary's prayers, causing yet another he-didn't-take-his-hat-off complaint in 1716. It would seem that Mary was a contentious individual and not well liked by many of her fellow Quakers.

Francis Tomes made out his will on 6 December 1709. The Perquimans Monthly Meeting noted that Francis Tomes "departed this Life" on 3 June 1712. In his will, Francis Tomes left the usual household stuff to his "loving wife Mary Tomes," as well as thirteen head of cattle and other livestock for her "sustenance & maintenance" during her life. While she remained alive, Mary also got the use

of the house, orchards and fields, as well as the loom, the horse mill and mill horses, and three slaves named James, Moll and Possemore. He left four other slaves to his sons.

Tomes split his lands among his two surviving sons, Francis Jr. receiving 640-acre and 250-acre parcels, while Joshua received 400 acres. His grandson Francis Newby received 300 acres southwest of Voss Creek “att ye ffoot of ye Bridge.”

Francis Tomes left his daughter Mary, who had married Gabriel Newby, with a pittance of only five shillings, for she “had her portion when She married Gabriell.” This single mention of his daughter Mary, and the wife of that “dirty fellow” Gabriel, looks suspiciously like the intense dislike that Tomes and his wife had for Gabriel never ended. The rest of Francis’ estate he divided equally among his two sons and “preselo Nicholson,” a daughter Priscilla. He also gave his saddle horse named *Forrester* to his daughter Priscilla.

Since his widow Mary was not the mother of any of his children, Francis Tomes was evidently concerned about the possibility of his wife disposing of things that he intended to go to his son Francis. He specifically wrote that “*my Sd wife Shall not Inbasel [embezzle] nor Sell any of ye Said Goods out of ye house nor of ye plantation for they Doe belong to my Son Francis Tomes.*” In another part of the will he directed that in the event Mary should “*marry or move of ye plantation She Shall not [have] any of ye houshold Goods or Stock from of ye plantation for Itt belongs to my Son ffrancis Tomes.*” There seemed to be a genuine concern on Francis’ part that his widow might try to relieve his children of some of their legitimate inheritance by either embezzling or selling some of the items.

Then there were the beds mentioned in the will, what noted historian Ray Winslow described in a 1981 paper as “the most famous beds in Perquimans County.” Other than land and a person’s house, beds were probably a man’s most valuable possession in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. They were among the most common bequests in wills in that period. Because he was a prominent Quaker and received a number of visitors of that sect, he even kept a “guest room” for visitors. In his will, Francis Tomes left “three feather beds with what furniture is belonging to them” to his widow Mary for her use as long as she lived, one for her and “*for ye Service of Gods people Mesengers & Ministers that he Send amongst us, wch. feather beds to be kept in ye porch Chamber for Gods Messingers & Ministers to Lodge In.*” Having lots of beds, he also gave three feather beds to Priscilla and his two sons. His daughter Mary, the wife of the “dirty fellow,” did not get a bed.

Francis’ widow Mary lived another five and half years. She left her own will dated 30 March 1713, which was probated 15 January 1717/1718. Though she left small bequests to several people, she named her “*Trusty and well beloved friends Joseph Glaister and mary his wife*” executors of her estate and also left them her “*hole Estate bouth Reall and personnall.*” One has to wonder how much of Mary’s estate bequeathed to the Glaisters had been intended by Francis to go to his children.

After Mary died, the beds mentioned in Francis’ will became the possessions of his son Francis, and when the son died in 1729, he left them to his son. But someone complained to the Perquimans Monthly Meeting that one of the beds was “without bedding.” Possibly because there were some bad memories still around regarding Francis’ widow Mary, Zachariah Nixon was appointed to “discourse” with Mary Glaister about the issue. Mary insisted the bed had been “well furnished when she carried away the estate that she had of Mary Tomes.” The Meeting believed her and ordered the grandson to furnish the bed at his own expense.

The children of Francis Tomes, the first seven by his wife “Persilla” and the last by his second wife

Abigail, presumably all born in Perquimans County, were:

- i. **Penelope Tomes** Born 2 Dec 1668, Penelope probably died young.
- + ii. **Mary Tomes** Born 27 Jun 1670, Mary married Gabriel Newby, and was a direct ancestor.
- iii. **Francis Tomes** Born 19 Sep 1672, Francis was married twice: (1) 8 Jun 1696 to Margaret (Bogue) Lawrence, who died before 1722 and (2) 5 Jun 1722 to Rebecca Peirce. Francis received four land grants totaling 920 acres, all in Perquimans County. Like his father, Francis was very active in the Quakers. He died 12 Sep 1729.
- iv. **Priscilla Tomes** Born 19 March 1674/1675; apparently died young.
- v. **Joseph Tomes** Born 16 Nov 1677, Joseph died 6 Jun 167[9?].
- vi. **Caleb Tomes** Born in 1679, Caleb was a twin who died young. The birth date of Caleb and his twin brother Joshua is an example of why genealogists are often driven to drink. The date is recorded three times, with complete dates in each case. The only problem is that all three differ. The old register of vital statistics for Perquimans actually records the births twice: (1) on page 13 "*Caleb & Joshua Tomes the Sones of Francis Tomes & Persilla his wife was born twinnes the 30th October 1679*" and (2) on page 20 "*Caleb & Joshua Tomes the Sones of Francis and Persilah his wife were borne the 25 of November 1679.*" The second volume of Minutes of Perquimans Monthly Meeting noted "*Francis & Priscilla Tomes Children ages recorded . . . Joshua & Caleb was born ye 25 of ye 8 mo. [October] 1679.*"
- vii. **Joshua Tomes** Born in 1679, a twin of Caleb, Joshua survived and married three times: (1) on 23 Nov 1701 to Sarah Gosby; (2) on 9 Jul 1724 to Elizabeth Charles; (3) in 1726 to Rebecca (Jones) Sutton. Joshua didn't make as good a Quaker as his father and older brother did, for he evidently had a propensity for hitting the sauce. The Perquimans records indicate Joshua was disowned on 7 Aug 1728 for "*taking too much drink at Sundry times & for Several years.*" Joshua died in either Mar or Apr of 1732.
- viii. **Priscilla Tomes** Born 10 Dec 1684, Priscilla married three times: (1) on 20 Nov 1700 to John Nicholson, (2) on 23 Aug 1711 to John Kinsey, (3) on 8 Mar 1721/1722 to John Symons.

Mary Tomes was the oldest surviving daughter, born 27 June 1670 in Perquimans County, North Carolina. She also had the misfortune of marrying Gabriel Newby on 1 June 1689, a person her father and stepmother evidently profoundly disliked.

Newby Family

The unusual surname *Newby* is of medieval English origin, and likely adopted from any of the various places named that in northern England. For example, Newby in Cumberland is recorded as “Neubi” in the Register of the Priory of Wetherhal (ca 1165); the place in Westmorland is registered in the Early Yorkshire Charters as “Neuby” (ca 1160); and in Yorkshire as “Neuby” in the Percy Chartulary (ca 1240). All of the locations are believed to have been given the name from the Middle English words “newe” meaning new and “by” meaning a farm; hence a “new farm”.

Several individuals with the surname *Newby* arrived early on the North American continent, including a William Newby who sailed on the *Mary and John* in 1633 from Southampton to Massachusetts, and a Henry Newby who sailed on the *Thomas and John* from London to Virginia in 1635. However, there is no known connection between these men and our earliest Newby ancestor. Until recently the earliest known ancestor of our Newby family of Perquimans Precinct, North Carolina was *William Newby* who had been associated with the Chuckatuck Monthly Meeting in Nansemond County, Virginia by at least May 1683.

In 1962 noted genealogist William Perry Johnson (also a descendant of William Newby) prepared a manuscript titled *The Newbys of England and Ireland* in which he pointed out that possible Newby ancestors lived in the English counties of both Northumberland and Durham near the border with Scotland. He noted that at least some of these Newbys became Quakers and were members of the Friends Meeting in Dublin, Ireland by 1662. While Johnson collected an impressive amount of information suggesting William Newby of Chuckatuck and Perquimans Monthly Meetings might have been a son of Ralph and Dorothy Newby of England and Ireland, he made it clear the relationship remained unproven.

More recently, Larry M. Bell of Fairview Heights, Illinois, working with genealogists in both Ireland and England, discovered additional Quaker and Anglican baptismal records which seem to identify William Newby as the son of Ralph and Dorothy Newby and the grandson of William Newby who was born in Northumberland County, England before 1592. Though not definite (and very little is in genealogy), the first two generations of the Newby family are now believed to be as follows.

First Generation

William Newby lived in England, where he was likely born before 1592. Based on baptism records for the parish of Easington, County Durham, England, William Newby had the following children:

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| i. John Newby | Though no baptismal record was found for this person, there is later evidence that Ralph Newby had a brother John. John married and had seven children baptized at Easington, including a daughter Rachel 24 May 1637, the witnesses for which were “Ralph Newbie” and “Rachel Newbie,” likely his younger brother and sister. |
| + ii. Ralph Newby | Baptized at Easington 14 Mar 1612 as a “son of William,” Ralph was likely our direct ancestor. |
| iii. Alice Newby | Baptized at Easington on 5 Nov 1615 as a “daughter of William.” |
| iv. Rachel Newby | Baptized at Easington on 6 Mar 1619 as a “daughter of William.” |

Second Generation

Ralph Newby reportedly married Dorothy Hinchley on 22 May 1636 at Easington. At a later date, probably about 1662, the family moved to Dublin, Ireland, likely because of religious persecution of the Quakers in England. The Quaker records for Dublin, Ireland note that “Ralph Newby, late of Dublin, that came from the Bishoprick of Durham,” was buried in the Friend’s cemetery at Stephens Green near Dublin on 18 May 1682. Dorothy survived her husband and lived another 29 years. Her death was recorded in the Dublin records: “*Dorothy Newby, mother-in-law of William Norris, ... being very aged ... some avers one hundred years ... deceased at the home of her son-in-law and was buried at Friends burial place near Stephens Green, 14 of 10 Mo. 1711. She was a woman of good report and orderly conversation, ready to serve the Truth and friends, in her station, whilst of ability. But for many years before she died was very weak and infirm yet very sensibly till near her departure, and we have cause to hope she died in peace with the Lord.*”

The children of Ralph and Dorothy Newby were (baptisms occurred at both Easington, County Durham, England, and Earsdon, County Northumberland, England, which are less than 25 miles apart):

- + i. **William Newby** Baptized 14 Aug 1637 at Easington, this William is believed to be our immigrant ancestor.
- ii. **Edward Newby** Baptized 14 Aug 1637 at Easington, Edward may have been a twin of William, or possibly just baptized the same day.
- iii. **Rachel Newby** Baptized 30 Aug 1637 at Easington.
- iv. **Mark Newby** Born 25 Apr 1638 at Earsdon, Mark married (1) on 26 Jul 1663 near Gowran, County Kilkenny, Ireland to Elizabeth Wilbre, the widow of Edward Wilbre who died in 1661. She was born in 1635, the daughter of Francis and Alice Bridge of Heath Hall, Renway, England. She had three children by her first husband and two more by Mark Newby, but all were deceased by the time of her death in Dublin in 1672. Mark then married (2) on 21 May 1674 to Hannah Holmes, daughter of Francis and Joan Holmes of Salterly, England. Mark Newby emigrated to New Jersey in late 1681, serving as a member of the legislature there in 1682, but was listed as deceased by the time of the May term of the 1683 legislature. His widow married James Atkinson in 1685.
- v. **John Newby** Born 1644 at Ramside, parish of Moorhouse, County Durham, England, John was baptized at Easington on 22 Feb 1645. He married in a Quaker ceremony on 26 Feb 1673/1674 to Grace Edmundson, the daughter of Thomas and Anne Edmundson of Little Musgrave in Westmorland County, England. She was the sister of the famous Quaker minister, William Edmundson. John Newby died in Dublin on 29 May 1691 at age 47.
- vi. **Ellinor Newby** Born Dec 1649 at Ramside, England, “Ellinor” married in Dublin on 15 Jan 1673/1674 to William Norris, son of Philip and Alice Norris. William had been born in County Lancaster, England in 1646, and he died in Dublin on 10 Apr 1726. Ellinor and her husband outlived all of their children except two sons.
- vii. **Ralph Newby** Ralph was baptized 13 Oct 1650 at Easington. No further

viii. **Joseph Newby**

ix. **Isabella Newby**

record.

Born about 1654 at Morehouse, County Durham, England, Joseph died at Wicklow on 15 Jan 1696/1697 at age 42. He had married someone named Mary, who died 22 Feb 1708/1709.

Isabella married Cuthbert Roddon in England. She died in Dublin, Ireland and left a will dated 18 Feb 1728/1729 that helped verify some of the family relationships given here. She mentioned her “sister Ellin Norris” and a number of others, but the most important connection was the mention of “my two brothers Nathan and Gabriel Newby in New England.” Nathan and Gabriel were the sons of her brother William, and therefore her nephews, but in the eighteenth century, many kinds of family relationships were described as “brotherly” and shouldn’t be taken literally. Nor were Nathan and Gabriel in New England, but in Virginia, but to people who remained behind in the United Kingdom, anything across the Atlantic was called *New England*.

Third Generation

Research shows the earliest Newby ancestor who can be conclusively identified in colonial records is William Newby, who had to have been born by about 1640. The evidence of him being the son of Ralph and Dorothy Newby of Dublin, Ireland, while not compelling, is very strong. William, the son of Ralph and Dorothy Newby, was baptized at Easington, County Durham, England on 14 August 1637. Unlike some of his brothers and sisters, no record has been found in the Dublin records of William Newby.

However, two sons Nathan and Gabriel, and a daughter Dorothy can be associated with our North Carolina William Newby. Perhaps the strongest evidence of the connection to the Dublin Newby family is the fact that son Nathan and daughter Dorothy have a provable connection to the Dublin Friends Monthly Meeting before they sailed to America. On 2 December 1684, a certificate of removal was issued at the request of Nathan Newby of Dublin addressed to “Friends of Virginia” and stating that Nathan had for “several years lived as a Servant with a friend in this City.” One of the signers was William Norris, Nathan’s brother-in-law and a common connection between the Newby siblings. On 1 November 1687, it was noted in the Dublin records that “Dorothy Newby, who lived formerly with William Norris, having written for a certificate for her from Virginia concerning her clearness in relation to marriage ...”.

The equation is completed from the Virginia side, where on 13 December 1687, Nathan Newby, “son of William Newby” married Elizabeth Hollowell in Nansemond County, Virginia. Witnesses who signed the marriage certificate included William Newby, his wife Isabel, and Nathan’s siblings Gabriel and Dorothy. A few months later, on 17 April 1688, “Dorothy Newby, daughter of William Newby” married Leaven Bufkin in the same location. Besides her parents, witnesses included Gabriel and Nathan Newby.

When William Newby went to Virginia is unknown, though he was there by 10 July 1683 when he signed as a witness to a wedding in Nansemond County. His wife is never identified other than by association when Isabel Newby and William both signed as marriage witnesses on several occasions. Isabel died before 1701 and by that year William Newby had moved from Virginia to North Carolina.

A record of the General Court in Perquimans dated 25 March 1701 noted that “Wm. Nuby” was one of those “imported” to the Perquimans Precinct by Gabriel Newby.

On 3 September 1701 William Newby married the widow Jane Byar, William being her fourth husband. The last time William Newby appears in any record was in 1704 when he purchased an acre of land “upon which a House of Worship has already been Built” (later known as Wells meeting house).

William Newby, probably by wife Isabel, had the following children (the first three can be proven, the others are questionable):

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|---|
| + i. | Gabriel Newby | That “dirty fellow,” our direct ancestor. |
| ii. | Nathan Newby | He married Elizabeth Hollowell on 13 Dec 1687 “in hir Mothers house” in Nansemond County, Virginia. He also moved to North Carolina and lived adjacent to his brother Gabriel as noted in a 1708 deed. Nathan died in 1735. |
| iii. | Dorothy Newby | “Dorrithy” married (1) 17 Apr 1688 at Chuckatuck Monthly Meeting, Nansemond County, Virginia to Leaven (Levin) Bufkin; (2) 6 Sep 1699 to Matthew Jordan in the same place. |
| iv. | Edward Newby (?) | Edward is listed in many Newby accounts as a son of William, though proof is lacking. Edward died about 1702 in Surry County, Virginia. |
| v. | John Newby (?) | John is a “maybe” son who died prior to 1692 when his widow Magdalene married Matthew Colley. John and his wife named one of their sons Gabriel, an uncommon name. |
| vi. | Thomas Newby (?) | Another “maybe,” Thomas lived in Isle of Wight County, Virginia in 1671. |

Fourth Generation

Gabriel Newby, who quarreled with his in-laws, was our direct ancestor. Based on his age when he died, Gabriel was born about 1665, possibly after the family moved to Dublin. He came to Virginia, where he likely lived in Nansemond County near other members of the family. It appears he was a family leader in moving to North Carolina, based on a Perquimans Court record dated 25 March 1701 which states “*Gabriell Nuby prov^d his Rights to 200 acrs of Land by ye Importation of Wm. Nuby, Gilbert Smith, Ralph Buffkin, Gabriell Nuby.*”

This land grant was called a “headright.” The headright system was used in four of the Southern colonies as an attempt to solve the labor shortage problem due to the raising of tobacco, which required large plots of land and a large number of workers. It was also a way to attract new immigrants. Immigrant colonists who paid for their passage were given one headright, typically 50 acres, and would receive an additional headright of 50 acres for each passenger for whom they paid the passage.

When Gabriel Newby came to North Carolina is not known, but it was likely in the 1680s. He married on 1 June 1689 to 18-year-old Mary Tomes, the daughter of Francis Tomes. Four years later, on 22 July 1693, Francis Tomes assigned the rights to a 278-acre land patent to Gabriel Newby. On 26 March 1699 Gabriel bought another 240 acres from Francis Tomes’ stepson Samuel Charles, land that had been given him by Tomes. In ensuing years, Gabriel bought additional plots of land and received additional land grants. He did not keep all the land. For example, after receiving 374 acres of a Lord

Proprietor land grant in 1720, Gabriel sold 324 acres of the patent to Peter Person for £40 “and the other 50 acres to Anthony Haskitt.” He certainly was a large landowner, referring in a 1724 deed to one parcel as “my 640 acres.” At his death, Gabriel Newby owned well over a thousand acres of land and several slaves.

In several deeds from 1699 to 1723, Gabriel Newby was identified as a “wheelwright” (one who built wheels for wagons). But he evidently dabbled in the law, as he was noted in court records from Perquimans Precinct as “*Gabrill Newby, Aturnney*,” “*Gabrel Newby, Atturney*” and similar references. In all likelihood, his law skills were limited to simple preparation of documents for others, since he was relatively skilled in writing, serving as clerk of his Quaker meeting for some years.

As mentioned earlier in this work, Gabriel Newby got into a serious spat with his father-in-law Francis Tomes and Francis’ wife at that time. In 1709 the only business before the Quaker yearly meeting for North Carolina was the settlement of a difficulty between Francis Tomes and Gabriel Newby. Francis Tomes accused “Gabriel as being wholly dead to his ministry to him, and he received no benefit by his ministry, and says he sways the whole meeting how he pleases, whether it be right or wrong.” But it was further noted in the records that Francis Tomes, “contrary to good order used amongst us, set with his hat on when Gabriel was at prayer and when he was preaching turned his back to him as a dislike to his testimony.”

The yearly meeting secured from each a promise to “live in peace and love and pass by all offenses that are past.” But the ‘let bygones be bygones’ stuff evidently didn’t work and one gets the impression from later records and Francis Tomes’ will that hostility between the two continued to the end of their days.

Besides raising ten children of his own, Gabriel Newby agreed to raise two orphans. On 9 March 1703 in the Perquimans Precinct Court, Gabriel filed a petition “*for two orphants left him by Mary Hancock the late wife of Thom^s Hancocke.*” The court agreed to bind the orphans to Gabriel in return for “*his endeavour to learne the boy the trade of a wheelwright*” and at the expiration of their indenture to provide a year old heifer to the boy and “*to y^e girle at her freedome one Cow and Calfe.*”

Gabriel Newby was a prominent Quaker, mentioned in a number of records as early as 1695 as a colonial official residing in Perquimans Precinct. In 1703 Gabriel served in the lower house of the General Assembly. In November 1707 he joined the Proprietary Council during William Glover’s presidency of the Council as one of the Lords Proprietors’ deputies. From that position Gabriel supported the efforts of Thomas Cary to assume executive control in the colony. Newby served on the Council during Cary’s term as governor from July 1708 until January 1711, when Cary and his supporters were ousted. Thereafter, Gabriel Newby disappeared from provincial politics.

There’s actually a lot more to the story of Gabriel Newby’s support of Thomas Cary, a forgotten corner of history which came to be known as Cary’s Rebellion. The quarrel that rocked the North Carolina colony and led to this rebellion was essentially a religious conflict with political overtones. The Quaker sect was firmly entrenched in North Carolina, to the point that for several decades it was essentially the only organized religion. In 1694, with the appointment of the Quaker John Archdale as governor, Quakers dominated all branches of government in the colony. Supporters of the Anglican (Church of England) faith felt that they were being discriminated against in political matters, an ironic reversal of roles for the two groups.

In 1699 a zealous Anglican, Henderson Walker, became governor. The next year, he persuaded the

General Assembly to pass a vestry act establishing the Church of England as the colony's official church, to be supported by taxes to be levied upon the colonists. At almost the same time Queen Anne came to the throne, thus necessitating the renewing of various oaths of loyalty by the colony's officials and Assemblymen. The Quakers, unwilling to swear to an oath because of their faith, offered to *affirm* as they had done in the past. The Anglican establishment refused to accept this, and barred all Quakers from public office. The colony quickly split into two parties, the Church party and the Quaker party. Matters went from bad to worse, and politics became increasingly bitter as time went on.

In 1705 Thomas Cary was named governor. He supported the Church party, but the Quakers were able to secure his removal from office. But William Glover, president of the council, was a far more ardent supporter of the establishment than Cary, and he withheld the order removing Cary from office. Cary, meanwhile, switched his allegiance to the Quaker party, and in 1708 he managed to oust Glover from office and force him and the more ardent supporters of the Church party to flee to Virginia. From 1708 to 1710, Cary and the Quaker party dominated the political life of the colony, and Gabriel Newby was in the thick of it.

This was the same time frame in which Gabriel Newby and his father-in-law had a serious falling out. Since there is evidence the two were on opposite sides of the Cary's Rebellion issue, the problems between the two probably had more to do with politics than with religion.

In January 1711, Edward Hyde arrived in North Carolina claiming the governorship of the colony. While his commission as governor had not been "technically perfected," Cary seemed willing to let Hyde assume office. But after taking office, Hyde began to pursue a policy hostile to the Quakers and Cary refused to recognize him and claimed the governorship until such time as Hyde could produce his commission. With this, the colony, already tense after years of bitter political and religious strife, split into two armed camps, and open warfare quickly ensued.

The two groups went at it for the next several months with hundreds of men, cannons and even a "brigantine of six guns," perhaps the first and only North Carolina navy. The governor of Virginia finally intervened and sent Royal marines to aid Hyde in July 1711. Cary and his chief supporters were seized and sent in chains to England, but with the help of friends there, they were able to secure their freedom. Cary returned to North Carolina and soon slipped into obscurity, as did Gabriel Newby's short political career.

There is no record of Gabriel himself being punished for his involvement in Cary's Rebellion. But he was mentioned as one of the people involved. In a letter to the Lord Proprietors, Edward Hyde wrote that "*Thomas Cary and John Porter Esqre were impeathed of high crimes and misdemeanours*" and that they "*did confederate with ... severall other desperate and evil minded persons as also with Emanuel Low, Gabriel Newby and many others of the people called Quakers and raised an insurrection against the lawfull Authority of the Lords Proprietors of North Carolina.*"

In his will dated 26 March 1733, Gabriel Newby left "plantations" to sons Joseph, Francis and Jesse, indicating that each of the three already lived on the bequeathed land. He also left 300 acres to grandson William Newby. The youngest son, Samuel Newby, received "*my maner plantation with all my other land wherever to be found belonging to me.*" He also left his water mill to Samuel with the stipulation the Francis and Jesse got "*the use of them sometimes they helping to keep ye mill in repair and if not to loose that previledge.*" The will also mentions "all my negroes" but only mentions five by name.

The records of the Pasquotank Monthly Meeting note that “Gabriel Newbey, Sr.” died February 1735/1736 “in his 70th year.” His widow Mary died 11 January 1738/1739. Gabriel Newby and Mary Tomes had the following children (all children born in Perquimans Precinct):

- i. **William Newby** Born 13 Mar 1689/1690, William married Ann Henley in 1718, but died the following year. After his death, his young widow married John Hollowell on 21 Mar 1720.
- ii. **Edward Newby** Born 12 Dec 1691, he died in 1720/1721 in Surry County, Virginia. Edward married Mary Hage (Haig), the daughter of William and Mary Hage of Pasquotank on 17 Mar 1719/1720 at the “upper meeting.” Edward left a will in Perquimans County dated 6 Aug 1717 in which he named his father Gabriel, and brother William Newby. His wife Mary is not mentioned in his will because he made his will out before he married, which means he likely was in poor health at the time he married. His wife Mary remarried to Ralph Bufkin 15 Mar 1721/1722.
- iii. **Joseph Newby** Born 27 Nov 1693, Joseph married (1) Elizabeth Nixon, the daughter of Zachariah and Elizabeth (Page) Nixon of Little River on 1 Mar 1715; (2) Mary (Clare) Mayo, the widow of Edward Mayo and daughter of Timothy Clare on 3 Aug 1726; (3) Patience “widow Jordan” on 15 Feb 1749/1750 at Pagan Creek Monthly Meeting, Isle of Wight County, Virginia. His daughter Elizabeth married Joseph Mayo, son of Edward and Mary (Clare) Mayo in 1743, since marrying step-brothers was considered okay. Joseph’s will, dated 11 Sep 1766, and proved in Perquimans Oct 1766, named several children and a “poor decrepit son Josiah” whom he left “in care” of his other sons.
- iv. **Francis Newby** Born 3 Jan 1695/1696, Francis married Huldah Hunnicutt, the daughter of Robert Hunnicutt and Margaret Wyke, on 7 Feb 1723 at Henrico Monthly Meeting in Prince George County, Virginia. Huldah was born about 1701. Francis died about 1744 in Perquimans County, his will proved in the April Court of 1744.
- v. **Isabel Newby** Born 28 Dec 1697, Isabel married John Henley on 9 Jan 1716/1717 at her father’s house in Perquimans. She married (2) Benjamin Pritchard in 1729 and (3) Thomas Pierce in 1744. The deaths of Isabel and her husband Thomas were reported at Symons Creek MM, Pasquotank County on 3 Aug 1758, implying perhaps they died together in some type of accident.
- vi. **Mary Newby** Born 3 Jan 1699/1700, Mary married (1) William Trotter on 2 Feb 1725/1726 and (2) Phineas Nixon, son of Zachariah and Elizabeth (Symons) Nixon, on 9 Feb 1731/1732 in her father’s house.
- vii. **Meriam Newby** Born 2 Feb 1701/1702, daughter Meriam probably died young.
- viii. **Jesse Newby** Born 30 May 1704, Jesse married Mary Hunnicutt, the sister of Huldah whom his brother Francis married, on 9 Jan 1727/1728 at Henrico Monthly Meeting, Prince George County, Virginia. Mary was born about 1706 in Virginia. His will names his brothers so he probably didn’t have any surviving children.

- ix. **Elizabeth Newby** Born about 1706, Elizabeth married John Nixon, the son of Zachariah and Elizabeth (Symons) Nixon, on 10 Sep 1729 in the house of her father. Elizabeth died on 10 Jul 1730.
- + x. **Samuel Newby** Born about 1708, Samuel was the youngest child and our direct ancestor.

Fifth Generation

Samuel Newby, despite being the youngest of four surviving sons, received an inheritance of his father's plantation in the Perquimans area of North Carolina. Samuel's three older brothers all received separate plantations of their own as a result of their father's generous will.

Samuel married twice. His first wife was Ann Mayo, the daughter of Edward Mayo Jr. and Mary Clare. According to the Pasquotank records, Ann was born 23 March 1713/1714. She and Samuel Newby reportedly married on 4 December 1729 when Ann was but 15 years old. After Ann's grandmother died, her grandfather Edward Mayo got into trouble with his fellow Quakers by courting a widow too soon after the death of his wife. The elder Mayo wrote a paper of self-condemnation, stating that "for want of watchfulness" he had made "suit to the widow Gormack by way of courtship, contrary to the good and wholesome order settled among Friends; it being too soon after the death of her husband and the death of my wife."

After the death of his first wife Ann, Samuel Newby married Elizabeth Sanders, the daughter of Benjamin and Ann Sanders. The actual marriage date for Samuel and Elizabeth is not known. The only record concerning their marriage is in the Perquimans Monthly Meeting records, which states that on 5 November 1740 Samuel was at liberty to marry "Elisabeth Sanders." The marriage undoubtedly occurred soon after that date.

Almost nothing is known of the ancestry of Elizabeth Sanders other than the names of her parents. Her mother's maiden name is not known, though it has been suggested many times, without proof, that it was Elliott. Benjamin Sanders was listed on the first extant tax list for the Perquimans Precinct in 1729 as owning 1019 acres, a very large amount of land. He also was a neighbor of Samuel Newby, as several deeds mention adjoining property lines with Francis Newby, a brother of Samuel and with whom Samuel also shared a property line.

Speaking of his brothers, Samuel and brothers Francis and Jesse lived in close proximity to one another. Francis Newby sold 50 acres of land on the north side of Cypress Swamp "in the pine woods" to Samuel in 1732, while Jesse Newby sold 100 acres to Samuel in 1736. In 1740, Samuel paid his brother Jesse £73 for 50 acres "*where I now dwell ... running out of s^d Samuel Newbys Mill Pond, that divides land of Francis, & Jesse Newby, to Sam'l Newbys New Road to Deep branch, along sd branch to Perquimans River, & up the s^d River to Samuel Newbys Mill Creek.*" This deed indicates that the three brothers lived on adjoining parcels of land they all inherited from their father.

Samuel Newby died in 1776-1777, soon after the Revolutionary War broke out. He wrote his will dated 3 October 1771, which was proven in January 1777. Samuel Newby and his first wife Ann Mayo had three children, though there is no Quaker record of their births. They would be unknown to us except for a will. Ann Mayo's mother, following the death of Ann's father, married Joseph Newby, Samuel's older brother (meaning your mother-in-law was also your sister-in-law). Ann's mother left a will in 1739 naming Samuel Newby and his three children. Samuel Newby, by Ann Mayo, had these children:

- i. **Edward Newby** Probably died young.
 - ii. **Jemima Newby** Jemima, the only one of the children by Samuel's first wife known to survive to adulthood, married William Newby, a distant cousin (a second cousin once removed to be exact). In 1763 her father for "love I bear my daughter Jemmima, & her husband William Newby," gave them 175 acres of land on the southwest side of the Perquimans River "at the mouth of Deep branch, above the Haw-tree Island, along side of Tongue of Reeds."
 - iii. **Isabel Newby** Probably died young.
- By his second wife, Elizabeth Sanders, Samuel Newby had these children (dates of birth from Hathaway's *The North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*):
- iv. **Joseph Newby** Born 10 Aug 1741, Joseph married his first cousin, Huldah Newby. This was, and remains, a no-no for most people including Quakers, and he was disowned in 1769 for marrying "a near relation." Usually when a Quaker was disowned, the meeting no longer had to look after you, but Joseph Newby received some special consideration. With the Revolutionary War in full swing in 1778, Joseph found himself in a predicament. He was still a Quaker (disowned Quakers could still attend meeting) but as a disowned member of the sect, he could not get a certificate that would prevent him from having to serve in the militia. As a result, the Perquimans meeting wrote to Colonel Thomas Harvey admitting that Joseph was "not in Unity with the Society therefore could not obtain a Certificate," but appealed to the colonel to excuse Joseph from military service. They explained that Joseph "fell in love with a young woman so nearly Related to him, that our Discipline would not admit them a marriage... Yet he Married her before a Magistrate for which according to our Disipline we were obliged to disown him." But, the letter explained, "we believe his principles are not Altered as to bearing arms."
 - + v. **William Newby** Born 30 Dec 1743, William was our direct ancestor and would eventually move to Indiana.
 - vi. **Ann Newby** Born 5 Feb 1745, Ann married on 6 Apr 1777 to Caleb Trueblood, the son of Amos Trueblood and Elizabeth Cartwright. Caleb died in 1802 and Ann left a will dated 6 May 1805.
 - vii. **Gabriel Newby** Born 13 Feb 1747, Gabriel married (1) Rachel Townsend in 1776 and (2) Pleasant White in 1787.
 - viii. **Mary Newby** Born 16 Oct 1749, Mary married Joseph Bogue. He died in Nov 1803 and Mary joined her family in moving west, where she died in Preble County, Ohio on 22 Jun 1818.
 - ix. **Gideon Newby** Born 15 Sep 1751, Gideon married Mary Arnold and moved to Randolph County, North Carolina in 1797. He died on 29 Jan 1816.
 - x. **Elizabeth Newby** Born 16 Mar 1756, Elizabeth married (1) about 1777 Thomas Wilson, and (2) in 1797 John Henley.
 - xi. **Miriam Newby** Born 16 Oct 1757, Miriam married about 1781 Abner Harrell.

xii. **Samuel Newby**

Born 25 Mar 1761, he probably died young.

xiii. **Jesse Newby**

Born about 1764, and not listed in Hathaway's register, Jesse was named in his father's will and his mother's 1795 division of estates. Jesse was disowned for unknown reasons in 1789, but later "condemned his misconduct" and was reinstated with the Quakers in late 1790, in time to marry the widow Elizabeth (White) Townsend by May 1791. Jesse died in Perquimans County on 4 Apr 1819.

Sixth Generation

William Newby, our direct ancestor, was born 30 December 1743 in Perquimans County, North Carolina. On 8 October 1766, William married Elizabeth Ratliff, the daughter of Joseph Ratliff and Mary Fletcher, at Old Neck Meeting House in Perquimans County (the actual date of the marriage was later recorded by Center Monthly Meeting).

William Newby may have been the Quaker of that name who was disowned by the Perquimans Monthly Meeting on 5 August 1767. There was more than one person of that name living in the Perquimans area at the time, but a large percentage of disowned Quakers were in their twenties when they were disowned, so the age is about right for our ancestor. Seven years later, the records indicate that William Newby condemned his misconduct and was reinstated. As was typical, the records did not identify William's transgression.

In his will, his father left William "*all that land I bought of my brother Jese,*" identified as the 50-acre parcel where Jesse Newby had lived. His father had bought this land before William was born, and William Newby may have been living on the parcel before inheriting it in 1771.

On 18 January 1769, William Newby assisted his widowed mother-in-law Mary Ratliff in petitioning the court to divide the estate of Mary's husband among the Ratliff family. Much of the estate's value was in the black slaves received as a gift from Cornelius Ratliff of Virginia. The nine slaves were eventually divided among members of the Ratliff family by court order on 12 February 1770. William Newby's wife Elizabeth received a "negroe man named Simon."

It is rare to encounter a personal tale regarding an early ancestor, but a short account about William Newby in the *Wayne County, Indiana History* provides a fascinating story: "*William Newby was a blacksmith, and when he was eighteen years of age he took a contract to iron a large vessel. Later he took a voyage of eighteen months around the West Indies and returned to Perquimans. He married there and had six boys and six girls. One day the British soldiers came to the house for William. They were going to take him away because they had heard that he was a Whig sympathizer. He turned and ran for their dugout cave where he would have a better chance to defend himself. A saber cut knocked him down the stairs. That was too much for his wife, Elizabeth, and she grabbed a dipper of hot lye soap from her soap kettle which was bubbling nearby. She threw it on those soldiers and they ran off howling to tend their burns. William bore the scar of that saber cut as long as he lived.*"

While the American Revolution was being waged, few families moved since it was not considered safe, but after peace was restored in 1783, people began to think about migrating west. William Newby was evidently one of those, and moved to Guilford County, North Carolina. When he made that move is unclear, but on 19 July 1784, William Newby "of Guilford County" sold his 50-acre farm back in Perquimans County for a mere £5.

At first, William and his family were members of Center Monthly Meeting in Guilford County, but in 1792 were founding members of Back Creek Monthly Meeting in Randolph County when the latter split from Center meeting. This would indicate that William probably lived in southern Guilford County, near its boundary with Randolph County.

The Back Creek meeting records indicate that William's wife, the former Elizabeth Ratliff, died on 25 August 1803. A year and a half later William transferred his membership to Springfield Monthly Meeting, probably without moving. There, on 7 April 1805, William Newby married Elizabeth (Symons) Small, nearly 25 years his junior and the widow of Obadiah Small, who had died twelve years prior. Combining William's twelve children (though some were likely gone from home by then) with Elizabeth's five children by her first husband, the couple went on to have four more sons of their own, the first born just eight and a half months after they married.

In April of 1813, William Newby and his family joined the Quaker exodus to the west, which at the time consisted of Ohio and Indiana. William was 69 years old when the family made the move, rather old for the time. But he must have been a spry 69, since his youngest son was born two years later.

In his book *The Newby Family from William to Emra*, Larry M. Bell offered this perspective of the westward migration: "This westward movement was due, in part, to the general expansion of American settlers during the second half of the century. However, it was also driven by changes taking place in Quaker beliefs at the time. During the previous hundred years slavery had been common in the southern plantations and farms. Although the Friends discouraged the practice, it was not until the last quarter of the 18th century that it was actually prohibited. Slaveholders were faced with the choice of manumitting their slaves or being disowned. After losing this cheap source of labor, they were at an economic disadvantage compared with their slave owning neighbors. Resettlement west to a more open frontier area was the choice of many."

On 1 May 1813, William Newby and his family were in Preble County, Ohio, where their certificate from Springfield Monthly Meeting in North Carolina was received at Elk Monthly Meeting. They had made the trip to Ohio in less than a month. William Newby purchased land from the government in Somers Township of Preble County on 8 June 1813 about three miles west of Camden, near the small town of Fosterville, Ohio. He and his family stayed the winter in Ohio, but moved on to Whitewater Monthly Meeting in Wayne County, Indiana the following year.

The first record that could be found of William Newby buying land in Wayne County, Indiana was on 24 April 1823, when William bought an irregularly shaped parcel of land containing slightly over 44 acres from Nathan Symons for \$276. The property is about a mile north of the town of Cambridge City, Indiana, located on the south side of Goose Heaven Road between Cambridge Road and the west fork of the Whitewater River. Today this property is still a prosperous farm, now owned by an Amish family, complete with horse-drawn buggies.

William Newby sold the land on 6 September 1830 to John Harvey for \$300 and moved a few miles west to Henry County, Indiana. There he and his wife Elizabeth lived with his son Cyrus just south of the small town of Spiceland, on land Cyrus had purchased in February 1830. William Newby died there on 30 May 1831 at the age of 87. His second wife, Elizabeth, lived until 15 February 1842. Both are buried in the Quaker cemetery near the former Duck Creek Monthly Meeting (today Spiceland Meeting). As was common for Quakers, neither grave has a headstone.

William Newby left a will dated 18 April 1831, which was short and sweet:



Top, the 44.06 acres near Cambridge City, Indiana, which William Newby bought in 1823 after arriving in Wayne County, Indiana. He sold this same parcel in 1830 before moving to Henry County. Today this land is located on the south side of Goose Heaven Road just to the east of the Whitewater River, and is owned by an Amish family, complete with buggies. Bottom, the Whitewater River, the stream at the western boundary of William Newby's land.

I, William Newby of the County of Henry and State of Indiana, knowing the uncertainty of life and the certainty of death make this my Last Will and Testament. I will and bequeath unto my son Cyrus one bed and furniture, four head of hogs one year old. I will and bequeath unto my son Joseph seventy silver dollars now in hand also one bay mare named file and nine head of large hogs. I will and bequeath unto my beloved wife Elizabeth Newby one mare named Dot and all other property such as cattle, sheep and hogs, farming utensils and kitchen furniture, [for] her natural life and then to be divided equally between my three sons, Thomas, Cyrus and Joseph Newby. The money and property left to my son Joseph Newby is to be laid out in land for him according to the judgement of the Executors.

This is to certify these, my children, Joshua and Frederick Newby, Ann Hunt, dec'd, Elizabeth Farrington and Mirian Overman, William and Josiah Newby, Grabel and Samuel Newby, Sarah Farlow, dec'd, Mary Nixon and Jemima Gilbert, having heretofore received their portion of my estate.

By his first wife, Elizabeth Ratliff, William Newby had the following children (their birthplaces are uncertain, but the first eight children were likely born in Perquimans County, North Carolina, and the later children in either Guilford or Randolph County, North Carolina):

- i. **Joshua Newby** Born 15 Mar 1767, Joshua married Rachel Nixon at Center MM in Guilford County, North Carolina and had 13 children. In 1829 the Back Creek MM disowned him. Joshua was still living in nearby Randolph County when he made out his will in 1836. However, he evidently did not die despite being “sick and weak of body” and later went to Indiana, where he reportedly died in Henry County on 2 Oct 1846. Witnesses testified in the Henry County probate court in Mar 1848 that they were familiar with Joshua’s handwriting and that Joshua’s signature on his 1836 will was genuine.
- ii. **Frederick Newby** Born 25 Oct 1768, Frederick married Eleanor Lassiter, daughter of Micajah and Celia (Spivey) Lassiter, and had at least seven children. Little else is known of him. His wife died in Grant County, Indiana on 7 Jan 1862 at age 93.
- + iii. **Ann Newby** Our ancestor Ann was born 15 Jan 1771.
- iv. **Gabriel Newby** Born 14 Feb 1773, Gabriel married Elizabeth Phelps on 28 Sep 1796 at Back Creek MM in Randolph County, North Carolina. In the spring of 1817, Gabriel and his family moved to Washington County, Indiana. Elizabeth died in Bartholomew County, Indiana on 28 Aug 1841.
- v. **Samuel Newby** Born 29 Mar 1775, Samuel married Mary Pearson on 23 Oct 1800 in Randolph County, and was soon disowned by Back Creek MM for “marrying out of unity,” i.e., someone who was not a Quaker. Hormones often overrode common sense, but Samuel condemned his act two years later and was reinstated as a Quaker. On 18 Nov 1812, he married again to Phebe Hoggatt at Springfield MM in Guilford County. Back Creek MM disowned Samuel a second time in Aug 1818 and his wife was disowned two months later. But both were reinstated as members by an order of the North Carolina Yearly Meeting in

- Nov 1819. Samuel and his family moved to Washington County, Indiana in 1839-1840.
- vi. **Sarah Newby** Born 7 May 1777, Sarah married George Farlow on 16 Apr 1800. They had eleven children and stayed in North Carolina. Sarah died there 3 Aug 1830 and her husband George on 28 Jan 1850, both deaths recorded by Marlborough MM in Randolph County, North Carolina.
 - vii. **Elizabeth Newby** Born 21 May 1779, Elizabeth went to Ohio in 1811-1812, where she married William Farrington on 15 Oct 1812 in Fayette County, Ohio. Fairfield MM in Ohio recorded that Elizabeth was condemned because her marriage was “contrary to discipline” but she was not disowned. No further information.
 - viii. **Miriam Newby** Born 14 Jun 1781, Miriam married Dempsey Overman on 10 Oct 1804 at Back Creek MM in Randolph County, North Carolina. She and her husband went to Warren County, Ohio in 1805. Both Miriam and her husband died in Highland County, Ohio, he on 4 Apr 1830 and Miriam on 24 Jan 1846.
 - ix. **William Newby** Born 17 August 1783, William Jr. married Sarah Overman on 4 Jan 1804 at Back Creek MM in Randolph County, North Carolina. They went to Ohio in 1817-1818. Sarah died in Clinton County, Ohio on 1 Sep 1860, while William lived to be 93 and died in Highland County, Ohio on 31 Aug 1876.
 - x. **Josiah Newby** Born 16 Mar 1786, Josiah moved to Ohio in 1811-1812. He married Mary Overman on 17 Dec 1815 in Highland County, Ohio. Josiah was disowned in 1815. He died in Green Township of Clinton County, Ohio on 5 Apr 1841.
 - xi. **Mary Newby** Born 18 Jun 1788, Mary married Josiah Nixon on 24 Oct 1810 at Springfield MM in Guilford County. The couple moved to Wayne County, Indiana in 1811. In 1814, Josiah proved he was human when he was condemned for “giving away to anger and using profane language.” Mary died 17 Jun 1841 and was buried in the Milford Quaker cemetery in Wayne County. Josiah Nixon was still alive in 1868. If the reader read the section on the Nixon family, it should come as no surprise that Mary and her husband named one of their sons Zachariah. They had eleven children.
 - xii. **Jemima Newby** Born 21 Sep 1791, Jemima married Aaron Gilbert on 2 Oct 1808 at Springfield MM, Guilford County, North Carolina. In 1821, Jemima and her family moved to Wayne County, Indiana.
- By his second wife, Elizabeth (Symons) Small, William Newby had these four children:
- xiii. **Nathan Newby** Born 22 Dec 1805, Nathan died when he was just seven months old, on 27 Aug 1806.
 - xiv. **Thomas Newby** Born 11 Mar 1807, Thomas went with his parents to Ohio when he was six years old. Thomas married Susannah Pearson on 2 Aug 1827 at the Milford Meeting House, Wayne County, Indiana. Susannah died at age 23 on 23 Jul 1830 and was buried at Spiceland Friends Cemetery, Henry County, Indiana. Thomas then married Millicent Reece at Rich Square Meeting

xv. **Cyrus Newby**

House, Henry County, on 2 Jan 1834. Thomas Newby died 7 Jun 1877 at age 70 in Henry County, Indiana.

Born 10 Oct 1809, Cyrus did not have a happy Quaker experience. The Spiceland MM in Henry County, Indiana, recorded on 19 Nov 1834 that Cyrus Newby had been disowned for fornication. As usual, the lurid details are missing. On 25 Jan 1838, he and Louisa Baldwin, a Quaker, were married outside of the Quaker sect, the marriage recorded in the Henry County Court House, New Castle, Indiana. As a result, Louisa was disowned for marrying “contrary to discipline” on 23 May 1838. The couple continued to live in Henry County, Indiana for a number of years, though late in life they moved to Jasper County, Missouri. Cyrus Newby died there on 26 Oct 1889 and was buried in Twin Grove Cemetery.

xvi. **Joseph Newby**

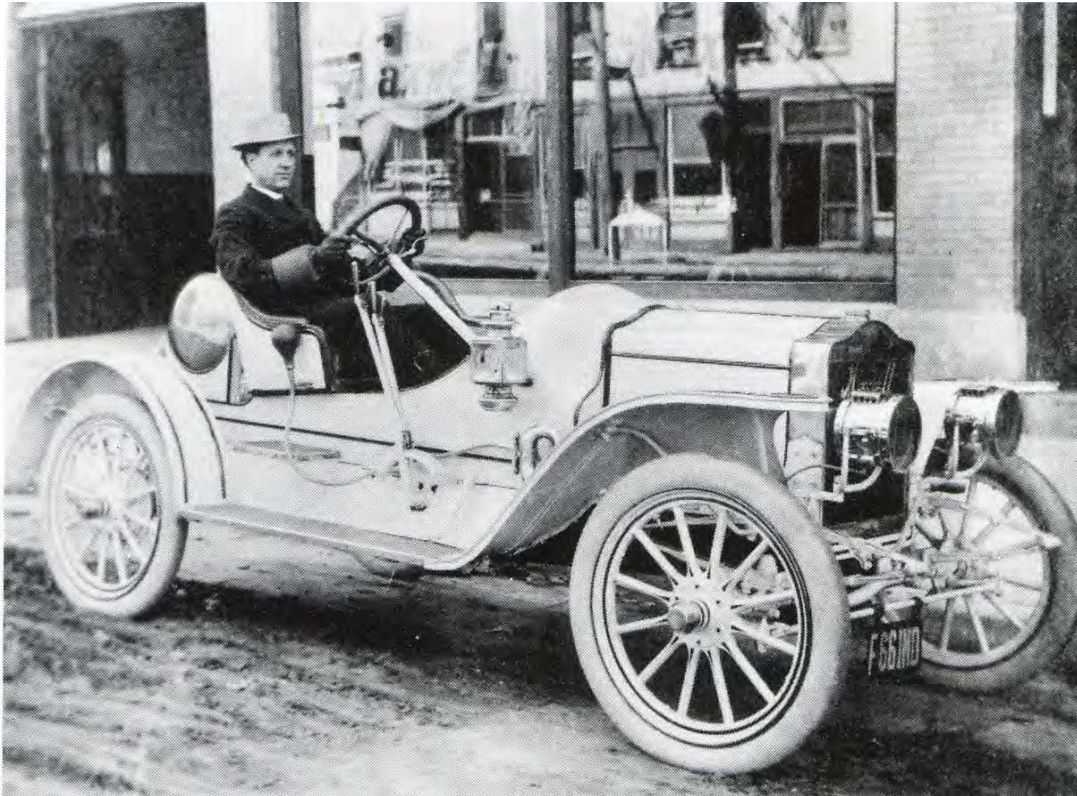
Born 7 Oct 1815, Joseph was born when his father was 71 years old (his mother, though much younger, was 47). He was the only one of William Newby’s sixteen children not born in North Carolina, but was born in Wayne County, Indiana. He married Naomi Dicks at Spiceland on 29 Jan 1840. They lived in Henry County the rest of their lives, and were married nearly 58 years, dying within two months of one another, Joseph on 20 Jan 1898 and Naomi on 28 Mar 1898. Both were buried in Circle Grove Cemetery at Spiceland, Indiana.

Credit must be given to Harold D. Newby of Florida, who maintains an incredible website for the Newby family, for many of the details concerning the children of sixth-generation William Newby.

Before moving on, a descendant of William Newby should be mentioned. He was Joseph A. Newby, a great-grandson of William Newby (through the eldest son Joshua, above), and someone who helped establish the automobile business in eastern Indiana and helped put the city of New Castle, Indiana on the map. Joseph A. Newby was born in 1869, and like his parents, was a Quaker. His father (and two of Joseph’s uncles) was a soldier in the Civil War, but after the war, applied again for membership in the Quaker church and was accepted. This was not uncommon in Indiana, where many of the Quakers were part of the Underground Railroad helping slaves escape from the south, and where sentiment against slavery and the south was intense.

Joseph was quite entrepreneurial, and after operating a restaurant and a hardware store for a few years, he opened a bicycle shop in New Castle in 1895. Bicycling had become quite the rage and Joseph sold an average of 140 bicycles a year. Joseph became an early adopter of the automobile, going to Indianapolis in 1902 and buying an Oldsmobile, one of the first cars made. The single-cylinder horseless buggy was noisy, steered with a tiller, had no fenders, no top and not even an accelerator. It had a small kerosene lamp for illumination for driving at night. It took Joseph six hours to drive the automobile the forty miles from Indianapolis.

Most of the people of New Castle had never seen an automobile before, as this was the first auto in the town. Joseph began selling the Oldsmobile automobile as part of his bicycle business, and sold seven of them in 1902, his first year in that business. Joseph Newby later sold other brands, such as Maxwells, Nationals, Stoddard-Daytons, Yales, Ford two-cylinders, Premiers, Chevrolets, Briscoes, Ramblers, Columbias, Kissells, Chandlers, Oaklands, Lexingtons, Marions and Americans.



Newby descendant Joseph A. Newby, top right, was an automobile pioneer. He began selling the Oldsmobile single-cylinder horseless buggy as part of his bicycle business in 1902, and later moved on to the Maxwell shown in the lower photo. After the Maxwell-Briscoe factory burned in New York, Joseph was personally responsible for convincing the company to build what was then the largest automobile factory in the world in Joseph's hometown of New Castle, Indiana. That factory, left center, continued as a Chrysler plant until its demolition in 2004.

Over the next 25 years, Joseph Newby not only retailed cars, but was a district manager and traveling representative for several automobile companies. He was also instrumental in getting Maxwell to build what was then the largest automobile factory in the world in New Castle in 1907. For a time, Maxwell was considered one of the three top automobile firms in America along with Buick and Ford. By 1914 Maxwell had sold 60,000 cars. Walter Chrysler would later take controlling interest in Maxwell, and Maxwell was absorbed by Chrysler. The huge factory continued as a Chrysler plant until its demolition in 2004.

When the large factory was dedicated in 1907, the Vice President of the United States, Charles Fairbanks, came to town to deliver a speech. The man who drove him from the train station to the factory site, in a Maxwell of course, was none other than Joseph A. Newby. Newby, who held the third American Automobile Association (AAA) membership card issued in the country, retired from the automobile business in 1927 and moved to Lakeland, Florida. He died there in 1964, at the age of 95.

Seventh Generation

Our Newby ancestor, Ann Newby, was born 15 January 1771 and was the oldest daughter of her father's sixteen children. Ann, just after turning 18, would marry Eleazar Hunt Jr., and we continue with the account of him and his family next.

Eleazar Hunt (II)

We continue with an account of Eleazar Hunt, the son of Eleazar Hunt and Catherine Cox. When necessary, he will be referred to as Eleazar Hunt (II) to distinguish him from his father, otherwise he will be referred to simply as Eleazar Hunt.

Eleazar was born 30 December 1766 in Guilford County, North Carolina. He grew up on the 212-acre family farm on Horsepen Creek located about four to five miles northwest of the center of the present-day city of Greensboro, North Carolina. The area was known by everyone as New Garden, after the name of the Society of Friends meeting house located about two miles south of the Hunt farm.

He grew up in an interesting period in our country's history. When he was born, North Carolina was one of the thirteen British colonies in America and Eleazar was a British subject, though like a lot of people in the colonies, he probably didn't think of himself as one. The Declaration of Independence was signed when Eleazar was nine years old, barely old enough to understand the political significance of what was happening at the time. But at fourteen, Eleazar was certainly old enough to understand what was going on around him on 15 March 1781 when American rebels fought the British redcoats in what became known as the Battle of Guilford Courthouse.

The fighting was ferocious and the results of the battle inconclusive. Technically, the British won, but at a very high price. So high, in fact, that Cornwallis' army never fully recovered from the losses they suffered in Guilford County. As one account described it, the Americans "derived greater benefit from defeat than their adversaries from victory." Cornwallis wrote later "I never saw such fighting since God made me. The Americans fought like demons." Cornwallis surrendered seven months after the Battle of Guilford Courthouse.

Though the vast majority of the Quakers living in the New Garden area did not participate in the fighting, they were certainly impacted by the battle. It took a lot to maintain an army in the field, and the farms of the many Quakers were raided and plundered by British troops until there was nothing left to take. In the book *A Sketch of the Life of the Rev. David Caldwell*, published in 1842, it was described that Cornwallis' army was "consuming, like the locusts of Egypt, every green thing, and destroying furniture, fences, farming tools, etc." Thus one can surmise that the Quakers, though theoretically neutral in the conflict and who supposedly loved everyone, had a minimal amount of love for the British soldiers who raided their farms for everything they could carry away.

Thus the story mentioned earlier, of the Quaker who was so angry at the British for plundering his farm that he told his wife he was going hunting the day of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse and returned home empty-handed after being gone all day, is quite believable. But especially intriguing is the account mentioned on page 54 of the book *Long, Obstinate, and Bloody: the Battle of Guilford Courthouse* by Lawrence Babits and Joshua Howard, published in 2009.

Babits and Howard wrote of the several skirmishes which preceded the main battle at Guilford Courthouse, one of which occurred at what was called the "Cross Roads." Today, this would be found where New Garden Road intersects Ballinger Road just north of Guilford College in Greensboro. The authors described the British pursuing the rebels, though "constantly harassed by intermittent rifle and carbine fire. Along the road, the sixteen-year-old son of a local Quaker named Hunt shot a British dragoon from his horse."

Is there a possibility this young man was Eleazar Hunt? There is no way to know, but it is possible.

The only people named Hunt who lived in Guilford County were all Quakers, and all grandsons of the immigrant William Hunt. By the time of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, all of the immigrant's sons were dead, though our direct ancestor Eleazar Hunt (I) died just two months before the battle. Of the ten Hunt families listed in the 1790 census for Guilford County, all of the heads of the households can be identified as grandsons of the immigrant William Hunt.

The account mentioned in the book originated from an article titled "A Letter from Addison Coffin" which was published in the February 1889 edition of *The Guilford Collegian*. Tom Hamm, noted Quaker historian and archivist for Earlham College in Indiana, warned that many things written by Addison Coffin have to be taken with a grain of salt, but Coffin's account will be provided here anyway, if for nothing else for its entertainment value. Coffin wrote that on "the morning of the Guilford battle, a 16 year old son of Hunt, was hid in some bushes on the line fence between the College and John Ballinger's land to see the battle at the Cross Roads. While excitedly looking and listening, the British Light Horse suddenly came into the field on the College side of the fence out of the wood. The captain sounded a charge on his bugle with the intent of a flank movement. On the impulse of the moment young Hunt leveled his 'smooth-bore' gun and fired. The captain fell dead. The cavalry supposing the fence lined with sharp-shooters, turned and fled. This event greatly changed the tide of the battle."

If the account of the 16-year-old Quaker boy shooting a British mounted soldier (dragoons were the Revolutionary War version of the cavalry) is accurate, the young man would certainly have been a member of the Quaker Hunt's described in this work. But which one? None of the immigrant's grandsons were 16 at the time of the battle, though there were candidates who were fourteen, seventeen and eighteen. The 18-year-old was another Eleazar Hunt, the son of William Hunt Jr., the famous minister. The 17-year-old and the 14-year-old were Phineas and Eleazar (II) Hunt, sons of Eleazar Hunt (I).

The fact which makes the latter two "suspicious" in our mini-investigation is the fact the site of the skirmish at the "Cross Roads" was extremely close to the location of the adjoining farms of Thomas Hunt and Eleazar Hunt (I) on a branch of Horsepen Creek. It is a distinct possibility that a part of this skirmish happened on land owned by the Hunt families. Teenage exuberance might have led one of the aforementioned individuals to momentarily forget his Quaker principles and to see how the family musket might work on a guy in a red uniform. We will never know.

Famous people born about the same time as Eleazar Hunt include Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, Dolley Madison and Ludwig van Beethoven. Though the other things that Eleazar Hunt saw in his lifetime may not have compared to the excitement of the American Revolution, during Eleazar's lifetime Watt patented the steam engine, James Cook discovered Hawaii, the first hot air balloon ride took place, Presidents Washington through Polk were sworn into office, the cotton gin was invented, a vaccination for smallpox was discovered, the Louisiana Purchase and Lewis and Clark expedition happened, the steamboat was invented, the War of 1812 occurred, the use of canals like the Erie Canal began, and railroads were built. Eleazar died the year the planet Neptune was discovered.

There were as many as six individuals named Eleazar Hunt in Guilford County during the time period 1780-1830, all of whom were related. Thus it is difficult to differentiate one from another. But in old deed records for Guilford County, North Carolina, Eleazar Hunt (II) is always associated with land on the waters of Horsepen Creek, while for example, his first cousin with the same name, who was four years older, was associated with land on the waters of Deep River.

Based on these records, it seems Eleazar Hunt wasted little time in obtaining land, even before he married. Land entry records for Guilford County indicate “*Eleazer Hunt*” made an entry for 100 acres in Guilford County on the waters of “*Horspin Cr*” which bordered “land where Eleazer Hunt lives” and, among others, Eleazar’s brother Asa Hunt. The date of this entry was 25 March 1785, when Eleazar was just 18 years old. Land entries were filed as a claim for vacant land, that technically was the property of the state.

Eleazar was granted a certificate to nearby Center Monthly Meeting, where on 22 February 1789, he married Ann Newby, the daughter of William Newby and Elizabeth Ratliff, a family discussed earlier. Eleazar and Ann lived on Horsepen Creek in Guilford County for years, until Ann died 5 May 1816 and was buried in the New Garden cemetery. The couple had eleven children. After waiting the obligatory year, Eleazar married the former Susannah Clemmons, the widow of his first cousin William Hunt, on 13 August 1817 at New Garden meeting.

A rare tax list for Guilford County for 1815 (the only surviving tax list prior to the Civil War) shows “Eliazer Hunt” owning 446 acres. Though Eleazar had four surviving brothers, all had left Guilford County by this time. Eleazar’s older brothers Asa, William and Phineas had all moved to Ohio by 1807. The younger brother, Abner Hunt, had sold his 59 acres of land to Eleazar in 1799 and moved to Surry County, North Carolina. In the deed, Abner’s land was described as having been bequeathed to Abner Hunt in their father’s will, though no copy of the will is known to have survived. So by 1807, Eleazar Hunt was the only male member of the family left in the area of the original family farm on Horsepen Creek.

Records indicate Eleazar and his wife Susannah, by whom he had no children, “adopted” at least two additional children. As in every part of colonial America and the young United States, counties had to deal with the problem of orphans, at a time when there was no such thing as welfare. Specifically, they wanted to prevent them from becoming a “charge upon the county.” The solution was simple and effective. The children were taught trades so they could earn their own living by being *apprenticed*, *indentured* or *bound out*, terms which are synonymous. The individual who agreed to take the child and be its master (or mistress) had to enter into an apprentice bond, essentially agreements between the courts and the individuals taking the children.

None of these records have survived prior to 1816, but an apprentice bond dated 17 November 1823 indicates Peter Strickland, a 13-year-old orphan, was apprenticed to Eleazar Hunt. The special conditions of the indenture were that Peter was to receive a “horse & saddle worth \$50, 2 suits at age 21.” The court records further show that Peter was to turn fourteen on 1 January 1824 and that Peter had previously been apprenticed to James Sapp. When a child turned fourteen, he or she had reached “the age of discretion,” when they could legally do things like select a guardian or apprentice themselves without parental consent. So it is possible that the child chose to be apprenticed to Eleazar Hunt. When the family later moved to Indiana, the Quaker records for three different monthly meetings in that state indicate, in addition to two children still at home, Eleazar and Susannah Hunt had “Mary Hunt, a bound child” with them.

Land records for Guilford County indicate Eleazar Hunt was active in buying and selling land. In 1805 he bought 114.75 acres for £300 from William Newby, presumably his father-in-law. Though Newby was listed in the deed as being “of Randolph County” (where the family was known to have lived), the deed described the land as lying on “*the waters of Horsepen Creek Including the Dwelling house & Improvement Now Occupied by the s^d W^m Newby.*” In succeeding years, Eleazar bought even more land: 58 acres (1803), 136 acres (1809), 88 acres (1811), 257 acres (1811) and 129 acres (1816).

William Newby to Eleazar Hunt 75
 This Indenture Made this fifteenth day of the third Month in the year of our
 Lord one thousand eight hundred & five by & between William Newby of Rand-
 olph County & State of North Carolina of the one part & Eleazar Hunt of Guil-
 ford County & State afo^d of the other part witnesses that the sd Wm Newby for
 and in Consideration of the Sum of three hundred pounds Current Money of the
 State afo^d to him in hand paid by the sd Eleazar Hunt the Receipt whereof he
 doth hereby acknowledge & thereof Execute & acquit the sd Eleazar Hunt
 his Heirs Est^{ts} and Adm^{rs} he the sd Wm Newby hath by these presents con-
 veyed Bargained & sold aliene assigned Confeirmed & set over unto the sd Eleazar Hunt
 a Certain piece parcel or Tract of Land Lying Situate & being in sd County of Guil-
 ford & on the waters of Horsepen Creek Including the Dwelling house & Improvement
 Now Occupied by the sd Wm Newby Beginning at a white Oak on William Hunt's
 Line thence South Seventeen poles to a white Oak thence west Eleven poles to a
 Stone thence South Sixty Eight poles to a Stone thence South forty Six Degrees west
 Ten poles to a Stone thence South Eighty Two Degrees west Seven poles to a Stone
 thence South thirty poles to a Stone thence East one hundred & Seventy poles to a
 Maple in Eleazar Hunt's Line Running thence with his Line North Twenty Seven
 Degrees west one hundred & fifty poles to a Stone thence along his Line North Ten
 Degrees west Sixty poles to a Stone thence a Straight Course to the Beginning con-
 taining one hundred & fourteen Acres & three Quarters be the Same More or Less To-
 gether with the appurtenances Pents, Places & profits & also all the Estate Right
 Title Interest properly Claim & Demand whatso ever to the sd Land & Premises bel-
 onging or in any wise appurtenanting To have & to hold to the sd Eleazar Hunt his Heirs
 and assigns to his & their only proper use & behoof for ever & the sd Wm Newby doth
 hereby Grant that he will for himself & his Heirs for ever Warrant and Defend the above
 Said Land & premises to the sd Eleazar Hunt his Heirs & assigns Against all persons
 whatsoever Lawfully Claiming In witness whereof the sd Wm Newby doth hereby
 to Set his Hand & affixed his Seal the day & year above written Wm Newby (Seal)
 Signed Sealed & Delivered) State of N^c Carolina August Court 1806
 In the presence of) Guilford County)
 Philip Hoggatt proved the Execution of the within Said
) in open Court & on Motion Ordered to be Registered
)

In 1805 Eleazar Hunt (II) bought 114.75 acres for £300 from his father-in-law William Newby. The deed described the land as lying on "the waters of Horsepen Creek Including the Dwelling house & Improvement Now Occupied by the sd Wm Newby." Old deeds such as this are key to tracking the movements of ancestors. Note the use of "metes & bounds" terminology in old deeds with references to a "white oak" or a "stone" as markers for the property lines.

All the deeds refer to the waters of Horsepen Creek, making it nearly certain we have the correct Eleazar Hunt. Though Eleazar accumulated considerable land, he also sold a lot of it. He is party to a number of deeds in which Eleazar Hunt sold land on Horsepen Creek, including two deeds in 1819 in which he sold land to his sons Newby and Abner Hunt.

About 1830-1831 Eleazar Hunt and his wife Susannah made the long trip to Indiana, despite Eleazar being about 65 years old. Most people today, when they are old enough to be on Medicare, would not choose to walk from North Carolina to Indiana, a distance of over 600 miles. Though the family likely had one or more wagons, with teams to pull them, circumstances often dictated that those making the migration to Indiana had to walk beside their teams.

The route early Quakers followed from North Carolina to Indiana was primarily through Kentucky. Today the route would be similar to what one would drive by going due west from Greensboro, North Carolina to Tazewell, Kentucky and then north to Mt. Vernon, Kentucky, then using I-75 to the Richmond, Indiana area. The trip probably took six weeks, though one account tells of one group in 1815 who made it in 34 days. The same account also noted the expenses incurred en route were "\$81.00 including ferriage, bridge tolls, turn pike fees etc."

But by 1827, the National Road had reached Indiana. Stretching from the eastern seaboard in Maryland, the route went across Ohio into Indiana, and later was extended west into Illinois. Eventually the route became the coast-to-coast US Highway 40. Conceived by George Washington, it became a reality in 1806 when Congress passed legislation during Thomas Jefferson's administration. It is possible Eleazar Hunt and his family used that route to get to Indiana, though most North Carolina Quakers went through Kentucky.

The Quaker records for New Garden Monthly Meeting indicate that on 9 May 1830 Eleazar Hunt and his family were granted certificates of removal to White Lick Monthly Meeting in Indiana, though it appears it was some months before they departed. On 12 February 1831, Eleazar Hunt, his wife Susannah, and Eleazar's youngest children Amiel and Eber, along with the "bound child" Mary Hunt, presented their certificate from New Garden at the White Lick meeting in Morgan County, Indiana. The certificate was endorsed on to the Duck Creek meeting in Henry County, Indiana, where the family was received twelve days later.

It was in this area that Eleazar's former father-in-law, William Newby, was still living. William had come to Ohio from North Carolina in 1813, but by 1830 was living in Henry County, Indiana. Although Newby's daughter Ann (Eleazar's first wife) died after William Newby left North Carolina, it is likely Eleazar stopped in Henry County so he could see William Newby again. It is fortunate he got there when he did, for the 87-year-old William Newby died about three months after Eleazar Hunt's arrival.

Eleazar may have stayed in Henry County for a time, as the Quaker records concerning him seem delayed compared to his son Newby Hunt, who moved on to Hendricks County by 1829. On 14 March 1835, Eleazar's family, with the bound child Mary Hunt still in tow, were received at Mill Creek Monthly Meeting in Hendricks County, Indiana. Other family members who made the move to Indiana about this same time were Eleazar's sister Catherine and her husband Hanuel Edwards, and at least seven sons of Eleazar's first cousin, also named Eleazar Hunt, who according to one account, arrived in November 1827. The result was a slew of people named Hunt arriving in Hendricks County, Indiana, though few stayed very long.

The area where Eleazar Hunt and several of his children located was near the small town of Amo, Indiana, about 7-8 miles southwest of Danville, the county seat for Hendricks County. Eleazar's sons Newby and Cyrus, as well as his son-in-law William Benbow, all purchased land from the federal government (called a land patent), an option available to those who were among the first to arrive in an area. On 28 April 1834, Eleazar bought 160 acres from another man who had previously purchased it from the government a few years prior. The parcel of land (E½ of NE¼ of Sec. 34 and W½ of NW¼ of Sec. 34 in T15N, R2W) cost Eleazar \$650, implying the previous owner had likely constructed a house and one or more outbuildings on the property.

The reader probably noticed the survey notation describing the land Eleazar purchased. The old "metes and bounds" system of surveying land, brought to the American colonies from England, was an archaic technique of laying out land tracts based on neighboring tracts, roads, trees, rocks, meandering creeks, etc. That "oak sapling" or "gum tree" might not be there fifty years after the survey was originally done, and "metes and bounds" surveys were the cause of endless squabbles and litigation concerning property lines. After the American Revolution, the outmoded system was replaced by the Public Land Survey System, which is used everywhere west of the Mississippi today except Texas and Hawaii. It was first utilized in Ohio and Indiana, the "west" in the early 1800s. The rectangular grid system, based on carefully established "principal meridians," uses townships, ranges and sections to identify the location of a person's land. The benefit to genealogists is enormous, permitting us to accurately identify the exact location of land our ancestors once owned.

Eleazar Hunt lived on this property the rest of his life. The farm he owned was about a mile north of the town of Amo, where County Road 500W curves to the northeast and becomes County Road 475W. Where County Road 475W intersects with County Road 400S was the previous location of the town of Springtown, and the area can still be seen identified as such on some high resolution maps though there is no evidence of a town anymore.

On 15 May 1836, Eleazar Hunt sold a parcel of the northeast corner of his property to his son Alfred, who then proceeded, along with Henry Goolman, John Tincher and Obadiah Tincher, to plat a town a month later on 17 June 1836. They initially named the town Springfield. The four men shared a corner stake where their property adjoined, and the center of the town was set at that corner stake. The town was platted with an equal number of town lots on each of the four's property, so as the town grew each of the four would prosper. Some of the streets were named after the founders, Hunt Street and Tincher Street for example.

Many of the 48 town lots were sold and the small town prospered for a time. A saw mill was built on the west end of the town, on Mill Creek (and probably why it was given that name). A blacksmith shop was built on the southeast corner of the main intersection of town, in Goolman's quarter of the town. A brick schoolhouse was located on the northeast corner of the intersection. On the southwest corner of the intersection, in Alfred Hunt's quarter, a general store was built, and operated by Alfred's younger brother Amiel Hunt. According to the *Amo Centennial Souvenir* published in 1957 when Amo was a hundred years old, eventually there were three stores, two blacksmith shops, two shoe shops, a grist mill and a Methodist church at Springtown. The town grew to the point that an additional twelve lots were added to the original plat, called the Hunt Addition.

The town even had its own post office, granted on 21 December 1843. On 14 January 1850, the name of the town was changed to Springtown because there was a second Springfield, Indiana in the state and the town was forced to change its name if it wanted to keep its post office (this problem of duplicate town names was common in the mid-nineteenth century). Unfortunately, the fate of many

towns platted in the midwest and west was determined by something the founders of these towns could not possibly predict: where the railroads would later be built.

No town could continue to grow and prosper without a railroad line through the town. The rail line guaranteed that goods could be shipped in, and was crucial to the town's success. Many a town died because when the railroad was later built it missed the town. This was the case with Springtown. When the railroad built its tracks a couple of miles south of Springtown, people began to locate there, and the town of Amo came into creation. About two dozen houses and buildings were eventually moved from Springtown to Amo, and Springtown simply ceased to exist. One of the buildings that was moved to Amo was Amiel Hunt's general store, and still exists there today. It served a number of purposes through the years, most recently serving as a small restaurant called Katy's Café. The Springtown post office was closed on 11 November 1865 when mail for the local residents was handled by the post office at Amo. In the 1874 Directory of Hendricks County, Springtown was no longer mentioned, and nearly every member of the Hunt family had moved away from Hendricks County.

Amiel Hunt kept a ledger book from 1837 until the store closed in the 1860s. The account book was handed down in that family and today is kept in the Hendricks County Historical Society collection in the Danville Public Library. The ledger allows a glimpse into the personal lives of our ancestors that we would normally not be permitted to see. The things we buy at the store tell a little something about us, and it is interesting what people bought at "the store" in 1837.

The prices in the ledger are unusual; an item might be priced at \$0.06¼ or \$0.18¾ or \$0.12½. In 1837, and for some years after, the money often used in Indiana for day-to-day transactions was Spanish currency due to the fact that most of the state's supplies came up the Mississippi from New Orleans, where Spanish currency was the rule. The Spanish dollar was divided into halves, quarters, and eights (called bits). That is why, to this day, a quarter is referred to as "two bits" and why items in Amiel Hunt's store often had fractional pricing. Towards the end of the ledger (the last entry was dated 1 October 1860) the use of fractional pricing had ceased, probably because the use of American currency had become the norm in Indiana and because, in 1857, the government had called in all foreign currencies.

When people came into Amiel's store to buy something, they nearly always bought items on credit, though occasionally a purchase would be recorded with the words "cash" or "by cash." There are a number of entries for "Eleazar Hunt," likely for Amiel's father (there were at least two individuals named Eleazar Hunt in the Springtown area during this time, but there are also entries for an "Eleazar Hunt, Jr."). Some of the entries in the ledger for Eleazar Hunt were:

September 7, 1837	5 lb. coffee @ .20	1.00
April 6, 1838	4½ yds calico	1.68¾
April 6, 1838	2 lb butter	.20
April 6, 1838	8 doz eggs	.32
April 16, 1838	8½ yds calico	2.06¼
April 16, 1838	6 lbs butter	.75
April 16, 1838	1½ bu. dried fruit	2.25
April 16, 1838	8 lbs tallow	1.00
April 16, 1838	14 lbs sugar	1.75
April 16, 1838	1 wine keg	.50
April 16, 1838	½ yd ribband	.10
April 20, 1838	1 lb butter	.12½



Top, a high-resolution map identifies where the former town of Springtown was located in relation to the existing town of Amo. Bottom, the brick building that housed Amiel Hunt's store at Springtown, Indiana. When the railroad came to Amo, Springtown died and the building was later moved to Amo. It served as a store for many years, and then was a restaurant for a number of years called Katy's Grill and later Katy's Café.

May 8, 1838	1 lb butter	.12½
May 25, 1838	1 lb butter	.12½
July 20, 1838	1 grass scythe	1.25
July 20, 1838	1 bonnet board	.06¼
July 20, 1838	3 yds wire	.06
July 21, 1838	1 cradling scythe	1.75
July 21, 1838	1 yankey scythe stone	.18¾
August 25, 1838	1¼ yds ribbin	.25
October 2, 1838	5 lbs coffee	1.00
January 1, 1839	1 glass canister	.50
January 1, 1839	1 yd buckram	.25
January 1, 1839	3 doz pearl buttons	.37½
January 1, 1839	1 tuskin bonnet	3.00
January 1, 1839	2 yds ribband	.40
January 1, 1839	1½ yds ribband	.10
January 1, 1839	2 yds gingham	.66½
January 1, 1839	1 dress shall	1.25
January 1, 1839	1 large shall	1.75
January 1, 1839	ballance on smoothing iron	.25
January 1, 1839	1 pr. shoes	1.50
January 1, 1839	2 lbs allum	.12½

Eleazar, or just as likely his wife Susannah, bought things at the store in 1837-1838 that we still buy today, like coffee, butter, eggs and sugar. They bought tallow to make candles or soap, fabrics like calico, buckram and gingham for clothing. Obviously many of the items were for Susannah, such as ribbon, buttons and “bonnet board,” a cardboard type material used in making bonnets. She did not make all her own clothes, as the store entries indicate the purchase of two shawls. And obviously Susannah owned a “smoothing iron” for pressing her clothes. Eleazar bought a grass scythe for cutting his grass, and a cradle scythe, a tool with long fingers used for cutting grain and laying it down in a row. Alum was used for many things: to make bread whiter, as a baking powder, as a preservative for fruit and vegetables, as toothpaste, for various medicinal purposes, as underarm deodorant, for the removal of body hair, as an aftershave, etc.

Eleazar evidently even worked in his son’s store, for there is an entry with Eleazar’s name noting “2 months tending store @ \$13.” By this time, he was in his early seventies and farming was likely becoming increasingly difficult for him. On 15 June 1840, Eleazar sold the southern half of his original 160-acre parcel for \$1000 to his neighbor Silas Dixon. And then on 16 April 1844, when he was 77 years old, Eleazar Hunt sold his farm to his son Amiel for \$650, with a provision “*for the maintainance of him the said Eleazar Hunt Senior during his natural life.*” This was known as a “life estate” or “life maintenance” deed, often used when a parent sold or quit claimed his property to a son in exchange for the child’s agreement to care for the parent during their remaining days.

Eleazar’ health must have been failing at this time, for just six days later, on 22 April 1844, Eleazar wrote his will. He left his wife Susannah “*all my household and kitchen furniture, One mare (her normal riding creature), all my sheep (now fourteen in number) and ten dollars in money all of which is to be hers forever.*” Eleazar then proceeded to name nine children in the will (though not in order of birth), leaving to seven of them “in addition to what he has heretofore received One dollar.” To the other two, sons Eleazar and Amiel, he left \$40. Eleazar Hunt also bequeathed \$50 “*to my Grandson Amiel Hunt (the son of my son Eber Hunt) fifty Dollars (he being a cripple)*” and “*to my Grandson*

Eber Hunt, the son of my son Amiel, Fifty Dollars (he also being a cripple)." The remainder of Eleazar's estate went to his son Amiel.

What makes the will a bit odd is the fact that several of his children were dead when Eleazar wrote his will, and he named them as if they were still alive. The other oddity about the will is the fact the original of it still exists, an incredibly rare event. In over 25 years of genealogical research, the compiler examined hundreds of old wills, but they have always been copies of wills recorded in the county records, and not an original will.

The basement of the Hendricks County Courthouse in Danville, Indiana, built in 1907, is a bizarre place. Though dry and warm, there is very little head clearance, requiring a person of normal height to walk around in it hunched over. The basement area is segmented into partitioned storage areas separated by chicken wire, and obviously hasn't been well attended for decades. But the thousands of boxes of old documents which litter the large space are marked and among those boxes was one that contained the original will signed by Eleazar Hunt, as well as his estate settlement papers.

Eleazar Hunt lived another two years, dying on 7 October 1846 at age 79. He was buried in the Mill Creek meeting house cemetery about 3½ miles from his farm. The cemetery is located on County Road 250W less than a quarter mile north of County Road 200S. In Quaker tradition, no stone marks his grave, though unlike in many older cemeteries, the position of his grave was recorded and is known to us today. The cemetery is well maintained and a Society of Friends meeting house is on the site to this day, though no longer used on a regular basis. The building there today was built in 1870 on the site of the older structure. In contrast to funeral expenses today, the total cost to bury Eleazar Hunt in 1846 was \$2.00, the amount noted in the estate papers.

Eleazar's wife Susannah lived for nearly two more years. She apparently had either moved back to Wayne County, Indiana or was visiting there when she died on 9 August 1848. Susannah Hunt was buried in the cemetery at Milford Meeting, today behind a paving materials plant just north of the town of Milton, Indiana. The cemetery is quite small and only about two dozen stones remain, most of which cannot be identified. Half of the remaining stones have been grown over by brush. Though the cemetery is still occasionally mowed, it has been virtually abandoned. Due to two notes owing money to Eleazar Hunt, his estate was not settled until 18 April 1860.

The children of Eleazar Hunt, all by his first wife Ann Newby and all born in Guilford County, North Carolina, were:

i. **William Hunt**

Born 5 Jan 1790, William probably died young. He was evidently alive at the time of the 1800 census, for five children were indicated by the census taker, at a time when only the head of household was listed by name. William apparently died sometime after age 10, for there is no further record of him.

ii. **Catherine Hunt**

Born 9 Jul 1791, Catherine married William Benbow, the son of Thomas Benbow and Hannah Stanley, and who was born on 10 Dec 1789 at New Garden in Guilford County, North Carolina. They married 29 Dec 1813 at New Garden, and all seven of their children were born there. A number of Guilford County deeds indicate that William Benbow lived on "Horsepen Creek," so he was a neighbor of his future father-in-law. He owned a grist mill on Horsepen Creek for a deed in 1821 describes a sale of thirteen acres from William Benbow to



The basement of the Hendricks County Courthouse in Danville, Indiana held a multitude of surprises. The first surprise was the low ceiling height; in most places the ceiling was six feet or less, requiring one walk around stooped over. The next surprise was all the chicken wire; different types of records were stored in separate “chicken coops.” But the biggest surprise was the discovery of something almost never encountered: an original will. Top, the will was found in the second box in the next to last stack in a far corner of the basement. Bottom, the compiler of this piffle holds the original will of Eleazar Hunt (II), written in 1844.

Be it remembered that I Eleazar Hunt senior
of the County of Hendricks and State of Indiana do on
this the twenty second day of the fourth Month in the year
of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty four
make publick and ordain this my last will and testament
hereby revoking and making void all wills and Testaments
by me at any time heretofore made in the words following
(To wit)

First Item I grant give and bequeath to my beloved wife
Susannah Hunt, all my household and kitchen furniture, one
mare (her common riding creature), all my sheep (now fourteen in
number,) and ten dollars in money, all of which is to be hers
forever.

2nd Item I give and bequeath to my son Newby Hunt in addition
to what he has heretofore received one dollar

3rd " I give and bequeath to my son Abner Hunt in addition to
what he has heretofore received one dollar

4th " I give and bequeath to my daughter Catharine Kenbow in
addition to what she has heretofore received one dollar

5th " I give and bequeath to my daughter Elizabeth Hockett in
addition to what she has heretofore received one dollar

6th " I give and bequeath to my son Cyrus Hunt in addition
to what he has heretofore received one dollar

7th " I give and bequeath to my son Eber Hunt in addition
to what he has heretofore received one dollar.

8th " I give and bequeath to my son Alfred Hunt in addition
to what he has heretofore received one dollar

9th " I give and bequeath to my son Eleazar Hunt in addition
to what he has heretofore received forty dollars.

10th " I give and bequeath to my son Amiel Hunt in addition
to what he has heretofore received forty dollars.

11th " I give and bequeath to my grandson Amiel Hunt (the
son of my son Eber) fifty dollars (he being a cripple).

12th " I give and bequeath to my grandson Eber Hunt, the son
of my son Amiel, fifty dollars (he also being a cripple).

13th It is my will that that all right, title and interest in
and to any personal property that I may have not herein specified
and bequeathed be given to my son Amiel Hunt and that he

The first page of the original will for Eleazar Hunt (II) dated 22 April 1844. Though it is common to find recorded copies of old wills in courthouse record books, because they lack the storage, counties very rarely keep the original wills. Hendricks County, Indiana is an exception and has thousands of original wills stored in their very strange but genealogically delightful basement.

pay the expence attendant on the recording and executing of
this my last will and testament
And lastly It is my will, and I hereby make, ordain and
appoint my son Amiel Hunt and friend Job Hudley sole Execu-
tors of this my last will and testament. In witness whereof I hereunto
set my hand and seal this day and year aforesaid written.
Signed sealed and
delivered in the presence
of us witnesses

James Hensley
Silas Dixon

Eleazar Hunt Seal

N.B. Explanation

The fifty dollars withed to each of my grandchildren
Amiel Hunt, and Eber Hunt severally It is my will that ^{over}After
paid, to them by my executors when they the said Amiel Hunt and
Eber Hunt shall arrive to the age of twenty one years.

This Codicil or explanation
was signed in the presence
of us witnesses

James Hensley
Silas Dixon

Eleazar Hunt

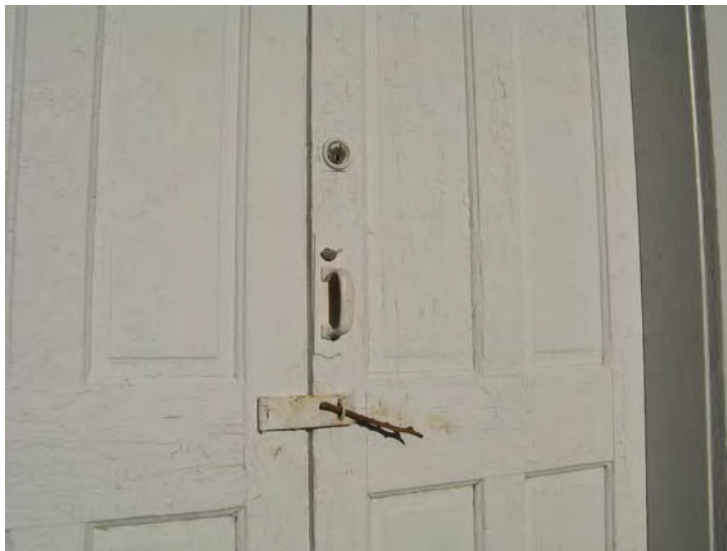
State of Indiana
Henricks County

I, A. penumbra that on this
11th day of December 1846 Silas Dixon one of the Subscribing
witnesses to the foregoing will of Eleazar Hunt, being duly affirmed
upon his affirmation, depose and say that the foregoing
will was duly executed by the said ~~Eleazar~~ Eleazar Hunt
in his presence (and James Hensley) and that the said Testator at
the time of executing the same was of full age & devoid
his property and of sound mind and memory, and
not under any coercion or restraint whatever.

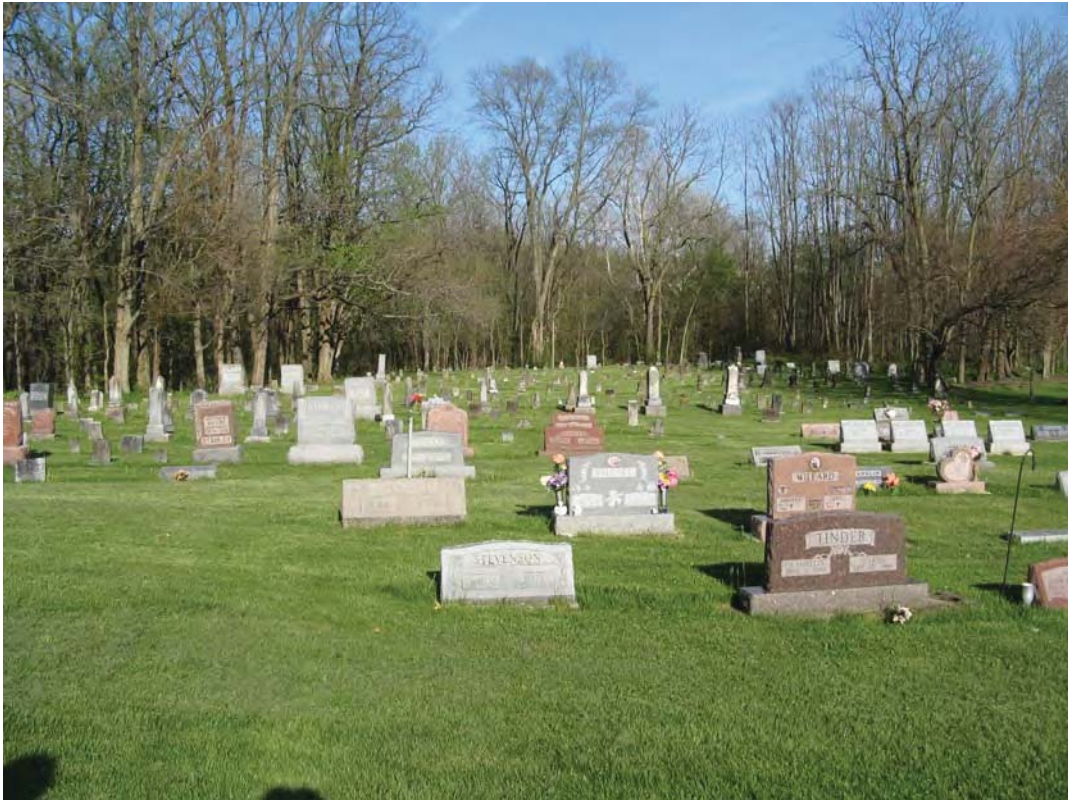
affirmed
Subscribed and ~~executed~~ before me
Dec. 11th 1846 and the Seal of ~~the~~ said Probate Court
herewith attached at Samaria this day & date above

J. C. Parker, Clerk

The second page of the original will for Eleazar Hunt (II). He died on 7 October 1846 at age 79, two and a half years after having his will prepared. You can see his signature on the will twice. Eleazar left \$50 each to two crippled grandsons and, after completing the will, decided to add an explanation specifying that the money was not to be given to them until they reached the age of 21, requiring he sign the will a second time for that codicil. The estate was not settled until 18 April 1860, probably because of those grandsons.



The Mill Creek Meeting House in rural Hendricks County, Indiana several miles southwest of Danville where Eleazar Hunt and his family attended Quaker meetings. This is the third building at this site and was built in 1870 and no longer used on a regular basis. Top left, the front of the church, which is almost buried by a pair of trees. Top right, the bathroom (one holer). Bottom left, the high-tech building security. Bottom right, the inside of the meeting house.



The cemetery alongside and behind the Mill Creek Friends Meeting House where Eleazar Hunt is buried. Top, the front of the cemetery. Bottom, the last couple of rows at the rear of the cemetery. The tall stone in the back row, which tips to the right, is approximately the location of Eleazar's grave. The stone was unreadable due to age, but it is possible that it was Eleazar's grave marker.

John Adams for \$1150 (a large sum of money for the time) that “includes said Benbow’s Mill.” A deed two years later also refers to “the grist mill John Adams purchased from William Benbow; where said John Adams lives.” Another deed dated 11 Sep 1830 refers to William Benbow as “(at present of Guilford Co, but intending to remove to the West).” In 1830 Catherine and her husband were granted certificates to White Lick meeting in Indiana, and they almost certainly accompanied Eleazar Hunt and his family in the move west. Benbow took full advantage of the right to buy government land in Indiana for \$1.25 per acre, buying a total of 360 acres in Hendricks County over a period of nine years. He was one of the first to settle in the area of Amo, Indiana and patented the land where the town is now located. He sold Newby Hunt 40 acres for \$50 (the same as charged by the federal government) on 23 Jul 1832, also exactly where the town of Amo is located today. On 19 Jun 1839, Catherine (Hunt) Benbow died and was buried in the cemetery by the Mill Creek meeting house. On 5 Oct 1841, William Benbow married (2) Hannah Beason in Hendricks County, and the couple had four more children. Benbow was still living in Hendricks County at the time of the 1850 census, but moved to Henry County, Iowa by 1852, and where he was at the time of the 1860 census. He was living in Dallas County, Iowa at the time of the 1880 census, listed as a farmer and 80 years old.

iii. **Elizabeth Hunt**

Born 2 Jul 1793, Elizabeth married Nathan Hoggatt (whose surname morphed into *Hockett* over the years) on 3 Apr 1811 at New Garden. Nathan was born 25 Jan 1791, the son of Joseph Hoggatt and Ann Thornbrough of Guilford County, North Carolina. The couple left North Carolina early for Ohio, received by certificate at Fairfield Monthly Meeting in Highland County, Ohio on 27 Jun 1812. In 1819 the family moved slightly west into Indiana. On 15 Feb 1823, Nathan was disowned for “neglecting attendance, drinking to excess, deviation from plainness, & counterfeiting.” Oh, to be a fly on the wall and know more about that! The next year, the family moved back to Ohio, where Elizabeth (still a Quaker) was received at Clear Creek Monthly Meeting in Clinton County, Ohio on 9 Oct 1824. Nathan was probably the person of that name who applied for a merchant’s license in Clinton County in 1831. In 1834, the family moved to Hamilton County, Indiana, where Elizabeth and her children were received by certificate at Fairfield Monthly Meeting. When Westfield meeting was set off from Fairfield meeting in 1835, Elizabeth’s membership was transferred there. Nathan Hoggatt evidently died before 1840, as “Elisabeth Hockett” is listed as the head of the household in the 1840 census, living near Noblesville, Indiana. On 12 Jan 1843, Westfield Monthly Meeting disowned “Elizabeth Hockett.” No further record.

+ iv. **Newby Hunt**

v. **Abner Hunt**

Born 23 May 1797, Newby was our direct ancestor.

Born 27 Sep 1799, Abner Hunt married Susanna Williams on 3 Mar 1819 at New Garden. He and his new wife soon moved to Indiana, being received at Whitewater Monthly Meeting in Wayne County on 14 Feb 1824 with two small children. Evidently Abner and his family stayed in this area for the rest of their lives, and did not join his father and siblings in Hendricks County. The Quaker records for Whitewater Monthly Meeting, dated 28 Nov 1838, indicate that Abner Hunt was disowned for “kicking a man & suing at law.” That meeting’s records also noted that Susanna died 4 Jul 1843. The 1830 census indicated the family lived in Wayne Township of Wayne County, Indiana (what today would be the city of Richmond). The 1840 census indicates he had moved east about 15-20 miles and was living in Twin Township of Preble County, Ohio. Abner apparently died before 1850.

vi. **Eleazar Hunt**

Born 24 Nov 1802, Eleazar was this generation’s mystery man. Nearly all accounts for this family state that Eleazar died in 1815 in North Carolina. The source of this information was the *Abstracts of the Records of the Society of Friends in Indiana* by Willard Heiss. Accepted as the bible for Indiana Quaker records, vol. 6, page 161 of that work notes besides Eleazar’s name “d. 12-23-1815, NC” and thus almost everyone has accepted that as fact. The first thing that is odd about this “fact” is his death does not appear in the Quaker records for North Carolina. Also a look at the original Mill Creek Monthly Meeting records, from which Heiss’ material was extracted, states something quite different. The original record indicates the Eleazar Hunt who died 23 Dec 1815 and buried at New Garden in North Carolina was one year and 15 days old, and further, the infant’s parents were unknown. Obviously this Eleazar wasn’t the son of Eleazar and Ann Hunt. Instead, their son may have been the “Eleazar Hunt, 4th” disowned by New Garden meeting on 27 Sep 1828, which would explain why he never shows up in Quaker records again. There are several references in Hendricks County records to an “Eleazar Hunt Jr.” but these are referring to the son of William Hunt and Susannah Clemmons, born in 1806. Thus this person was the stepson of Eleazar Hunt (II), who married the former Susannah Clemmons as his second wife. To make things even more confusing, this Eleazar Jr. married a lady named Susanna (usually spelled without the “h” on the end). But a Guilford County, North Carolina deed confirms this connection when Eleazar Hunt and his wife Susanna of Madison County, Indiana quit claimed their rights to property back in North Carolina “*which was allotted and laid off by order of court to our Mother-inlaw and Mother Susannah Hunt as her dowry in her first husband William Hunt’s estate.*” This Eleazar Hunt Jr. (or at least one with a wife Susanna) also lived in Hendricks

County and Parke County, Indiana. Our Eleazar Jr. could be the second male in his 30's living in the household of his brother Cyrus in the 1840 census. Our Eleazar Jr. was not the Eleazar Hunt who married Jane Hodgins in 1841 in Hendricks County. It is possible the family did not have much contact with Eleazar Jr. in later years. In his father's estate settlement it was noted in Jul 1853 that all bequests in the will had been paid "except a bequest of \$40 to Eleazar Hunt Jun. which has been on hands for him for several years, and he has been notified of its being in readiness." Eleazar did collect his inheritance by the time of the final settlement in 1860.

vii. **Ann Hunt**

Born 6 Feb 1804, Ann (unlike her brother Eleazar) did die in North Carolina, as the records there confirm. Ann died on 28 Aug 1820 at age 16 and was buried at New Garden.

viii. **Cyrus Hunt**

Born 10 Nov 1805, Cyrus married Jane Brown on 27 Dec 1825 when he was 20 years old. Jane was not a Quaker and the couple married in a civil ceremony recorded in the Guilford County court records. As a result, Cyrus was disowned by New Garden Monthly Meeting on 29 Apr 1826 for "marrying out of unity." Cyrus preceded the rest of his family in the move to Indiana, and was one of the first to patent government land in Hendricks County. Cyrus bought 80 acres (W $\frac{1}{2}$ of SW $\frac{1}{4}$ of Sec. 35, T15N, R2W) on 22 May 1829, which was immediately to the east of the present-day town of Amo. Six years later, on 7 Aug 1835, Cyrus sold this same tract of land to his brother Newby for \$300. Along with two of his brothers, Cyrus was one of 27 men who founded the First National Bank of Danville with \$60,000 capital on 24 Sep 1863 under the laws of the National Bank Act of 1863 which established a system of national charters for banks. The Danville bank was the 152nd chartered bank in the United States. Interestingly enough, after being around for nearly 150 years, the bank failed in 2009 and was absorbed by First Financial Bank of Terre Haute, Indiana. Cyrus and his family stayed in Hendricks County the rest of his life, but he lived in Liberty Township south of Danville near the tiny town of Belleville. His wife Jane died in the 1860s and Cyrus married (2) to Mary Asher on 2 Nov 1869. He appears in the 1870 census with his new wife. At the time of the 1880 census, Cyrus was a widower and living with his son Abner A. Hunt in Middle Township of Hendricks County. The Hendricks County Health Office recorded Cyrus' death on 28 May 1885 at Brownsburg, Indiana. He was 80 years old.

ix. **Alfred Hunt**

Born 5 Jan 1808, Alfred married Jane Brown on 28 Nov 1839 in Hendricks County, Indiana in a civil ceremony. Sharp-eyed readers may have noticed that Alfred's older brother Cyrus also married someone named Jane Brown, and at first glance there would seem to be a mistake somewhere. But, in fact, the two brothers both married someone named Jane Brown and this is just a coincidence in the extreme. The marriages, recorded in

different county records, happened fourteen years apart in different states. Alfred's wife was born in Casey County, Kentucky and was the daughter of Ezekiel and Sarah Brown. Unlike Cyrus, Alfred could not be disowned for marrying a non-Quaker, because he was already disowned. On 26 Jul 1828, Alfred had been disowned by New Garden Monthly Meeting in North Carolina at the age of 20, the reason not recorded. Alfred is the person who bought the northeast corner of his father's land for \$65 on 15 May 1836 and was involved in laying out the town of Springfield (later Springtown). Alfred also was one of the founders of the First National Bank of Danville. He was also listed as a constable of Hendricks County in 1845 along with William Moore. Alfred Hunt also appears in the store ledger kept by his brother Amiel, when he bought, among other things, a pair of socks for 50¢ in 1837. Amiel's ledger also recorded that Alfred was involved in hauling goods from "Napolis" and hauling salt from Terre Haute. Alfred Hunt appears in the 1840 census with a second male about his same age in the household, probably his brother Amiel. He and his family appear in the censuses for 1850, 1860, 1870 and 1880, always listed as a farmer in Hendricks County, though he seems to have moved around a bit. His wife Jane died 10 Dec 1891 in Hendricks County.

x. **Amiel Hunt**

Born 21 Jun 1810, Amiel and his younger brother Eber accompanied their parents to Indiana as minor children, though Amiel was about 20 when they made the trip. His name was reportedly pronounced "uh-MEE-ull," with the emphasis on the second syllable. He married Hannah Whippo on 22 May 1838 in Hendricks County in a civil ceremony, and he may have been disowned over that, and though there is no indication of that in the Quaker records, Amiel is never mentioned again in the Quaker records. From her tombstone, we know that Hannah was born 1 Sep 1813, and from census records, that it was in Pennsylvania. When his brother Alfred helped found the town of Springtown, Amiel opened a general store there and it is his ledger book that has been previously described. According to an account about him, Amiel lived about a mile north of Springtown on a hill. Amiel was elected Justice of the Peace for the township in 1851, 1855 and 1859. He ran the store he owned in Springtown for about 25 years, until the town failed and his business probably dwindled. The year 1863 was not a good time for Amiel. On 15 Apr 1863, his wife Hannah died at age 50 and was buried in the Spring meeting cemetery near the old site of Springtown. Three months later, his son Thaddeus was killed at the battle of Gettysburg. After the war, Amiel went to Gettysburg to bring his son's remains back home, but "decided against it when he saw how pleasant a place it was." Not long after, Amiel Hunt decided to move to Kansas, and bought a farm in Miami County, west of Paola near the town of

xi. **Eber Hunt**

Stanton, another small town which eventually failed. He appears in the 1870 census living there with four sons, including his crippled son Eber, who was the oldest child. From his tombstone, we know Amiel died very soon after, on 15 Sep 1870, and was buried in Spring Grove Cemetery, located about 6½ miles southwest of Osawatomie, Kansas. His son Eber, noted by the 1880 census taker as “crippled in hip,” was still alive at the time of the 1910 census at age 71.

Born 20 Jun 1812, Eber was another son who seemed to march to his own drumbeat. When his family arrived in Indiana from North Carolina, they stopped for a time in Henry County, where they were received by the Duck Creek Monthly Meeting. It would appear that Eber “got off the boat” there and did not continue on to Hendricks County when his father and most of his siblings went there in late 1834. Instead, on 8 Jun 1833, Eber Hunt “of Madison County, Indiana” purchased 80 acres of land from the federal government for \$100. The land (W½ of NW¼, Sec. 23, T18N, R7E) today would straddle US Hwy 36 about two miles east of present-day Pendleton, Indiana, and was near where his cousin Eleazar had settled for a time. While the family was still in that area, the Clear Spring Preparative Meeting (under Duck Creek Monthly Meeting) reported to Duck Creek on 23 Jan 1834 that Eber Hunt had married “contrary to discipline.” Two months later, Duck Creek meeting disowned Eber. Eber married Elizabeth Ann Farrington, probably in early 1833, though an official record of the marriage has not been found. She was born 5 Mar 1816 in Guilford County, North Carolina, but her parents are not known. Her name is known from descendants of this side of the family, who also noted two sons born to this marriage: Junius Eber Hunt, born 20 Nov 1833, and Amiel Milo Hunt, born 2 Dec 1836. The first son was born in Madison County, Indiana, while the second was born in Pike County, Illinois, where the family moved about 1834-1835 and “entered 160 acres of land near the Illinois River” according to an account about his son. Eber Hunt died in Pike County on 9 Jun 1836 just before his 24th birthday. His young widow, who went by “Ann,” married (2) Robert Simmons on 5 Nov 1837 in Henry County, Iowa and had three more children by him. But he too died, and she married (3) Benjamin Franklin Kennedy in Pike County, Illinois on 18 Aug 1850. Confirmation of this comes from the 1850 Pike County census, which shows Ann, her two Hunt sons, three Simmons children, and Kennedy’s three children by a former wife. In 1853, the family went over the Oregon Trail to Washington and settled at Kamilche in Mason County, near Olympia. Ann died there on 31 Jan 1893. The other “crippled grandson” mentioned in Eleazar Hunt (II)’s will was Amiel, the son of Eber. The 1880 census showed him living in Macoupin County, Illinois, when the census taker

noted he had a disability of “congestion.” His disability must not have affected him too much since he was a farmer, married, had thirteen kids and lived to be 71.

In case the reader was curious, the bound child Mary Hunt, brought to Indiana from North Carolina by Eleazar Hunt (II) and his wife Susannah, moved to Hendricks County with the rest of the family. She was disowned by the Mill Creek Monthly Meeting on 13 October 1836. No further record.

An account of our direct ancestor, Newby Hunt, will be given in a future chapter after another “detour.”

Stanley and Related Families

Before continuing with an account of the next Hunt ancestor, it is necessary to make another sizable “detour” to describe the ancestry of the wife of Newby Hunt. Her name was Sarah Stanley, who also had a large family tree. After a description of the Edge, Bowater, Clayton, Beals, Williams, Watkins, Hutchins and Stanley families, we will return to the Hunt family.

Edge and Bowater Families

Edge Family

The correct lineage of our Edge ancestors has been very confused for years. It has been written many times that our immigrant ancestor was a man named John Edge, one of the earliest Quaker immigrants to the Pennsylvania colony, and a person who purchased land there from William Penn. Complicating things even more is an old book titled *The Sharpless Family*, written by the noted genealogist Gilbert Cope and published in 1887, which identifies the immigrant ancestor as John Edge of St. Andrew's parish, Holborne, England (today, spelled *Holborn*, this area is part of central London).

John Edge of Holborne was a Quaker who was often in trouble with the authorities, spending a considerable amount of time in the court in Guildhall and in Newgate prison. A fascinating transcript of one of his trials survives, where this John Edge and others were tried and convicted of unlawful assembly, even though the evidence presented states that the defendants "*neither did nor said any Thing that we saw or heard.*" Nevertheless, just being in a room with other Quakers was illegal and the group was once again sentenced to Newgate prison.

Unfortunately, Cope identified the wrong John Edge as the Pennsylvania immigrant and the mistake has been endlessly repeated. Even today, most sources identify the John Edge who immigrated to Pennsylvania as the one who lived at Holborne. Cope's book also indicated that two others, a Joseph Edge and a Sarah Edge, were likely children of the immigrant John Edge (though, in fairness, he stated this was conjecture). This too turned out to be incorrect.

Later research by Stewart Baldwin and others has shown that the John Edge of Holborne died in England and is not known to be related in any way to the American immigrant of that name. The John Edge who came to Pennsylvania was from county Cheshire, England, and the Joseph and Sarah previously identified as his children were, in fact, his brother and sister.

Our direct ancestor was the sister, Sarah Edge. It is believed that she accompanied her brothers John and Joseph, and perhaps other family members, as they fled county Cheshire, England for the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania. Sarah's brother John was identified in Cheshire Friends records as being "of Little Mollington." It is not clear where Sarah and Joseph lived.

Our first Edge ancestor who can be accurately identified is George Edge, who along with a wife named Joan, lived at a place called Little Barrow in Cheshire, England. Little Barrow is a small village located within the civil parish of Barrow, situated about 4½ miles northeast of Chester and six miles southwest of Frodsham, England. George Edge may have been the person of that name who was christened on 28 October 1614 in Frodsham, the son of Richard Edge and Alice Bushell, though that connection remains unproven.

George Edge probably died in 1676, as there is a record of the burial of a person of that name on 22 May 1676 at Whitley in Cheshire. What makes this somewhat questionable is another record of a George Edge in 1683, loading goods at Liverpool onto the ship *Morning Star*, bound for Pennsylvania.

George Edge, by his wife Joan, had the following children, noted in the Cheshire Friends records in England:

- i. **John Edge** Born 20 Dec 1648, John married someone named Jane, last name unknown. He emigrated to America, where he settled in

- Chester County, Pennsylvania. John Edge's will, dated 10 Jul 1711, was proven 22 Aug 1711.
- ii. **Mary Edge** Born 20 Dec 1650, Mary signed a marriage certificate on 15 Jul 1683 at Newton, Cheshire. No further record.
 - iii. **Daniel Edge** Born 29 Dec 1652, Daniel may have been the person of that name buried 17 Mar 1658/1659 in England.
 - iv. **Joseph Edge** Born 9 Dec 1654, Joseph was named in his brother's will, proving that relationship. Joseph also emigrated to the Pennsylvania colony from England.
 - + v. **Sarah Edge** Born Sep 1657, Sarah was our direct ancestor, marrying after she emigrated to America.
 - vi. **Martha Edge** Born 6 Mar 1658/1659, Martha was a twin. She died when she was 14, buried in Cheshire, England on 24 Oct 1673.
 - vii. **Rebecca Edge** Born 6 Mar 1658/1659, Rebecca was a twin. No further record.
 - viii. **Nathaniel Edge** Nathaniel was not listed in the Friend's birth records from Cheshire in England, so his date of birth is unknown. It is possible that he was the eldest child, born before his parents became Quakers. Nathaniel was buried 16 Apr 1671.

Sarah Edge married into the Bowater family, who had a long and storied history of making nails by hand.

Bowater Family

Our Bowater ancestors originated from the town of Bromsgrove in Worcestershire, England, where they lived for several centuries. The surname *Bowater* has many alternate spellings in the old records, such as Boeter, Boetter, Boweter, Bowyer, etc. The spellings suggest the original pronunciation of the name was "BOE-uh-ter," with the accent on the first syllable, rather than pronouncing the last two syllables as in the word "water."

As with the Edge family above, the ancestry of the Bowater family has been confused and reported incorrectly for decades. In January 2000 the article *John and Thomas Bowater and the Sister Mary (Bowater) Wright* by Stewart Baldwin was printed in *The American Genealogist*, which presented new research correcting a number of errors in this family's ancestry.

Like many residents of Bromsgrove during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, members of the Bowater family were nailers, i.e., someone who made nails. Nails have been used for millennia; the use of iron nails is even mentioned in the Bible (I Chronicles 22). As soon as man discovered that heating iron ore could form metal, the ideas for shaping it quickly followed. For centuries, nails were made by hand, at first by blacksmiths or even farmers who had a small forge, and later by professional nail makers. A high percentage of the population of Bromsgrove, England were nailers, since nail making was the primary profession of the people there from at least the 1600s.

Handmade nails from medieval times are known as wrought nails, *wrought* meaning "beaten into shape by hammer blows." When making nails, iron ore was heated with carbon to form a dense spongy mass of metal which was then fashioned into the shape of square rods and left to cool. The metal produced was wrought iron. After re-heating the rod in a forge, the nailer would cut off a nail length and hammer all four sides of the softened end to form a point. Then he would insert the hot nail into a hole in a nail anvil and with four glancing blows of a hammer would form the rosehead (the

head of the nail would take a shallow pyramid shape).

Bromsgrove expanded rapidly in the 16th and 17th centuries, mostly due to the introduction of the nail making craft to the town by the French Huguenots. It developed to such an extent that Bromsgrove became the world center for handmade nail manufacturing. There are still a few nailer's cottages in the town, at least one of which still has the forge at the rear. Nail making equipment and a reconstructed nail shop that once stood in the Sidemoor neighborhood of Bromsgrove is in a local museum.

Men, women and children were all employed in the nail making trade. Nailers usually rented their cottages and nail shops from a nail-master; it was normally the nail-master who supplied the bellows and forge, while the nailer supplied and maintained his own bench and tools. Iron was supplied in sixty pound lots and taken home with a new order for nails. Once completed, the nails were returned to the middlemen (known as foggers), people notorious for treating the nailers badly. A favorite dirty trick was to tamper with the scales to reduce the amount of money owed. Life of the nailers was very hard. Robert Sherard, in an article *White Slaves of England* printed in 1896, recounted asking a Bromsgrove woman about what amusement she had and was told "there is none for me; bed and work is all we get."

With the rapid development of the Bessemer process for producing inexpensive steel wire during the 1880s, the popularity of using iron for nail making quickly waned. By 1892 more steel-wire nails were being produced than iron-cut nails. By the time of World War I, nearly all nails were wire nails. A few cut nails are still made today, though all by machine, and mostly for either fastening hardwood flooring or specialized restoration projects.

The first Bowater ancestor of whom we can be sure was a John Boeter (or Boweter) of Bromsgrove, England, and who was mentioned in the will of his nephew in 1640. We know nothing more about him, including the name of his wife, except for the names of four children listed in the baptismal registers at Bromsgrove.

The four children of John Boeter known to us were probably his youngest children. He likely had more children, but their names remain unknown to us because the Bromsgrove parish registers before 1590 have not survived. The four known children are:

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|--|
| i. | Mary Boeter | Baptized 14 Nov 1591 at Bromsgrove, Mary married there on 19 Oct 1613 to Humphrey Wall. |
| ii. | Thomas Boeter | Baptized 27 Apr 1595 at Bromsgrove, Thomas married someone named Mary, who was buried at Bromsgrove on 27 Jul 1635. Thomas and Mary had one child, Anne. Thomas is probably the person of that name buried at Bromsgrove on 14 Jun 1650. |
| iii. | John Boeter | Baptized 29 Jul 1599 at Bromsgrove, John died within days and was buried there on 9 Aug 1599. |
| + iv. | William Boeter | Baptized 10 Jun 1604 at Bromsgrove, William was our direct ancestor. |

Second Generation

In his will, William Boeter was identified as William *Boetter* in the text of the document, though the name was signed William *Boeter*. An inventory of his goods listed his name as William *Bowater*.

Feel free to take your pick. It is likely the pronunciation and the spelling of the surname were in transition about this time, and the surname of his children and generations thereafter would predominantly be spelled *Bowater*.

William Boeter was listed in his will as being “of Sidemore, parish of Bromsgrove.” Once a small village less than a mile from Bromsgrove, today the community, spelled Sidemoor, is a part of Bromsgrove. Not surprising, William was a nailer. His occupation was given in both the inventory of his estate and in the record of the marriage of his son John. William Boeter married twice. His first wife was Mary Byrt, whom he married on 30 January 1627/1628 at Bromsgrove. She may have been the daughter of a William Byrt (also spelled *Birt* and *Beirt*), who died in 1645 leaving a will naming an Anne Boweter, no relationship given. However, the will of William Byrt did not mention Mary, nor does Mary appear in the baptism registers for Bromsgrove, so the connection between Mary Byrt and William Byrt remains conjecture.

William Boeter married second to someone name Dorothy, last name unknown, who survived him. She is named as his wife in his undated will, which was proved on 16 August 1647. The house they lived in was apparently a combination home and nail shop, since in the will, William Boeter stated “*I give to my wife Doroty Boetter the howse wich now I live in with the shoop*” and “*I give to my wyfe Dorety Boetter on[e] Cow and on[e] yere owld Calfe and all the haie wich is in my howse.*” It helps to read such passages from old wills phonetically since Medieval English has about as much similarity to modern English as does Swahili.

The value of the estate of “William Bowater of Bromsgrove, naylor,” assessed on 29 May 1647, was slightly over £15, indicating that William Boeter was very poor. He named two children in his will (their order of birth or the correct identification of their mother is unknown):

- i. **Ann Bowater** Living at the time her father wrote his will, no further information.
- + ii. **John Bowater** Baptized 25 Apr 1630 at Bromsgrove, John was our direct ancestor.

Third Generation

Our ancestor, John Bowater, was evidently a nailer like his father. In his will, John’s father stated “*I give to my son John Boetter on[e] paier of Bellows in my shope with all my workinge tooles beelonginge to my trade.*” John was only 17 when his father died, but had likely been working in the family nail shop for years by that time. Despite the spelling of the name in his father’s will, John’s surname was often spelled *Bowater*, as was the name of his descendants.

Evidently as a young adult, John Bowater was “convinced” and became a member of the Society of Friends. He converted to the Quaker faith sometime before 1660, since on 8 January 1659/1660, a John “Bowter” (along with many others) appeared in court at Worcester, and refusing to take an oath, was imprisoned. John went on to become a well known Quaker minister, even writing a number of *epistles*, religious compositions often presented as sermons. His writings were published both during his lifetime and by others after it.

His early conversion to the Society of Friends is confirmed in Bowater’s own writings. In a testimony written by John Bowater for the funeral of George Fox in January 1691, Bowater wrote that “It is about Thirty Years since I first heard him. His Matter was sound and weighty.” Bowater also referred to having heard Fox speak “not many days before his Decease, to wit, the 5th of the 11th Month, 1690

[5 January 1690/1691].”

John Bowater married twice. His first wife was named Anne, last name unknown. She has been frequently identified as Anne Carter, Anne Cater or Anne Cross, none of which are accurate, and are the result of confusion with another John Bowater who lived in London (as explained by Stewart Baldwin in his article). John and Anne were likely married about 1650-1651, but no record of the marriage has been found. Anne died on 25 April 1679. Her death and burial were recorded in the records of the Warwickshire North Monthly Meeting, located near Bromsgrove.

Before the death of his wife, John Bowater traveled to America, where he was for part of the years 1677-1678. While in the colonies, he visited other Quakers in New England, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware and Virginia. This trip to the American colonies was described briefly in the preface of his book *Christian Epistles, Travels and Sufferings* published in 1705 after John Bowater's death. Bowater returned to England and resumed his never-ending battles with the authorities there.

As described in the article *John Bowater, Son of Bromsgrove and Early Quaker Minister* by Byron W. Kinney and published in the historical journal *The Bromsgrove Rousler*, Bowater endured “years of suffering and imprisonment” for his Quaker beliefs. While in America, Bowater had stayed with the Indians during part of his travels, and it was noted in the *Christian Epistles* book that Bowater was kindly entertained by the Indians “in their Wigwams,” but once back in England by the “Christians in their Cold Gaols.” A “gaol” is old English spelling for *jail*.

Soon after returning to England from his ministerial travels in America, Bowater was once again relentlessly hounded by the British authorities. Chief among them was the Vicar of the Parish of Bromsgrove, Thomas Willmate. Bowater wrote about Willmate “*hunting after me with Writ upon Writ and hurrying me from Prison to Prison; who contented not himself in keeping me a prisoner in Worcester County Gaol about a year and a half because I, for conscience toward the Lord, could not pay Tythe and Offerings, to the Value of Six Shillings ... But this Merciless Man hath removed me to London, to the Fleet Prison.*” Bowater wrote this on 26 December 1681, while in prison in London.

Based on the dates of epistles he wrote and sent to Quaker friends and neighbors in or near Bromsgrove, John Bowater appears to have been held in jail in Worcester or London's Fleet Prison most of the time for the years 1679 to 1684. Two more epistles written in 1687, one from the “Worcester Gaol” and the other from Fleet Prison in London, indicates he was still being held prisoner in that year, though it is not known if he had been freed at any time between 1684 and 1687.

As bad as the jail at Worcester may have been, it is likely that London's Fleet Prison was worse. Fleet Prison was mainly used for debtors, which included someone like John Bowater, who refused to pay his tithes. The prison usually contained about 300 prisoners and often their families. At that time prisons were profit-making enterprises requiring prisoners to pay for their food and lodging. Some inmates were forced to beg from their cells that overlooked the street, in order to pay for their keep. There was even a grille built into the prison wall that faced Farringdon Street so that prisoners could beg from passers-by.

The prison charged a fee for everything, for turning keys or for taking irons off, and Fleet Prison had the highest fees in England. For example, upon entry to the prison, a fee was charged for not putting the prisoner in chains. The most unfortunate souls in Fleet Prison were put in the cellars, sarcastically referred to by the prisoners as “Bartholomew Fair,” subterranean dungeons where perishing from illness was nearly guaranteed. The conditions were deplorable, but when prisoners died, their deaths

were simply chalked up to “jail-fever.”

After several inquiries into the conditions of the prison, it was eventually closed by an act of Parliament in 1842 during Queen Victoria’s reign. In 1844 the prison was sold to the Corporation of the City of London, which had the prison demolished shortly after.

The book *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers* by Joseph Besse, which was an attempt to record all grievous acts against members of the Society of Friends, mentions John Bowater several times. It mentions that in “1681 On the 27th of the Month called June, John Bowater was committed to the Worcester Gaol, at the suit of Thomas Wilmot, Priest of Bromsgrove, for small tithes, and about five months after, he was removed thence to the Fleet Prison at London, and while there in prison, he had a heifer taken from him at home worth £1.10s.” The account also mentions that in 1683 “John Bowater, of Bromsgrove in Worcestershire” was one of the “prisoners in the Fleet, some of whom had been there several years.” Based on his persecution for his Quaker beliefs and refusal to pay tithes to the Church of England, it is fair to say that John Bowater did not have an easy life.

John Bowater was eventually let out of prison, certainly by 1685, when he remarried in London. The marriage to Mary Maunder of Whiterow in “Spittlefields” took place at the Quaker meeting house on Wheeler Street in London on 12 November 1685. According to the Quaker records, Mary was the daughter of Edward Maunder of Blackwell, Worcestershire, a *husbandman*, i.e., a farmer. Mary was born about 1649 and therefore was about 19 years younger than John Bowater.

According to Quaker records at the time of their deaths, John and Mary Bowater lived “on Westbury Street, Spittlefields, near London.” The term “Spittlefields” is a reference to *Spitalfields*, an area in east London, near Liverpool Street station and Brick Lane. The name is a contraction of “hospital fields,” a reference to a hospital founded there in the year 1197. Westbury Street was later renamed Quaker Street, as it can be found on modern maps. The street lies very near Shoreditch tube station, a former London Underground station in the Tower Hamlets area of east London.

Wheeler Street meeting house in Spitalfields was on the corner of the same Westbury Street, so John Bowater lived no more than a few hundred feet from the Quaker meeting house. The Wheeler Street meeting started in 1656 in the upstairs of a house. As crowds grew, a tent was erected in the yard, and then a meeting house erected. After the usual problems with authorities and many arrests, the property’s owner, Gilbert Latey, installed a tenant so that it became a dwelling and therefore not subject to the law on places of worship. This strategy was later adopted for many Quaker meeting houses. The meeting house building was not structurally sound and suffered badly in the great storm of 1703 (which destroyed the Eddystone Lighthouse). Despite repairs, fewer Quakers worshipped there, and the Meeting eventually closed in 1740. Five years later the building fell down on its own.

John Bowater lived in London following his second marriage, perhaps because he wanted to be close by in case the authorities decided to throw him into Fleet Prison again. He evidently traveled to his old home of Bromsgrove from time to time, as there exists an entry in the Chadwick Monthly Meeting records noting his attendance at a Bromsgrove Quarterly Meeting in 1702. It was further noted that the Quaker meeting paid for two nights for “John Bowater and companion’s horses.”

John Bowater died on 16 January 1704/1705, “of old age” as recorded by the London and Middlesex Quarterly Meeting records. Indeed, the age of 75 was quite old for this period in history. The average life expectancy at birth during this time was only about 35. If you could survive to your mid-teens, you would probably live into your 50s or early 60s. But living to be 75 was unusual, and would be

comparable to living 100 years today. Maybe all the prison food helped.

John Bowater was buried in the Whitechapel Friend's Burying Ground in London on 20 January 1704/1705. This old cemetery still technically exists, but it was closed to burials in 1857, and by 1880 was laid out as a "recreation ground," i.e., a city park. The site of the old cemetery is in London, east of Vallance Road at the intersection with Lomas Street. The site is called Vallance Gardens, and was reconstructed in 2003. John's widow Mary died just a few weeks after he did, on 10 February 1704/1705 "from a fever." It is assumed she is buried in the same former cemetery.

The children of John Bowater by his first wife Anne were:

- i. **John Bowater** Baptized 8 Aug 1652 at Bromsgrove, John later became a Quaker and married Frances Corbett in the Chadwick meeting house in Worcestershire on 12 Apr 1683. Like his father, grandfather and father-in-law, he was a nailer. He and his bride soon moved to America, where they were by Nov 1684. He settled in Chester County, Pennsylvania, where he died on 20 Jul 1705, just six months after his father died in England.
- + ii. **Thomas Bowater** Baptized 10 Feb 1654/1655 at Bromsgrove, Thomas was our direct ancestor.

Children of John Bowater by his second wife, Mary Maunder, were:

- iii. **Jonathan Bowater** Born 31 Jul 1687 in London, young Jonathan died on 30 Mar 1688 before his first birthday.
- iv. **Mary Bowater** Born 3 Feb 1688/1689 in London, Mary Bowater later married James Wright. After the death of her parents in 1705, Mary requested a certificate to move to America, where she was by June 1706. It is not known when she married James Wright, but it was before she condemned her marriage as being "contrary to discipline" at the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting on 28 Jan 1708/1709. Mary and James later moved to Frederick County, Virginia. Mary died there in 1763-1764.

Another person, William Bowater, may belong to the family of John and Anne Bowater. A person of that name was the third person to sign the marriage certificate of John Bowater and Frances Corbett, signing after a bride's relative and the groom's brother Thomas. It would be rather unusual were he not a very close relative, such as a brother. It is likely, though not proven, that he was another child of John and Anne Bowater. If William was born after his parents became Quakers, his birth would not have been recorded in the Church of England baptism records. Like the other children of John Bowater, he was a Quaker. Unlike them, he remained in England.

Fourth Generation

Thomas Bowater, our direct ancestor, was baptized 10 February 1654/1655 at Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, England. Within a couple of years, his parents converted to the Quaker faith and after his infancy, Thomas Bowater probably never again set foot in the Anglican church where he was baptized.

Nothing of his early life is known, but when he was 28 years old, Thomas Bowater emigrated to America. It is rare that we know the name of the ship or the arrival date for an early colonial ancestor, but we do in the case of Thomas Bowater. The 1881 book *History of Chester County, Pennsylvania*

by Gilbert Cope and John Smith Futhey describes a partial registry of arrivals to the Pennsylvania colony which was kept between the years 1682 and 1688. The reason for keeping this register has never been clear and the irregularity of the dates seems to indicate the register was not made at the time of the arrivals. Because many of those listed were bound servants, the register may have been kept for that purpose, though other persons are listed as well.

In that register appears the following notation: “*The Ship called the “Bristol Comfort” from Old England, John Read master, arrived here in Delaware River the 28th of the 7th month, 1683.*” The ship’s captain is also referred to as “Capt. Reed” in another part of the register and that is likely the proper spelling of his name. The following entry appears for one of the passengers of the *Bristol Comfort*: “*Tho: Bowater out of Worstershire, servant to ffrancis ffincher out of Woster city, Glover, for three years: they came in the ship aforesaid.*”

Thus Thomas Bowater arrived in America on 28 September 1683 aboard the ship *Bristol Comfort*. Thomas was an indentured servant to Francis Fincher, agreeing to serve him three years in return for payment of his passage to America. Fincher was a Quaker from Worcester, England, who arrived at Philadelphia with his second wife, Mary (Achelley) Fincher, his small children and servants. Fincher had been a skinner and a glover in England, and like many Quakers from Worcester, had been severely persecuted for his religious beliefs. Fincher lived less than a year after coming to America, but during that time he was active in the affairs of Pennsylvania, including being elected a member of the colonial assembly from Philadelphia in 1684. He died three months later in August 1684.

Fincher was a large landholder in Philadelphia; in 1681 he had purchased 1000 acres from Penn. Also aboard the *Bristol Comfort* was Alexander Beardsley and his family. Beardsley was listed as “*a Glover & he came from Worcester*” and had purchased 500 acres of land from Penn, which he endorsed to Francis Fincher after their arrival in the colony (Pennsylvania Archives, volume 19). This may indicate that Fincher paid for the passage of Beardsley and his family. More interesting, the records also indicate Fincher sold 250 acres to John Bowater, proving a connection between those two. This might also indicate that the brothers John and Thomas Bowater came together on the *Bristol Comfort*.

Even though Francis Fincher died before Thomas Bowater’s three-year indenture period was up, we can assume he continued in the service of that agreement for the full period. This is because the agreement would have either been sold to another person or, more likely, enforced by Fincher’s widow. Thus we can assume that Bowater lived in the Philadelphia area for three years. He then moved to Chester County, Pennsylvania.

Based on his rare appearances in the minutes of those Monthly Meetings of which he was a member, Thomas Bowater seems to have been a much less active member of the Society of Friends than his brother John. Thomas married, under the jurisdiction of the Chester Monthly Meeting, Sarah Edge, mentioned previously. This occurred soon after 4 October 1686, when they indicated for the second time their intention to marry.

Sarah had been born in county Cheshire, England in September 1657. Though she was only 35, Sarah died on 26 April 1692, her death recorded by Chester Monthly Meeting. Since children commonly appeared at two year intervals in the days before birth control, and her youngest child was just two years old, Sarah may have died from complications from childbirth, a common killer of women in this era.

Thomas Bowater married second, under the jurisdiction of Concord Monthly Meeting, shortly after 10 August 1702, Frances (Lambe) Barnard, the widow of Richard Barnard. The couple continued to live in Chester County, for in 1721 Thomas and Frances Bowater transferred their membership to New Garden Monthly Meeting in Chester County.

On 11 August 1722, Thomas and Frances Bowater requested a certificate of removal from New Garden to the Haverford Monthly Meeting, received there on 8 November 1722. Haverford was closer to the Philadelphia area and about 30 miles east of their old meeting house. Frances Bowater was still alive on 10 June 1724, when she witnessed a marriage and Thomas Bowater was still living on 13 November 1734, when he signed the marriage certificate of his grandniece Elizabeth Pusey and John Baldwin.

Thomas Bowater and Sarah Edge had the following children:

- + i. **Sarah Bowater** Born 17 Aug 1688 (from the Chester Monthly Meeting records), Sarah married John Beals Jr. and was our direct ancestor.
- ii. **Thomas Bowater** His birth was recorded in the Chester Monthly Meeting records as 28 Mar 1690/1691, but there is no further record of him.

Sarah Bowater married into the Beals family.

Clayton and Beals Families

Clayton Family

Perhaps no family in the history of genealogy has had more distorted information presented for it than the Clayton family. The overwhelming majority of accounts about our early Quaker Clayton ancestors is just wrong. People who research their family roots are always impressed with accounts given by noted researchers. They are also very excited if they ever run across an ancestry that can be traced back to the early Middle Ages. With our Clayton ancestors, they got both. Unfortunately, it was not correct.

This incorrect information has been around for over a century. An account of the Clayton family was published in 1904 by Henry F. Hepburn of Philadelphia, in which he identified our Quaker immigrant ancestor, named William Clayton, as a member of the Yorkshire gentry Clayton family. Researchers of this family have traced their ancestry back to a Robert de Clayton, who allegedly came from Normandy to England with William the Conqueror and fought in the Battle of Hastings in 1066.

The noted Quaker genealogist James Bellarts, who published the *Quaker Yeomen* newsletter for many years, printed an extensive account of our immigrant Clayton ancestor, tying him into the Yorkshire family. Bellarts, even when faced with new evidence showing that our Quaker ancestor was not related to the Yorkshire family, still mistakenly clung to the belief that his information was correct. It was probably the biggest error he made in decades of what was otherwise excellent genealogical research.

Other research by Col. Charles M. Hansen, Louis E. Jones and Marilyn L. Winton-Misch has shown that William Clayton, the immigrant ancestor, was not related to the Yorkshire family of that name. What follows must be considered the most accurate information as of the published date of this work, and the numerous conflicting accounts that can be found to be obsolete in their findings.

First Generation

The first Clayton ancestor from whom we descend is “Rychard Cleton” of the town of Walberton, Sussex, England. He appears in the parish registers of Walberton when he married Dorothy “Burkenshall” (more typically spelled *Birkenshaw*), on 24 January 1582. Dorothy was buried at Walberton on 15 January 1613. Richard Cleyton was buried there on 13 January 1615. The church registers indicate the baptisms of the following children:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| i. Richard Clayton | Baptized 24 Apr 1583, Richard Jr. married Elizabeth Peter at Walberton on 16 Dec 1610. |
| ii. John Clayton | Baptized 26 Jan 1586, John died at age 13 and was buried at Walberton on 7 Jun 1597, “son of Richard Cleton.” |
| + iii. William Clayton | Baptized 24 Feb 1589 at Walberton, William is our direct ancestor. |
| iv. Lawrence Clayton | Baptized 25 Nov 1593. No further information. |

James Bellarts stated that a Richard Clayton of Rudgwick, England, baptized 30 August 1600 in that town and a son of Thomas Clayton, was the Richard who married Elizabeth Peter of Walberton in 1610. This is rather unlikely since Rudgwick was over 20 miles away, and there was a Richard Clayton already in Walberton (the first child above) and about the right age to be marrying. It seems even far less likely when you consider that Richard Clayton of Rudgwick would have been only ten

years old when he got married.

Second Generation

It is the opinion of Marilyn L. Winton-Misch of the National Society of Descendants of Early Quakers (NSDEQ), who spent years in England researching primary source records of early Quakers, that William Clayton of Walberton, baptized there on 24 February 1589, was the same person as William Clayton “the Elder” who later lived in Boxgrove, about four miles away. She determined there is no convincing evidence of a connection with the Clayton families of Rudgwick parish, 24 miles away.

Winton-Misch found an entry in the parish register of the town Boxgrove, Sussex of the burial of Elizabeth “wife of William Clayton the Elder” on 16 October 1638, and the burial of William Clayton “the Elder” on 8 April 1644. She noted that although “the terms ‘elder’ and ‘younger’ or ‘senr’ and ‘junr’ in parish registers can refer to male relatives who are cousins, or uncle and nephew, as well as father and son, it does seem likely that this William Clayton is the father of William who married Joan Smith in Boxgrove, and died in 1658. ... Whether William the Elder’s wife Elizabeth was his first, or a later wife, is unknown. The date of his first marriage would have to be close to 1609-1610, when he was 20-21 years old, in order for him to be the father of William Clayton Junr. (the Younger), whom the author surmises must have been born by 1610-1611 in order to have been 20 or 21 when he married Joan Smith in Boxgrove in 1631.”

Winton-Misch identified either known or likely children of William Clayton “the Elder” as:

- + i. **William Clayton** Born ca. 1610, William “the Younger” was our direct ancestor.
- ii. **Joan Clayton** Born ca. 1612-1613, Joan married Edward Frost on 26 Jul 1631 at Boxgrove.
- iii. **Thomas Clayton** Baptized 21 Apr 1616.

No baptism for a William, son of William Clayton, has been found for the period 1605-1611 in Boxgrove or other parishes within a reasonable distance, but there are several explanations for these omissions. Nor is a will known to exist for William the Elder. However, the circumstantial evidence of a connection between the two generations is strong, as presented in the article *An Alternative Ancestry for William Clayton of Chichester, Sussex, and Pennsylvania*, published in the journal *Plain Language* in 1996 (Vol. 6, No. 2).

Third Generation

William Clayton Jr. was likely born about 1610. The date is based on the fact that the average age at marriage in this period of English history was approximately 20 to 26 years for both men and women, and a record in the registers for the Boxgrove parish church that William Clayton married Joan Smith there on 30 October 1631. Judging by the baptisms of the first five of his six known children in the Boxgrove parish register, and the same six children mentioned in his will, there is no reason to doubt that Joan Smith was the first wife of William Clayton Jr.

Joan, the “wife of William Clayton jun.” was buried 27 April 1644 at Boxgrove. William then married at Boxgrove his second wife, Elizabeth Simmons, nearly nine months later, on 4 January 1644/1645. William Clayton Jr. had one more child by his second wife Elizabeth, a daughter Mary, whose baptism has not been found.

At some time after their marriage in Boxgrove, William Clayton and his wife Elizabeth moved west

to St. Pancras parish, just outside of the East Gate of the walled city of Chichester. This was a move of less than three miles from Boxgrove. The historic City of Chichester dates back to Roman times. The Roman walls and streets, dating from the third century A.D., define the shape of the town. Many of the walls are still there, but are of medieval age built upon the original Roman foundations. The walls can still be walked; the distance around is one and a half miles. In typical Roman fashion, there were four gates to and from the walled city, located at the four compass points. None of them exist today. To ease the flow of traffic into the town, the West, North and South gates were demolished in 1773. The East Gate was demolished ten years later.

At the time William Clayton lived near Chichester, there was a small settlement outside the East Gate, near the St. Pancras church. Many of the people who lived there made needles (which is why there is a road there today called Needlemakers). During the English Civil War, in 1642, the houses in the settlement outside the East Gate were set on fire, but in all likelihood the area had been rebuilt by the time William Clayton moved his family there (most of the houses in Chichester in the early 17th century were made of wood with thatched roofs; in 1687 a law banned thatched roofs because of the risk of fire). The St. Pancras Church was also just outside the ancient East Gate to the city, and had been there since medieval times. It too was destroyed during the Civil War and was not rebuilt until 1750.

At some point, William Clayton may have become a member of the Society of Friends, possibly in the period 1655-1658. There is no direct evidence of that, but we know his second wife was a Quaker. When his wife Elizabeth died on 6 October 1660, her burial was listed in the records of Lewes and Chichester Monthly Meeting with the notation that she was buried in the “Rumboldswyke Steeple House Yard.” The latter was a reference to the burial ground of the parish church at Rumboldswyke, a small parish just to the southeast of Chichester, today a part of that city. Elizabeth was likely buried at Rumboldswyke instead of at St. Pancras because the latter church had been destroyed and was not in use at the time.

William Clayton left a will dated 1 February 1658/1659, found in the West Sussex Record Office at Chichester, England in 1984, and copied and transcribed by Marilyn Winton-Misch. Though the will was recorded in the Consistory Court Will Register in Chichester, the will was not probated. Because of this, and the lack of a burial or death record, William Clayton’s death date is unknown.

In his will, William Clayton was identified as being “*of the Parish of Pancras without the East Gate, of Chichester in the County of Sussex, Timberman.*” The phrase “without the East Gate” meant “on the outside” of that gate. The reference to having an occupation of “timberman” is interesting. Several other accounts have stated this meant that he dealt with or sold lumber. However a *timberman* is an archaic term for a person skilled in notching, erecting, and securing support timbers used in a mine. The West Sussex area of England had various mines, including iron mines. The craft gradually became extinct with the advent of power tools and steel supports.

William Clayton’s will names all his surviving children and two grandchildren, to whom he left varying sums of money. He left the remainder of his estate to his wife Elizabeth “*for her well being and for the bringing up of my youngest daughter Mary Clayton.*” He named his wife as the executor of the will, but obviously had concerns over her ability to perform the tasks required. William Clayton wrote in his will “*my wife may be incapable to manage my estate to the best use and for the payment of debts in the due order*” and appointed his friend John Peachey of Pagham “*to prove this my last will & meaning and to take an inventory of all my goods and to sell the same until such time my debts & funeral expenses be discharged, and then to resign up the Executorship into the hands of my loving*

wife.”

Perhaps even stranger, William Clayton selected two other friends as “watchers to watch the watcher.” In his will, William Clayton gave to two other friends, William Steele and John Avery, the “*powers to call the above named John Peche unto an account & unto such accounts as are needful & as often as they shall think fit*” and requested that they “*do see this my last will be performed to the true intent & meaning hereof.*” William left his two friends “2 shillings apiece” for their efforts in keeping an eye on his third friend. One might surmise William Clayton was not overly trustful.

William “Claiton,” by his first wife Joan Smith, had the following children:

- + i. **William Clayton** Baptized 9 Dec 1632 at Boxgrove, William Clayton, the third in a row with that name, was our direct ancestor and the immigrant ancestor.
- ii. **Joan Clayton** Baptized 23 Aug 1635 at Boxgrove, Joan was buried there on 20 Jul 1644.
- iii. **Elizabeth Clayton** Baptized 11 Feb 1637 at Boxgrove.
- iv. **Richard Clayton** Baptized 13 Sep 1640 at Boxgrove.
- v. **Thomas Clayton** Baptized 26 Feb 1642 at Boxgrove.

By his second wife, Elizabeth Simmons, William Clayton had the following daughter:

- vi. **Mary Clayton** Likely born in the mid 1640s.

Fourth Generation

William Clayton was baptized in the parish of Boxgrove, Sussex, England, only three miles northeast of Chichester, on 9 December 1632. His parents had married at Boxgrove thirteen months earlier. Despite William’s baptism, James Bellarts published several times that William was born in 1625 in the parish of Rumboldswyke, and baptized later in Boxgrove. No proof or explanation of this odd conjecture was ever provided. The Boxgrove parish register, the original of which was examined by Marilyn L. Winton-Misch at the Chichester Record Office, contains the baptisms of William and his four oldest siblings. Rumboldswyke does not, especially since the registers do not exist before 1670. Nonetheless, one can find any number of incorrect references to William Clayton being born in 1625.

On 7 November 1653, banns (an announcement of an intended marriage) were recorded in the parish of St. Pancras of the marriage of William Clayton to Prudence Lanckford. Since the church at St. Pancras had been destroyed, the ceremony likely occurred somewhere else, perhaps in the church in the adjoining parish of Rumboldswyke. In the banns, the father of the bride was recorded as William Lanckford of “Broughton” in Hampshire. Researchers have found no extant records of that family name in Broughton, but the marriage of a William Lanckford “of Southwick” to Elizabeth Reading, “spinster, of Wymering,” in the parish of Wymering, Hampshire on 12 June 1622 could be that of Prudence’s parents. Southwick and Wymering are parishes adjacent to each other, located about nine miles west of Chichester.

In the records of the Lewes and Chichester Monthly Meeting, the death of “William Lankford of Rumbolds Wyke” is noted on 1 January 1665/1666. The births of William and Prudence Lanckford’s children throughout the 1660s are found in the same monthly meeting records, with the parents’ residence listed as Rumboldswyke. Today this parish is now a suburb of Chichester on the southern edge of that city, and locally referred to as just “Wyke.”

William and Prudence Clayton were early converts to the teachings of George Fox and became

members of the Society of Friends. Though we have no direct evidence of when this occurred, it likely was when Fox arrived in Chichester himself in 1655. In the journal he kept, Fox noted that “*we passed on to Arundel and Chichester, where we had Meetings.*” The date this occurred is not recorded, but there was reference in Fox’s journal to “frost and snow” on the ground, so we can assume it was early in the year.

That night Fox and his fellow traveler or travelers stayed at a woman’s house, probably that of Margery Wilkinson who lived on the site of what is today 62/3 North Street. A meeting was held in the house and Fox recorded in his journal that “... many professors came in and some janglings there were, but the Lord’s power was over all.” In Quaker-speak this meant there were a lot of believers, some disturbances, but that it was a worthwhile and reverent meeting. The reason for speculating the woman who hosted the meeting might have been Margery Wilkinson is that she was later prominent in the Chichester Meeting, including holding meetings for worship in her house. She was also a widow at the time of Fox’s visit.

The first record we have of William and Prudence Clayton being Quakers is in 1658, when the following notation was made in Quaker records: “*James Larbol for going into the high steeple house of ye City of Chichester and speaking to the priest (Speed) concerning false doctrine delivered by him: was by the magistrates of the place committed to prison into the hands of a gaol keeper (Edward Lean) where he suffered near 5 months and died within a few days after he was set free. Several bruises that he received on his body remained till the day of his death. Witnesses Wm & Prudence Clayton.*”

Thus the brutality meted out to Quakers was witnessed first hand by William Clayton and his wife and recorded by them. However, the harsh treatment of Quakers would fall even closer to home, as recorded in the book *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People Called Quakers* by Joseph Besse. Besse noted that on 7 February 1663/1664 “*Nicholas Rickman, Edward Hamper, William Turner, Tristram Martin, and Henry Woolyer, with John Snashold, William Clayton, Richard Newman, and John Baker were taken out of a Meeting at Arundel by a Company of Soldiers armed with drawn Swords and Guns, without the Presence of a Civil Magistrate, and kept at an Inn till a Justice was sent for out of the Country, who committed them to Horsham Goal.*” The word “goal” was a common variation of the word *gaol*, the Old English spelling of the word *jail*.

William Clayton and the others were imprisoned for six months in the Horsham jail. It could not have been a pleasant experience since the place was infamous. A website for the town even refers to “an element of cruelty and torment Horsham would not like to be remembered for.”

One of Horsham’s infamous claims to fame was that it was the last place in England to carry out the *peine forte et dure* (literally, “hard and forceful punishment”) in 1735. Even in those days a euphemism was required to describe being crushed to death. A man named John Weeks was accused of murder but declined to offer a plea and, according to the law, the courts had no jurisdiction over him. Weeks was found guilty of “standing mute through malice” and was sentenced to the *peine forte et dure* to persuade him to enter a plea. This should have taken place within a prison cell but instead it was carried out in full public view outside the jail. Weeks was laid on the ground with a board over him, a prison door according to some reports, and then weights piled onto the board. Enough weights were added, including the “gaoler” himself, until Weeks died. If you wonder why a man would allow himself to be killed this way and not enter a plea, the reason was because of his dependents; by not entering a plea the Crown could not confiscate his house and property.

In 1677, William Clayton and his family sailed for West Jersey in America. It has been written that he did this on behalf of William Penn, who had referred to William Clayton as a “friend” in his writings. Two Quakers, Edward Byllinge and John Fenwick, were partners in the West Jersey proprietorship in America. Because of financial difficulties, Byllinge signed over his share to William Penn and two other creditors, who in turn sold proprietary lots to two companies formed by Quakers for the purpose of settlement in the American colony.

Though the Quakers had been granted the land by the Crown, they were sensitive to the issue of the native population in America, and commissioners were appointed to travel to America to “purchase from the Indians” or “to extinguish the Indian title” to the land. It has been stated a number of times that William Clayton was one of those commissioners, however the names of the nine commissioners are known, and William Clayton was not one of them. Despite that, William Clayton was one of the passengers on the ship *Kent*, with Gregory Marlow as master, which loaded in London from 19 March to 31 March 1677. The ship later loaded passengers and goods at other ports, but the ship sailed before May.

There are several variations of a story that appear in historical accounts concerning the departure of the *Kent* from London. According to the story, as the *Kent* was just getting underway on the Thames, the royal “pleasure barge” of King Charles II came alongside and inquired who the group was and where they were going. “Quakers, bound for America” came the reply, and the king wished them a safe voyage. His blessing has been viewed historically, at best, as a polite “go away” or a “good riddance” message. As much trouble as the Quakers caused, we can assume the king was pleased to see them go.

The *Kent* sailed first to New York, arriving there in August 1677. After a short stay, the *Kent* sailed across the bay to Perth Amboy, after which she headed south to the Delaware River and up it to the mouth of Raccoon Creek where the ship is said to have disembarked some 230 passengers of a total of 270. The *Kent* then moved on to Chygoes Island, now Burlington Island, adjacent to present-day Burlington, New Jersey. Keep in mind that all of this predated the colony of Pennsylvania by five years.

The group brought with them a copy of *The Concessions and Agreements of the Proprietors, Freeholders and Inhabitants of the Providence of West Jersey in America*, which had been drawn up and signed before the group left England. This document of civil and religious liberty was the Quaker’s first experiment in legislation. It created an executive and a legislative power, provided that a Governor be chosen by an Assembly which in turn was elected by the people, and became the basis for the common law of the province. Some of these innovative ideas survived for a century and made their way into the U.S. Constitution.

The commissioners aboard the *Kent* got right to work and reached an agreement with the Indians about the land around present-day Burlington. The Swedes, who had settled in the same area by 1673, helped in negotiating with the Lenape Indians. Jöns Gustafsson, who was on good terms with the Indians, helped the Quakers buy the land from the Indians, and on 27 September 1677 “James Yesteven” witnessed the deed conveying all of the lands between Oldmans Creek and Big Timber Creek to the West Jersey Proprietors.

There was one very slight problem: the Indians had done this before. About a year before, in a deed dated 15 November 1676, the Lenape tribe had conveyed the same land to the Swedes in exchange for various gifts. The deed was recorded in the New Castle court in 1680, with the notation that the

Swedes had settled the land and made improvements seven years prior. The Indians evidently saw no issues in selling the same land twice within a year. To them the buyer was merely obtaining the right to share the land, not the right to exclude others from it.

The first record of William Clayton and his family in America was on “6th day 8th month” (6 October) 1678 when William Clayton and Prudence Clayton, and their son William, were all witnesses to the first marriage recorded at the Quaker’s Burlington Monthly Meeting. The Clayton family did not stay on the New Jersey side of the Delaware River for long. In March 1679, William Clayton purchased the property of Hans Oelson, one of the original grantees of Marcus Hook and settled at that location about 15-20 miles southwest of Philadelphia. The daughter of William Clayton, Honor Clayton, married in August that year at “Markers Hook.”

On 13 September 1681 William Clayton was the presiding justice of the first Court held in Chester County. He was one of the first two judges for the city of Philadelphia, a member of Penn’s Council in 1683 and 1684, assisting in drafting many of the laws of Pennsylvania at that time. In 1684-1685, Clayton was acting Governor of Pennsylvania. William Clayton died in 1689, evidently suddenly, as he left no will.

William Clayton, by his wife Prudence Lanckford, had the following children:

- i. **William Clayton** Born 11 May 1655 in Pancras Parish, Sussex, William married by Feb 1684/1685 to Elizabeth Bezer. William died 22 Apr 1727 in Chester County, Pennsylvania.
- ii. **Prudence Clayton** Born 20 Oct 1657 in Rumboldswyke Parish, Sussex Prudence married 10 Jan 1678 to Henry Reynolds. Prudence made her will 17 Nov 1726 at Chichester and died by April 1728.
- iii. **Joseph Clayton** Born 12 Sep 1659 in Rumboldswyke Parish, Sussex, Joseph married 5 Apr 1683 in Sussex, England to Elizabeth Balzer and probably remained in England.
- iv. **Honor Clayton** Born 18 Mar 1662/1663 in Rumboldswyke Parish, Sussex, Honor married 8 Aug 1679 to James Brown of Marcus Hook. Honor was still living in 1715 when James made his will in Nottingham Twp., Chester County.
- + v. **Mary Clayton** Born 29 Aug 1665 in Rumboldswyke Parish, Sussex, Mary was a twin of Elizabeth. Mary married John Beals and was our direct ancestor.
- vi. **Elizabeth Clayton** Born 29 Aug 1665 in Rumboldswyke Parish, Sussex, a twin of Mary, Elizabeth died after one month on 30 Sep 1665.
- vii. **Hannah Clayton** Born 12 Dec 1667 in Pancras Parish, Sussex, Hannah died as an infant on 12 Oct 1668 and was buried at Michael Lighton’s Burial Ground in Sussex.

Our ancestor, the daughter Mary Clayton, came to America with her family in 1677 and later married into the Beals family.

Beals Family

The Beals surname, like nearly every surname in this account, had many alternate spellings in years past. It was spelled *Bales*, *Bailes*, *Bails*, *Balles*, *Bayles*, *Bealls*, *Beales* and several other ways in old records. The immigrant ancestor, John Beals, was illiterate since he signed his will with an “X”, thus

leaving the proper spelling of his name to an assortment of clerks. Today, descendants of John Beals primarily uses the *Beals* spelling. Based on the way the name was commonly spelled in early records, primarily based on the way people heard the name, we can assume the name was pronounced “Bales” regardless of the spelling.

A number of accounts state that the immigrant ancestor had a father named William Beals, however there is no evidence whatsoever that this was the case. The earliest Beals ancestor of whom we can be certain is John Beals, who immigrated to Pennsylvania early. Nothing is known of his origins, though he left one clue in his will in which he referred to his ‘kinswoman’ Mary Davis of Philadelphia. Mary, possibly a sister or cousin, married in Worcestershire, England, so that may have been John Beals’ point of origin, especially since it was from this area that a number of Quakers traveled to America.

In any case, John Beals came to Pennsylvania by at least 1677. In a 1691 court case in Chester County, Pennsylvania, John testified that he had “plowed the land” in question some fourteen years earlier. This would place him in Chester County in 1677, though he could have come earlier. His father in law, William Clayton, had arrived in 1677 and John Beals may have arrived at the same time aboard the *Kent*. One researcher states that John Beals arrived aboard the ship *Griffin* in 1675, the first Quaker vessel to arrive in America, but there is no proof of that either.

In the minutes of the Chester Monthly Meeting, there are notations dated 2 October 1682 and 1 January 1682/1683 that John Beals and Mary Clayton announced their intentions to marry. They probably married soon after the second date. John and Mary Beals remained on his farm in Aston Township of Chester County until 1701. This part of Chester County was later included in Delaware County when the latter county was formed from Chester County in 1789.

Tradition has it that John Beals was a surveyor. An even more fanciful tradition states that John assisted in laying out the city of Philadelphia. There is no evidence to support or debunk either tradition. We do know that in 1694, Beals was appointed constable of Aston Township. John occasionally served on the committees of his monthly meeting of Friends, and appears to have been a conscientious Quaker. The evidence for this observation centuries later comes from the records of a 1694 court case in which John’s neighbor, Joseph Richard, was accused of having built a fence which was actually on John’s land. The court awarded John Beals damages of thirty shillings. But having won the case and making his point as to who was right and wrong in the case, John refused the damages, stating he would move his own fence so “*that they might live together lovingly for the future.*”

In 1702, John Beals joined others in moving to what was called the Nottingham Lots, then considered part of Chester County, Pennsylvania. This area was on the western frontier of Pennsylvania, with lands to the west still inhabited by Indians. The proprietor of the colony of Maryland, Lord Baltimore, also claimed the area and there was a long dispute between Penn and Lord Baltimore over the boundary between the two colonies. This dispute continued for years after both men died, until it was eventually settled by the survey finished in 1767 by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, who established the now-famous Mason-Dixon Line.

Establishment of the Nottingham Lots land grant grew out of Penn’s eagerness to establish his border rights. In 1702, he granted a land warrant for 18,000 acres which was divided into “Lots.” To help substantiate his claim to the disputed border area, Penn got a number of Quaker families to move farther west to settle on the Nottingham Lots. After the completion of the Mason-Dixon survey, only

1300 of the original 18,000 acres remained in Pennsylvania, with the remainder in Cecil County, Maryland.

One of the problems facing the Nottingham Lot landowners and their descendants was gaining title to their property after the death of William Penn in 1718. Because both Pennsylvania and Maryland claimed the area, many of the Nottingham lot owners did not pay the quit rents due on the land because they didn't know whether to pay them to Penn or to Baltimore. Because of that most didn't pay their rents at all, and this made it difficult to obtain a clear title to the land.

John Beals received a grant for 1000 acres, comprising Lots 36 and 37 in the area called East Nottingham. As with the other grantees, all Quakers, Beals agreed to pay £8 for each hundred acres within one year, and one shilling as quit rent for each hundred acres thereafter. His property was located near the small present-day community of Blueball, Maryland, on the north side of Highway 273. His property extended north just slightly over the state line into Pennsylvania.

John Beals joined other Quaker families in establishing Nottingham Monthly Meeting and both John and Mary were quite active in church affairs based on the records of that meeting. Mary was chosen Overseer for the women's meeting in 1706 and John for the men's meeting in 1709. There is an unsubstantiated tradition that John Beals was "lame" in his later years.

Mary most likely died sometime in the early 1720s, as she was not mentioned in John's will of 1726. John Beals wrote his will on "Ye 11th of Ye 8th Month, 1726" (11 October 1726) and it was proved on 17 December 1726. Both are almost certainly buried in the burial ground adjacent to the East Nottingham Meeting House, known locally as "The Brick Meeting House," which dates from 1724. This is at Calvert Village, which is near the intersection of Highway 272 and Highway 273 in Cecil County, Maryland.

John Beals, by his wife Mary Clayton, had the following children, all born while the family lived in Aston Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania:

- + i. **John Beals** Born 28 Mar 1685/1686, John was our direct ancestor.
- ii. **William Beals** Born 1 Apr 1687, William married Rebecca Chambers at Nottingham Monthly Meeting on 26 Jun 1712. He died in the same place on 2 Jan 1742.
- iii. **Jacob Beals** Born 28 Sep 1689, Jacob married Mary Brooksby on 20 Jun 1714. He died in 1763 at Warrington Monthly Meeting, York County, Pennsylvania.
- iv. **Mary Beals** Born 24 Mar 1692/1693, Mary married Richard Harrold on 1 Jun 1710. She died after 1740 in Frederick County, Virginia.
- v. **Patience Beals** Born 16 Jun 1695, Patience married Joseph Jones on 20 Jun 1717. She died in Harford County, Maryland in Sep 1777.

Second Generation

Our ancestor, John Beals Jr., was born 28 March 1685/1686 in Chester County, Pennsylvania. When John was about 16, his family moved further west to the Nottingham Lots area in what is now Cecil County, Maryland. However, he later returned to the more settled portion of Chester County to marry Sarah Bowater in the Chester Meeting House on 14 November 1711.

After their marriage, John and Sarah Beals lived in Nottingham and New Garden townships in Chester

County. By 1733, John Beals and his family had joined a number of other Quakers from Chester County who were moving to the Monocacy area of Prince George's County, Maryland. A list of taxpayers prepared in 1733 titled the *Account of Taxables of Monocose Hundred* has the name "John Bales" on it. The minutes of the Providence Monthly Meeting in Chester County noted in 1733 that John Beals requested for his married daughter Sarah "*a Certificate for her to Notingham she being removed to Mannockesy which is within ye verge of Notingham Mtg.*" It was further recorded that "*John Beals also requests a certificate for self and wife Sarah, and children to Notingham, they being removed.*"

John Beals and his wife evidently remained in Prince George's County until John Beals died. John Beals death date and burial place are unknown, though some have reported he died in 1745. Sarah married again in 1748 to Alexander Underwood, a Quaker minister of some prominence from Warrington in York County, Pennsylvania. After their marriage, she moved to his home at Warrington. In June 1761, William Hunt Jr., the noted Quaker minister from North Carolina who had married Sarah's granddaughter Sarah Mills, visited her. Hunt wrote in his diary that "*Sarah was an ancient worthy Friend with whom I had much comfort.*" Sarah reportedly died at Warrington in the fall of 1761.

John Beals and Sarah Bowater were the parents of seven children, two of whom married children of William Hunt and Mary Woolman (order of children is estimated):

- i. **Sarah Beals** Born 20 Jul 1713, Sarah married John Mills, Jr. about 1733 in a ceremony that was unacceptable to the Quaker meeting. John and Sarah both announced they had been married out of unity "by a priest" before the Providence Monthly Meeting. Both were forgiven and later moved to North Carolina with other Quakers.
- ii. **John Beals** Born 17 Apr 1717, John married Margaret Hunt, daughter of William Hunt and Mary Woolman. This was probably about 1738 and likely in the Monocacy area of Prince George's County, Maryland.
- iii. **Thomas Beals** Born 14 Mar 1719/1720, Thomas married Sarah Antrim. He became a famous minister and spent a great deal of time in the "west" with the Indians. Many accounts have been written concerning him.
- + iv. **Prudence Beals** Our direct ancestor, Prudence Beals married Richard Williams.
- v. **Mary Ann Beals** Mary Ann Beals married Thomas Hunt, son of William Hunt and Mary Woolman. After his death, Mary married William Baldwin.
- vi. **Phoebe Beals** Phoebe married twice, to Charles Canaday and to Robert Sumner. With her second husband, Phoebe moved to North Carolina.
- vii. **Bowater Beals** Bowater Beals (a prize winner for awkward names) married Saran Ann Cook on 10 Feb 1752 at Warrington Monthly Meeting in York County, Pennsylvania. They joined many others in moving to North Carolina.

Prudence Beals, our direct ancestor, married into the Williams family.

Williams Family

The surname *Williams* is probably Welsh in origin, since nearly four percent of the population of Wales today has that name. The first Williams ancestor of whom we can be certain is George Williams, who lived in the Monocacy area of Prince George's County, Maryland. The book *Williams-Enoch Genealogy*, published by Mabel Williams Bean in 1953, makes a case for a rather fanciful ancestry back to a Sir Richard Williams, a knight in the court of King Henry VIII of England.

Bean wrote that Sir Richard Williams was the son of Morgan Williams who came from Wales with Henry VII when he became the King of England after the Battle of Bosworth Field. Sir Richard allegedly changed his name from Williams to Cromwell (his mother's maiden name) and was the great uncle of Oliver Cromwell, the Lord Protector in England. The book states that his descendants in America were a Richard Williams who came to Boston in 1632 from Bristol and his son George Williams who settled in the Monocacy area of Maryland. Despite a strong argument made in the book, there is little or no proof other than family tradition to verify the argument. It would seem that descendants of the families in this work are once again cheated out of having a verifiable knight in their family tree.

The book *Descendants of George Williams* by Richard J. Williams, published in 1908, states there is a tradition in the family that George Williams came from Wales to America "*with a train of Friends in 1690, settling in Penn. for a while and then proceeding to Monocacy in the present Frederick County (then Prince Georges Co.) Md.*" Unfortunately, this too cannot be verified. It is not known when George Williams first came to the Monocacy area of Prince George's County, Maryland, but he was certainly there by 1742 when he joined others in signing a petition to divide Prince George's Parish. He had no land surveyed or patented in the area, but that is easily explained away by the fact that many people in that area leased land on the enormous Carrollton Manor, as did William Hunt, the immigrant ancestor of that family.

Despite the family traditions, there is no indication George Williams was a Quaker. That observation comes from the second mention of George Williams in the marriage record of his son Richard Williams when he married in 1746. Richard seems to have joined the Society of Friends just three months before his marriage to Prudence Beals at the Monocacy Meeting. The Quakers noted "*Richard Williams having for a considerable time been under the care and notice of Friends now requests to be received as a member in unity. The meeting therefore, after deliberate consideration, granted his request. 7th mo. 27th, 1746.*"

Had George Williams been a Quaker, or at least one in good standing, his son would not have had to request membership into the Society. Regardless, the marriage between Richard Williams and Prudence Beals went forward, recorded in the Fairfax Monthly Meeting records as having occurred on 10 January 1746/1747. No further record of George Williams has been found.

A little over two years later, Richard Williams and his wife Prudence moved to North Carolina, among some of the earlier Quakers to make that move. Quaker records show that Richard and his family were granted a certificate to Carver's Creek Monthly Meeting in Bladen County, North Carolina on 26 August 1749.

What followed after the arrival of Richard Williams and his family in North Carolina was a quick succession of counties being formed, giving the impression that Richard moved a lot, when in fact he lived in the same place until the day he died. Anson County was formed in 1750 from Bladen County,

where many records were destroyed in fires in 1756 and 1893. Rowan County formed in 1753 from Anson County, another county where early land records were destroyed by fire. Where Richard settled eventually ended up in Guilford County when it was formed in 1771.

But two early deeds recorded in the Rowan County courthouse (v.3, p.439-441) in 1756 indicate Richard Williams received two land grants from Lord Granville, the Lord Proprietor of the 60-mile wide strip of land in North Carolina adjacent to Virginia, an area known as the Granville District. At the time, the land Richard Williams received was located in Rowan County; today it is located in Guilford County near the city of Greensboro. The first land grant, dated 5 May 1756, provided Richard with 640 acres “on a fork of Horsepen Creek” and the second, dated 6 November 1755, gave him an additional 252 acres “on N line of E side of his other plantation where he lives.” Each grant cost him a mere ten shillings.

Richard Williams did not keep all of the land. He quickly sold 137 acres for “£34 Virginia money,” probably to help defray the costs of building a house and outbuildings on his property. Richard also sold 300 acres of his 640-acre parcel to his brother-in-law Bowater Beals for £60. Richard also bought 110 acres of land in 1759 for £20, selling it ten years later for over £64, an indication of how fast land was increasing in value as new settlers poured into North Carolina during this time period.

However the land transaction for which Richard Williams is best remembered is the 53 acres of land he sold to be used by the Quakers for the New Garden Meeting House and cemetery. One of the two men who bought the property on behalf of the Quakers was Thomas Hunt, the son of the immigrant William Hunt. The deed declared the land to be “*for the use, benefit, privilege and convenience of a meetinghouse which is already erected and has the name New Garden, for the Christian people called Quakers to meet in ... and also the ground to bury their dead in.*” Today the land is also the site of Guilford College, formerly the New Garden Boarding School.

The Battle of Guilford Courthouse, mentioned previously, would have a major impact on the family of Richard Williams, who himself would die because of that battle. One of the British commanders in that battle, Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, would later write in his *History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America* that the “wounded of both armies were assembled expeditiously after the action, and surgeons were directed to separate the British and Hessians, who were severely wounded, from those who could bear the exercise of traveling; the former, to the amount of 70, with several Americans who were in the same situation were lodged, under the protection of a flag of truce in New Garden Meetinghouse and the adjacent buildings, whilst the latter were placed in the best wagons or on horseback to attend the motions of the King’s troops.”

One of the “adjacent buildings” which Tarleton referred to was the home of Richard Williams. His home was used to house British soldiers who had been wounded in the battle, all so seriously that none could be withdrawn with the British army as it moved towards the coast.

Levi Coffin, a famous Abolitionist Quaker, was the grandson of Richard Williams. He wrote in his *Reminiscences* that “*The battle of Guilford Courthouse, fought about the close of the Revolutionary War commenced near New Garden Meetinghouse and continued along the old Salisbury Road, a distance of about 3 miles, to Martineville, the old Guilford Courthouse, near where the main battle was fought. A number of soldiers were killed near the Meetinghouse and along the road and were buried by the roadside in the Friends’ burying ground. I have often seen their graves. After the battle the Meetinghouse was used as a hospital for the wounded British officers. My grandfather Coffin’s house was used for the American officers as a hospital for their sick and wounded. The two farms*

adjoined (the other being that of Richard Williams) and the headquarters of the difference forces were thus in close proximity. The smallpox broke out among the officers and my grandfather Williams caught the disease from them and died.”

Richard Williams died 6 May 1781, six weeks after the battle was fought all around the Quakers at New Garden. He was buried the next day in the New Garden cemetery. His widow Prudence would later suffer another tragedy since the records for the New Garden Monthly Meeting mentions the women’s minutes for that meeting before 1790 were destroyed “when the house of Prudence Williams was laid to waste by fire.” Prudence died 25 June 1815.

The children of Richard Williams and Prudence Beals were (all but the first child were born at New Garden, Guilford County, North Carolina):

- i. **Silas Williams** Born 5 Oct 1747 in Maryland, Silas married Mary Hunt, daughter of our direct ancestor, Eleazar Hunt. As mentioned previously, when Silas asked Eleazar Hunt for permission to marry his 16-year-old daughter, Eleazar said she was too young. Silas responded “but she will get older every day,” an argument difficult to dispute. Silas’ superior logic evidently prevailed because he and Mary married and had eleven children. In 1793 the family moved to Surry County, North Carolina near the Virginia border. In 1813, they joined the mass exodus to Ohio, where Silas died in Champaign County, Ohio on 10 Jan 1831, and Mary there in 1840.
- ii. **Charity Williams** Born 6 May 1750, Charity married William Hiatt on 17 May 1769. Charity died 17 Mar 1840 at Spiceland in Henry County, Indiana.
- iii. **Jesse Williams** Born 13 Jan 1753, Jesse married twice; first to Eleanor Johnson on 9 Nov 1774 and, after her death, to Sarah Terrell on 9 Jul 1788, both marriages at New Garden. Jesse died 21 Dec 1833 at Whitewater meeting in Indiana.
- iv. **Richard Williams** Born 29 Sep 1755, Richard married (1) Sarah Baldwin on 17 Jun 1778, (2) Susannah Clary on 14 Apr 1803 at Sutton’s Creek meeting in Perquimans County, North Carolina, and (3) Sarah Russell on 30 May 1821 at New Garden. In the 1850 census Richard Williams was living with his son Daniel Williams in Green Twp., Wayne County, Indiana. He was listed as age 96 in the census. Richard died there in Jul 1852.
- v. **Prudence Williams** Born 18 Mar 1758, Prudence married (1) Levi Coffin, who died in 1833. Prudence then married (2) Dee Anderson. She died 2 Jun 1845 in Wayne County, Indiana.
- vi. **Matthias Williams** Born 10 Dec 1760, Matthias moved to Logan County, Ohio. He never married.
- + vii. **Sarah Williams** Born 10 May 1763, Sarah was our direct ancestor.
- viii. **Dorcas Williams** Born 16 Dec 1765, Dorcas married David Hoggatt on 8 Jul 1795. Dorcas died 2 Mar 1818 in Clinton County, Ohio.
- ix. **Ruth Williams** Born 8 Feb 1768, Ruth married Charles Gordon on 29 Jan 1794 at New Garden. She died 5 Nov 1855 at Springfield meeting in Indiana.
- x. **Mary Williams** Born 27 Jul 1770, Mary married Jonathan Hoggatt. She died 21

- xi. **John Williams** Jan 1808 at Mt. Pleasant, Grayson County, Virginia.
Born 18 Mar 1773, John married Sarah Wheeler on 14 Aug 1794. John died 27 Apr 1856.
- xii. **Ann Williams** Born 7 Jul 1775, Ann married Thomas Jessup.

Our direct ancestor, Sarah Williams, was born 10 May 1763 at New Garden meeting in Guilford County, North Carolina. She married into the Stanley family.

Watkins and Hutchins Families

Watkins Family

Unlike some of the other Quaker families which appear in this work, our Watkins ancestors, specifically one Henry Watkins who was born about 1638 and came to Virginia, have been well researched. Several excellent accounts about Henry Watkins and his family have been written. *Some Watkins Families* by John Hale Stutesman (1989) and *Henry Watkins of Henrico County* by Jane McMurtry Allen (1985) deserve special mention.

Henry Watkins was born 1637-1638. As Stutesman wrote, “we have his word on it.” On 1 April 1678, “Henry Watkins” testified in court in Henrico County, Virginia that he was then “aged 40 yeares.”

Where he was born or when he came to Virginia are unknown, but it is likely that Henry Watkins was born in England and arrived in the early 1660s. The latter assumption is based on the fact that, in June 1664, a land grant was made in Henrico County to a “Mr. John Beachamp and Mr. Richard Cocke Sr.” for their “importation” of sixty people, one of whom was “Henry Watkins.” Under early Virginia law, 50 acres were granted to anyone who would pay for the transportation costs of a laborer or indentured servant. Such a land grant was referred to as a “headright.”

Stutesman points out that the 1664 land grant is not proof that Henry Watkins had been brought to Virginia by Beauchamp and Cocke, or that he had arrived in Virginia soon before the date of the grant. Stutesman claims men who had been born in Virginia sometimes appeared in headright claims, or that sailors “on briefly passing ships” were sometimes listed in headright claims. Stutesman writes “dead men came to life, as in modern ward elections; even fictitious names appeared.” He points out that eight of the sixty men listed in the land grant previously had been named in a 1652 grant to Richard Cocke.

The reference to “Henry Watkins” in the 1664 land grant is the first record of him in America, and one which connects him to the area where he lived the remainder of his life. The area was near the tiny community of Granville, Virginia and about 15 miles southeast of the city of Richmond.

Three years later, in 1667, Henry Watkins helped to survey the land of Richard Cocke. He was named as a witness to the survey in the aforementioned 1678 court document, testifying that he was there when Thomas Ligon surveyed the Cocke land in the “Mawburne (Malvern) Hills.” Watkins stated in court that “*Mr. Rich’d Cocke Senr. desired me to goe along with him and Colonel Ligon to carry the chaine,*” a reference to the surveying chain. Henry Watkins put his “H” mark on the deposition, a mark which shows up on other official records attested by him.

The testimony by Henry Watkins that Richard Cocke “desired me to go along” on the survey party and that Cocke had filed for a “headright” land grant because of his “importation” of Henry Watkins strongly implies that Cocke had paid for Watkins’ passage to Virginia, and Watkins was repaying the debt by serving as an indentured servant to Cocke.

By 1679 Henry Watkins owned his own land, for in June of that year, a Henrico County court record listed him as a landowner in the “Turkey Island” district and required that Henry “fitt out” three men for military duty against the Indians. In November 1679, Henry Watkins received his own land grant of 170 acres of land for the “transportation of 4 persons.” The land was on the north side of the James

River in Henrico County, adjoining land of “John Lewis, Mr. Cocke, and Mr. Beauchamp,” and touching the “three runs” of Turkey Island Creek. In July 1690 Watkins purchased another 360 acres of land in “Varina parish, Henrico Co.,” and in October of the same year he patented 60 acres of land “adjoining his own land and touching a run of Turkey Island Creek.”

Somewhere around this same time, Henry Watkins became a Quaker. In 1681, Henry was described in court as being “*inclinable to the quakers.*” In 1684, the Henrico County court refused a petition by Henry Watkins for a release from fines imposed upon him, as he was judged to be “*continuing still in his Quakerism.*” A year later, in April 1685, his daughter “*Eliza Watkins, aged 16 years or thereabouts,*” refused, because of her Quaker “*conscience’s sake,*” to swear an oath before her testimony in a court case.

There are also Quaker records that confirm the involvement of Henry Watkins in that faith. In 1699, “Henry Watkins Sr.” gave 500 pounds of tobacco for the repair of the Curles Meeting House. In 1703, he gave fifty pounds of tobacco “for the relief of the poor and for the assistance of traveling Friends.”

In September 1681, in the only record we have of the name of his wife, “Katherine Watkins, ye wife of Henry Watkins of Henrico County” testified in the Henrico County court that she had been sexually attacked the previous month by “a Mulatto belonging to Captain Thomas Cocke.” She explained her delay in reporting the attack because she had been “sicke & her Children likewise.” The court record describes an event that had to be incredibly sensational in its day:

The examination of Katherine Watkins, the wife of Henry Watkins of henrico County in Virginia had and taken this 13 of September 1681 before us William Byrd and John Farrar two of his Majesties Justices of the County aforesaid as followeth (vizt.) The said Katherine aforesaid on her Oath and examination deposeth, that on fryday being in the Month of August aboute five weeks since, the said Katherine mett with John Long (A Mulatto Belonging to Capt. Thomas Cocke) at or neare the pyney slash betweene the aforesaid Cokes [Cocke’s] and Henry Watkins house, and at the same tyme and place, the said John threw the said Katherine downe (He starting from behind a tree) and stopped her Mouth with a handkerchief, and tooke up the said Katherines Coates [petticoats], and putt his yard into her and ravished her; Upon which she the said Katherine Cryed out (as she deposeth) and afterwards (being rexuced [rescued] by another Negroe of the said Cockes named Jack White) she departed home, and the said John departed to his Masters likewise, or that way; after which abuse she the said Katherine declares that her husband, inclinable to the Quakers, and therefore would not prosecute, and she being sicke and her Children likewise, she therefore did not make her complaint before she went to Lt. Col. Farrass, which was yesterday morning, and this day in the morning she went to William Randolphs’ and found him not at home. But at night met with the gentlemen Justices aforesaid at the house of the aforesaid Cocke in Henrico County in Virginia aforeaid before whom she hath made this complaint upon oath . . .

Despite the old English phrasing and spelling, the account is relatively self explanatory. However, some explanation is in order. Thomas Cocke was a neighbor of the Watkins family and evidently the owner of the slaves involved in this case involving Katherine Watkins. The reference to Katherine’s attacker putting “his yard” in her means exactly what the reader may have thought. Prior to the adoption of the modern Latin word for penis, the male organ was commonly referred to as a “yard,” a usage that dates back to the 1300s.

The fact that Katherine Watkins stated “*that her husband is inclinable to the quakers*” strongly suggests she was not a Quaker. This presumption is further strengthened by the fact that she told the court this information under “oath,” something Quakers would have refused to do. Stutesman states in his book that, although Henry Watkins did not want to prosecute his wife’s attacker because of his Quaker convictions, Henry “did pass word to the assailant that he should ‘keepe off (his) plantation or else (he) would shoote him.’” Evidently there were limits to a staunch Quaker’s pacifism.

However, whether true or not, there was another version of the incident that was quite different than that told by Katherine Watkins. The following record also appears in the old Henrico County records:

The deposition of John Aust aged 32 yeares or thereabouts Deposeth, that on fryday being the twelvth of August or thereabouts he came to the house of Mr. Thomas Cocke, and soe went into his Orchard where his servants were a cutting downe weeds, whoe asked the deponent to stay and drinke, soe the deponent stayed and dranke syder with them, and Jacke a Mulatto of the said Thomas Cocke went in to draw syder, and he stay’d something long whereupon the deponent followed him and coming to the doore where the syder was, heard Katherine the wife of henry Watkins say (Lord) Jacke what makes thee refreaine our house that you come not oftner, for come when thou wilt thou shalt be as wellcome as any of My owne Children, and soe she tooke him about the necke and Kissed him, and Jacke went out and drawed Syder, and she said Jack wilt thout not drinke to me, who sayd yes if you will goe out where our Cupp is, and a little after she came out, where the said Thomas Cockes negroes were a drinking and there dranke cupp for cupp with them (as others there did) and as she sett Negroe dirke passing by her she tooke up the taile of his shirt (saying) Dirke thou wilt have a good long thing, and soe did several tymes as he past by her; after this she went into the roome where the syder was and then came out agine, and between the two houses she mett Mulatto Jacke a going to draw more syder and putt her hand on his codpiece, at which he smil’d, and went on his way and drew syder and she came againe into the company but stay’d not long but went out to drinking with two of the said Thomas Cockes Negroes by the garden pale, And a while after she tooke Mingoe one of the said Cocke’s Negroes about the Necke and fling on the bedd and Kissed him and putt her hand into his Codpiece, Awhile after Mulatto Jacke went into the Fish roome and she followed him, but what they did there this deponent knoweth not for it being near night this deponent left her and the Negroes together, (He thinking her to be much in drinke) and soe this deponent went home . . .

The reference to “his codpiece” means what the reader probably thought it did. A codpiece (from Middle English *cod*, meaning “scrotum”) is an old term that originally referred to a covering flap or pouch attached to the front of the crotch of men’s pants. But after the usage of such apparel ceased, the term became more generic in reference to a man’s crotch or genital area.

Besides the deposition of the witness stated above, there was similar testimony of four other witnesses who told similar stories of some drinking and conviviality. Evidently the Justices of the court were curious why Katherine Watkins took five weeks to come forth with her charges of being raped since the court record noted the delay resulted from “*she being sicke and her Children likewise.*” So was Katherine Watkins raped as she claimed, or was she just a very naughty lady? Unfortunately, we will never know the outcome of this fascinating account. A record of the court’s decision has not survived.

This was not the only court record involving the Watkins family. In 1686, another neighbor named

John Gunter complained to the Henrico County Court “that Luke Williams, servant to Henry Watkins, did assault and wound him with an axe.” The court ordered Williams to receive “thirty good lashes on his bare back, then to be delivered back to his master, Henry Watkins.”

On 25 January 1691/1692, “Henry Watkins Senr. of Henrico,” using his familiar “H” mark, divided his real estate into five parcels as gifts to his five sons. In what sounds suspiciously like a will, it was recorded: “*To all Christian People to whome these presents shall Come I send Greeting in our Lord God Everlasting, Know ye that I, Hen Watkins Sen. of the Love and Affection that I have and do bear unto my loving Sons William, Joseph & Edward Watkins have given One tract of Land scituate on the South Side of Chickahominy Swamp in Henrico County divided amongst them as Followeth ...*”. Henry Watkins proceeded to describe the division of land, providing each of the three sons with 120 acres of land. Simultaneously, though in a separate deed, Henry Watkins made similar gifts to his other two sons, providing “*Henry Watkins Jun. all that tract of land whereon I now live*” and 200 acres to his son Thomas.

If Henry Watkins thought he was about to die, he evidently recovered and would live for at least another 24 years. Henry was listed on a 1705 rent roll, and in October 1707, “Henry Watkins Sr.” and “Henry Watkins Jr.” both witnessed a deed of another Quaker. In February 1715/1716, a year after “Henry Watkins Junr.” died and his will was proved by the court, “Henry Watkins of the County of Henrico” put his familiar “H” mark on a deed of gift to his son Thomas. This is the last record of Henry Watkins, and we can assume he died not long after this date.

The children of Henry Watkins, presumably all by his wife Katherine, were (order of children only approximate):

- i. **Elizabeth Watkins** Born about 1669, Elizabeth was “aged 16 years or thereabouts” when she testified in the Henrico County court about a hog killing which other witnesses placed “near the plantation of Henry Watkins.” Elizabeth stated to the court “*About one year Since (I) saw Thomas Holmes’s Indian man kill a Hogg. Thomas Holmes said it was his hogg & Henry May said it was his.*” She put her mark, ‘E’ on the deposition, but being a Quaker and “*for conscience’s sake,*” she would not swear an oath about her testimony. The Justices of the court threw the girl in jail. She wasn’t released for a month and then only “*in consideration of her young years [and] her father humbly seconding her request to be excused [although] she was persisting in the same obstinancy.*” No further record.
- ii. **Edward Watkins** Edward received 120 acres of land from his father, and according to tradition, married three times, though we do not know the name of any of his wives. On 13 Nov 1730 Edward bought 200 acres on Swift Creek, which he deeded to his son John in 1764. He kept the land given to him by his father, and deeded this land to his son Thomas in 1765. His 1765 will, signed with an “E,” was probated 25 Mar 1771.
- iii. **Thomas Watkins** Thomas first appears in records in Jan 1691/1692 when his father gave him 200 acres. He was later convicted in Henrico County Court in Aug 1697 of committing a “trespass, with force and arms” when he broke “into a dwelling house and took a half part of a buck and the skin.” This was not a Quaker-like

action, an observation confirmed by the fact the local Quaker meeting later disowned a man for “marrying out of unity” the daughter of Thomas Watkins. The 1705 “Rent Roll” of landowners in Henrico County listed Thomas Watkins as the owner of 200 acres, the tract given him by his father. In July 1728, Thomas Watkins bought 200 acres in Goochland County, land on which “Thomas Watkins of Swift Creek” would live for the rest of his life. In July 1727, the Vestry of Bristol Parish ordered that the “*Church Warden supply Tho Watkins with such Necessaries he thinks Convenient and also to employ a Doctor to cure him of (his) disease.*” The following November, a payment was made to “*Wm. Worsham for Cureing Tho Watkins.*” This strongly suggests Thomas was a member of the Anglican church. Thomas wrote his will on 4 Mar 1760, dying soon after. His will included a mystery person named Ann Dickens, whom he went to great lengths in the document to protect from his other heirs. She was the widow of a neighbor, and it appears from the will that she lived on land that Thomas had bequeathed to her. Eighteenth-century tongues likely wagged over this juicy stuff.

- iv. **Henry Watkins**
 - + v. **Mary Watkins**
 - vi. **William Watkins**
 - vii. **Joseph Watkins**
 - viii. **Rachel Watkins**
- His father left Henry Jr. “that tract of Land whereon I now live.” Henry died before his father, leaving a will dated Nov 1714 and dying not long after. He named a wife named Mary, last name unknown, and five children. Unlike his brother Thomas, Henry Jr. was a Quaker and active in Quaker affairs. Mary, who married Nicholas Hutchins, was our direct ancestor. William received 120 acres of land from his father, which appeared on the 1705 Rent Roll for Henrico County. His name shows up in 1714, still owning the land, but there is no further record of him.
- Also receiving 120 acres of land from his father, Joseph’s name appears in a few land records, but little else. In Sep 1723, Joseph’s will was presented to the Henrico County court by his executrix Anne Watkins, almost certainly his wife.
- The only record of Rachel is the entry in the local Quaker meeting permitting Rachel to marry Robert Woodson Jr., dated 9 Feb 1710/1711. No further record.

The minutes of the Henrico Quaker Meeting indicate that at “*a meeting held at William Porter’s Jr. the 8th day of the 6th month 1701 Nicholas Hutchins and Mary Watkins did propose their intentions of marriage, Henry Watkins, the father of the young woman, consenting thereto.*” The “old style” Quaker date translates to 8 August 1701, and the couple married two months later, on 9 October 1701, before twenty six witnesses. The bride was likely at least fifteen years old when she was married, but the fact that she required her father’s consent suggests that she was still a minor in August 1701. Those clues suggest Mary Watkins was born circa 1683.

Hutchins Family

Much of the material concerning the Hutchins family which appears in this account comes from the

well researched book *Hutchins-Hutchens*, published by Rita J. Townsend in 1979. Ms. Townsend, who died in 2003, deserves our gratitude.

The first Hutchins ancestor of whom we have proof is Nicholas Hutchins, who married Mary Watkins. In her book, Rita Townsend refers to another work titled *Nicholas Hutchins of My Lady's Manor*, written by Elmore Hutchins, but unfinished and unpublished since the author of that work died before he completed it. The latter reference provided circumstantial evidence that Nicholas may have belonged to a Hutchins family "*of Wood Burcot*" which originated near Towcester (pronounced "toaster") in Northamptonshire in England. Wood Burcote is a tiny village located less than one mile south of Towcester.

The evidence is far from compelling, but the name similarities between the Hutchins family of Towcester and descendants of Nicholas Hutchins make the possibility of a connection to this family a good one. Regardless of his origins, the first record we have of Nicholas Hutchins is in 1699 in Henrico County, Virginia. In that record, in the minutes of the Henrico Monthly Meeting and dated 8 September 1699, Nicholas Hutchins condemned his "marriage by priest" to the satisfaction of the other Quakers. This proves that Hutchins had been married at least once before he married Mary Watkins, and that the previous marriage was conducted by a Church of England official (whom the Quakers called "priests").

The Henrico Monthly Meeting minutes also mention that Nicholas Hutchins contributed forty pounds of tobacco (the currency of the day) towards the construction of a new meeting house at Curles. This location is a reference to an area along the James River in Virginia, and today is called Curles Neck.

It would appear that Nicholas Hutchins was considerably older than Mary, and the evidence is that she was underage. The Henrico meeting minutes mention that her father Henry consented to the marriage, "*saying he would not be their hindrance.*" The marriage certificate brings up the issue again, stating "*the relations of the said Mary were consenting to their marriage.*" The fact that the Quakers noted this several times implies that a young Mary Watkins was marrying a much older man. No other person named Hutchins signed the marriage certificate, implying that either Nicholas had no living relatives or they were not Quakers.

On 25 April 1702, Nicholas Hutchins received a grant of 230 acres along "*ye north bank of James River and on ye west side of ye Four Mile Creek.*" For most ancestors who lived in colonial America, it is extremely difficult to identify where their property was located due to the use of the old "metes and bounds" technique of describing land plats. The one for Nicholas Hutchins is no different in that the land description for his 230 acres mentions "going 174 poles to a black oak ... 188 poles to a corner pine," etc. Such land descriptions are useless hundreds of years later when any sign of these trees are likely gone.

But in the case of the land of Nicholas Hutchins, we have the advantage that his land lay on the north bank of the James River where a tributary stream flowed into it. Those landmarks have not changed in the three centuries since Nicholas received his land grant and permit us to know accurately where his land was located. Today, this land lies where Deep Bottom Park (a Henrico County park with a boat launch) is on the James River about twelve miles southeast of Richmond, Virginia. The land grant described Nicholas' river frontage as 26 poles, roughly 429 feet.

The 1702 land grant was further described as "*being due unto said Hutchins by and for the transportation of 5 persons into this colony.*" Nicholas Hutchins may have been able to transport five

people to Virginia because he was a partial owner in the ship *Exeter, Merchant of Exon*, a square-stern 250-ton ship built in New England in 1694. A person named Nicholas Hutchins was listed as one of six owners of the ship when it was listed as having cleared “from the upper district of the James River” in 1703-1704. Whether that person was our Nicholas Hutchins is unclear, but it would help explain the land grant.

Over the next few years, the name of Nicholas Hutchins appeared in various Quaker or Henrico County records, including a 1704-1705 rent role, probate records for another individual, etc. On 12 October 1711, Nicholas Hutchins was listed with 21 other men as being paid “for work done at the Battery at James Towne.” Though some Quakers refused to work on the breastworks at Jamestown, Nicholas was one who did. In 1714, Hutchins was elected overseer of Curles Meeting, a position he held until 1719, when he resigned, probably because of old age.

Nicholas was still alive in 1728 when James Stanley married “Catherine Hutchins, daughter of Nicholas of Henrico County,” but died before 1 November 1729 when it was noted in the minutes of Henrico Meeting that Daniel Harris wanted to marry “Mary Hutchins, daughter of Nicholas, deceased.” There is no record of a will or estate settlement for him in the surviving records of Henrico County.

Nicholas Hutchins’ widow, the former Mary Watkins, apparently remarried. In 1736, the Henrico Meeting provided relief to James Stanley, “he being at great charge in keeping his wife’s mother, Mary Holme, who has been helpless for some time.” She was almost certainly the “Mary Holmes” who witnessed the marriage of Mary Hutchins in December 1729.

The children of Nicholas Hutchins and Mary Watkins were not recorded in the Quaker records, but he had two known daughters (and possibly three) and one son with the perhaps the oddest name to appear in this account, *Strangeman*. The known children of Nicholas Hutchins and Mary Watkins were (order unknown):

- i. **Strangeman Hutchins** With a truly strange name, Strangeman Hutchins is the only known son of Nicholas. It has been estimated that he was born about 1707. He married about 1731 to Elizabeth Cox, the daughter of Richard and Mary Cox. According to one account, Elizabeth died at the age of 103, but such claims are always highly suspicious. Strangeman sold the property that his father owned on the James River in 1729. The entry in the Henrico County deed book mentioned that Nicholas was Strangeman’s father, otherwise this connection might be unknown as well. Like many Virginia Quakers, Strangeman later moved to North Carolina, where he died 10 Feb 1792.
- + ii. **Catherine Hutchins** Born about 1708, Catherine was our direct ancestor. She married James Stanley.
- iii. **Mary Hutchins** Estimated to have been born about 1710, Mary married Daniel Harris, the son of John Harris of Henrico County, on 14 Dec 1729.

Catherine Hutchins married into the Stanley family, described next.

Stanley Family

The surname *Stanley* is one of the most common family names to appear in this work. The name for our earliest Stanley ancestors was often spelled *Stanly*, *Standly* or *Standley*, in addition to the common present-day spelling. The first Stanley ancestor of whom we can be certain was Thomas Stanley, who is believed to have been the immigrant ancestor and who may have come to Virginia about 1685. Of his origins, we know nothing else.

First Generation

A number of accounts about the Stanley family state that Thomas Stanley was the son of an Edward Stanley of Preston in Lancashire, England. There is a possibility this is true, but there is no evidence to either prove or disprove this suggestion. In fact, there are difficulties with a lineage from this Edward, as both he and a son Thomas would have had to marry and had a son by the time each was eighteen years old, and though possible, is a bit improbable.

The claim that Thomas Stanley descended from Edward Stanley of Preston seems to have originated when it was first published by the Media Research Bureau of Washington D.C. about seventy years ago. That organization was a scam genealogy group which sold family trees and genealogical information for a profit, but whose information was usually horribly inaccurate. Media Research was eventually forced out of business by the post office. Media Research maintained the connection between Edward Stanley of Preston and Thomas Stanley of Virginia was confirmed by the Earl of Derby in England, but such a confirmation has not been corroborated by other research. The urge to identify Edward as the father of the immigrant Thomas seems to be driven by the fact that Edward Stanley was descended from gentry and sixteen more generations can be traced back from him. Though not the knight some crave to have in their family tree, baronets and earls can be a good substitute. Once again, as with the knight debunking that appears in this work, it's not very likely.

While in debunking mode, it should also be pointed out that our Stanley family has no known connection to the family that started the tool business of that name. Stanley Works was started by a Frederick T. Stanley in New Britain, Connecticut, in 1843. Frederick descended from a line of Stanleys who came to New England in 1634-1635.

We do not know when or where Thomas Stanley was born, or when he came to Virginia. Based on the few early passenger lists which survive, there were at least seven individuals named Thomas Stanley who arrived from England in the latter half of the seventeenth century, including two to Virginia. One arrived in 1662 and the other in 1666. Four others by that name arrived in nearby Maryland. Several family traditions among Stanley descendants have that three brothers, Thomas, William and John Stanley, came together from England to Virginia. One version of this family tradition even suggests that they came ashore furtively by rowboat at night to avoid detection, and that explains why their arrival was not recorded. Of course, it should be pointed out that in a time when there were no harbors or port facilities in the colonies, everyone came ashore in a rowboat.

A check of Virginia land grants indicates that a Hugh Lee was granted 2000 acres named *Abercronaway* in Charles City County, Virginia on 8 April 1674 for the transfer of forty people; among the forty was a Thomas Stanley. Another land patent shows that a Mrs. Frances Izord was granted 1936 acres in Henrico County, Virginia on 23 April 1681 for the transfer of 21 individuals, including another Thomas Stanley. One of these men may have been our ancestor, but it is not likely that it will ever be determined which one.

The name Thomas Stanley can be found in various early records for colonial Virginia, but it is not clear which of these records refer to our ancestor. The first record that can definitely be tied to our Thomas Stanley is the birth of his oldest son James in 1688. These three entries are found in the baptism records of Old St. Peter's Church in New Kent County, Virginia:

James, sone to Thom Stanley, Bap^t ye 15^d of Aprill 1688

Thomas son to Thomas Stanly Bap^t y^e 23 day of Novem 1689

John son to Tho Stanly Bap^t ye 11 of Oc^t 1691

Evidently Thomas Stanley settled first in New Kent County, near the present-day town of Mechanicsville, near Richmond, Virginia. According to local traditions, Thomas was the original owner of "Stanley," a beautiful estate near Richmond, which he passed on to his son Thomas Jr. An article titled '*Stanley*' *To Be Included in Garden Week Tour*, which appeared in Richmond's *Herald Progress* newspaper in April 1972, described a garden group which was including "Stanley" in their tour. The article stated that Thomas Stanley acquired the land in 1720 and deeded it to his son Thomas Jr., though the dates were probably earlier than that, likely before 1700. The mansion on the property was built much later, in about 1851.

After the birth of his third son, sometime about 1691, Thomas Stanley evidently left the Church of England and joined the Quaker sect. Author and historian Jay Worrall Jr. suggests that Thomas Stanley and his family left St. Peter's Church about 1691 because in that year two English Quakers, Thomas Wilson and James Dickinson, came to New Kent and held a meeting in an orchard near Black Creek where it flows into the Pamunkey River. This suggestion is very plausible. Worrall points out, after 1691, there are no records of the Stanleys in the records of St. Peter's Church, but their names began to appear in the minutes of the Black Creek Meeting of Friends (also known to the Quakers as Henrico Meeting).

Though Thomas Stanley became a Quaker, it does not appear he made a very good one. It seems that Thomas had an affinity for strong drink, and he was censured several times by his fellow Quakers for that problem. On 20 July 1706, it was noted in the minutes of the Henrico Monthly Meeting that "*Whereas it Hath been declar'd To This Meeting That Thomas Standley hath been greivously overtaken with drunkenness it is Therefore desired that Rob't Hughes & John Atkinson goe To the S'd Standley and desire him to come To The Next Mo. Meeting held here To give the Meeting Satisfaction for The disparagement of The Truth he professeth.*"

Evidently trying to talk Thomas Stanley out of drinking didn't work too well. Three months later, on 19 October 1706, the Henrico Monthly Meeting noted "*The Report of Robert Hughes & John Atkinson who were desir'd To goe to Tho's Standleys. To discourse him about his drunkenness and To desire him to Come To This meeting wass That he owned The fact and wass Sorry for it but he would not come to This meeting neither Could he give any further Satisfaction To the Meeting...*".

However, if nothing else, Quakers are a patient lot. They further noted in their meeting minutes that they were "*still willing to wait Till The next Mo. Meeting To see ... weather or no he will then give the meeting Satisfaction for his disparagement of The Truth he professeth.*" The same two men were dispatched back to talk to Thomas again and to inform him "*that friends doe Intend To disown him without he doth return ...*".

The patience of the Quakers evidently prevailed, and at a quarterly meeting three months later, Thomas Stanley stated that he "*owned the crime of drunkenness*" and was sorry for it. But upholding the tradition of all good alcoholics, he soon went back to the bottle. In 1708 "*Thomas Standley for*

his disorderly walking is deny'd fellowship of friends exept The God of mercy extend his extrodinary Compassion Towards him and That he show forth The Same by his godly Conversation." The infraction of "disorderly walking" was a common term used by Quakers when nothing else specifically fit. It was a catchphrase used when someone just wasn't very Quaker-like. Being "denied fellowship of Friends" sounds suspiciously like being disowned, but despite such censuring, Thomas continued to be identified with the Quakers. Maybe he was a happy drunk, and everybody just liked him.

On 16 December 1714, "Thomas Standley Sr.," along with his sons Thomas and James, was granted 800 acres in New Kent County, Virginia under a patent from Alexander Spotswood, the governor of the colony, settling there prior to 1719. The area where the family settled was later in Hanover County, formed from New Kent County in 1720. The land was granted to Thomas and his sons as a headright because they had transported sixteen persons to the colony. The land they were awarded lay on both sides of Cedar Creek, as noted in the deed record. Thomas' property was located about three miles east of present-day Montpelier, Virginia, near where Hwy 33 joins Hwy 54. On 10 December 1724, Thomas Stanley purchased an additional 251 acres of land for 25 shillings which adjoined that of his land grant.

Part of the over 1000 acres that Thomas Stanley and his sons owned was donated for the site of a Quaker Meeting House, called Cedar Creek Meeting. As Alvin L. Anderson, author of the extensive historical work *Stanley and Allied Families*, wrote: "The Cedar Creek Meeting of Friends and the Stanley family are closely connected; one historian suggested the Stanleys and Cedar Creek are synonymous. They donated the land on which the meeting house was built, helped in its construction, and served as overseers of the meeting." The sons of Thomas Stanley were the ones who served as overseers and probably who were most involved in the construction of the Cedar Creek Meeting House.

The meeting house the Stanleys helped erect early in the eighteenth century was the first of four buildings or renovations on that site. The first structure, probably constructed with logs, was replaced in 1739, and the third structure, constructed of brick, was begun in 1768. This building was either replaced or enlarged in 1797-1799, and that fourth structure was used until 1875, when it was abandoned. The brick building was still standing until destroyed by a forest fire which swept through the area on 20 April 1904. Today the forest has reclaimed the area and nothing remains except the traces of old foundations and a few scattered bricks in the woods. The site is now a Virginia Historic Landmark.

Like most Virginia Quakers, Thomas Stanley and his family had occasional confrontations with the church authorities. On 4 April 1724, Thomas Stanley reported to the Cedar Creek meeting that two of his sons, John and James, had been imprisoned because of their "refusal to pay tithes or priests wages." They were later released after their fines were "*paid by one who was not called a Quaker, against their wills.*" On the other hand the parish register for St. Peter's Parish reported that Thomas and "his gang" had performed work on the roads within the parish, work that parish churchgoers or dissenters alike were expected to perform.

Thomas Stanley continued to have problems with his drinking, and after his first wife died, he remarried someone outside of the Quaker faith. Though the Friends were evidently tolerant of his drinking, the other infraction was the straw that broke the camel's back. The Quaker records for Cedar Creek Monthly Meeting noted on 1 October 1726 that this "*meeting being informed that Thomas Stanley Sr. having taken a wife not of our Society and that he hath since beain publickley drunk - to the greate scandull of his profeshon, which Friends think suffishant to disoane him from being one of*



The former site of the Cedar Creek Meeting House built by the Stanley family and other Quakers on property donated by the Stanleys. In the minutes of a meeting held in 1768, the Quakers agreed the building would be “*neate plain and strong*.” There is a marker in the woods, top left, with a commemorative plate, bottom left. You can still see the outline of the building foundation, top right. The meeting house, shown in the drawing, bottom right, was abandoned in 1875 and destroyed by a forest fire in 1904.

the said Society ...”

The names of either of the wives of Thomas Stanley remain unknown to us. By his first wife, Thomas Stanley had at least the following children (there were almost certainly others, but only three sons can be identified with certainty):

- + i. **James Stanley**
- ii. **Thomas Stanley**

Baptized 15 Apr 1688, James was our direct ancestor.

Baptized 23 Nov 1689, Thomas Jr. was listed as the first overseer of the Cedar Creek meeting in 1722. He married twice, first to Elizabeth Maddox and second to Elizabeth Crew on 3 Oct 1726. Thomas Jr. was harassed by the parish authorities for not serving in the militia or paying tithes to the parish church. In Feb 1727, Thomas had “Sundry goods” seized for his refusal to bear arms; later a horse and mare were seized for his refusal to bear arms and pay tithes; later, another horse was seized for the same reason. Thomas Jr. died prior to 1764.

- iii. **John Stanley**

Baptized 11 Oct 1691, John also married twice, but the name of his first wife is unknown. His second wife was Martha Hutchins, reported by many to have been the daughter of Nicholas Hutchins and Mary Watkins. Though this is possible, perhaps even likely, there is no evidence for this beyond the fact that two Stanley brothers each married a female with the Hutchins surname. John was imprisoned in 1724 for refusing to pay tithes. John Stanley died on 17 Jul 1783 at age 91. John had ten children, one of whom, Shadrack Stanley, was disowned “*for scandalizing Sarah Sanders in a very reproachfull manner in sundry matters.*”

Second Generation

Our direct ancestor, James Stanley, was the oldest son of the immigrant ancestor, Thomas Stanley, and was baptized in the Anglican church in St. Peter’s Parish in New Kent County, Virginia on 15 April 1688. “James Stanley of Hanover County” married Catherine Hutchins “of Henrico County,” the daughter of Nicholas Hutchins and Mary Watkins. The marriage took place on 5 May 1728 at “*a publick assembly*” in Henrico County, probably in the Henrico Meeting House. The Quaker minutes always spelled Catherine’s name with a “C” but the copy of the marriage certificate was signed “Katherine Stanley.” The monthly meeting at Henrico the next month received a report that the couple “*were maryed decently as far as they saw.*”

James Stanley had the usual problems with the authorities in the Anglican Church. In 1733, the Henrico Monthly Meeting made note that James had eight sheep seized for refusal to “pay tithes or bear arms.” In 1735 a rug was seized for the same reason.

There are few other records of James Stanley. As the eldest son, he likely inherited the property which had belonged to his father on Cedar Creek, so he appears in few land records. In his extensive book *Stanley and Allied Families*, Alvin L. Anderson wrote that James Stanley died in 1754, but that obviously is in error because the following year James Stanley was granted 400 acres of land in Louisa County, which had been set off from Hanover County in 1742. The land grant was situated on both sides of Clarks road and a branch of Great Creek, adjoining land of William Biggers, Mr. Saunders,

William Woods and Mr. Ollivers.

Further proof that James Stanley did not die in 1754 comes from John Woolman, the famous Quaker minister, who on a missionary journey into Virginia three years later, mentioned James Stanley in his famous journal. Woolman noted in May 1757 that he “*lodged at James Standley’s, father of William Stanley, one of the young men who suffered imprisonment at Winchester last summer on account of their testimony against fighting, and I had some satisfactory conversation with him concerning it.*”

When James Stanley died is not recorded, but it was at least by 1766. On 8 September 1764, Catherine Stanley and her daughters Martha and Agnes requested a certificate from Cedar Creek Monthly Meeting in Virginia to New Garden Monthly Meeting in North Carolina. The records at New Garden Monthly Meeting in Guilford County, North Carolina recorded that Catherine Stanley died there on 20 December 1766, noting that she was the “wife of James, deceased, of Virginia.”

James Stanley and Catherine Hutchins had the following children (whose births were recorded in the records of the Cedar Creek meeting):

- + i. **William Stanley** Born 4 Aug 1729, William was the eldest son and our direct ancestor.
- ii. **James Stanley** Born 26 May 1731, James married Elizabeth Ellyson, daughter of William Ellyson of New Kent County, in 1754. The couple had one known son, Caleb, and James died at least by 1765, probably earlier.
- iii. **Mary Stanley** Born 27 Aug 1733, Mary married Anthony Hoggatt on 12 May 1754 at Cedar Creek meeting. They later moved to North Carolina, where they were members of Westfield meeting. Mary died 21 Jan 1808 in Stokes County, North Carolina.
- iv. **Martha Stanley** Born 21 May 1736, Martha remained close to her mother for many years; it is rare to see Martha’s name in the Quaker records except in the company of her mother. Martha did not marry until she was 46 years old, becoming the second wife of Thomas Thornbrugh Sr. on 1 Jan 1783.
- v. **Micajah Stanley** Born 28 Jan 1739/1740, Micajah (a boy) was named after the biblical character of that name. Micajah requested a certificate to Fairfax meeting in Virginia in Jul 1761, when he was evidently already there. In 1763, Micajah returned to Cedar Creek meeting, and in Oct 1765, he married Barbara Walker at the Bush Creek Meeting House in Maryland. They moved to New Garden meeting in North Carolina. Micajah died there on 25 May 1819.
- vi. **Agnes Stanley** Born 20 Aug 1743, Agnes married Caleb Jessop at New Garden meeting in North Carolina on 4 Mar 1772. They transferred their membership to Spring meeting in 1813. Agnes died there before 1820, when Caleb returned to New Garden meeting and married a second time.
- vii. **Strangeman Stanley** Born 7 Jan 1745/1746, he moved to New Garden meeting in North Carolina in 1764. He married there to Jemima Mills on 15 Aug 1765. After Jemima died at New Garden on 6 Dec 1799, Strangeman married, on 11 Feb 1801, a second person named Jemima Mills, the widow of Thomas Mills. In 1806

viii. **Elijah Stanley**

Strangeman and his family moved to Ohio, where he died 20 Jun 1829. He was buried at Fairfield meeting in Highland County, near Leesburg, Ohio.

Born 7 Dec 1750, Elijah married Hannah Mills on 18 Aug 1768 at New Garden meeting in North Carolina. Elijah was only seventeen at the time. He and Hannah had ten children whose births were recorded by Deep River meeting in North Carolina.

Third Generation

Our direct ancestor was William Stanley, who once again, was the eldest son. The exact date of birth for William is unclear. The records for the Cedar Creek Monthly Meeting in Hanover County, Virginia, where William was born, indicate he was born 11th day of 6th month 1729 (11 August 1729). But the records for New Garden Monthly Meeting in North Carolina, where he lived as an adult, noted that “*William Stanley son of James Stanley & Catharine his Wife was born y^e 4 of y^e 6 mo 1729 old Stile.*” The sixth month in the “old style” Julian calendar was August, so the birth date for William Stanley was recorded as 4 August 1729 in the New Garden records. Since William himself was likely the source of this information, we have to accept the latter date as his date of birth.

Unlike his grandfather or even his father, William Stanley appears to have been quite involved in Quaker affairs. The first record of him in the records of the Cedar Creek meeting in Virginia were dated 13 October 1753 when it was noted that William Stanley and Ann Chiles were granted a certificate to “*travel as companions of Jane Hoggitt on her missionary visits.*” Jane Hoggatt, daughter of Phillip Hoggatt, was mentioned in 1753 as a member of Cane Creek Monthly Meeting in Orange County (today, Alamance County), North Carolina.

Interestingly enough, three months later on 12 January 1754, William Stanley was granted a certificate to “Cain Creek Monthly Meeting,” for the purpose of being married. This record appeared in the Cedar Creek meeting minutes, but a corresponding entry in the minutes for Cane Creek meeting is absent. For whatever reason, William’s intentions of taking a wife did not work out and he soon returned to Cedar Creek, as evidenced by the entry for 8 June 1754 indicating he had been appointed clerk of the Cedar Creek meeting.

About this time the French and Indian War had begun, which was a world-wide conflict between the British and the French, and as the name suggests, various Native American forces allied with the French. The war, the fourth such colonial conflict between France and Great Britain, resulted in the British conquest of Canada and the acquisition of Florida from Spain, a French ally. The outcome was one of the most significant developments in North American history and the primary reason Americans speak English instead of French at the dinner table.

With the official declaration of war in 1756, an act was passed in the Virginia Assembly which permitted the drafting of soldiers in frontier areas to serve in the militia. The draft was confined to single men under a certain age, and the law allowed draftees to exempt themselves by paying a fee of £10 to hire a substitute. Quakers, well known for their pacifism and refusal to bear arms against their fellow man, were not spared in the law. Some Quaker families, against their principles, paid the stiff fee and kept their sons home; seven drafted Quakers rejected that solution and simply refused to serve. William Stanley was one of the seven, and the result was an incident which caused shockwaves through the Virginia Quaker community.

The seven men were arrested and taken away by the army. Members of the Society of Friends met and tried to decide on the best course of action to get back the “*Seven in number who are already carried to the Frontiers.*” The whole incident is a captivating tale, pun intended.

Several articles have been written about this incident, which, in turn, were based on a narrative manuscript written soon after the incident. A transcript of that manuscript was published in the journal *Quaker History* (Vol. 53, p. 12-26) in 1964. The introduction to the manuscript was written in 1760, but the main part of the account was written in December 1756, very soon after the seven Quakers were released. The account was written by one of the seven men who had been arrested and taken away, but his identity was not given. The handwritten manuscript covered fourteen pages and today is kept in the archives of Haverford College Library in Pennsylvania.

The act passed by the Virginia Assembly required that one able-bodied single man in twenty would be sworn into the British army and be sent to help build and then occupy a line of forts on the westernmost frontier, which at the time just touched into present-day Kentucky and Tennessee. The idea for the construction of these forts was that of a 24-year-old Virginia colonel named George Washington, who would go on to get his butt kicked rather badly by the French in that war.

Besides William Stanley, the other six young Quaker men who refused to serve in the army were his first cousins Zachariah and Archaleus Stanley, Cornelius and John Harris, all of Hanover County, and John and William Ellyson of New Kent County. On 24 May 1756, it was probably no surprise when a company of armed soldiers showed up at William’s parent’s farm with a warrant for his arrest, “*as tho’ they had been going to apprehend Thieves or Murderers.*”

William Stanley, his cousins and the Harrises were taken by the soldiers (they would join up with the two men from New Kent County later) to the Hanover County Courthouse to appear before a Major Isaac Winston. Winston read the five men the Oath of Allegiance and expected the five to repeat it. The five refused and Major Winston had the five taken by the constable to the “public Gaol.” They were kept in the jail for eight days, where the men had “*no better Lodgeings than the floor for our Bedds, & Bricks for our pillows.*”

Court day arrived and the five were returned to the courthouse and once again refused to swear the Oath of Allegiance, and were taken to another room and their hats forcibly removed. A Lieutenant Colonel tried to reason with the five Quakers, stating that he understood that they could not “swear” such an oath, but said the men must “affirm” it, and tried once again to administer the oath. The five still refused, saying they could not do so, “*lest we should read what we cannot Stand by.*”

The Quakers were not trying to be belligerent or unreasonable. They told the man “*we were free & willing to comply with the substance of the laws which were not Repugnant to our consciences, but to bear arms or fight we Could not.*” The militia commander then told the Quakers they “*must work at the Forts Which we also refused,*” and back into the jail they went.

On 4 June 1756, the five men were taken to Fredericksburg, Virginia, a distance of about fifty miles and two days travel, where they and other men were “*delivered to an officer there.*” After collecting personal information from all the men and reading them the militia act, the officer told the men they were free to go “*any where in town*” but had to be back with “*the Beating of the Drum.*” The five Quakers had learned the other two Friends were being kept in the guard house, and asked “*weather we were not to be put with Them.*” The military men “*Seemed startled & asked weather we were Quakers. We Answered that we were so called.*” When asked if they were willing to fight, the

Quakers *“replied we never had, & hoped not to begin.”*

Their answer caused substantial *“rage & revilings”* and the five joined the two Quakers from New Kent County in the *“guard House.”* The Quakers noted the guards were *“so apprehensive ... of our going away That we were not alow’d to go out on any occasion Without two men with drawn swords in their hands to attend us.”*

On 8 June 1756, the seven Quakers joined about 100 soldiers on a march to Winchester, Virginia, under the leadership of a Captain Woodward. The Quakers wrote later that *“we were much fatigued, and suffer’d considerable hardships for want of provisions, for as we could do no Service, we were not free to eat the King’s Victuals.”* The men were reduced to *“buying on the Road”* but found *“provisions scarce”* and were *“oblidged sometimes to go with empty stomachs.”* The first night the seven were *“thrust into a Little Nasty Hutt”* which had previously housed horses, hogs, and fowls and the seven men were left unfed.

“It was usual on this march for the Officers to call over the names of all the Men under his charge three times a day, and believing our answering to such calls would be a tacit acknowledgment of our being Soldiers, we had not freedom to do it, which put him into a great rage, and said he would have one of us floged for an example to the others; accordingly, he ordered two men to strip one of us from the waist upwards, to be tied to a tree, and had switches prepared for the Execution; when just at that juncture one of the Soldiers, from that, or some other cause, was seized with such a shiviring, that it seemed as if he was not able to stand, which the Officer observing, asked what was the matter; he answering he did not know, was ordered to go to the House & lay down; and then gave directions for our friend to be loosed, adding that he would forgive [us] at that time.” Other accounts identify the man who was stripped to the waist and nearly whipped as William Stanley.

The Quakers had the support of many of the soldiers. The manuscript told that *“several of the company expressed their sorrow for us, saying they Had never wept since they were Children”* but for *“Pity for Us, they could not then help it.”* The Quakers told of being told *“to stand to it as we Had begun & Never comply.”*

The seven Quaker prisoners continued to be kept on short rations for the remainder of the march to Winchester. The seven men *“got Some refreshment ... could we have Got a sufficient Quantity of it.”* When it came to meals, *“we poor Prisoners got but a short allowance ... Indeed we could get but a little till we got to winchester.”*

The men reached Winchester after a five day journey, where Colonel George Washington had designed and begun construction of Fort Loudoun, which ultimately covered nearly an acre. The fort is long gone but its former location was in present-day downtown Winchester on North Loudoun Street. The seven Quakers *“were conducted to the guard House which was indeed very nasty ... The next day we were taken to the Magazine to receive arms, but on our refusal to receive them were again conducted to our place of confinement, where we continued five weeks; yet after a while were permitted now & then to take the air a little, for our Guard seemed then to have no apprehension of our going away.”*

While they were kept at Winchester, *“sometimes the Officers would use persuasions to induce us to bear Arms, or Work on the Fort (then building near that place), at other times would use threats, saying in case of refusal, we should receive five hundred lashes, and be sent to Fort Cumberland.”*

One of the seven Quakers “*was taken very ill with a Pluricy And as we had nothing to lodge on but the floor*” permission was granted to have the man “*removed to a Friend’s House at some small distance from town By consent of the officer till he might recover.*” Though never named, it has been suggested that the Quaker who became ill was Archaleus Stanley.

While confined at Winchester, the Quakers received “*the company of several friends who visited us while under these afflictions.*” One of those was Edward Stabler, a fairly influential Quaker. Stabler wanted to meet the commander of the Virginia militia, Colonel George Washington, but Washington was at Fort Cumberland at the time. Fort Cumberland was over sixty miles away, located where the town of Cumberland, Maryland is today, and at the time, marked the westernmost British outpost in America.

Edward Stabler and the other visiting Quakers waited until Colonel Washington returned to Winchester and were able to confer with him. A letter written by Stabler and dated “10th Mo., 20th, 1756” describes first hand the meetings: “*I had several good opportunities with Coll. Washington to open our principles to him, and reasons why we could not be active in the carrying on of War. He seemed very moderate before we parted, and inclined to favour them, but said as they were sent to him by the Government he could not release them, and had rec’d orders from Gov’r [Dinwiddie] to have them whipped every day till they would comply.*” Stabler asked Washington to delay the daily whippings until Stabler had a chance to talk to Dinwiddie himself.

Indeed, Washington had asked his boss what to do with the disruptive Quakers. Robert Dinwiddie served as Lieutenant Governor of the Virginia colony from 1751 to 1758. Since the governors at that time were usually absent from the colony, Dinwiddie was the man in charge of the colony much of the time. On 25 June 1756, Washington had written Dinwiddie “*There remain now in confinement six Quakers who will neither bear arms, work, receive provisions or pay, or do any thing that tends, in any respect, to self-defence. I should be glad of your Honor’s directions how to proceed with them.*”

An angry reply from Dinwiddie instructed Washington that if “*the six Quakers will not fight you must compell them to work on the Forts, to carry Timber &c. If this will not do confine them with a short Allowance of Bread & Water till you bring them to reason.*” However confinement with only bread and water, and threats of daily whippings had no effect whatsoever on the Quakers. An exasperated George Washington wrote back to Dinwiddie on 4 August 1756 that “*I could by no means bring the Quakers to any terms. They chose rather to be whipped to death than bear arms, or lend us any assistance whatever upon the fort, or any thing of self-defence. Some of their friends have been security for the appearance, when they are called for; and I have released them from the guard-house until I receive further orders from your Honour, which they have agreed to apply for.*”

As Washington had referred to, the Quakers who had called on Colonel Washington had agreed to post a surety bond insuring that the men would remain in the Winchester area and be available if the Governor should give Washington other orders considering the imprisoned Quakers. As the confined Quakers described in the narrative of the incident, concerning the meeting with George Washington, “*so after Some Pause he said if any of your friends will be bound for Their appearance when I may call for them, I am willing For the present to discharge them from confinement till the Governours Pleasure may be known.*”

The prisoner’s narrative account described that Stabler and the other Quakers who met with Washington “*let him know That he need be under no apprehensions of our going away But if he*

doubted it, and wou'd except [accept] of them they would stand as sureties." A surety is a financial pledge made to secure against default. Stabler and the others *"prepared a writing"* and presented it to Washington and inquired what sum he required of them for the surety, but *"seeing They were ready to comply, he replied that wou'd do,"* meaning Washington accepted the men's word the seven Quakers would stay in the area as promised. Washington *"Gave orders to the sergant to let us go."*

Meanwhile, Edward Stabler *"and four more Friends"* traveled *"upwards of 250 miles"* to visit Governor Dinwiddie. Stabler wrote in October 1756 that the group *"had a great deal of Discourse with him, and he promised that he would write to Coll. Washington to be favorable to them,"* referring to the imprisoned Quakers. The Governor did as he promised. On 19 August 1756, Dinwiddie wrote Washington: *"A great Body of Quakers waited on me in regard to their Friends with You, praying they may not be Whipped, use them with lenity, but as they are at their own Expençe I wou'd have them remain as long as the other Draughts,"* the latter an old reference to draftees.

Washington wrote to Dinwiddie on 8 September 1756, mentioning the *"Quakers still remain here, and shall until the other drafts are discharged."* The seven Quakers were kept and employed by the families of nearby Friends *"that liv'd about five or six miles distant"* from Winchester. The narrative account mentioned that *"We got some Business among our friends & by that means Supported ourselves without Further Expençe to any."* Until their "enlistment" was up (probably six months), they remained with those families. The date that these men were discharged is not known, but it was certainly by year end 1756.

The narrative manuscript prepared by the imprisoned "Winchester Seven" described that after their forced enlistment period was up, *"The colonel who in a Friendly manner readily gave us Discharges; we took that oppertunity of acknowledgeing The favours we had received at his hand."* Evidently their parting was very cordial as they mentioned *"so taking our Leave of him, he wished us a Good Journey home. Next Morning we set out & in about 5 days we reached our Several Habitations, where we were Gladly received."*

The description of the seven Quakers meeting Washington again before leaving Winchester has an interesting footnote, both literally and figuratively. An asterisk appears in the original manuscript, with a corresponding footnote written in a different hand than the main portion of the account, implying the footnote was written by someone who had received the account firsthand and desired to see the additional information recorded.

The footnote reads: *"When they made their Acknowledgements to Colonel Washington as abovementioned he told them they were welcome, & all he ask'd of them in Return was that if ever he shou'd fall as much into their Power as they had been in his - they would treat him with equal Kindness."*

The whole incident is quite fascinating, but especially the footnote describing Colonel George Washington's comments to the seven young Quaker men after they had been discharged. In 1789, after becoming the first President of a very young country, Washington received a letter of congratulations from a Yearly Meeting for the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware and parts of Maryland and Virginia. Washington wrote back, thanking the Quakers for their kind words, stating *"Your principles and conduct are well known to me, and it is doing the People called Quakers no more than justice to say, that (except their declining to share with others the burthen of common defence) there is no denomination among us who are more examplary and useful citizens."*



In 1756, during the French and Indian War, Col. George Washington proposed, designed, and supervised the construction of Fort Loudoun in present-day downtown Winchester, Virginia. During the construction of Fort Loudoun, Washington had to deal with Quakers who refused to fight or even assist in the fort's construction. One of those was William Stanley, a direct ancestor in this work. Washington used a little log building, now the middle room of the George Washington Office Museum, bottom.

From these comments and others written in other letters, George Washington obviously respected the Quakers, though he remained frustrated that, as a group, Friends refused to participate in the defense of their country. When he wrote this letter in 1789, thirty three years after the experience with the seven Quaker men at Winchester, one can imagine that the events which occurred there still came to Washington's mind.

The "Winchester Seven" seem to have been impressed with Washington as well, having made reference to the "*favours we had received at his hand.*" After their return to their homes, all of the seven Quakers went on to marry and have families. One of the seven, Cornelius Harris, was disowned by his fellow Quakers in 1759 when he married out of unity. The local Anglican parish noted in its records that "*Cornelius Harris was baptised the day of his marriage being formerly a Quaker.*"

Our direct ancestor, William Stanley, was probably the unofficial leader of the seven Quakers, based on a couple of circumstantial facts. First, he was the oldest of the seven, and in fact, was two and half years older than George Washington. Second, it was William who was stripped to the waist and nearly whipped by an enraged militia captain during the group's march to Winchester. The captain could have picked any of the seven to make an example of, but he likely chose the "ringleader," with the assumption the other six would quickly acquiesce.

William Stanley may also have been the unidentified author of the narrative manuscript which described the seizure and treatment of the seven Quakers. Though highly speculative, this conjecture is also based on the fact that he appears to have been the group's unofficial leader and that he was comfortable with writing. Though none of his writing is known to survive, the latter observation is based on the notation in the Henrico Monthly Meeting minutes for 5 August 1758 when a reference is made to an epistle by William Stanley to "*the Elders of the People called Quakers in Virginia,*" with the subject being the "*respecting the declintion of the Society in purity & zeal,*" and further noting that the epistle was "*read in this meeting.*"

In John Woolman's Journal, the famous Quaker minister noted that "*I attended Curles Meeting, which, though small, was reviving to the honest-hearted. Afterwards I went to Black Creek and Caroline Meetings, from whence, accompanied by William Standley before mentioned, I rode to Goose Creek, being much through the woods, and about one hundred miles.*" This journey taken by John Woolman and William Stanley occurred in June 1757.

Goose Creek Monthly Meeting is located in Loudoun County, Virginia, south of Purcellville in the tiny village of Lincoln. It is a strong possibility that it was on this trip in 1757 that William Stanley met the woman he would soon marry. The Goose Creek meeting house, still in use to this day, is only about eight miles from the old meeting house for Fairfax Monthly Meeting. It is there, at Fairfax meeting, where William Stanley would marry Elizabeth Walker. The 1757 journey with John Woolman would help explain why William Stanley traveled approximately 120 miles from his home in Hanover County to Fairfax Meeting House near the present-day town of Waterford, Virginia, to marry on 28 November 1758.

There are several entries in the Fairfax Monthly Meeting minutes regarding the marriage. "William Stanley of Hanover County" produced a certificate from Cedar Creek meeting "showing his clearness to marry" and also his parents' consent. William was 29 years old by this time and didn't need his parents' consent but he likely carried all the papers he could think of to insure that his marriage to Elizabeth Walker occurred as planned.

Letters Orders and Instructions. August 1756.

and people to whom he owes Balances upon that account, are daily threatening him with Suits.

Captain M^r. Neil writes me, that out of the three companies of Rangers on the Frontiers of Augusta, which ought to be one hundred and twenty men, there are not thirty. I hope your Honour will have that affair enquired into.

I am to be summoned against one Napp for making counterfeit paper money here. I desire your Directions, whether I must appear or not - it may, perhaps, be at a time when I am much wanted here.

I could by no means bring the Quakers to any Terms - They chose rather to be whipped to death than bear arms, or lend us any assistance whatever upon the Fort, or any thing of self-defence. Some of their friends have been security for their appearance when they are called for; and I have released them from the Guard-House until I receive further Orders from your Honour which they have agreed to apply for.

[I am informed there has been application made to your Honor, for the discharge of some of the militia who enlisted here - as the case may have been represented to your Honor in a wrong light by prejudiced persons, I shall give you a true state of it, from my own knowledge.]

After the militia were fixed on to march to their different posts, it was common for twenty or more to desert of a night. In consequence of which I despatched

Upon his retirement from public service, George Washington made a deliberate effort to organize and preserve his personal papers, which he worked on until he died in 1799. These have been preserved by the Library of Congress. In a letter written to Lt. Governor Dinwiddie on 4 August 1756 (see above), Washington wrote of his frustration with the Quakers, saying they "chose rather to be whipped to death than bear arms, or lend us any assistance whatever upon the fort, or any thing of self-defence." Though he admired them, Washington remained frustrated with Quakers for decades.

Fairfax Monthly Meeting records further indicate that Elizabeth Walker, daughter of William and Sarah Walker of Loudoun County, Virginia married William Stanley “of Hanover County, Virginia & of Cedar Creek Monthly Meeting same County,” with the entry showing that Elizabeth’s father William was deceased by the time of her marriage. After the wedding Elizabeth immediately left her home and traveled for about a week back to the home of William in Hanover County. An entry in the Fairfax records dated 30 December 1758 indicates that Elizabeth had “removed with her husband,” and was granted a certificate to Cedar Creek meeting, which was “approved & sent.”

Almost nothing else is known of the ancestry of Elizabeth Walker. She was born 26 November 1732, the daughter of William and Sarah Walker, and her only known sibling was a sister named Eleanor. An entry in the Fairfax records dated 31 July 1745 indicates that Elizabeth’s family had arrived at that meeting from Clifts Monthly Meeting in Calvert County, Maryland, but no further information has been found.

William Stanley was the overseer of the Cedar Creek Monthly Meeting prior to traveling to Fairfax meeting in Loudoun County to be married. The records at Cedar Creek show that he was “released as overseer” on 13 October 1758. *Overseer* was a position to which he had been selected by the members of the meeting. As overseer, William was the watchdog for the meeting, watching that members were keeping “to the faith” of Friends. Any Quaker who was violating the Friends’ rules, for example by departing from plainness in dress, could expect to be visited by the overseer. His position as overseer helps explain his epistle which he wrote in 1758. Evidently William Stanley was a strict, no-nonsense Quaker.

Perhaps William was too strict a Quaker. The Cedar Creek meeting minutes dated 4 April 1760 indicate a complaint was made against William Stanley and Zachariah Stanley for “*sundry reproachfull and infamous expressions against Strangeman Huchins & his ministry.*” Strangeman Hutchins was William’s uncle. Five men, including Edward Stabler, were assigned to look into the complaint and to “*treate with*” the Stanley cousins. Evidently, the complaint was considered to have validity, since six months later, William and Zachariah “*sent a paper of condemnation which was read & was satisfactory.*”

William Stanley also did some more traveling. On 13 May 1759, he turned in a list of expenses to the Cedar Creek Monthly Meeting for “travelling to Opeckon as a guide to John Kore & Samuel Emlen.” Opeckon (or Opeckan) was another name for Hopewell meeting, near Winchester, Virginia. Compliments of the Virginia militia, William was familiar with the way to Winchester.

William evidently returned to being overseer of the Cedar Creek meeting and remained so until 13 October 1764 when he resigned and at the same meeting he and his wife and three children were granted certificates to New Garden Monthly Meeting in North Carolina. During this period, about twenty other families, including those of William’s brothers Strangeman and Elijah, and his cousins Nathan and Zachariah, moved to the New Garden area of North Carolina. Settling there, William owned land on Deep River near the mouth of Bull Run. Today this is in the Jamestown area of Guilford County, roughly halfway between Greensboro and High Point.

William Stanley and his wife Elizabeth both died as the result of an accident. One source described the incident as having occurred because “their team of horses ran away” while descendant Prentice Stanley noted that the couple “died as a result of an overturned buggy.” It is probable that both versions of the story are correct. Elizabeth died 9 November 1807, while William died two days later on 11 November 1807. They were buried in the same grave at the New Garden burial ground, in

present-day Greensboro, North Carolina.

William Stanley and his wife, the former Elizabeth Walker, had the following children (all children listed in the New Garden Monthly Meeting records):

- + i. **Samuel Stanley** Born 21 Sep 1759, Samuel was our direct ancestor.
- ii. **Hannah Stanley** Born 2 Jan 1762, Hannah married Thomas Benbow on 24 Mar 1787 at New Garden meeting. Thomas, born in 1762, has been reported to have been the grand-nephew of John Benbow, a legendary admiral in the Royal Navy. This connection is debatable, though there was probably some familial link of some sort. Thomas and Hannah lived in Guilford County near the Guilford battleground. Thomas operated a tannery and blacksmith shop, making nails and door latches for the New Garden meeting house in 1792.
- iii. **Phebe Stanley** Born 4 Nov 1763, Phebe married Thomas Thornbrugh on 30 Dec 1804 at New Garden. They never had children. Phebe died 25 Feb 1846.
- iv. **Sarah Stanley** Born 13 Jun 1765, Sarah married George Hiatt on 6 Aug 1794. They lived at New Garden until 1823, when they went to Indiana. Sarah died 22 Mar 1838 in Henry County, Indiana.
- v. **William Stanley** Born 6 Apr 1767, William Jr. married (1) Rebecca Clemmons on 6 May 1795, and (2) Sarah Cook on 6 Jan 1813, both at New Garden. William had two daughters by his first wife but no other children. William Jr. died at New Garden on 17 Aug 1830.
- vi. **Rebecca Stanley** Born 2 Apr 1771, Rebecca married Joseph Unthank on 17 Jan 1795 at New Garden. Joseph was a great-grandson of William Hunt and Mary Woolman. Joseph died 5 Mar 1823 at New Garden, and Rebecca joined others in her family in moving to Indiana a few months later. Rebecca was noted as a minister at Whitewater meeting in Indiana, where she died 16 Aug 1833.
- vii. **Abel Stanley** Born 18 Oct 1776, Abel married Rachel Rayle on 13 Dec 1798. Able and his wife lived in Surry County for a few years before returning to New Garden. They later became part of Hopewell Monthly Meeting, split off from New Garden. In 1824, Abel and his family joined many others in moving to Indiana. Abel died 13 Aug 1847 and he and Rachel are both buried at the Mill Creek meeting house near Danville, Indiana.

Fourth Generation

Samuel Stanley was our direct ancestor, and like his father and grandfather before him, was the eldest son. Samuel was born 21 September 1759 at the family's home on Cedar Creek in Hanover County, Virginia. Today this land would be found at the end of Quaker Church Road near where Highways 54 and 33 converge west of Ashland, Virginia. When Samuel was about five years old, the family moved to North Carolina and settled on the Deep River southwest of present-day Greensboro. The family were members of New Garden Monthly Meeting.

The first record mentioning Samuel Stanley in the New Garden meeting records is 14 February 1781,

when he married Sarah Williams, daughter of Richard Williams and Prudence Beals. Samuel was 21 years old and Sarah but 17, rather young for a typical Quaker couple to marry. They married on Valentine's Day; although the day was known to people at this time, it did not yet have the significance that it does today. Besides, Quakers would have been at the end of the line of those adopting such a holiday.

Just twenty-nine days after they married, the Battle of Guilford Courthouse took place. As a result of caring for the wounded, Sarah's father contracted smallpox and died six weeks after the battle. Some have speculated that since she was a young woman without children, Sarah may have worked alongside her father caring for the wounded, but we have no record of her activities.

A grandson of Richard Williams was Levi Coffin, the noted abolitionist famous for his activities in helping southern slaves escape via the "Underground Railroad." Coffin was referred to as the "President of the Underground Railroad" by a runaway slave tracker who said, "there's an underground railroad going on here, and Levi's the president of it." The reference stuck and was often used by other abolitionists. Historians estimate that Coffin helped more than 2,000 slaves escape. Coffin's home in Fountain City, Indiana was purchased by the state of Indiana in 1967 and restored to its original condition, and is now a National Historic Landmark open to the public for tours.

Coffin spent the final year of his life writing a book about the Underground Railroad and his life. The book, *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin*, was published in 1876 and is considered by historians to be one of the best firsthand accounts of the activities of the organization. The reason for mentioning Coffin and his book is that he mentions his uncle, Samuel Stanley (whose wife Sarah was the sister of Levi Coffin's mother), several times in the book.

In the book, Coffin wrote "My Uncle Samuel Stanley lived ten miles away, near the western line of Guilford County." Deed records for Guilford County, North Carolina show that Samuel Stanley lived on Middle Reedy Fork. Samuel purchased 119½ acres there from Caleb Jessop and his wife on 19 August 1793 for £119 and ten shillings. Samuel added to the size of his farm over the years, buying an adjoining 81 acres in 1805 from a neighbor who had moved to Ohio, and another 212 acres in 1816. This land was about ten miles west of present-day Greensboro, and slightly east of the town of Kernersville, North Carolina.

However that wasn't the only land that Samuel Stanley owned. In another part of the book, Levi Coffin wrote: "I told him that I was going west, would cross the mountain at Maberry's Gap, then take the left-hand road, leading to Burk's Forks. At that place my Uncle Samuel Stanley had a stock farm where he kept a number of cattle through the winter, allowing them to fatten on the range during the summer. I said: 'Last fall I went over there and helped my Cousin Jessie Stanley drive a drove of beef cattle home to Guilford County, then we crossed the mountain at Bell Spur, but I thought I would cross this time at Maberry's Gap.'" In another place in the book Coffin mentioned, in reference to another person, that the individual "lived in Burk's Fork settlement, near my Uncle Stanley's farm."

Were it not for Coffin's book, the ownership of this land in another state would likely have never been discovered. The land referenced by Coffin was located in what is today Floyd County in Virginia, about 55-60 miles north-northwest of the Stanley farm in Guilford County. The reference in Coffin's book to *Maberry's Gap* (also seen as *Mayberry's Gap*, *Mabury's Gap* or *Mabry's Gap*) was to one of several gaps in the Blue Ridge mountains used by early travelers when crossing the mountains. A stream called Burks Fork still exists in the area and a village of that same name existed at one time.

Samuel Stanley and his family were members of New Garden Monthly Meeting and the births of eleven of their twelve children were recorded there. In 1800 Samuel and his family were granted permission to remove to Westfield Monthly Meeting in Surry County, North Carolina, but there is no evidence they made that move. The family did transfer their membership from New Garden to Dover Monthly Meeting when the latter was organized in 1815. The Dover Meeting House was five or six miles northwest of Greensboro. A meeting for worship, called Upper Reedy Fork, had been established there about 1786; the name was changed to Dover in 1793. There is not a complete record of the names of those who became members of Dover Monthly Meeting at the time of its organization, but Samuel and Sarah Stanley are both among the names of those mentioned in the minutes during the first few months.

Starting about 1826, members of Samuel Stanley's family began moving to Indiana, but Samuel and Sarah stayed behind in Guilford County, North Carolina until about 1833-1834. Then, while in their seventies, they decided to move to Indiana as well, and purchased a little over four acres of land in the town of Milton in Wayne County, Indiana on 8 March 1834. Samuel Stanley died there nine months later, on 14 December 1834 at age 75. Because they were still members of the Dover meeting in North Carolina, the records of that meeting noted Samuel's death "in Indiana."

Samuel Stanley's will, signed 12 September 1832 while he still lived in Guilford County, North Carolina, was probated in February 1835 in that county. In his will, Samuel Stanley left "the home plantation" (presumably the one in North Carolina since there is no record he sold it before moving to Indiana), along with a horse, cow and furniture to his wife Sarah. He also made generous bequests to his children in the form of cash, roughly \$250 to each of his sons and \$100 to his daughters. To his daughter Mary, Samuel left only one dollar, noting "as she & husband do not live together & I fear it might not be properly disposed of." Instead, he left \$100 to be divided among Mary's children.

The death of Samuel Stanley was also noted in the publication *The Friend*, a Quaker periodical published weekly in Philadelphia. The edition for 31 January 1835 noted Samuel's death "*at Milton, Indiana, on the 14th of the twelfth month last, after a lingering illness, Samuel Stanley, a member and elder of Dover Monthly Meeting, Guilford county, North Carolina.*" Samuel Stanley was almost certainly buried in the Milford cemetery in Milton, Indiana.

Perhaps because Samuel Stanley left such generous bequests to his children in his North Carolina will, he was in debt at the time he died. It is interesting that Samuel was noted as being "intestate" (i.e., dying without a will) by the court in Wayne County, Indiana, though he had a will that was probated back in North Carolina. The Indiana court further noted that Samuel's personal estate "was insufficient for the payment of his debts" and ordered his real estate be sold to the highest bidder. That was done by the administrator of Samuel's estate, Jesse Stanley, but there appears to have been some problems getting the estate settled properly. It was noted by the Wayne County Probate Court on 16 May 1840 that Jesse Stanley, the administrator of Samuel's estate, still owed the estate \$182.36 and ordered the Sheriff take Jesse into custody "until said costs are paid."

On 27 August 1835, Sarah Stanley requested a certificate to Milford Monthly Meeting in Wayne County, Indiana, which was noted in the Milford records on 28 November 1835. On 25 February 1836, the Milford meeting endorsed the certificate on to the Duck Creek Meeting in Henry County, Indiana near Greensboro. This entry is the last record of Sarah Stanley. It is likely she died at Duck Creek Monthly Meeting, since several of her children, including her oldest son Richard, had settled there. The name of Duck Creek meeting was changed to Greensboro Monthly Meeting in the 1930s.

Samuel Stanley and his wife, the former Sarah Williams, had the following children (all born in Guilford County, North Carolina):

- i. **Richard Stanley** Born 3 Jan 1782, Richard married Abigail Foster on 8 Nov 1809 at New Garden meeting. Richard and his wife moved to Wayne County, Indiana about 1831 and on to Henry County in the same state in 1835. In 1859 they moved to Lynnville, Iowa, where they were members of Linn Grove Monthly Meeting. Both Richard and Abigail both died there, he on 9 Sep 1864 and she on 20 Aug 1865. Both are buried at Lynnville, Iowa.
- ii. **Isaac Stanley** Born 22 Oct 1783, this person has been confused in several accounts with another person of that name. In 1804 Isaac married (1) Nancy (last name unknown) outside of the Quaker faith, who later was accepted by the Quakers. She died 4 Jun 1830; the couple had no children. On 8 Sep 1831, Isaac married (2) Eliza Hubbard, 22 years his junior, at New Garden, by whom he had six children. Isaac and his family later moved to Wayne County, Indiana.
- iii. **Joshua Stanley** Born 24 Oct 1785, Joshua married Abigail Hunt, daughter of Nathan and Prudence (Thornburgh) Hunt, on 21 Mar 1821. They were apparently unable to have children, but adopted two children, Andrew Murrow and Joshua's nephew Isaac H. Stanley, son of Joshua's younger brother Nathan. Joshua's wife was a matron at what became Guilford College, because her father Nathan, the famous Quaker minister, had founded the New Garden Boarding School, later Guilford College. Perhaps as result of that, Joshua did not join others in his family in migrating to Indiana, instead staying in North Carolina his whole life. The Center Monthly Meeting records indicate that Joshua Stanley died 30 Oct 1855 at 6 P.M. and was buried at Center meeting the next day.
- iv. **Elizabeth Stanley** Born 5 Mar 1788, Elizabeth married on 12 Oct 1809 to Cadwallader Pitts. The name *Cadwallader* is of Welsh origin and should never have been given to a single human being. The couple had three daughters, though one (a twin) died after only two weeks. Elizabeth and her husband later took in an infant boy, Nathan Pike, whose mother died soon after giving birth. Elizabeth and her husband went to Indiana in 1832, settling in Henry County. Elizabeth died 27 Dec 1842 at Greensboro, Indiana. After her death, Cadwallader married (2) Mary Chamness on 27 Nov 1844 at Nettle Creek Monthly Meeting. He died 16 Dec 1855.
- v. **Dorcas Stanley** Born 30 Jul 1790, Dorcas married George Hunt on 6 Jun 1811 at New Garden meeting. George was the son of William and Ann (Rayle) Hunt and the grandson of direct ancestors Eleazar and Catherine (Cox) Hunt. They later moved to Bloomfield Monthly Meeting in Indiana.
- vi. **Mary Stanley** Born 22 Oct 1792, Mary married James Meredith Jr. on 24 Jun 1815. The couple had eight children, though they later separated, and as mentioned in the will of her father, lived

vii. **William Stanley**
viii. **Samuel Stanley**

apart. The records of Dover Monthly Meeting in North Carolina indicate James Meredith was disowned in 1819. According to an account in Volume 2 of *Stanley and Allied Families* by Alvin L. Anderson, Mary left her husband because “he ran a still which she opposed” and he “refused to change.” Mary also “wished to leave a slave state.” She was a first cousin to Levi Coffin, the noted abolitionist, and many Quakers were fervent in their anti-slavery beliefs. So Mary and her children “passed over the Cumberland Gap with one horse and a large 2-wheeled cart” and moved to Wayne County, Indiana in 1830. According to a second account, Mary was accompanied on this trip by her brother Samuel. In 1858, Mary moved on to Lynnvile, Iowa and settled on a farm two miles northeast of that town. Mary died 12 Feb 1875 at Lynnvile. Born 11 Jan 1795, William died on 9 Jul 1798 at age 3.

Born 8 Feb 1797, Samuel Jr. married Anna Bowman on 26 Feb 1818. He, with his sister Mary, was the first of the family to move west, going to Indiana in 1830. An account of Samuel Stanley Jr. appears in the 1885 *History of Hendricks County, Indiana*, which states they left North Carolina in the “fall of 1830” and that it took them six weeks to arrive in Wayne County, Indiana. The next year, Samuel and his family moved to Hendricks County, Indiana, where he purchased 80 acres for \$110. The account states that the family “farm was created by clearing away a forest. The land was heavily timbered with no improvements. Samuel built a log house 14 feet square in a clearing.” This building served as the home for the couple and their six children (two more would arrive later). The farm was located between the towns of Hadley and Springtown, near Danville, Indiana. Samuel died on 20 Oct 1850 and his wife six days later, perhaps indicating some type of accident or epidemic. Both were buried in the Spring burial ground in Hendricks County, Indiana.

ix. **Jesse Stanley**

Born 18 Jul 1799, Jesse was a twin to William. Jesse is somewhat of a mystery. He is probably the person of that name who was named the administrator of his father’s estate (and got into trouble with the law because of it). But there was also a Jesse Stanley, “son of Samuel and Sarah,” who married on 5 May 1830 to Elizabeth Reeve at Salem Monthly Meeting in New Jersey. It was indicated in the marriage record that Jesse was “of Philadelphia.” There are no records in North Carolina of another Jesse Stanley of about this age which would make the New Jersey marriage unreasonable other than the distance from North Carolina. There were apparently no children from this marriage. Jesse married (2) Elizabeth Maxfield on 19 Mar 1846 at Haddonfield Monthly Meeting at Haddonfield, New Jersey, near Philadelphia. He and his new wife, and two children, appear in the 1850 census living in Camden, New Jersey, where Jesse was listed as a teacher and was shown as

being born in North Carolina. According to the book *Stanley and Allied Families*, Jesse and his family were granted a certificate to Salem Monthly Meeting in Iowa. Confirmation of this is the 1870 census which shows the family living near Oskaloosa, Iowa, where Jesse was shown as being a farmer, and born about 1799 in North Carolina. The fact that three of his sons were named William, Joshua and Nathan, all names of his brothers, also makes it very likely this is the same Jesse Stanley. The book *The History of Mahaska County, Iowa*, published in 1878, has the entry “Jesse Stanley, retired” but Jesse must have died soon after as he is not listed in the 1880 census, while his wife and three daughters are listed, still living near Oskaloosa.

- x. **William Stanley** Born 18 Jul 1799, William was a twin to Jesse. William married 4 May 1826 at New Garden to Susanna Moore. William died before 1850, when the 1850 census indicates Susan living as the head of household with two of her children at Milton, Wayne County, Indiana.
- + xi. **Sarah Stanley** Born 31 Oct 1801, Sarah Stanley is our direct ancestor. She married Newby Hunt on 4 Nov 1819.
- xii. **Nathan Stanley** Born 9 Aug 1806, Nathan married on 28 Oct 1824 to Phebe Hollingsworth at the Dover Monthly Meeting in Guilford County, North Carolina. Nathan and Phebe went to Indiana at least by 1836, when their son Cyrus was born in Hendricks County of that state. They also appear in the 1840 census for Hendricks County, Indiana. Nathan and Phebe later returned to Guilford County, North Carolina, where they were at the time of the 1850 census. They once again returned to Indiana, receiving certificates to Spiceland and Plainfield meetings.

Fifth Generation

Our direct ancestor, Sarah Stanley, was born 31 October 1801 while the family lived in western Guilford County, North Carolina. When Dover Monthly Meeting was organized in 1815, the family attended meeting at the Dover Meeting House about 5-6 six miles northwest of present-day Greensboro. It was there that she married Newby Hunt, the son of Eleazar and Ann (Newby) Hunt.

Newby Hunt

We continue with an account of Newby Hunt, the son of Eleazar Hunt and Ann Newby. Newby was born 23 May 1797 at New Garden in Guilford County, North Carolina, and was obviously named in honor of his mother's surname, a common practice at that time. He grew up on his father's farm on Horsepen Creek, located several miles north of the present-day city of Greensboro, North Carolina.

The first mention of Newby in the Quaker records is on 25 September 1819, when he was granted a certificate from New Garden Monthly Meeting to Dover Monthly Meeting to marry. The latter had been set off from New Garden meeting in 1815 and was located about 5-6 miles northwest of the New Garden meeting house. The records of Dover Monthly Meeting indicate Newby Hunt and Sarah Stanley were married on 4 November 1819.

Soon after, on 27 November 1819, Newby's father sold him 164 acres of land on Horsepen Creek for \$1000. The deed, recorded in volume 14, page 176-177 of the Guilford County Deed books, is a poster child for why we don't have "metes and bounds" surveys anymore:

Beginning at a Stone Abner Hunts beginning Corner Stone on the South Side of a Spring Branch then running west Seventy Eight poles to a white Oak saplin then North Sixty one poles to a Black gum saplin thence north Twenty Degrees West fifty five poles to a stake thence East ninety six poles to a Post Oak thence South one hundred poles to Vestal Coffins Corner Stone thence East two hundred poles to a white Oak thence South Eleven poles to a Black Oak thence East four poles to a Spanish Oak thence South Seventy two poles to a Black Oak thence West one hundred & eighty three poles to a gum Abner Hunts sweet gum corner thence North fifteen poles to a dogwood sprought thence a West course twenty poles to a persimmon thence North to the first station containing one hundred & sixty four acres be the same more or less.

Good luck trying to find your property lines years later!

Two things are interesting about this deed. First, the mention of the adjoining property owner Vestel Coffin is of historical interest because he was one of the earliest Quakers to help slaves escape North Carolina, beginning as early as 1819, the year Newby bought the property next to him. Vestal Coffin's cousin, Levi Coffin Jr., became famous as the "President of the Underground Railroad" because of the thousands of slaves Levi helped escape to the north. Levi Coffin Jr. signed the deed between Eleazar Hunt and his son Newby as its sole witness.

Coffin was frequently exposed to slaves throughout his childhood and sympathized with their situation. According to his own account, he became an abolitionist at age seven when he asked a slave who was in a chain gang why he was bound. The man replied that it was to prevent him from escaping and returning to his wife and children. The event disturbed Coffin who often considered the possibility of his own father being taken from him in a similar fashion. By age fifteen, Coffin was helping his family assist escaping slaves by taking food to those hiding on his farm. As the repressive Fugitive Slave Act became more rigorously enforced, the family began conducting their assistance to slaves with greater secrecy and doing most of their illegal activities at night. Scrutiny of the abolitionists only worsened with the passage of the 1804 Black Laws. By the early 1820s, Quakers in North Carolina were being openly persecuted for the assistance they were suspected of providing to runaway slaves.

Whether Newby Hunt was among those assisting slaves escape north is not known, but he certainly had to have been aware of it, as it was going on all around him. How Newby came to have \$1000 to

Eleazar Hunt to Newby Hunt -
This Indenture Made this the Twenty Second Seventh day of the Eleventh
Month one Thousand Eight hundred & Ninety between Eleazar Hunt of
the County of Guilford & State of North Carolina of the one part & Newby Hunt of
the County & State aforesaid of the other part witnesseth that the for and in
Consideration of the Sum of one Thousand Dollars to him in hand paid by
the S^r. Newby Hunt the Receipt whereof he doth hereby acknowledge and
thereby Exonerate & Release the S^r. Newby Hunt his Heirs Ex^{rs} & Assigns
be the S^r. Eleazar Hunt doth by these presents grant bargain & Sell
alien assign Convey & Set over to the S^r. Newby Hunt a Certain Tract
of Land lying Situate & being on the waters of Horsepen Creek in
the County of Guilford Beginning at a Stone Abner Hunts beginning Cor-
ner Stone on the South Side of a Spring Branch then running West
Twenty Eight poles to a white Oak Sapling then North sixty one poles to a
Black gum Sapling thence North Twenty Degrees West fifty five poles to a
Hick thence East Ninety Six poles to a post Oak thence South one hundred
poles to Vestal Coffins Corner Stone thence East two hundred poles to
a white Oak thence South Eleven poles to a Black Oak thence East four
poles to a Spanish Oak thence South Sixty Two poles to a Black Oak
thence West one hundred & Eighty three poles to a gum Abner Hunts
Sweet gum Corner thence North fifteen poles to a Dogwood Sprout
thence a West Course Twenty poles to a house corner thence North to the post
Station containing one hundred & Sixty four acres be the same more
or Less with the appurtenances Houses & profits & all the Estate Right Title &
Property Claims & Demand whatsoever to the Land or premises belonging
or in any wise appertaining To have & to hold to the said Newby Hunt
his Heirs & assigns forever to him & his Heirs proper use and
 behoof & the S^r. Eleazar Hunt doth for himself & his Heirs and
Every of them warrant & defend the above S^d. described Land and
premises to the S^r. Newby Hunt his Heirs & assigns against all

In 1819, just 23 days after he married, Newby Hunt purchased 164 acres of land on Horsepen Creek for \$1000 from his father Eleazar Hunt. Since he was only 22 years old, it seems unlikely that Newby Hunt would have had today's equivalent of \$14,000. It is a distinct possibility his father fronted the money to Newby, who only received one dollar in Eleazar's will. The person who witnessed the deed was Levi Coffin Jr., a neighbor nearly the same age as Newby, and who went on to achieve fame as the Quaker abolitionist deeply involved in helping slaves escape via the "Underground Railroad."

buy property from his father at age 22 is not known either, but we have to assume he had the assistance of his father. This could explain why, in his will, Newby's father Eleazar Hunt left him one dollar "in addition to what he has heretofore received."

Deciding to join a steadily-growing tide of Quakers leaving North Carolina for Indiana, on 11 October 1826, Newby sold nearly 95½ acres of his farm on Horsepen Creek to John Harrison for \$250. Four months later, on 10 February 1827, Newby Hunt sold the rest of his farm to his brother-in-law Nathan Stanley for \$300. Note that Newby sold his property for just over half what he paid his father for it just seven years prior, reflecting the rapidly declining property values in Guilford County at a time when the Quakers were moving away from the state by the droves. Property sold for as little as \$3 per acre in North Carolina about this time because a near panic exodus to Indiana was occurring. Nathan Stanley, Sarah's younger brother, eventually sold the land he bought from Newby and migrated to Indiana himself in 1836, also settling in Hendricks County.

Why Indiana? Why were all the Quakers headed there? The answer was that when the Northwest Territory (which would later become the states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois) opened up with the end of the Indian Wars about 1814, the Quakers had their first real opportunity to move to an area destined to be a free state. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 provided that there would be "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory." There was also the matter of the land itself. Some areas in the Carolinas were rough farming, sometimes hilly or rocky, with lots of creeks and narrow strips of bottom land subject to floods.

Word kept coming back to the Quakers remaining in the Carolinas from those who had already gone to Indiana. Communication was slow; it would take weeks for letters to arrive, but arrive they did, and the message was always the same. The land was good, the land was cheap, and there was no slavery. For devout Quakers, it didn't get any better.

Quakers left the Carolinas until few Quakers were left. Many of the monthly meetings were discontinued for lack of members. In South Carolina, the exodus from the Cain Creek Monthly Meeting was so extensive the last members apparently had no one to leave the meeting record books with, so they carried them to Indiana, where they remained in the custody of Whitewater Meeting for over a hundred years. Finally in the 1920s, the record books were returned to the Carolina Yearly Meeting.

Quaker historian Rufus Jones estimated that by 1821, about 20,000 Quakers lived west of the Allegheny Mountains; three-quarters of them had come from the southern states, 6,000 from North Carolina alone. Because of the massive migration from the South, by the 1840s Richmond, Indiana rivaled Philadelphia as the major Quaker center in the United States. By 1850, the Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends was the largest in the world.

Most southern Quakers traveled in groups of 30-40, made up of family members and friends. As the roads improved, as they would have by the time Newby Hunt and the extended Hunt family made the wagon trip from North Carolina, the trip would have taken a little over a month. Most Quaker groups traveled through the Cumberland Gap on the Wilderness Road, blazed nearly 50 years earlier by the earliest western settlers.

After selling his farm in 1827, Newby Hunt and his family stayed in North Carolina for two more years, possibly sharing the farm house with his brother-in-law's family, while they sold off things and prepared for the trip west. On 26 September 1829, New Garden meeting granted Newby Hunt and

his family a certificate of removal to Whitewater Monthly Meeting in Indiana. Whitewater was the “funnel” into Indiana, the equivalent of Ellis Island for southern Quakers bound for Indiana. Even groups headed for another part of the state often went through Whitewater meeting at Richmond before moving on. This was the case for Newby Hunt and his family.

When the family arrived in Indiana is not known, for over a year passed between the time Newby’s family was issued certificates in North Carolina and when those certificates were received in Indiana. There could have been troubles and delays in getting underway, or perhaps there were bureaucratic problems with having their records processed by Whitewater meeting. The men’s minutes at Whitewater failed to record the arrival of Newby at all, but the women’s minutes noted his wife Sarah and their daughters Nancy, Rosilla and Martha being received on 24 November 1830. More telling is the fact that their son Thomas E. Hunt was born 16 August 1830, and his birthplace was later noted as Wayne County, Indiana by Mill Creek meeting.

It appears Newby Hunt and his family might have stayed in the area around Richmond, Indiana for a time, for it was another year, on 28 September 1831, before the family was granted a certificate to White Lick Monthly Meeting. That meeting was in Morgan County, near the town of Mooresville, and about fifteen miles east of where Newby Hunt settled in adjoining Hendricks County. Newby Hunt and his family, with two additional children, were noted as being charter members of Mill Creek Monthly Meeting when it was established in 1834, when it was noted that “some 25 families were settled in the Mill Creek and Spring communities.” Sarah was appointed the first clerk of the women’s meeting at Mill Creek, indicating she knew how to read and write, still not a common skill for women at this point in American history.

Newby Hunt appears to have been the third member of his family to arrive in Hendricks County, after his younger brother Cyrus and his sister Catherine. Cyrus had purchased 80 acres from the federal government near what would later be the town of Amo on 22 May 1829. That was the issue date on the land patent, but the Hendricks County Tract Book noted the day of the sale was 1 January 1829, making Cyrus the earliest settler in the area of Amo. Newby settled next to Cyrus, on the 80 acres (E½ of SW¼ of Sec. 35, T15N, R2W) directly east of his brother.

Newby Hunt bought the land from the government for \$1.25 per acre, thus his 80 acres cost him a mere \$100. Thus the \$550 he received for his land in North Carolina, despite selling it at a loss, provided him with enough money for the trip west, to buy land and probably even build the house and buildings he needed. It was noted in the Hendricks County Tract Book that Newby bought the land on 20 March 1832, though the land patent wasn’t issued until 1 May 1833.

Meanwhile, on 23 July 1832, Newby bought part of the property belonging to his brother-in-law William Benbow (the husband of Newby’s older sister Catherine). This tract was only forty acres, which Benbow sold to Newby for \$50, the same price per acre had Newby bought the land directly from the government. The tract was an L-shaped piece of land in the southeast corner of section 34, where the majority of the town of Amo stands today, and was immediately west of his brother Cyrus. Finally, Cyrus (perhaps feeling squeezed by Newby’s panzer tactics of buying the land on both the west and east sides of him) sold his patented 80 acres to Newby on 7 August 1835 for \$300.

So by 1835 Newby Hunt owned a total of 200 acres, which today would include all of the land where Amo is situated, plus the land to the west, north and east of it. He should have kept the land; he would have been a rich man since the Terre Haute & Richmond Railroad later passed right through his land for over two thirds of a mile. The railroad tracks reached what later became the town of Amo in

August 1850, though trains did not begin regular service until 1853. Trains ran through the town twice a day and a number of buildings were later built near the rail line. With the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861 and the virtual closure of the Mississippi River to commercial traffic, the rail line through Amo found itself part of an increasingly important east-west trunk line.

Exactly where on his three separate tracts of land Newby Hunt and his family lived is not known, but we can assume it was not on the 80 acres he patented from the government. He sold that parcel to his brother-in-law Nathan Stanley (yes, the same one to whom Newby sold his North Carolina land) on 15 July 1836 after Nathan arrived in Indiana. Newby received \$100 for the 80 acres, the same price Newby paid the government for the land four years prior. At that price, we are safe in assuming the land had no structures on it and was probably not cleared.

Newby and his family lived in Hendricks County for about eight years, where he farmed and ran a small sawmill on Mill Creek, on the property he bought from his brother Cyrus. Presumably either Newby or Cyrus built the mill since the only occupants of the land before them had been the Indians. During that time Newby and his wife bought things from his brother Amiel's general store, which gives us a glimpse into their personal lives, an exceptionally rare event in genealogy. They certainly bought many more things than this, but this was what was listed in the ledger book as being bought on account (i.e., credit):

September 26, 1837	2½ lb. coffee	.50
September 26, 1837	½ lb. allum	.06½
September 29, 1837	½ lb of alum	.06¼
September 29, 1837	½ lb of madden	.18¾
September 29, 1837	½ yd of calico	.14
September 29, 1837	¼ yd swis muslin @ 12½	.15½
October 2, 1837	16 lb castins @ .08	1.28
October 4, 1837	2 panes of glass	.10
October 16, 1837	1 oz cinnamon bark	.06¼
October 16, 1837	1 oz nut meg	.06¼
October 16, 1837	1 greater	.06¼
October 16, 1837	¼ lb loaf sugar	.09
December 14, 1837	20½ lb. feathers @ 37½	7.68¾
December 29, 1837	To glass	.06¼
December 29, 1837	1 wash pan	.37½
January 5, 1838	2 lbs sugar	.25
January 30, 1838	2 sets knitting pins	.20
April 13, 1838	1¼ lb coffee	.25
April 19, 1838	½ lb tobacco	.12½
May 11, 1838	3 boles	.25
May 11, 1838	¾ yd calico	.18¾
May 11, 1838	1 looking glass	.75
May 18, 1838	1 lb tobacco	.25
May 30, 1838	1 large bell	1.00
May 30, 1838	cr. by 288# ceiling plank @ 87½	2.52
June 25, 1838	2 yds bleached shirting	.40
August 7, 1838	7 yds Shamberry	2.18¾
August 7, 1838	3 yds calico	.75
August 7, 1838	2 yds calico	.62½
August 7, 1838	1 silk dress shall	1.25

{ Certificate.
No. 16278.

For United States of America,

W.C.

To all to whom these presents shall come, Greeting:

Whereas, *Newby Hunt of Hendricks County, Indiana*
has deposited in the General Land Office of the United States, a certificate of the Register of the Land Office at *Crawfordsville*
whereby it appears that full payment has been made by the said *Newby Hunt*
according to the provisions of the act of Congress of the 24th of April, 1820, entitled "An act making further provision for the sale of the Public Lands," for
the East half of the South West quarter of section thirty five, in township fifteen North, of range two West, in
the district of lands subject to sale at *Crawfordsville, Indiana*, containing *eighty* acres
according to the official plat of the survey of the said Lands, returned to the General Land Office by the Surveyor General, which said tract has been pur-
chased by the said *Newby Hunt*

NOW KNOW YE, That the **UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,** in consideration of the premises, and in conformity with the
several acts of Congress, in such case made and provided, have given and granted, and, by these presents, do give and grant, unto the said *Newby Hunt*
and to his heirs, the said tract above described: To
Have and to Hold the same, together with all the rights, privileges, immunities and appurtenances, of whatsoever nature thereunto belonging, unto the said *Newby Hunt*
and to his heirs and assigns forever.

In testimony whereof, I, Andrew Jackson

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, have caused these Letters to be made Patent, and the Seal of the General Land Office to be hereunto
affixed.

Given under my hand, at the City of Washington, the *first* day of *May* in the year of our
Lord, one thousand eight hundred and *thirty three* and of the Independence of the United States the
*fifty seven*th

By the President: *Andrew Jackson*
By a *Donaldson Secy*
Elijah Haywards.

Commissioner of the General Land Office.

After leaving North Carolina, Newby Hunt was able to buy land from the U.S. government for \$1.25 per acre in Indiana in 1832 (the patent was not issued until 1833). This land patent is typical of thousands of land purchases made from the General Land Office. Though Andrew Jackson's name appears in two places on the patent, the President did not get personally involved in land sales.

August 18, 1838	1 quire paper ruled	.31¼
October 4, 1838	4 bonnet boards	.18¾
October 12, 1838	1 cream pitcher	.33⅓
October 12, 1838	½ bed chord	.18¾
October 22, 1838	7 lbs nails	.87½
November 28, 1838	½ lb of alum	.06¼
December 6, 1838	1 pr. tongs	.75
December 6, 1838	½ lb of alum	.06¼
December 6, 1838	1 brass candlestick	.37½

The family bought the usual items like coffee, sugar, cinnamon bark (many people today don't know that cinnamon comes from the bark of tree), nutmeg and the all-important alum. Sarah evidently bought some of the things using her husband's account, like fabrics, "boles" (bowls), a "looking glass" (mirror), a "greater" (grater) for food preparation, a silk shawl, "bonnet boards" for making bonnets for her and her daughters. The "swiss muslin" was a crisp, sheer muslin usually ornamented with raised dots or figures and often used to make curtains. So we might assume Sarah was making curtains for the family home in the fall of 1837.

Newby Hunt obviously smoked, as did many men in his era, since he bought tobacco several times on account. The most expensive thing the family bought from the general store was feathers, probably for making pillows. This is why beds and the bedding that went on them were among the most valuable possessions years ago. The family bought a wash pan, a cream pitcher and a brass candlestick for use around the house. Newby purchased two panes of glass for a nickel each, nails, a pair of tongs, a large bell and a "quire" of ruled paper. A *quire* is 25 sheets of paper, a term rarely seen today.

Newby also received a credit of \$2.52 from Amiel for supplying him with "ceiling plank," almost certainly from Newby's sawmill. The account book also has an entry dated 29 December 1837 indicating Newby Hunt received \$51.99½ for hauling 2431 pounds from Cincinnati to Richmond, with \$10 of that paid in cash. Presumably the remainder went to pay off his account at the store. It would seem that Newby occasionally hired himself out as a teamster. The trip from Amo to Cincinnati to Richmond and back home would have been well over 300 miles and likely involved two weeks on the road.

In 1840 Newby Hunt moved his family from Hendricks County to the small town of Annapolis in Parke County, Indiana, a move of less than fifty miles to the west. On 11 April 1840 the Mill Creek meeting granted a certificate for Newby and his family to transfer their membership to Bloomfield Monthly Meeting in Parke County. They moved rather promptly (the move would have only required a 2-3 day trip by wagon), since they were received at Bloomfield on 6 May 1840. Confirmation of this comes from the 1840 census, with Newby Hunt and family listed as living in Parke County; the official enumeration day of the 1840 census was 1 June 1840, so they had to have been there by that date.

On 22 September 1841, months after he had gone to Parke County, Newby Hunt sold the sawmill he had on Mill Creek near Amo, Indiana. He split the sawmill off from the rest of the 80-acre parcel he had purchased from his brother Cyrus, selling the mill and 10½ acres to John C. Newman for \$500. A month later, on 28 October 1841, Newby sold the remaining property he had owned in Hendricks County "except the lot set off with the sawmill on said tract" to Joseph Morris for \$1400. Less than nine years later, in 1850, the railroad had come through the area and Joseph Morris hit the jackpot.

On 23 July 1850 Morris platted the town of Morrisville, but five years later the name was changed to Amo. The town received its own post office in 1852 and, courtesy of the railroad, the town grew while Springtown withered and died.

There is no record in the Parke County deeds to indicate that Newby bought land in Parke County until ten years after moving there. Rather, it seems the family lived in the town of Annapolis, probably renting a house. The 1840 census did not list much information other than the name of the head of the household, and did not provide the occupation of the person. So we do not know what Newby Hunt did for a living while in Annapolis. On 19 March 1850, Newby Hunt paid \$800 for a small parcel of land (almost certainly with a home on it) at the edge of the town of Annapolis. The 1850 census, which does list men's occupations, says he was a "farmer," but he was living on 3½ acres at the edge of town, so it could not have been a very serious farm. A surviving Parke County tax list for the year 1851 found in the Rockville City Library in Rockville, Indiana confirms this, showing "Nuby Hunt" owning 3½ acres valued at \$100, but with \$425 of improvements, indicating the presence of a nice home.

It is more likely that Newby had given up farming and was working in one of the factories or shops in Annapolis. At the time, Annapolis was a booming place. According to one account "Annapolis was the leading manufacturing and cultural town in Indiana, west of Cincinnati, Ohio, and Richmond, Indiana in the early and middle 1800's. It was larger than the cities of Indianapolis and Chicago, and by the middle 1800's had over 60 business and manufacturing concerns."

A business directory for Annapolis has survived for the years 1860-1861 and gives us a glimpse of the town then. With a population of 400 at the time, Annapolis offered a Methodist Church, the Western Manual School (the forerunner of what was later the Friends Academy in Bloomington, which became a leading educational institution of its time), a library, the McClure Institute (a private school), a Masonic Lodge, the Temperance Hotel, two woolen mills, four doctors and a dentist. There were a number of shops and factories in the town, including a chair manufacturer, four blacksmiths, a planing mill, a stove and ironware dealer, a painter, two cooper (barrel maker) shops, a butcher shop, a tailor, a broom manufacturer, a saddle and harness shop, two boot and shoe shops, a sash and door plant, a pump factory (the pumps were made from the trunks of poplar trees), a pottery plant (the oldest one in Indiana, which sold its dishes and glassware over a wide area), five wagon and carriage plants, a grocer and druggist, and three general stores.

Like thousands of towns in the midwest in the 1800s, the citizens of Annapolis were hoping their town would continue to grow and prosper. But the town's demise came for the usual reason: the railroad was built someplace else. When the rail line was later put through south of Annapolis a few miles, the town of Bloomfield (later Bloomington) hit the jackpot and began to flourish while Annapolis withered. There is still a small community at Annapolis today, with a few dozen houses and mobile homes, but no stores or industry of any kind.

In the 1850 census, Newby's sons Nathan and Thomas, who were 25 and 19 respectively, as well as a boarder named Bartholomew Johnson, were all listed as being a "ginner." An article titled "This Was Annapolis" described that the "Taylor family owned and operated a wool and carding mill on the town's eastside. Wool processed there was carded and spun into rolls of yarn and then woven into flannel and jean material. Horses provided power for the mill's machinery." Since this was near where Newby lived, we might assume that all three of the young men worked there.

Since Newby had only owned the small parcel of land at Annapolis for a few months at the time of

Nancy Hunt	23 rd 5 th 1797	Eleazar and Ann Hunt	Guilford Co. N. C.
Sarah Hunt	31 st 10 th 1801	Samuel and Sarah Stanley	Guilford Co. N. C.

Births				
Names of the Children	When born	Names of the Parents	Their residence	Occasional Notes
Nancy Hunt	2 nd 16 th 1821	Nancy and Sarah Hunt	Guilford Co. N. C.	
Rozilla Hunt	2 nd 9 th 1823	Do.	Do.	
Nathan Hunt	2 nd 5 th 1825	Do.	Do.	
Martha Hunt	21 st 10 th 1827	Do.	Do.	
Elwood Hunt	16 th 8 th 1830	Do.	Wayne Co. Ia.	
Elmina Hunt	23 rd 9 th 1832	Do.	Hendricks Co. Ia.	
William Hunt	17 th 8 th 1834	Do.	Do.	Deceased
Lindley Hunt	17 th 2 nd 1836	Do.	Do.	Deceased
Beniah Hunt	14 th 10 th 1837	Do.	Do.	Deceased

Pages 20 and 21 from the original Mill Creek Monthly Meeting records (Hendricks County, Indiana) demonstrates why Quaker genealogy is relatively easy compared to tracing non-Quaker ancestors. The Quakers often recorded when and where you were born, your parents names and where they came from, information rarely available when attempting to track ancestors. These records were found in the archives of Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana.

the 1850 census, we are safe in assuming he had not been a “farmer” long. What was his occupation for the ten years before he bought the land in 1850? It is probable that he worked in one of the shops or factories in the town. For example, one of the several wagon and carriage manufacturing shops in the town was owned by George and William Hunt, father and son. George Hunt was Newby’s first cousin, and also his brother-in-law since George had married the sister of Newby’s wife Sarah. It’s not too much of a stretch to think that Newby might have worked in the carriage shop, whose best selling model was the “Friends Quarterly Meeting Carriage,” a name given to the carriage to attract the interest of the large Quaker population in the area.

Also of historical interest is the fact that the 1850 census taker noted a man named Horace F. Cannon lived two houses away from Newby Hunt in Annapolis. Cannon was a physician, with a 14-year-old son named Joseph. Joseph G. Cannon (1836-1926) became quite famous and served as a U.S. congressman for 48 years, a record that stood until 1958. Cannon also served as the Speaker of the House from 1903 to 1911, and historians generally consider him to be the most dominant Speaker in United States history. Since Cannon was both the Speaker of the House and the chair of the Rules Committee, he determined under what rules and restrictions bills could be debated, amended, and voted on, and in some cases whether they would be allowed on the floor at all. When the first issue of *Time Magazine* was printed in 1923, Cannon was featured on the cover since he was one of the most powerful men in the country at the time.

Cannon was especially known for his clashes with fellow-Republican Theodore Roosevelt, who Cannon remarked had “no more use for the Constitution than a tomcat has for a marriage license.” Cannon even received 58 votes for the presidential nomination at the Republican National Convention at Chicago in 1908. Cannon was a critic of President Woodrow Wilson and the country’s entry into World War I. He was also an outspoken critic of Wilson’s League of Nations. The Cannon House Office Building next to the capitol in Washington is named for him.

The land Newby Hunt bought on 19 March 1850 was located immediately east of the original town plat of Annapolis. He bought the rectangular parcel of 4.93 acres for \$800 from William Maris, who had patented the land in 1829, laid out the town of Annapolis, and owned a couple of the businesses there including the hotel. Hoping to gain from the prosperity of the growing town, Newby platted an addition to the town called “Hunt’s Addition,” which consisted of eight additional town lots. Newby sold four of the eight for \$500 (7 Sep 1850), \$200 (26 Sep 1850), \$50 (22 Sep 1851), and \$175 (27 Apr 1853). It had to have been discouraging to only sell four town lots in three years.

Newby sold the remainder of the land, including the four unsold lots, to William Louder for \$600 on 30 April 1853. On 6 July 1853, Bloomfield Monthly Meeting granted a certificate to Newby and his family to transfer their membership in the Society of Friends to Sugar Plain Monthly Meeting in Boone County, Indiana, where they were received the next month. Newby had visited Boone County over a year before he moved, since he bought 80 acres (S½ of NW¼ of Sec. 3, T19N, R2W) from James Mendenhall on 3 March 1852. He paid \$2000 for the property, located just two miles southwest of the town of Thorntown.

The reason why Newby Hunt decided to move the nearly 50 miles from Annapolis northeast to Thorntown is not certain, but it likely was related to the fact that his oldest child, daughter Nancy Ann, had married in 1849 and promptly moved there with her new husband. Newby may have helped her move and liked what he saw around Thorntown.

Newby held the land for several years but later sold the 80-acre parcel for \$2800 and bought a nearly

identical-sized tract of land on the northwest edge of Thorntown on 4 January 1859. The new land, 81 acres in total, was purchased from Benjamin F. Paddack for \$4050, but Newby had to also agree to pay off a mortgage in the amount of \$2474 owed by Paddack to James Mendenhall. Newby farmed the land (he was listed as a “farmer” in the 1860 census), but decided to replicate his action back in the town of Annapolis, and create a “Hunt’s Addition” to Thorntown.

On 19 March 1861, Newby Hunt platted “Hunt’s Addition” at the west edge of town on the north side of Main Street. Each of the addition’s six lots were by 82.5 feet by 165 feet, except one which was an extra sixteen feet long because it did not require alley access. Half of the lots fronted right on Main Street. Once again, he had moderate success selling town lots, despite the fact the Civil War broke out less than a month after Newby platted his addition. On 25 June 1861, Newby sold lot 1 for \$250, and lot 2 the next day for \$200. He sold another lot for \$150 in 1864, and one for \$2000 in 1869; presumably the latter sale included a house he had built on the site, for Civil War inflation alone could not have accounted for that price for bare land.

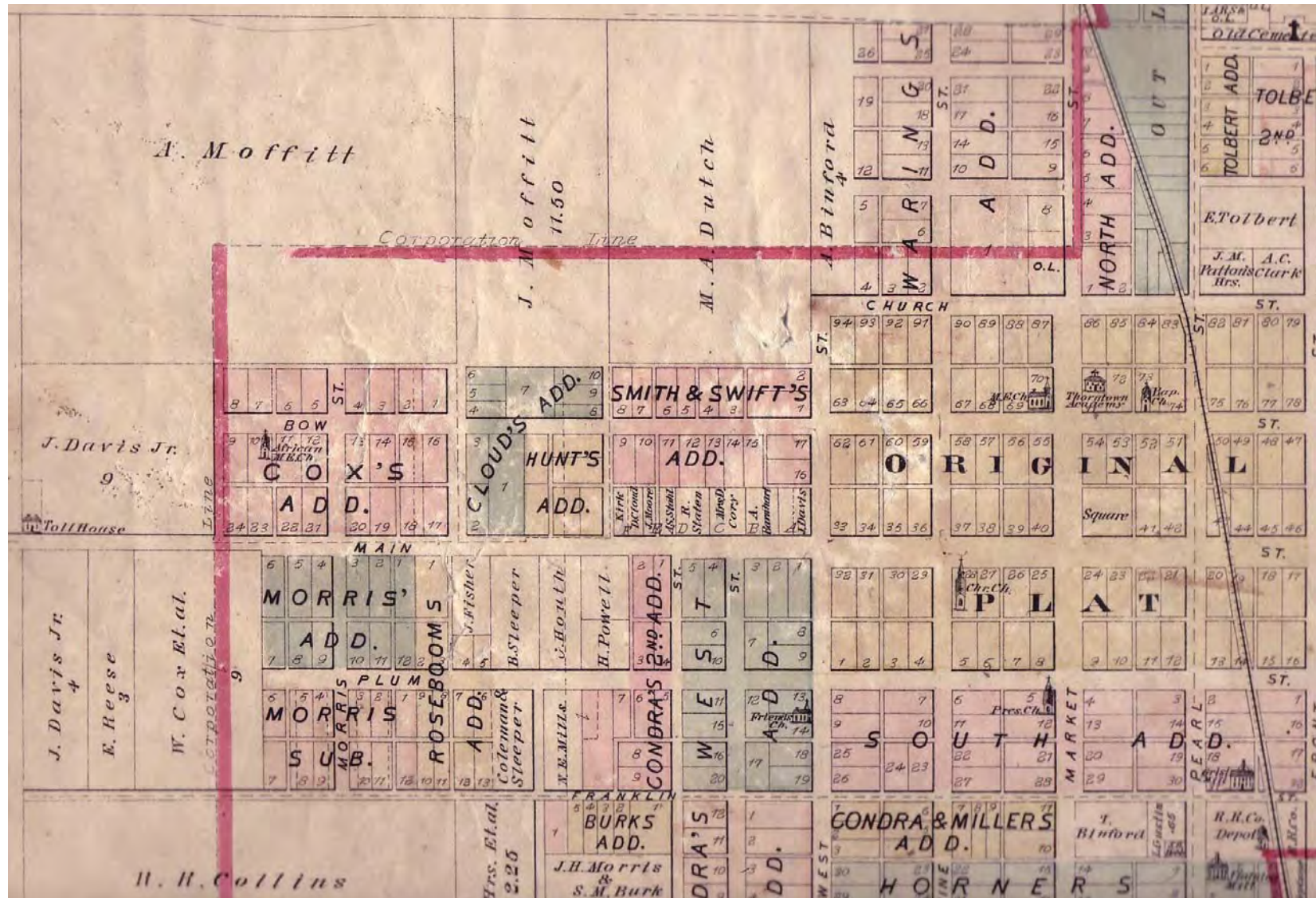
This and other land records indicate that perhaps Newby, probably with his son Nathan, were involved in the construction of houses. On 26 June 1861, Newby sold another parcel from his 81 acres to his daughter-in-law Mary M. Hunt. He charged her \$500 for the 1¼-acre parcel, located immediately west of Hunt’s addition on Main Street. Just nine months later, on 4 March 1862, Nathan T. Hunt and his wife Mary sold the parcel back to Newby Hunt for \$1900. Given the large increase in value, it could be assumed the property had a new house built on it or some other significant improvement.

About this same time, during the March 1862 term of court, Newby Hunt sued a man named Milton E. McCorkle. The court dismissed the case and attorney’s fees were awarded to the defendant McCorkle. Perhaps this had something to do with Newby’s land sales.

On 28 September 1863, Newby Hunt sold off a large chunk on the north side of his 81-acre parcel to Joshua Moffitt for \$3300. The next March Newby bought a lot (presumably with a building) for \$500 on Thorntown’s public square, the same property his son Nathan had purchased and then sold several years before. On 7 April 1865, two days before Lee surrendered to Grant ending the Civil War and eight days before Lincoln was assassinated, Newby Hunt sold the same building to Joseph Hill for \$1000. That same day Newby also sold Hill 3.95 acres immediately west and north of Hunt’s addition (what later would become Cloud’s Addition) for \$5500.

Joseph Hill was a person who Newby Hunt probably wished later he had never met. About eight years younger than Newby, Hill was born in Virginia and had been an early settler in the Thorntown area. According to an account about him in *The History of Boone County* published in 1914, Joseph Hill sold his farm and moved into Thorntown “where the elder Hill went into the hardware business, in which he remained for over two years ...” The person he went into the hardware business with was Newby Hunt. In the 1870 census, the occupation of both Newby Hunt and his son Nathan was listed as “hardware dealer.”

It is not known for certain exactly how long they operated the hardware store, but it was likely from 1868 to its demise in 1871. The partners operated the retail business on Main Street and the store was called “Hunt & Hill.” The building where the business was located is still there today, though many modifications to the structure have likely occurred. It seems pretty clear that neither Hunt nor Hill knew much about running a retail business. All they did was get themselves into a pile of debt. They would have been better suited to run for Congress.



An 1878 plat map for the town of Thorntown, Indiana shows the location of Hunt's addition (slightly left of center). This platted addition to the town was laid out by Newby Hunt in 1861, just weeks before the Civil War broke out.

Things began to go badly right away. In the March 1870 term of the Boone County Circuit Court, the Thorntown Manufacturing and Trading Company filed suit for payment of a \$500 note dating back to 1 January 1869, which “remains wholly unpaid.” The I. Droege & Co. of Covington, Kentucky, a manufacturer of coal and wood cook stoves, had a invoice for \$79.65 dating from May 1870 that was still unpaid seven months later when Hunt & Hill signed a promissory note to pay within 60 days. They never paid it.

But Kimble, Aikman & Company of Indianapolis, a wholesale hardware supplier, did not take the unpaid debts of Hunt & Hill quite so lightly. On 10 April 1871, the company filed suit in U.S. District Court for the District of Indiana in Indianapolis seeking to force Hunt & Hill into bankruptcy. The supplier was owed \$967.77 by Hunt & Hill, the equivalent of over \$17,000 today. The prospects for collecting probably didn’t seem very promising when they filed suit in bankruptcy court. Newspaper advertisements were placed announcing the pending bankruptcy and they eventually would be joined by over two dozen additional creditors of Hunt & Hill.

In an affidavit filed by Kimble, Aikman & Company four days later, the supplier stated “Newby Hunt and Joseph Hill were partners in mercantile business under the firm name Hunt & Hill,” and that “said Hunt was the owner of two thirds of the stock of merchandise and said Hill was the owner of one third of the same.” Perhaps that explains why the firm wasn’t called *Hill & Hunt*. The supplier further claimed in the affidavit that on or about 1 February 1871 “Hunt and Hill sold and transferred all of said stock of goods to one Huffman whose first name is unknown to this affiant and one John Hill, who now claims to hold and own said stock under the firm name of Huffman & Hill.” The Huffman referred to was later identified as Peter Huffman, and John Hill was Joseph Hill’s son, who worked in the store as a clerk.

The affidavit further claimed that Huffman & Hill “executed their promissory notes for the sum of four thousand dollars payable to the son of said Newby Hunt, whose name is Nathan Hunt.” All this was done, they believed, “with the intent to defraud, hinder and delay the creditors of said Hunt & Hill in the collection of their claims.” The supplier was concerned that “the said Nathan Hunt will, unless restrained by order of this court, transfer and assign said notes to other parties before the sums become due and the creditors of said Newby Hunt & Joseph Hill will not be able to secure the proceeds of said notes.” As a result, the court ordered an injunction against both the “pretend” firm of Huffman & Hill and against Nathan Hunt.

Meanwhile, Newby Hunt, being faced with the prospect of being forced into bankruptcy and losing almost everything he had, started pulling some highly questionable shenanigans. For example, it was noted in the March 1871 term of the Circuit Court that Newby had been served papers to appear in court, but was “not found.” Newby had purchased another home not long before all his problems began, buying 18 acres on 22 March 1870 for \$1800 right on the main “gravel road” about a mile west of town. Facing bankruptcy and the prospect of losing his home to pay his creditors, Newby sold the home to his daughter Mary Jane Coffin, who by this time was a young widow and back living at home with her parents. He sold her the house for \$1000 on 27 February 1871.

Unfortunately, Newby Hunt’s creditors saw this simply as a ruse to avoid paying them and were having none of it. Things began to happen very quickly. On 10 May 1871, Newby Hunt was “adjudged a Bankrupt” by the court. Two days later, the court filed an injunction against his daughter Mary Jane to prevent her from selling Newby’s property. People facing bankruptcy were compelled to complete “schedules,” pre-printed forms which they had to fill out to reveal their assets and income. On 13 June 1871, the court requested a warrant be issued directing Newby Hunt to deliver his

schedules after he “failed to deliver” them.

Newby Hunt finally filed his schedules with the court on 30 June 1871. In them, Newby listed his assets and personal property, or more correctly, the lack of them. He claimed he had no cash, no stocks, no horses or livestock, no carriages or wagons, no farm implements, nor any personal property other than the following:

150 Bushels of Corn	45.00
2 Bed steads	10.00
2 Beds and Bedding	20.00
1 Bureau	5.00
2 Stands	2.00
1 Parlor Table	4.00
1 Dining Table	3.00
1 Kitchen Table	1.00
1 Set - Cane Bottom Chairs	5.00
1 Set - Cane Chairs	3.00
2 Rocking chairs	3.00
2 Looking Glasses (<i>i.e.</i> , <i>mirrors</i>)	5.00
1 Parlor carpet	15.00
2 Rug carpets	10.00
1 Lounge	5.00
1 Sofa	10.00
1 Clock	3.00
1 Parlor stove & pipe	5.00
1 Cooking stove & furniture	10.00
1 Lot - cupboard ware	5.00
2 Wash tubs & Wash Board	2.00
1 Churn	1.00
1 Lot Books	10.00
	<u>10.00</u>
	\$182.00

The Bankruptcy Act of 1867, the current law of the time, allowed for a person declared a “bankrupt” by the federal court to have all “property and estate, both real and personal” seized and sold by his creditors, but exempted the seizure of “necessary household and kitchen furniture” and the “wearing apparel of such bankrupt, and that of his wife and children.” The list of property, worth a total of \$182, which Newby Hunt provided the court was exempted from seizure. He lost everything else. In all likelihood, Newby had not been very forthcoming about his assets, and his creditors probably would have liked to look in the barns of Newby’s children and close friends.

The schedules listed a total of 27 creditors, mostly manufacturers and wholesale suppliers, but also included several farmers, a harness maker, miller, carpenter, furniture dealer, druggist, grocer, carriage maker, iron foundry and plow manufacturer. Hunt & Hill seemed to specialize in stoves since there were three stove dealers listed among their creditors. The debts were all for the years 1869 and 1870, so one might surmise that by 1871, no one would sell them anything on credit anymore. Newby and his partner were also in arrears \$45.68 for state and county taxes for the year 1870. Even John J. Hill, Joseph Hill’s son who worked in the store, had not been paid his wages, and John had to join the growing list of creditors seeking money from the failed store.

On the same day Newby Hunt filed his schedules, John W. Ray, one of the Registers in Bankruptcy



Top, Thorntown, Indiana in the 1890s. The location of the former Hunt & Hill hardware business was just out of the picture to the right. Bottom, the main street of Thorntown as it looked in 2007. The hardware store would have been located in the building right behind the red pickup. The building with the grocery store in the top photo can still be identified in the bottom photo (behind the white vehicle) though some of the building's roof facades have changed.

of the U.S. District Court for Indiana assigned the assets of Newby Hunt and Joseph Hill to their creditors. The court “do hereby convey and assign to the said John B. Aikman, Assignee as aforesaid, all the estate, real and personal, of the said Newby Hunt & Joseph Hill, Bankrupts aforesaid, including all the property of whatever kind of which they are possessed, or in which they are interested, or entitled to, on the 10th day of April A.D. 1871, with all their deeds, books and papers relating thereto, excepting such property as is exempted from the operation of this assignment by the provisions of said Fourteenth Section of said Act.” On 21 July 1871, the creditors filed a petition with the court stating they now had possession of the stock “of hardware, stoves, and tinware, and chinaware” from the store and estimated its value at \$3300 and requested permission from the court to hold a “private sale and in bulk” for the items instead of an auction. In another place in the document, the stock was described as “hardware, iron stoves, tinware and Queensware.”

Filed as part of his schedules was an affidavit from Newby Hunt, explaining his side of the mess he was in, and why he should not be held liable for any of the debts of Hunt & Hill:

About one year since I became paralyzed and unable to attend personally to business and on the 31st day of Dec 1870 I sold all my interest in the firm of Hunt & Hill to N. T. Hunt and took from him an agreement that he would become liable for and pay all the debts of the firm for which I was liable and sold and transferred to him all my right to the books, papers, accounts etc. of the firm so as to be relieved from all liability and all connection with business. On the 23rd day of February 1871 Nathan T. Hunt sold all his interest in said firm to Elijah & Joseph Hill transferring to them all the books, papers, accounts etc. and the taking from them an agreement dated on that day that they would assume and buy all the liabilities of the firm and this affiant felt that he was released from the payment of the liabilities herein set forth by these contracts and has since the date set forth been neither in a physical or mental condition to give attention to the same & is now [&] has been for many months a complete invalid.

How much of that was true is not known to us today, nor possibly was it known to the people of Thorntown in 1871. But it is clear that the creditors weren’t buying it. They filed a request of the court on 16 August 1871 for the “examination” of several of the key individuals in the bankruptcy, i.e. an opportunity to question them. Their reasons for wanting to do so was based on the claims that “said Bankrupts have not made a true & correct schedule of all their assets and that said Bankrupts have fraudulently conveyed away certain property with the intent to defraud their creditors.” They were talking about Newby Hunt, and they were probably correct.

How many of the participants in the extremely complicated bankruptcy were questioned is not known, and not all the records from the case may have been saved. Only a transcript of the examination of Mary J. Coffin, Newby Hunt’s daughter, was found among the records which are housed today in the National Archives in Chicago. The creditors were especially interested in Newby’s sale of his home to his daughter. At a time when recording equipment did not exist, the transcript was presumably written in real time by a clerk as the attorney for the creditors questioned Mary Jane and she answered. That would explain the awful handwriting, since the original transcript looks like it was written by a beagle.

The examination of Mary Jane Coffin took place in the District Courthouse in Indianapolis on 28 August 1871 before John W. Ray, one of the court’s Registers. Portions of the fascinating transcript are replicated here:

How long have you lived in Thorntown?	For twenty three years past.
With whom have you lived?	With my father and mother, Newby and Sarah Hunt, except about two years when I lived away from home, being married.
Where did you live during that absence?	I lived near Greenfield in Hancock County, Indiana.
During what years did you live there?	1867 and 1868.
What was your husband's occupation?	He was a physician.
Is he still living?	No sir, he died in April 1868.
How long had he been practicing medicine?	About two years.
Did he die in Hancock County?	Yes sir.
What was the date of his death?	April 18, 1868.
Who administered upon his estate?	There was no administration.
Had you any children?	I had one child.
What was the amount of the estate that came to your hands?	Five hundred dollars.
Have you lived with your father ever since?	I have.
What has been the cost of your living per annum?	It has not been a great deal, \$25.
How did you invest this money?	I loaned it.
To whom?	To my brother Thomas E. Hunt.
When?	In the spring of 1869.
How had it been invested previous to that time? (Objected to by attorney for Newby Hunt)	I had it in my own hands.
Did you keep it in the house all this time, this \$500?	I had it in my own hands, except for a few months I loaned it to a friend.
State the name of the friend?	Emily Brown residing near Thorntown.
Has Thomas E. Hunt this money yet?	He has not.
What has been done with it?	I have invested it.
How?	In land.
Where?	Near Thorntown, Indiana.
How much land did you purchase?	Eighteen acres.
How much did you pay for it?	\$1000.

Has that money all been paid?	No, it has not, only \$500.
When was that paid?	Three hundred dollars was paid about the middle of last March, the balance about the 1 st of May 1871.
Then there is \$500 still due?	No, I do not consider there is anything due. I paid the balance by rendering services to my father during his sickness.
When?	For the last two years and better.
Were the services rendered to the conveyance of the land?	They were.
What were these services?	Waiting on him in various ways, giving him treatment for the last two years and better.
Where did you board during these two years?	I did not board at all, I lived with my father.
Who furnished your clothes?	He furnished them.
Did he furnish your clothes and board and pay you \$250 per year for your services?	Yes sir.
Was he in such condition that he had to be waited on for the past two years?	Yes sir, constantly day and night a great part of the time.
Has he not been able to go out until within the last 60 days?	He has been able to go out some days.
Have you been present with him all the time for the past two years?	I have constantly with the exception of perhaps two weeks or better.
Do you not know it to be a fact that he has been able to go out and transact his own business during all that time?	He has been able to transact all business that came before him, but yet he has required constant care and attention all the time in the way of treatment.
How old is he?	He is in his 73 rd year.
Has his physical debility affected his mind?	It has not.
Who was present when you paid him this money?	My two brothers and my sister-in-law.
Where was it paid?	It was paid at my brother Nathan's. We were living there then.
What did your father do with this money?	I cannot tell.
Was there nothing said about what he did with it?	There was not.

Was there nothing said about the time of the transfer of this property to you about putting it in your name to prevent it going to his creditors?	There was nothing said about it.
Did you not know when this property was transferred to you that your father was hopelessly insolvent?	No sir.
Do you say you did not know he was in debt?	No sir, I did not know he was in debt.
Did you ever hear him speak of his business affairs?	No sir.
Was you with him all the time?	I was with him, but perhaps some time of the day I was not. Whenever he required my attention I was with him.
You say you lived in the family with him two years, and all that time you say he never spoke of his business affairs?	I do not remember now anything he said about his business.
Then you do remember of having heard him say something?	He may have spoken of his business to me in the past, but I do not remember anything he said in regard to it.
Who first proposed to convey this property to you, this 18 acres?	I did. I proposed to buy it.
What was the proposition you made to pay for it?	I proposed to take it at whatever he had a mind to value it to me.
On what terms did he agree to sell it to you?	At \$500 that I paid and the rest my services that I have rendered to him.
What agreement did you make for payment for your services when you went to live with him?	Not any.
Did you ever make an agreement at any subsequent time?	I did not.
Did you know at that time of his having any other real estate?	I did not.
Did you ever hear anything said about his owning real estate in town?	I did not.
Do you not know it to be the fact that he, within the last year, owned 160 acres of land in town?	I do not know it to be a fact.
Did you never hear anything said in the family about any town land?	I have not.

Did any other members of the family own any land in town?	No, not that I knew of.
When was this 18 acres of land conveyed to you? (Objected to by attorney for Newby Hunt)	In February 1871, I think.

It is not clear from reading the transcript of Mary Jane's testimony whether the attorneys for the creditors were able to accomplish much or not. They certainly didn't "crack" her or trap her in an obvious lie. She stuck with her story that she had purchased her father's 18 acres of land partly with the \$500 cash she had received as a settlement after her husband died, and partly in exchange for caring for her invalid father. Despite her father being declared bankrupt by the courts and having had his assets seized two months prior, Mary Jane testified under oath that she knew nothing about any of that. Probably no one in the courtroom believed it.

The court, after having considered the testimony and the other evidence, ultimately decided against Newby Hunt. Strangely, their decision was not found in the District Court records but in the Boone County deed books (v.19, p.217), where a deed refers to the transfer of land from Newby Hunt to his daughter Mary Jane Coffin on 27 February 1871 and that "on that day with the intent to cheat and defraud his creditors said Hunt being then greatly in debt and in contemplation of insolvency and bankruptcy, and without consideration, conveyed the said land to said Mary Jane Coffin; that said Mary had notice of said fraud." The deed noted that on 15 December 1871, the court "did set aside and annul the said conveyance aforesaid and did order and direct the said defendant within twenty days" to turn the property over to the creditors. Twenty days elapsed "and said Mary J. Coffin having failed to comply with the order," the court seized the land and conveyed it to the creditors.

On 21 February 1872, after Newby Hunt and his surviving sons had moved to Springfield, Illinois, they tried one last desperate ploy to keep Newby's 18 acres from being sold by the creditors. Newby's son Cyrus and his wife Lulu filed a deed back in Boone County, Indiana, selling the land to Newby's other son Thomas for \$1500, the deed mentioning the sale was made "by virtue of the Laws of the State of Illinois approved February 11th A.D. 1851, entitled 'An Act to exempt homesteads from sale on Execution.'" Different states had different laws concerning bankruptcy, and the brothers were citing Illinois law, which had a "homestead exemption" which Indiana apparently lacked. Why Illinois law was supposed to apply in Indiana, or why Cyrus even had the right to sell the 18 acres remain unknown. The bankruptcy court didn't think enough of the deed to even mention it in their records.

On 1 March 1872, the creditors received the court's permission to sell the 18 acres Newby had previously owned "at private sale if possible and if not at public sale." The creditors advertised the sale in the *Lebanon Patriot* newspaper (Lebanon was, and remains, the county seat for Boone County) and with handbills placed "in not less than five public places in said county of Boone." On 7 May 1872, they held a private sale for the property, but having received "no satisfactory offer," sold the property at public auction the same day for \$1500 to John Wiles. Joseph Hill's property, also seized by the creditors, was sold on 20 November 1872 for \$2100.

Besides dealing with the bankrupt partners' real estate, the creditors had tried to collect some of the money that had been owed Hunt & Hill by the hardware store's customers. In a petition to the District Court on 24 October 1872, the creditors reported having collected \$225 from some accounts but noted "expenses for time and counsel will nearly equal said amount collected." The creditors further noted "that many of said accounts, appearing, open on the books, are alleged by the parties indebted to have



For years there were a lot of unanswered questions concerning Newby Hunt and his son Nathan T. Hunt and their hardware business in Thorntown, Indiana in the early 1870s. There were clues indicating something bad had happened as a result of owning this business. There were a number of lawsuits, Nathan suddenly died, Newby disappeared and Nathan's wife Mary was disowned by her fellow Quakers, all within a short period of time. The mystery about what happened would be cleared up with a trip to the National Archives in Chicago, Illinois. There, buried in their archives, was a large bundle of 140-year-old documents dealing with a federal bankruptcy action for Newby Hunt and Joseph Hill, partners in a hardware business at Thorntown. Before providing them, the papers were "processed," i.e., vacuumed to remove a heavy layer of black soot. The archives staff thought the papers had originally been stored in a basement near a coal furnace, and that they had collected a coating of coal dust on them. Cloth gloves are typically provided for archive patrons in order to protect old documents from being handled. In this case, it was more to protect the patron.

**In the District Court of the United States,
FOR THE DISTRICT OF INDIANA.**

IN THE MATTER OF

*Newby Hunt
Joseph Hill*

IN BANKRUPTCY. 1261.

Against whom a Petition for Adjudication of Bankruptcy was
filed on the *10* day of *April*, A. D. 18 *71*

District of Indiana, ss:

Upon filing proofs sustaining the allegations of the Petition aforesaid, it is
ORDERED, that the said

Newby Hunt and Joseph Hill

do appear at this Court, as a Court of Bankruptcy, to be holden at
Indianapolis, in the County of *Marion*,
and State of Indiana, and District aforesaid, on the *25* day of
April 18 *71*, at *10* o'clock *A. M.*, and show
cause, if any there be, why the prayer of said Petition should not be granted.

And it is Further Ordered, That a copy of said Petition, together with a
copy of this Order be served on said

Newby Hunt and Joseph Hill

by delivering the same to ^{them} personally, or by leaving the same at ^{their} last usual
place of abode, in said District, at least five days previous to the day herein
required for ^{their} appearance.

A court order was issued on 10 April 1871 requiring Newby Hunt and Joseph Hill, who were partners in the Thorntown, Indiana hardware business of Hunt & Hill, appear in federal court in Indianapolis fifteen days later. The hardware business had made it a habit of ordering products on credit and not paying their bills.

EXEMPTED PROPERTY.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES,

For the _____ District of Indiana:

In the Matter of

1261

IN BANKRUPTCY.

Newby Hunt

Bankrupt,

At Indianapolis on the 7 day of March 1872

District of Indiana, ss:

The following is a Schedule of property designated and set apart to be retained by the Bankrupt aforesaid, as his own property, under the provisions of the 14th Section of the Act of Congress entitled "An Act to establish a uniform system of Bankruptcy throughout the United States," approved March 2, 1867:

GENERAL HEAD.	PARTICULAR DESCRIPTION.	VALUE.	
		Dollars.	Cents.
Necessary Household and Kitchen Furniture.	45 ⁰⁰ 1 ⁰⁰ 3 ⁰⁰ 150 lbs Corn, 2 breastings, 2 breastings	75	00
	1 ⁵⁰ 2 ⁰⁰ 4 ⁰⁰ 1 bureau, 2 stands, 1 Parlor table	11	00
	3 ⁰⁰ 1 ⁰⁰ 5 ⁰⁰ 1 Dining table, 1 Kitchen table, 1 set of chairs	9	00
Other articles and necessities.	3 ⁰⁰ 3 ⁰⁰ 5 ⁰⁰ 1 set of chairs, 2 Rovers, 2 Sockings	11	00
	15 ⁰⁰ 1 ⁰⁰ 5 ⁰⁰ 1 Parlor carpet, 2 Rug carpets, 1 lounge	30	00
	1 ⁰⁰ 3 ⁰⁰ 5 ⁰⁰ 1 Sofa, 1 chair, 1 Parlor stove & pipe	18	00
	1 ⁰⁰ 5 ⁰⁰ 1 Corset & furniture, 1 set of furniture	15	00
Wearing apparel of Bankrupt and his family.	2 Wools & work bound	2	00
	1 ⁰⁰ 1 ⁰⁰ 1 Chain, 1 lot books	11	00
Equipment, if any, as a Soldier.		182	00
Other property exempted by the laws of the United States.			
Property exempt by State laws.			

Set off by assignee July 5, 1871

Filed & approved March 7, 1872

J. M. Ray
Register

Federal bankruptcy law at the time permitted those being declared bankrupt to keep "necessary household and kitchen furniture" and their clothes as exempted property, i.e., not subject to seizure by their creditors. Newby Hunt declared \$182.00 in personal items which the court exempted.

List of Proofs and Claims for Dividend.

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES,

For the

District of Indiana:

IN THE MATTER OF

1261
IN BANKRUPTCY.

Beant & Hill

At *Indianapolis*, in said District, on the *2^d* day
of *June*, A. D. 18*75*

A list of debts proved and claimed under the Bankruptcy of *Newby Hunt* and
Joseph Hill, aforesaid, with *The Final*
Dividends at the rate of *43.5* per cent. this day declared thereon by
John W. Ray, one of the Registers in Bankruptcy of
said District Court.

No.	CREDITORS.	Sum Proved.		Dividend.	
		Dollars.	Cents.	Dollars.	Cents.
	Anderson Schofield & Bullock	442	74	192	88
	Barker Elias C.	118	18	47	09
	Browning & Sloan	263	49	114	82
	Callins Rowland R.	571	80	223	05
	Callins Rowland R.	299	70	130	59
	Cutrer Thomas	330	05	143	81
	Dreaged & Co	8000		34	85
	Dorsey Robert S.	354	6	15	44
	Dorsey Joseph S.				
	Hill John J.	202	70	88	27
	Holliday W. J. & Co	5000		5000	
	Hauska Henry C.	857	60	373	62
	Hildebrand & Fugate	154	41	67	25
	Hosover & Dickinson	5000		5000	
	Hutchings John	116	67	50	82
	Hutchings John	370	80	161	55
	Hutchings John	47	55	20	70
	Hutchings John	87	43	38	07
	Hutchings John & Co	967	77	422	29
	Lincoln James R.	78	20	34	05
	Over & Co	313	55	136	62
	Rausdell & Smalls	25	23	10	99
	Smiles William W.	19	50	8	48
	Thurston "Mfg" Co	14	00	6	09
	Woods A. S.	631	94	275	31
		106	78	46	94
		6166	57	2743	55

Rec'd by
 Register in Bankruptcy.

I. Droege. EXPRESS CHARGES MUST BE PREPAID. C. Bogenschutz.

EXCELLENT

With Patent Dumping and Shaking Grate. Has the Largest Oven of any Stove in Market.

COAL & WOOD COOK STOVE.

All bills not paid within 30 days will be drawn for at sight at the expiration of that time, adding cost of collecting.

Bought of I. DROEGE & CO.
MANUFACTURERS OF
STOVES AND HOLLOW-WARE,
SAMPLE & SALESROOM: Nos. 27, 29 & 31 WEST SEVENTH STREET,
Between Madison and Washington, near K. C. R. R. Depot.

Covington, Ky. June 25 1875.

Mass Hunt & Hill Thornton Bldg

1870 May.	24	4 #7 Early Birds St	12	48
	2	#8 " " "	16	32
	12	Doz 7 in Tea Kettles	8	4
	12	" 8 " " "	9	4.50
				88.50
				88.50 79.65

by of
Hunt &
Hill

real note
bankruptcy
original

the persons by or agent
filed, at and before the filing
justly and truly indebted
Droege Partner

The bankruptcy documents offered a few invoices from creditors as evidence. This invoice, prepared in 1875 but dating back to products purchased in May 1870, was from I. Droege & Company of Covington, Kentucky. The hardware business of Hunt & Hill seemed to specialize in stoves, tinware and chinaware, and this invoice is typical of products they purchased. Listed on the invoice were four #7 stoves at \$12 each and two #8 stoves at \$16 each, different models of cast iron kitchen cookstoves. Also on the invoice were a half dozen 7-inch tea kettles and a half dozen 8-inch tea kettles, at \$8 and \$9 per dozen respectively. Hunt & Hill received a ten percent discount, possibly because of the size of the order, for a total of \$79.65. That would be the equivalent of \$1356 today.

Dollars. Cts.

I have one year since I became paralyzed and unable to attend personally to business and on the 1st day of Dec 1870 I sold all my interest in the firm of Hunt & Hill to N. Hunt and took from him an agreement that he would become liable for and pay all the debts of the firm for which I was liable and sold and transferred to him all my rights to the books, papers, account &c of the firm so as to be released from all liability and all connection with business. On the 23rd day of February 1871 Nathan Hunt sold all his interest in said firm to Elijah Joseph Hill transferring to him all the books, papers, accounts and taking from them an agreement dated on that day that they would assume and pay all the liabilities of the firm and the affiant felt that he was released from the payment of the liabilities herein set forth by these contracts and has since the date set forth been neither in a physical or mental condition to give attention to the same or has been for many months a complete invalid.

Newby Hunt
This Indenture Witnesseth, That *Newby Hunt* and *Sarah Hunt*
 his wife of *Boone* County, in the State of *Indiana*
Convey and Warrant to *Mary J Coffin*
 of *Boone* County, in the State of *Indiana*
 for the sum of *One Thousand* Dollars, the following **REAL ESTATE,**
 in *Boone County, in the State of Indiana:* to-wit: Beginning *One Hundred and twenty*
Six (126) links East of the North West corner of Section Three (3) in Township
Nineteen (19) North of Range two (2) West. thence South Fourteen Hundred
and ninety five (1495) links, thence East Six Hundred and forty six (646) links
thence North Twenty Seven Hundred and eighty five (2785) links to the Grand
road, thence West Six Hundred and forty six (646) links, thence South
Thirteen Hundred (1300) links to the place of beginning containing
five and $\frac{92}{100}$ acres in the North West quarter of the North East quarter of
Section Three, Township Nineteen (19); and eight $\frac{28}{100}$ acres in the South
West quarter of the South East quarter of Section Thirty four (34) in Township
twenty (20) North of Range two (2) West.
In Witness Whereof, The said *Newby Hunt* and *Sarah Hunt* his wife
 have hereunto set their hands and seals, this *27th* day of *February*, *1871*.
 [SEAL] *Newby Hunt* [SEAL]
 [SEAL] *Sarah Hunt* [SEAL]

Among the bankruptcy documents was an affidavit signed by Newby Hunt, top, explaining his side of the bankruptcy, and providing a pretty lame excuse for why he should not be held liable for any of the debts of the Hunt & Hill hardware business. He claimed he had become “paralyzed” a year before and had been “unable to attend personally to business” and that he sold his interest in the business to his son Nathan and that Nathan had become liable for all the debts of the business. He further claimed that Nathan, in turn, sold the interest in the business to Joseph Hill and his son, and that because of this, they were “released from the payment of the liabilities.” Playing the sympathy card, Newby also claimed he was and had been “for many months a complete invalid.” After wiping the tears from their faces, the creditors were not buying a single word of Newby’s claims. They argued in court documents that Newby Hunt had sold his home and property to his widowed daughter so as to avoid having it seized (bottom). The creditors eventually prevailed and Newby Hunt’s property was seized from the daughter and sold at auction.

been already settled and paid, and the loose manner in which said books have been kept renders it next to impossible to determine which are valid and which are worthless.” The remaining accounts for the hardware store were later sold to the highest bidder.

The creditors were not finally paid until June 1875. They had collected a total of \$5920.74, the bulk of which came from the real estate of Newby Hunt and Joseph Hill, and the sale of the inventory from the store. In the four years the bankruptcy process went on, the creditors incurred considerable expenses, to the extent that only \$2792.43 was available to distribute to the 22 remaining creditors. They ended up receiving less than 45¢ on the dollar for their efforts.

The bankruptcy mostly affected Newby Hunt, though it seems all three of his sons were involved in the hardware business. In the flurry of lawsuits that were filed in the Boone County court in 1871 and 1872, the names of sons Nathan, Thomas and Cyrus were listed as suing or being sued by others involved in the debacle.

Sometime in late 1871 or early 1872, Newby Hunt, his wife Sarah, and their sons Thomas and Cyrus, moved to Springfield, the state capitol of Illinois and Abraham Lincoln’s hometown. Unlike with their other moves, this time the family would have likely ridden the train to Springfield, assuming they somehow came up with the money to do it. In the 1872-1873 edition of the Springfield city directory, the family was living at 306 S. 6th Street, with Newby listed as a boarder with his son Thomas. The records of the Society of Friends back in Thorntown never mentioned their move. As far as can be determined, Newby was never disowned for his problems, but the Quaker records were interestingly quiet regarding him.

Both Newby and Sarah Hunt died in Springfield, Illinois. An obituary appeared in the *Illinois State Journal* newspaper, listing a “Mrs. Sarah Hunt” who died 21 October 1873 at age 71. Sarah missed her 72nd birthday by a mere ten days. Cemetery records confirm the date of death and indicate Sarah died of an “internal rupture.”

Another edition of the Springfield city directory, for the years 1873-1874, indicates that Newby and his two sons all lived in different locations in Springfield. Newby was living on the north side of Jackson Street between 14th and 15th Streets. In the 1874-1875 directory, Newby Hunt was living on the east side of 8th Street between Cook and Edwards Streets. In both the 1875 and 1876 directories he was listed as boarding at 1220 Edwards Street.

Newby Hunt died 30 November 1876 at age 79, and cemetery records indicate he died of “lung fever.” Lung fever is an old term for pneumonia. He and his wife Sarah are buried next to one another in Block 7, Lot 103 of Oak Ridge Cemetery in Springfield. It is one of the most famous and visited cemeteries in the nation since a guy named Abraham Lincoln is buried there, and Lincoln’s Tomb is a popular tourist attraction in the town. The cemetery records indicate Newby Hunt was a resident of the city of Springfield at the time he died.

The children of Newby Hunt and Sarah Stanley were (the first four were born in Guilford County, North Carolina; the others in Indiana):

i. **Nancy Ann Hunt**

Born 17 Jun 1821, Nancy Ann (who was called *Nancy* as a child in Quaker records, was listed as *Nancy Ann* when she married, and then seems to have always gone by *Ann*) married while the family still lived at Annapolis, Indiana. Her husband, Elijah Barker, was born 24 Jan 1826, the son of Isaac Barker



30.	Newby Hunt.	80.	Lung Fever.
7. 103.	North Carolina.	Late Residence city.	

Newby Hunt and his wife Sarah are buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery in Springfield, Illinois, where they moved after the bankruptcy debacle in Thorntown. After going through the entrance to the cemetery, top, one can go see Lincoln's Tomb, next. The cemetery records indicate Newby died at the age of 80 (he was actually 79) from "lung fever" (pneumonia). He and his wife Sarah are buried next to one another in Block 7, Lot 103. The cemetery records indicate his North Carolina nativity and that he had lived in the city of Springfield.

and Mary Cox, and he came from Boone County, Indiana to marry Nancy Ann. The couple married on 10 May 1849 at the Bloomfield Meeting House, when she was nearly 28 years old and he was 23. Skeptical types might suspect he was imported to save the lady from becoming a spinster. After their wedding, the couple returned to his home in Boone County, and it is conjecture that this is the reason the rest of the Hunt family later moved there. The couple had one daughter, Elmina, born 19 Aug 1850. It appears that “Ann Barker” left her husband after a short time since she and her daughter Elmina had their membership transferred back to Bloomfield Monthly Meeting on 3 July 1852. A year later, she and her daughter moved back to Boone County, near Thorntown, with the rest of the Hunt family. Elijah Barker died 20 Jun 1857, and at the time of the 1860 census, Ann was living with her family without her child, who can’t be found in that census, but was alive. On 26 Mar 1868, Ann married (2) William Lewis, who had lost his wife Betsy (the daughter of William Morris and Percy Edmundson) and was still left with some of his ten children at home. At the time of the 1870 census, the family was living in Hendricks County, Indiana near the town of Clayton. The daughter Elmina Barker married Jesse Cox on 6 Jul 1869 in Boone County and at the time of the 1880 census, Ann Lewis was a widow and living with her daughter Elmina and her family in Burr Oak Township, Jewell County, Kansas. On 29 Jun 1882, Ann married (3) Lancaster Bell and lived near the tiny town of Bangor, Iowa the remainder of her life. In the 1900 census, she was living with her granddaughter, and the census taker noted her one child was dead by that time. She was still alive at the time of the 1910 census, still living with a granddaughter. She died 8 Oct 1912 at age 91 and is likely buried in Marshall County, Iowa.

- ii. **Rozilla Hunt** Born 2 Sep 1823, Rozilla died on 26 Jul 1844 when she was 20 years old while the family lived in Parke County, Indiana. The Quaker records at Bloomfield noted she died of “congestive fever,” which was an old term for malaria. She was buried in the Bloomfield burial ground near Bloomingdale, Indiana.
- + iii. **Nathan T. Hunt** Born 2 Mar 1825, Nathan was our direct ancestor.
- iv. **Martha Hunt** Born 21 Oct 1827, Martha died on 13 Oct 1852 while the family still lived in Parke County, Indiana near Annapolis when she was nearly 25. She died of “consumption,” an old term for tuberculosis, and was buried at the Bloomfield meeting cemetery.
- v. **Thomas Elwood Hunt** Born 16 Aug 1830, Thomas did not accompany the rest of the family in the move to Thorntown in 1853. Rather, he stayed in Parke County near the town of Annapolis where he had been working as a “ginner,” probably in one of the woolen mills there. On 16 Nov 1854, he married Rachel Haines in a civil ceremony in Parke County. Rachel was the daughter of

William and Nancy Haines from Ohio, where Rachel was born 15 Sep 1834 based on her death record. On 9 Jan 1856, Bloomfield Monthly Meeting recorded that Thomas “has been deficient in plainness of dress and address, has neglected the attendance of our religious meetings, has sued at law a member of our society, has been legally charged with unchaste conduct, and has accomplished his marriage contrary to our discipline for which he has been treated with without the desired effect. We therefore disown him from being a member with us.” Thomas and Rachel moved to Indianapolis, where he was at the time of the 1860 census with his wife and two sons Albert and Edwin. His occupation was listed as a tool manufacturer. His son Albert L. Hunt died when he was six years old, and the boy was buried at the Sugar Plain Friends Cemetery near Thorntown on 9 Feb 1862, so Thomas and his family may have moved there by then. The family has not been located at the time of 1870 census, but it is likely he was still living in the area of Thorntown as his sister Mary Jane testified she loaned him money in 1869. After his father’s bankruptcy, Thomas E. Hunt was living in the city of Springfield, Illinois and appears for several years in the city directories there. He was a partner with Robert Young in the company Hunt & Young in Springfield, which was a wholesale and retail dealer in central and southern Illinois for “Elias Howe’s Improved Sewing Machine.” They had a shop on Monroe Street in Springfield between 5th and 6th Streets. Sewing machines had become the rage by this time, and there were about six sewing machine dealers in the city, including one for Howe’s major competitor, Singer. Thomas was later listed as an agent, and then a manager, for the Howe Sewing Machine Company, so presumably he went to work for the company directly. Thomas’ wife Rachel died in Springfield on 5 Mar 1875 at age 40 from “chronic diarrhea” and was buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery. By the time of the 1876 city directory, Thomas was listed as a laborer. He soon left Illinois and moved to Colorado, where Thomas and his only child, 23-year-old Edward W. Hunt, were living in Denver at the time of the 1880 census. Thomas, whom the census taker noted had bronchitis, was listed as a widower and a “trader” by occupation. Thomas was still there in an 1881 city directory, but there is no further record. The son Edward seems to have preceded his father to Denver (1879 directory) and may have been there until 1890 (there are two persons with that name in the 1890 city directory). Edward was listed in the 1910 census farming near tiny Colonias, New Mexico about 100 miles east of Albuquerque, and was likely the Edward Hunt listed in the 1920 census working as a hired man in Yolo County, California. He evidently never married.

vi. **Elmina Hunt**

Born 23 Sep 1832, Elmina died on 6 Dec 1832 when she was

- 2½ months old and buried in the Mill Creek burial ground near Amo, Indiana. The records for this child have been confused by others since a transcription of her death record listed her name as “Elvira” and Heiss’ abstracts of the Indiana Quaker records listed Elmina’s name as one of the six children in her family granted a certificate to Bloomfield meeting in 1840 (the child was actually Cyrus). Sadly, Elmina was the first of four children in a row to die while 1-3 months old.
- vii. **William Hunt** Born 17 Aug 1834, William died 1 Oct 1834 while about six weeks old. The child was probably buried at the Mill Creek burial ground, though the records on that are not clear.
- viii. **Lindley Hunt** Born 17 Feb 1836, Lindley (a son) died 16 May 1836 at 3 months of age. The infant was buried in the small Spring burial ground near the abandoned town of Springtown.
- ix. **Zenith Hunt** Born 14 Oct 1837, Zenith (a son) died 6 Dec 1837 while less than two months old, and was buried in the Spring burial ground.
- x. **Cyrus E. Hunt** Born 2 Jul 1839, Cyrus married Mary F. Ramey on 13 Jan 1863 in a civil ceremony in Montgomery County, Indiana. Mary was the daughter of John and Rachel Ramey, who lived in the town of Darlington, just ten miles west of Thorntown, where he was a “merchandiser” in the 1860 census. Mary was young, probably about 17-18 years old, when she married Cyrus. Because he married outside the Quaker faith, Cyrus was disowned by the Sugar Plain Monthly Meeting on 23 Mar 1864. Evidently Mary died sometime soon after (or possibly as a result of) giving birth to a daughter Mattie. In the 1870 census, Cyrus, age 30, was living with his parents at Thorntown, with his daughter Mattie, age 6 (she was probably younger than that). Cyrus was listed as a “sewing machine agent.” Cyrus accompanied his parents and brother Thomas in the move to Springfield, Illinois. The 1873-1874 city directory listed him living in the city and as an agent for The Howe Machine Company (his brother Thomas was the manager of the company). He was similarly listed through 1876, living at 605 S. 8th Street. About 1871, he remarried to someone name Lulu (born in Virginia about 1846), last name unknown. No marriage record has been found for this marriage, but she may have been Lulu Mahon (age 22, born Virginia) living in Quincy, Illinois at the time of the 1870 census. This supposition is highly speculative, but since she was listed as a dressmaker, and Cyrus Hunt was an agent for a sewing machine company, he may have called on her. Cyrus and Lulu were listed twice in the 1880 census, living in St. Louis, Missouri. In the first enumeration, on the official census date of June 1st, C. E. Hunt was listed as a cattle trader with a disability of “Fistulate Piles” (hemorrhoids); his 13-year-old daughter Mattie lived with them. The census document was stamped “First Enumeration Rejected,” perhaps because the census taker

didn't write down full names, just initials. The census was taken again on 11 Nov 1880 and "Cyrus Hunt," with wife Lulu and 14-year-old Mattie, was listed as a traveling salesman. Mattie may have been the Mattie Hunt who married J. F. Taylor of St. Francois County, Missouri on 11 Dec 1887 "at the bride's parent's home" in Reynolds County, Missouri. By the time of the 1900 census, Cyrus was farming in Kay County, Oklahoma, near Ponca City. The census taker recorded that he and Lulu, married 29 years, had no children of their own. No further record.

xi. (Infant) Hunt

It was noted in the Bloomfield Monthly Meeting Record of Interments that an "Infant of Nuby Hunt" was buried in row 6, grave number 17 on "9th mo. 16, 1841" (16 Sep 1841) in their cemetery. It was also noted the baby died of "whooping cough," a highly contagious bacterial disease that causes uncontrollable, violent coughing and makes it hard to breathe. A deep "whooping" sound is often heard when the victim tries to take a breath, especially in children. The fact the baby was not mentioned by name, or at least one the clerk of the meeting knew about, would imply the child died soon after birth. Heiss' abstracted Quaker records indicate the name of this child was Mary Jane, but the original meeting records have no such reference. This confusion likely came from the fact that the meeting's membership roll showed Mary Jane as the youngest child in the family, without a birth date, so someone assumed she must have been the child who died. Sugar Plain meeting in Boone County, where the family later moved, recorded Mary Jane's birth (see next) two and a half years later.

xii. Mary Jane Hunt

Born 7 Feb 1844, Mary Jane was the person who gave the testimony in District Court concerning her father's bankruptcy case. On 20 Dec 1866, she married Anderson Miller Coffin, who was born 15 Oct 1843, the son of Nathan Coffin and Mary Wheeler. Anderson, as well as two of his brothers, was a doctor. Following her marriage, Mary accompanied her husband back to his home in Hancock County, near Greenfield, Indiana, located about twenty miles east of Indianapolis. There, on 18 Apr 1868, Anderson Coffin died after an extended illness described in Mary Jane's testimony. In her testimony, when the attorney had asked Mary Jane "Had you any children?," she answered "I had one child." She spoke in the past tense because a son Anderson Coffin was born to her on 27 Jul 1868, three months after her husband died, but that child died a month later on 26 Aug 1868. Both the husband and child were buried in the Westland Friends cemetery southeast of Greenfield. By the time of the 1870 census, Mary Jane Coffin was back living with her parents at Thorntown. No further record.

Of Newby and Sarah Hunt's twelve children, only five lived to adulthood and married. Three of those were sons, but Cyrus E. Hunt did not have any sons and Thomas E. Hunt's only surviving son never

married. So it was up to the third son and our direct ancestor, Nathan T. Hunt, to carry on the Hunt name in this branch of the family. Because of Nathan, the reader has to endure this painful gibberish.

We will return to the Hunt family and continue with an account of Nathan T. Hunt after another extended “side trip” into the Morris, Edmundson and other families.

Morris and Related Families

Before continuing with the next account regarding a Hunt ancestor, it is again necessary to make a “detour” to describe the ancestry of the wife of Nathan T. Hunt. Her name was Mary Morris, who had, by far, the most interesting family tree presented in this work. After a description of the Bailey, Charles, Nicholson, Albertson, Cornell, Kent, Peirce, Symons, Edmundson and Morris families, we will return to the Hunt family.

Bailey and Charles Families

Bailey Family

The earliest of our Bailey ancestors was William Bailey, who lived in Rhode Island, married there and later moved to North Carolina. For eighty years, his wife Grace was believed to have been the daughter of Hugh Parsons of Portsmouth, Rhode Island. This information was first published in 1887 in the respected *Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island*, and repeated in an 1895 book *Records of the Bailey Family*.

This connection to the Parsons family remains very prevalent. Even the compiler of this work was duped by this misinformation for a number of years, despite the fact that noted genealogist William Perry Johnson had published an undiscovered article in *North Carolina Genealogy* in 1967 pointing out the impossibility of such a connection.

By tradition, William Bailey came from London and was a “weaver of silk ribbon.” Due to a loss of records in Rhode Island during the Revolutionary War, we have little information about William Bailey and his family there. When he married is unknown and his wife’s name is known to us only as Grace, last name unknown. As mentioned previously, it was not *Parsons* as is often claimed. Since Abigail Bailey, the eldest child, was married about 1660, we can estimate that William Bailey and Grace were married by at least 1640. We can further surmise their eight known children were born between 1640 and 1660. A daughter Marcy (or Mercy), apparently the youngest, was married in 1681, so she was evidently born about 1660.

William Bailey lived at Newport, Rhode Island, and land records there show that in 1655 William Bailey purchased land from Gabriel Hicks, “bounded partly by the sea.” The next year, William Bailey Sr. and Gabriel Hicks sold 21 acres in Newport. The designation of “Senior” in the record implies a William Bailey Jr. in the same community, probably a son of William Bailey. North Carolina records verify that William and Grace Bailey did have a son William.

Sometime in the years 1662-1666, the eldest daughter of William and Grace Bailey moved with her husband to Berkeley Precinct in old Albemarle County, North Carolina, (later Perquimans Precinct, then Perquimans County, North Carolina). It is likely that William and Grace Bailey and their other children moved to North Carolina at the same time.

The only reason we know of the family’s move to North Carolina is because of old land records for Albemarle County. The early colonial government of North Carolina encouraged emigration to the colony by offering 50 acres of land free to an individual for every person he transported at his expense to the colony. If a person was wealthy enough to be able to pay the passage of others, he would receive a land grant of 50 acres for each of those he transported. The land, of course, made him even wealthier.

The youngest daughter of William and Grace Bailey, named either Marcy or Mercy depending on which record you believe, married a man named John Stepney in 1681 in North Carolina. The marriage was recorded in the *Births, Marriages, Deaths and Flesh Marks* register for the Perquimans Precinct of old Albemarle County: “*John Stepney ye Son of John & Bennett Stepney of Londo(n) Joynor in ould England & Mercy Bayley daughter of — — Grace Baily of Roade Iland in new England ware — by ye Honabl. John Jenkins Esqr., Governr ye first — 1681.*” Some of the pages of the original document are torn and parts of pages missing, thus the gaps in the above record.

John Stepney appears to have been the one to foot the bill for bringing his future wife's entire family to North Carolina. The land grants often occurred years later, and it is indicated in the Albemarle Book of Warrants & Surveys for 1681-1706 (page 2) in a warrant dated 1694 for Perquimans Precinct: "*John Stepney proved the transportation of eleven persons: John Stepney, & Marcy Stepney, Grace Baley, John Bayley, William Bayley Jun., Saml. Bayley, Exper Bayley, Jane Bayley, Sarah Bayley, Mercy Bayley.*" The name "Exper" is believed to be short for Experience, a daughter. Only ten names are listed, rather than eleven; the person missing is William Bailey (Sr.).

But in a survey record on page 140 of the same volume, William Sr. is listed when it was recorded: "*1694 - To survey for Jno. Stepney, 300 acres for transportation of Jno. Stepney, Mercy Stepney, William Baly, Grace Baly, Jno. Baly, William Baly. Jun. 1695 - Surveyed for Mr. Jno. Stepney, 293 acres. 1696 - 293 acres on Yawpim Creek, Perquimans Precinct, granted to Capt. Jno. Stepney, for transportation of Jno. Stepney, Mercy Stepney, William, Grace, Jno. Baly, William Baly Junr.*"

At some point, at least some of the family returned to Rhode Island. It is not known if William Bailey died in North Carolina or in Rhode Island (or in transit from one to the other). When William died or when his widow Grace remarried are unknown, but at least by 1671 Grace was married to a man named Thomas Lawton and was back in Newport, Rhode Island with at least some of her children.

The book *Rhode Island General Court of Trials, 1671-1704*, transcribed by Jane Fiske from the original Newport Court Book A, contains a rather strange entry: "*Upon an Indictment by the Grand Jury against Grace Lawton the wife of Thomas Lawton formerly the wife of William Baily ffor comitting Adulterie with Thomas Lawton. The said Grace beinge Mandamassed, Enters Traverce pleads Not Guilty and Referrs her selfe for Tryall to god and the cuntry. The Jurrys Verdict is Not Guilty. The Court doe declare them selves wholly dissatisfyed with that Verdict and therefore cannot cleere her, The Atorney declareinge there was a failer in the Testimony he depended on or otherwise he had produced other Testimony.*"

Grace Lawton was charged with adultery with her husband, though she was referred to as "*formerly the wife of William Baily,*" so perhaps the infraction was alleged to have occurred while she was still married to William Bailey. Grace was tried and found not guilty by the jury, but the court declared they were "wholly dissatisfied" with the verdict and refused to "clear" Grace of the charge.

From other records it can be inferred that Thomas Lawton and his new wife Grace did not enjoy a close, romantic relationship. In reference to Thomas Lawton, town records dated 14 June 1676 state: "*His wife Grace having presented her many grievances to the town often, and to the Assembly several times, for due and sufficient maintenance, she being much neglected in her husband's absence; it was therefore ordered by the Assembly that 6s. per week in silver be paid her or her order during her life, or until her said husband Thomas Lawton shall come himself, or maintain her. During his absence or neglect the said sum of 6s. per week shall be paid by his agent Daniel Lawton, and an inventory of movable goods in her custody to be taken, which inventory Daniel Lawton shall have. Grace to have the privilege of chamber she is now possessed of, and use of necessary movables, and the rights of her or any of her children now or in future to any estate are not cut off.*" The reference to Daniel Lawton in the town's order was to Thomas Lawton's son by a previous marriage.

An agreement of sorts, dated 20 April 1677, was reached between the pair. Thomas Lawton entered into an agreement with his stepson John Bailey, whereby Grace, "the present wife of Thomas Lawton," would receive £10 per year from John Bailey, and Elizabeth Sherman, daughter of Thomas Lawton, £3 per year (40s. being in money and other 20s. in good sheep's wool). In consideration for

these payments, John Bailey leased Lawton's "dwelling house, land and orchard for term of time my wife Grace Lawton liveth without changing her name by marriage." The lease was not to expire "till one year after death or marriage of Grace, the mother of said John Bailey," and for that year the latter was to pay £13. On the same date Lawton sold John Bailey all his household goods "except a bedstead, chairs, &c."

The will of Thomas Lawton, dated 6 June 1674 and probated 29 September 1681, is even more telling. In his will, Lawton wrote "*I do hereby declare that although Grace have not behaved herself towards me as a wife ought to do towards a husband, yet for the manifestation of my care of her, I do hereby give, bequeath unto her all the goods that are yet remaining in my custody of those that were hers when I married her and also one good feather bed and boulder.*"

An earlier crudely-written deed, dated 13 August 1661, proves that Thomas Lawton knew William and Grace Bailey well before William's death. The record reads "*This deed bearinge date the thirttenth day of August in the year of our lord god one thousand six hundred and sixty one meade betwixt Thomas Latton of portsmouth on Rhoad Island on the one party, and william Balley of Newport in Rhoad Island, one the othere party, allso the same Thomas Laiton have Covenanted and Agreed that the afforesaid william Bally Shall have three score Acres of land at his farme at huntinge Swampe Lyinge one that side the fearme which hughe parsons lives one, beinge to be to be [sic] laid out Eight score roode in langth and three score Roode wide, & the said William Bally is to have the same land for his owne life time, and if his wife Grace Bally keepe hir selfe a widdow after hir husbands death then shee is allso to in Joye it the full terme of Thomas Laitons life time & three years afterwards to have and to hould for the same time to Imploy for his best Advantage, And it is allso agreed that the said William Bally shall not lett nor sell the same land for his time to any othere, but if the said william shall be minded to leve it, he shall Returne it unto the afore said thomas laiton againe, the said Thomas Laiton painge for it accordinge as two or three indiffrent men shall Judge, and it is also agreed that as the End of the aforesaid time, that whot bulding or fencinge there shall be, it shall not be defaced nor demineshed, but Returned up in so good a posture as it then shall be in, with out demineshing any thinge from it, it is also agreed that the aforesaid Thomas Laiton Shall for present sett up the one halfe of the fence which is to be made betwixt there lands, and here after the aforesaid william Bally Shall maintaine it ...*" Note the deed mentions Hugh Parsons as a neighbor. He will come up again in a minute.

William Bailey and his wife Grace (last name unknown) had at least eight children, most of their names inferred from the North Carolina land records mentioning their transportation to that colony:

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------|---|
| + i. | Abigail Bailey | Abigail, the oldest child was born about 1640, and was our direct ancestor. |
| ii. | John Bailey | After removing to North Carolina, John returned to Rhode Island, probably accompanied by his mother. John lived at Portsmouth and Newport, married someone with the first name of Sutton and had at least nine children. He died 13 Feb 1730. |
| iii. | William Bailey | William Jr. is probably the person named William Bailey who married the daughter of Hugh Parsons, who was the Bailey family's neighbor in Rhode Island. If so he had one son named Hugh before dying relatively young. |
| iv. | Samuel Bailey | Samuel Bailey married Elizabeth Rogers and lived at Newport, Rhode Island. |
| v. | Experience Bailey | No further information. |
| vi. | Jane Bailey | No further information. |

- vii. **Sarah Bailey**
- viii. **Mercy Bailey**

No further information.

Mercy (or Marcy; the name is seen spelled both ways) married John Stepney in North Carolina in 1681. He was listed as joiner (a finish carpenter) and was from London.

Abigail Bailey was the eldest child, and married William Charles in Rhode Island before moving to North Carolina. The proof that “Abigall Balie,” wife of William Charles, was the same person as Abigail, the eldest child of William and Grace Bailey, comes from the will of Abigail’s daughter Jane Charles, dated 1688 in Perquimans Precinct, North Carolina, in which she named, among others, her “Aunt Marce Stepney.”

Charles Family - First Generation

The origins of the William Charles whom Abigail Bailey married in Rhode Island are unknown. Others have attempted to establish him as the son of another William Charles who lived in Marblehead, Massachusetts at least by 1648, but that is simply guesswork.

The fact is there were a number of men who shared the common name William Charles in the colonies before 1650. For example, a William Charles immigrated in 1635 to Virginia on the ship *Assurance de London*; he was listed as age 21. A William Charles immigrated in 11 September 1638 to James City County, Virginia, being transported by Robert Freeman, who received 700 acres on the Chickahominy River for transporting 14 persons. A William Charles immigrated on 30 August 1643 to Virginia being transported by Thomas Glascocke, who received 200 acres a mile and a half on the south side of the Peankatanke River for transporting himself, his wife, James Allen and William Charles. It is very doubtful that any of these individuals had any connection to our ancestor of the same name.

The first record of our ancestor William Charles was in Portsmouth, Rhode Island in early 1654, when he and another man witnessed a deed for a George Parker dated “*this twenty Ninth day of Jeneuery in the yeare of ouer lord god one Thowsand six hundred fifty and three,*” or 29 January 1653/1654. William Charles signed with his mark.

His name also appears in the town records for Portsmouth, Rhode Island. It was recorded that “*Will: Charles demured till the next meetinge*” at a “*Towne meetinge of the Inhabitants of Portsmoth 1654.*” There was no month listed on the record for this meeting, but it was before May since that was the date of the next town meeting. At another town meeting dated 16 April 1657, three men were appointed “*to speake With shreifs wife and William Charles and George Lawtons Wife and to give them the best advise and Warning for ther own peace and the peace of the place.*” Evidently there was a quarrel involving several parties, including William Charles, and the town’s leaders wanted to see that it came to an end.

William Charles also was a witness to the deed previously mentioned between Thomas Lawton and William Bailey, dated 13 August 1661. William Charles was the son-in-law of William Bailey by this time. Again, William Charles signed with his mark, a looping upside down letter “U”.

There is no extant record of the marriage between William Charles and Abigail Bailey in Rhode Island, where it occurred, but oddly enough, there is a record of it in North Carolina, where the pair later moved. In the birth register for Berkeley Precinct (later Perquimans County), North Carolina is the following entry (the pages of the original register are torn and a number of names and dates are

missing including for this entry): “*William Charles & Abigall Balie was Married by — Jefferys Magestrate in Rode Island the 14th of —.*” Though the date is missing, the fact that their first child was born in July 1661 would indicate the date of their marriage was about 1659-1660. The magistrate was likely to have been William Jefferay.

William Charles and his wife Abigail probably went to North Carolina between 1663 and 1666. The date of the move can be estimated from the fact that in 1669 William requested the survey of 200 acres of land for the transportation into North Carolina of four persons: himself, his wife, his son William, and his daughter Elizabeth. Because their eldest child, a son William, was born in 1661 and the next child of record was a son Daniel, born in 1666, the daughter listed in the land record was likely born about 1663. The daughter evidently died young after the family’s arrival in North Carolina; another daughter born several years later was again named Elizabeth.

Somewhere in this time period, William and Abigail became “convinced” and converted to the Quaker faith. This probably took place after their move to North Carolina, where for a number of years, Quakers were virtually the only religion represented in that colony.

William Charles died on 6 August 1677 in Perquimans County, North Carolina, his death noted in the death register for Perquimans Precinct. Though no will for him has been found, a notation in the November 1679 General Court records states that “*John Lacy prved will of Wm Charles of this county, the sd Lacy married the relict of sd Charels.*” This is confirmed by a record of the marriage of Abigail and John Lacy on 1 December 1678 by the Deputy to the Duke of Albemarle.

John Lacy died in 1682, but not before Abigail had a daughter, Sarah Lacy, born 15 September 1680. Abigail married a third time on 6 May 1683, to Francis Tomes, another director ancestor who appears in another part of this book. She had another daughter, Abigail Tomes, by her third husband. The former Abigail Bailey died on 17 March 1687 in Perquimans County, North Carolina.

William and Abigail Charles had the following children (it is interesting to note that four of the children and their mother all died within about a fifteen month period):

- i. **William Charles** William Jr. was born on 13 Jul 1661 in Rhode Island. William declared his intention to marry on 7 Sep 1683 at Perquimans MM to Elizabeth Kent (born 1 Jun 1667, died 1688). Elizabeth was the daughter of Thomas and Ann Kent. After having a daughter Jane born 1 Oct 1685, William died soon after, writing his will on 7 Apr 1687 at Perquimans. In his will, William bequeathed to his brother John 120 acres of land and to his daughter Jane the “plantation I now live on,” also mentioning his wife Elizabeth. One of the executors of his will was his stepfather Francis Tomes.
- ii. **Elizabeth Charles** Elizabeth was likely born about 1663 in Rhode Island; she is mentioned in the warrant for a grant of land to her father as being transported to North Carolina, but certainly died before 1672.
- iii. **Daniel Charles** Daniel was born on 24 Sep 1666 in Perquimans County, North Carolina and died on 17 Apr 1687 in the same place. Daniel’s will named his siblings John, Samuel and Jeane.
- iv. **John Charles** John was born on 22 Nov 1668 in Perquimans County, North Carolina. His undated will named his sisters Jane and Elizabeth

- and his brother Samuel. There was no probate, but it was noted in an endorsement that three people owed him money. He presumably died in 1688 since he named his younger sister Jane in his will and she died in July of that year.
- v. **Jane Charles** Jane (or Jeane) Charles was born on 20 Jan 1670/1671 in Perquimans County, North Carolina. She died on 12 Jul 1688 and left a will dated the day before in which she named her Aunt Marcy Stepney and John Stepney.
 - vi. **Elizabeth Charles** Elizabeth was born on 8 Jan 1671/1672 in Perquimans County, North Carolina, and by the time she was 18 had become the head of the family due to the fact her parents and five older siblings had all died. She was the second child in the family to have the name Elizabeth, the first transported with her older brother William and who must have died young. Elizabeth married on 16 Dec 1688 “at ye quarterly meeting” at Jonathan Phelps’ house in Perquimans to Samuel Nicholson. Samuel was the son of Christopher Nicholson and Hannah Redknap. Elizabeth and Samuel are also director ancestors and have their own story elsewhere in this book. Elizabeth died between 19 Mar 1747 and Jan 1748 at Perquimans.
 - + vii. **Samuel Charles** Samuel was our direct ancestor.
 - viii. **Isaac Charles** “Isacke” Charles was born on 12 Mar 1676 in Perquimans County, North Carolina. He either died young or at least before so many of his brothers and sisters, since his siblings did not name him in their wills.

Charles Family - Second Generation

Samuel Charles was born on 22 March 1674 in Perquimans County, North Carolina. Of his seven brothers and sisters, only his older sister Elizabeth Charles lived to see age 30. His four brothers all died relatively young, and only Samuel lived long enough to pass the Charles surname along to sons.

The marriage of Samuel Charles was recorded in the minutes of the Pasquotank Monthly Meeting in northeastern North Carolina. It was recorded in 1696 that “*Samuell Charlls the son of Willam Charlls of poquemench Rever, and Elezabeath Morison daughtter of John Morison of Lettle Rever ... married ... the 6 day of the tenth month at the house of Henry White.*” Thus on 6 December 1696, Samuel Charles married Elizabeth Morrison. The name of the river was a really bad attempt at spelling *Perquimans River*, beside which the Charles family lived.

There is a chapter later in this book on the Morris family, who supplied more than a few direct ancestors to the family tree. As odd as this may seem, there is strong evidence that Elizabeth Morrison, who married Samuel Charles, was a member of that family. More details are provided in the *Morris Family* chapter, but it appears that Damaris Page, the daughter of Isaac Page (an ancestor already described), married about 1678 to John *Morris* or *Morrison*, your choice. The first Quaker records in North Carolina were not recorded until 1680, so there is no record of this marriage. But there is evidence there were two children born from this marriage, a daughter Elizabeth and a son John.

Very soon after the son John was born, or perhaps even before, the father died. On 10 September

1681, Henry White and the young widow “Damaris Morison” declared their intentions of marrying at a monthly meeting to be held “at the house of Henry Prows” (Prouse) “in Little River.” Over fifteen years later, “Elisabeath Morison,” described as the daughter of “John Morison” of Little River married Samuel Charles, “at the house of Henry White,” her stepfather.

So far there is a consistency in the use of the surname Morrison in the records, or as it was spelled at the time by the Quaker clerk, *Morison*. About the same time that Damaris lost her husband, her father died as well (another epidemic?). Isaac Page left a will dated 30 June 1680, just a month after the birth of Damaris’ son John, in which he referred to “Damaris’ children” (i.e., plural, not “child”), implying the existence of a second child, the daughter Elizabeth. The will was witnessed by Isaac’s two daughters, Elizabeth Page and “Demaris Moris” (not “Morison”). This is direct proof the name *Morris* and *Morrison*, usually spelled with one “r” at that time, seemed to have been used interchangeably.

It is even more interesting when one assumes the inconsistency of the name was likely caused by one person, Henry White. Probably because he was one of the few people who could read and write, Henry White was the clerk of the Symons Creek Monthly Meeting, later called the Pasquotank Monthly Meeting. He is also the one who recorded the last wishes of Isaac Page when he wrote “*The will of Isaac page Recorded by me henry white.*” Wills for three early inhabitants of the area, including Isaac Page, were recorded by the Quakers as part of their meeting records since there was virtually no government in the area at the time.

It is possible that Samuel’s bride’s name was really Elizabeth Morris, and the clerk consistently wrote *Morrison* by mistake. Or perhaps the name really was *Morrison* originally. In either case, the Elizabeth’s brother John seems to have always went by the name Morris, as did his descendants. It is unlikely this mystery will ever be unraveled. But there is little doubt that Elizabeth *Morrison* and John *Morris* were brother and sister.

North Carolina colonial court records show that Samuel Charles was chosen on 8 April 1701 to be constable for a period of one year. He performed his duties as constable, informing the court in its February 1702/1703 session that “*one Jeane Rich^{ds} [Richards] is lately delivered of a bastard child wthin this p^rinct and being thereby guilty of the breach of the penall Laws.*” Part of a constable’s job in colonial times was to be a tattle-tale. Jeane Richards was later ordered by the court to “*receive twenty one stripes according as the act of Assembly in that case hath provided.*” As constable, it might have been Samuel Charles’ job to perform the whipping of Ms. Richards.

Land records for the old Albemarle County indicate that Samuel Charles benefitted from the deaths of his older brothers. Samuel ended up with the former plantation of his stepfather John Lacy, which had been in the possession of Samuel’s brother William, as well as 300 acres of land on the west side of the Perquimans River which had been given to Samuel and Daniel Charles by Francis Tomes. By 1699, Samuel Charles had parceled off the 300 acres, including 240 acres he sold to our direct ancestor Gabriel Newby.

On 8 October 1706 Samuel proved to the court his right to 200 acres of land for the importation of Charles Scott, Mary Scott, Elizabeth Scott and Mary Scott. It appears from the old land records that Samuel Charles lived on the east side of the Perquimans River. One other land record is rather interesting; on 9 April 1717, Samuel sold 40 acres on the northeast side of the river to Francis Forster. This may have had something to do with a court action taken by Forster “*showing that Samuel Charles has made a Survey of a Tract of Sunken Land and Swamp Joyning upon him to his Great Prejudice*

and without giving him any notice thereof Contrary to y^e Lawes.” Samuel was summoned to appear in court with regard to this issue.

Sometime after 1706 Samuel Charles remarried to Hannah Maudlin, the widow of Ezekiel Maudlin, who died 16 March 1705/1706. Most accounts of the Charles family have the second wife confused with two other Hannahs. Most accounts state that she was Hannah Nicholson, the daughter of Christopher Nicholson, but that person married, first, John Gosby and, second, Francis Forster, and was too young to have been a wife of Samuel Charles. Other accounts identify the second wife of Samuel Charles as Hannah Davis, but that Hannah married Samuel Charles Jr.

Samuel Charles’ second wife was likely Hannah Castleton, born 13 March 1679/1680 and the daughter of George and Hannah Castleton. It would appear that Hannah did not come from a model home, as the court records for October 1685 referred to the fact that “*George Castleton hath absented himself from the County and Imbezled the estate belonging to the Orphans of James Perisho deceased ...*”. Castleton apparently returned to the county, but problems continued. In October 1687 the court ordered that “*Hannah Castleton the wife of George Castleton doe repaire home to her husband and live with him and that if she departs from him any more it is ordered that the majestrates doe forthwith use such meanes as may cause her to live with her husband.*”

Samuel Charles died in March 1728, as his will was dated 12 March and letters granted on 18 April of that year. In his will, Samuel left his son Samuel the “*plantation whereon I now live,*” son John a “*track of land out back betwixt the head of the lower gum swamp and the head of the bull branch,*” and son Josuah [Joshua] a “*smawl track of land ... on lower gum Swamp.*” The will also named daughters Lidey [Lydia?], Sary [Sarah] and Hannaugh [Hannah] Charles and Mary Overman. Samuel’s will also mentioned an heir Sarah Maudlin, the daughter of Samuel’s wife by her previous marriage. This was the daughter born to Hannah 28 April 1706, about six weeks after her husband Ezekiel died.

There are no entries in the Quaker records for the family of Samuel Charles. The early records for the Perquimans and Pasquotank areas of eastern North Carolina are quite incomplete, but from other record sources and his will, we know Samuel Charles had at least the following children (at least the first four by his first wife Elizabeth, the others unclear):

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| i. Jean Charles | Her birth recorded in the birth register as “Jean Charles ye daughter of Samuel Charles and Elisabeth his wife was born ye 10 day of December 1697.” No further record; she likely died young as she was not mentioned in her father’s will. |
| ii. Elizabeth Charles | Elizabeth was born 22 Sep 1700. No further record. She likely died before her father as she was not mentioned in his will. |
| iii. Samuel Charles | Born 20 Aug 1703, Samuel later married Hannah Davis. On 5 Sep 1722, Samuel was disowned for marrying her contrary to Quaker discipline. |
| + iv. John Charles | Born 22 Dec 1705, John was our direct ancestor. |
| v. Mary Charles | Mary Overman, with a granddaughter Elizabeth Overman, were named in Samuel’s will. She is almost certainly the Mary Charles who married John Overman 7 Jul 1725 and had a daughter Elizabeth born 16 Nov 1727. |
| vi. Joshua Charles | Joshua was named in his father’s will; no further record. |
| vii. Lydia Charles | “Lidey” was named in her father’s will; no further record. |
| viii. Sarah Charles | “Sary” was named in her father’s will; no further record. |

ix. **Hannah Charles**

Born 5 Dec 1723, Hannah was the daughter of Samuel and his second wife Hannah. Her birth was recorded in the Perquimans Precinct birth register. Perquimans County deed book E, page 4 records that “Hannah Charles Jr.” was deceased by 14 Nov 1744 and that she had given “all her worldly goods” except a one year old heifer to her mother Hannah Charles.

Samuel Charles’ second wife Hannah lived to be quite old, and left a will of her own, which was proven in July 1752.

Charles Family - Third Generation

John Charles, our direct ancestor, was born 22 December 1705 in what today is Perquimans County, North Carolina to Samuel Charles and Elizabeth Morrison. Very little is known about John Charles. He married Margaret Jones, the daughter of Peter Jones and Mary Overman. His marriage does not appear in Hinshaw’s index of Quaker records, though one Charles family researcher claims to have found a date of his marriage as 2 December 1732. That date remains unverified.

Perquimans County deed records indicate that on 6 July 1734, John Charles of that county sold 200 acres on the northeast side of Suttons Creek adjacent to, among others, Samuel Charles, dec’d. John sold the land to Edward Maudlin for 14 barrels of pork.

John Charles evidently died without a will in early 1740, for on 28 May 1740, his widow Margaret Charles made a motion before the Perquimans County Court to divide “the Estate of her Deceased Husband John Charles late of the said County.” The court ordered four men, including her father Peter Jones Sr., to divide the estate according to law and “make return to the next court.” An inventory of his estate was filed in July 1740.

There are no records of any children to John and Margaret Charles in the Quaker records, though the birth of our direct ancestor does appear in the Berkeley Precinct register. There were evidently only two sons who survived since the will of Peter Jones Sr. proved in April 1752 named grandsons John and William Charles. Margaret married again on 3 March 1742 to Francis Wells, who died soon after and she married a third time to Sylvanius Henby on 6 July 1748. Both records appear in the Quaker records for Perquimans Monthly Meeting.

The children of John Charles and Margaret Jones were:

i. **John Charles**

John married Susannah Stafford on 22 Oct 1774 in Pasquotank County, North Carolina and died soon after. He had one son, Stephen Charles, who was born 5 Jan 1776 after his father died. Stephen was raised by his mother alone. He became a sea captain and in 1810 had a vessel seized by the U.S. government because he had sailed to the West Indies without a clearance from the government.

+ ii. **William Charles**

Born 27 May 1738, William was our direct ancestor.

Charles Family - Fourth Generation

Our direct ancestor, William Charles, was “born y^e 27th day of May 1738” according to the old Albemarle County *Births, Marriages, Deaths and Flesh Marks* register. Like his father, William

appears in very few records.

There are no Quaker records for his family, though the Perquimans (Piney Woods) Monthly Meeting minutes recorded that William Charles was reported married to Jane Albertson on 4 October 1758. On 7 March 1770, William was chosen overseer for the Perquimans Monthly Meeting, meaning he was a prominent member of the meeting, since overseers were charged with making any decisions on behalf of the membership between regularly scheduled meetings.

Like most other members of his family, William Charles did not live to be very old. His will, dated 2 November 1770, was proved in the January 1771 term of the court, indicating he likely died soon after completing his will. He was only 32 years old. Based on his will, the children of William Charles and Jane Albertson were:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|--|
| i. | William Charles | No further record. |
| ii. | Joshua Charles | No further record. |
| iii. | Aaron Charles | No further record. |
| iv. | John Charles | John is believed to have been the person of that name who married Ruth Ballard at Contentnea Monthly Meeting. |
| + v. | Margaret Charles | Margaret moved to Wayne County, North Carolina and transferred her membership to Contentnea Monthly Meeting in January 1788. |

Our direct ancestor, Margaret Charles, married into the Morris family. But before continuing with that family, we continue with an account of the Nicholson and Albertson families.

Nicholson and Albertson Families

Nicholson Family

The progenitor of our Nicholson family was Edmund Nicholson, who according to several books dating back to the nineteenth century came from Bootle, Cumberland County, England. Bootle is a small coastal village on the Irish Sea in northwestern England near the Scottish border. Bootle is a small place, and even today is the kind of place you can drive through in sixty seconds. When Nicholson came to America is unknown, but he was in Marblehead, Massachusetts by at least 1645, and probably sooner. The book *The Founding of Marblehead* by Thomas Gray states that Edmund Nicholson arrived in Marblehead in 1644.

When and where Edmund Nicholson married is unknown, but he married “Elizabeth Simson” (actually *Simpson*) about 1637, probably in England. There is evidence that Elizabeth had a brother Francis Simpson who might have accompanied the Nicholsons to America. Edmund and his brother-in-law purchased portions of what was known as the *Plain Farm* at Marblehead in 1645.

The Plain Farm had belonged to a John Humphrey, who received a grant of 500 acres from the town of Salem in 1636 (Marblehead was not a separate town until 1649, being part of Salem before that), selling 50 acres of it two years later. After Humphrey’s death, what he called his “Plain Farm” ended up in the possession of “the inhabitants of Marblehead” when “all that farm called ye Playnes farme” was divided into at least fourteen parts. The list of grantees and the amount each one paid toward the purchase is only partially known, but the tract of land was subsequently divided among the purchasers in proportion to the amount each paid.

Edmund Nicholson purchased ten acres of the Plain Farm for £4, as did Francis Simpson. There have been published assumptions by others that the families lived together, but old deeds provide contrary evidence. The tract of meadow land which remained in the possession of Edmund Nicholson until his death later became known as the “William Woods House.” It was sold by Edmund’s widow, her brother Francis Simpson, and Nicholson’s sons Christopher and Joseph in 1664, and the deed mentions “two dwelling houses, cowhouse and workhouse thereon.” The property was resold in 1669 to William Woods, a Marblehead fisherman, and thereafter the land became associated with his name.

The first court record of the Nicholson family in America was a will for George Pollard of Marblehead filed before the Ipswich Quarterly Court dated 13 March 1646 which bequeathed “*to Christopher Nicolson the sonne of Edmond Nicholson the summe of five pounds.*” On two other occasions, Edmund Nicholson was accused of “being disguised with drink.”

Edmund Nicholson evidently was not a Quaker, but his wife Elizabeth had leanings toward the religion and was brought into court several times. Her brother, Francis Simpson, was also brought into court and fined for the same reasons, and Francis finally moved to Rhode Island to escape persecution of the Quakers. Edmund Nicholson also appeared in court relatively often; he seems to not have been a person afraid of standing up for his rights or defending himself in disputes.

In 1647 Edmund Nicholson testified against a neighbor who had called the constable an “old Rogue.” The reader is probably thinking “oh my, what a hideous offense,” but remember this was New England, land of the loonies. In 1653 he brought suit against a townsman for a debt and secured a favorable verdict; the same year he successfully sued a man “*for withholding £4 1s. remaining due for fish lent him and for diet.*” William Nick brought a civil case against Edmund in 1659 for

“molestation in the closing of his land” but later withdrew the suit. Edmund was even involved in some sort of altercation with his brother-in-law Francis, the former town constable, which led to both being fined for *“bloodshed”* in June 1656.

Edmund’s public service seems to have been minimal, limited to taking a turn at *“keeping the cows ... on the Lord’s day”* in 1651. He and Simpson were allotted pasturage on the town’s common grounds for 1½ cows between 1648 and 1650, the fraction being based on the fact that four sheep or goats were considered equivalent to one cow.

Like many of the men at Marblehead, Edmund Nicholson was a fisherman whose livelihood depended on taking codfish from the Atlantic Ocean. In March 1660, there is a record of Edmund Nicholson, with his sons Christopher and Joseph, together with other fishermen, taking part in a fishing voyage that went to sea in a boat with John Devereaux as the master. The venture was successful and Edmund’s portion should have amounted to over £36. However Edmund died before the account for the venture was settled, and his son Christopher later collected after successfully bringing suit against Devereaux.

Edmund Nicholson drowned at sea later that year, between 4 June 1660 when he was deposed in a court case and 27 November 1660 when his widow was appointed, along with her eldest son Christopher, to administer his estate. Incredibly, because of Elizabeth’s leanings towards Quakerism, which church leaders despised with a fanatical vengeance, Elizabeth and her two sons were accused of drowning her husband.

George Bishop, in his book *New England Judged* originally published in 1667, provided an account of the court’s charges against the family. In his book, which addressed the Boston officials, Bishop wrote that Elizabeth and her sons were “charged with the death of Edmund Nicholson, her husband, and their father, who was found dead in the sea.” This was based on the solid evidence that the three were witches. Remember, Marblehead was next to Salem, and nobody loved a good witch trial quite like the lunatics in Massachusetts. According to Bishop’s contemporaneous account, Elizabeth was fined “a great sum” which was taken in “good fish” and “in barrels of mackerel, so devouring the widow’s house.”

Elizabeth’s two sons were placed in a butcher’s cub (holding pen) at Boston, where they were forced to stand for hours under a gallows with ropes around their necks. The sons were also “whipped in your market-place, which was performed with many bloody lashes.” The young men were “whipped also at Salem, where Michelson, the marshal, a bloody-spirited man, came to see it executed, where it was so mercilessly done, that one of the young men sunk down or fainted away under the torture of his cruel suffering, whose body they raised up again, and his senses came to him.” As historian Ray Winslow Jr. wrote, the charges were founded “upon no evidence but stemming from the official prejudice against Quakers, the matter became an example of the lengths to which Massachusetts would go in persecuting Quakers.”

Eventually, after they got their fill of witch torture, the court let the three go. Elizabeth and her eldest son Christopher were named the executors of Edmund’s estate, which was valued at £150, with £54 in debts. It was ordered that £10 be paid to each of the six children when they reached 21 years of age or married with the consent of their mother. Edmund’s estate consisted, in part, of the following: *“Dwelling house with outhouses and land, a boat fit to go to sea and a canoe, 1 cow with hay, 1 bed with bolster, pillows, rug and blanket, 9 yards ticking, 10 sheets and pullovers, 1 piece of white kersie, wearing apparel, 2 rugs, 2 pairs blankets, 1 bolster, and 2 kettles, 3 brass kettles and 2 scilletts,*

pewter, earthen ware, wood and Lattin ware, 3 wheels, lome, sleies, wheel with barrell and other lumber.”

Studying the court records involved in the settlement of Edmund’s estate leads to several interesting conclusions. The first was that Edmund’s fishing boat was evidently found and recovered despite the fact that Edmund himself was “found dead in the sea.” The second conclusion is that the boat was not just a skiff, but a serious ocean-going vessel. This is based on the fact that Edmund’s boat was worth more than his real estate. His house, barns and all his property were valued at £55, while his boat and canoe were valued at over £56.

The court records also listed the ages of the six children of Edmund and Elizabeth Nicholson: “The children were Christopher, aged twenty-two years, Joseph, aged twenty years, Samuell, aged sixteen years, John, aged fourteen years, Elizabeth, aged eleven years, and Thomas, aged seven years.”

Elizabeth continued to be admonished for not attending church regularly, and was fined in December 1661 and September 1662. Elizabeth Nicholson married someone named *Browne* between 24 September 1662 and 17 March 1666. In 1670 and 1673 the court tried to take her house because of Quaker sympathies. She was still alive in June 1673 when she and two sons, Joseph and Samuel, sued Capt. James Smith in reference to land purchased by Edmund Nicholson and Francis Simpson before 1651.

Edmund Nicholson and Elizabeth Simpson had the following children (birth dates based upon the ages listed in the 1660 court records for the estate settlement):

- + i. **Christopher Nicholson** Born about 1638, Christopher was our direct ancestor.
- ii. **Joseph Nicholson** Joseph, born about 1640, has often been confused with another Quaker named Joseph Nicholson who had a wife named Jane. The other Joseph died on a ship going from Barbados to London in Jun 1693, and whose will listed eight children.
- iii. **Samuel Nicholson** Samuel was born about 1644. Samuel was living in Massachusetts in 1672.
- iv. **John Nicholson** Born about 1646, John might have been the person of that name who married Mercy Hollingsworth, later deserting her and moving to Connecticut and she divorced him. He married second to someone name Dorothy and died in 1693 in Fairfield, Connecticut.
- v. **Elizabeth Nicholson** Elizabeth was born about 1648. She was married about 1672 to Nicholas Andrews. Elizabeth was buried at Marblehead 5 Dec 1727. A descendant of Elizabeth was Charles Dawes, who was Vice President from 1925-1929 under Calvin Coolidge.
- vi. **Thomas Nicholson** Thomas was born about 1653. Thomas was living in Massachusetts in 1672, when he and his sister Elizabeth Andrews appointed their older brother Samuel as their attorney to look into an inheritance from their uncle Francis Simpson.

Nicholson Family - Second Generation

Christopher Nicholson was listed as being 22 years old in late 1660 when the court settled the estate of his father, which would place his date of birth about 1638. It is probable that he was born in England prior to the departure of his parents for Massachusetts.

Despite his terrible mistreatment over the drowning death of his father, when he and his younger brother were whipped both in Boston and Salem, Christopher returned to Marblehead. After his father's death, Christopher and his brother evidently continued fishing for a living. The book *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts* by Daniel Vickers mentions that the "Nicholson brothers of Marblehead ... divided the ownership of their father's boat after his death in 1660 and operated as a team."

Christopher Nicholson participated in the settlement of his father's estate, including filing the lawsuit against John Devereaux to collect the money owed his father. Christopher apparently took a strong disliking to Devereaux, who sued Christopher for trespass on 24 June 1662 and charging him with "*pulling down the fence of said Devorix and laying open his ground to the common.*" Devereaux replaced the fence and Christopher Nicholson "*puld it downe again,*" insisting that however often the fence was rebuilt "*he would remove it.*" If nothing else, he was a stubborn dude.

On 22 October 1662, Christopher Nicholson married Hannah Redknapp in Lynn, Massachusetts, a town about five miles away from Marblehead. For several reasons, Hannah is believed to have been the daughter of Joseph Redknapp, who was a wine cooper from the London area in England. He came early to Lynn, Massachusetts and was admitted a freeman on 3 September 1634. In 1635 a vote of the town granted him lands at Nahant, Massachusetts, for the purpose of pursuing the fishing trade. In 1638 when lands were given to the inhabitants of the Town of Lynn, Joseph Redknapp received 40 acres.

The old records indicate several interesting things about Joseph Redknapp. First, he was an Anabaptist (someone who didn't believe in infant baptisms and was persecuted for those beliefs). In 1646 the Salem Court admonished Joseph Redknapp for withdrawing from church during an infant baptism. In 1651 the same court reprimanded Redknapp again for usually leaving church "at the time of the administration of the seal of baptism." He answered that it was necessary, on account of the condition of his family. It is doubtful anyone believed him.

Anabaptists also rejected conventional Christian practices such as wearing wedding rings, taking oaths, and participating in civil government. Like Quakers, Anabaptists were heavily persecuted. This is likely why Joseph's daughter Hannah felt a connection to Christopher Nicholson.

The second thing the records tell us about Joseph Redknapp was that he lived to a very ripe old age. Others thought him much older. Samuel Sewall, a Massachusetts judge best known for his involvement in the Salem witch trials, for which he later apologized, kept a diary in which he recorded on 22 January 1686 that "*Joseph Redknapp, a man of one hundred and ten years old buried. Was a wine Cooper in London. Lived here ab' 50 years.*" Sewall's estimate of Redknapp's age was greatly exaggerated. Redknapp stated in a deposition in 1657 that he was about 60 years old. On 29 June 1669 he gave testimony under oath in the Salem Court stating he was "betwix 70 and 80 years" old. If he were 60 in 1657, he would have been 72 in 1669, and at the time of his death in 1686, would have been 89-90.

Finally, old Massachusetts records give us a point of origin for Joseph Redknapp. Deed records indicate that on 26 October 1640 Redknapp sold land called "Blackbush" near Hampton Court in Middlesex County, England. The property was then in the possession of his mother, Elizabeth Redknapp. Hampton Court is the location of a royal palace just southwest of London that belonged to King Henry VIII. It is one of only two surviving palaces out of the many that were owned by Henry VIII.

Joseph Redknap's will, dated 20 May 1681, bequeathed his land at Springfield to his son Nathaniel and his estate at Lynn to his son Benjamin. He did not mention his daughter Hannah, but that is expected since she died about seven years before him. Also, because she had moved with her family to North Carolina, he had probably not seen her in years.

Exactly when Christopher and Hannah Nicholson moved to North Carolina is unknown, but historian Ray Winslow estimated it was about 1669 based on much later headright claims. The couple's son Samuel, in February 1693/1694, applied for land based on headrights he likely inherited from his father. Samuel claimed land rights based on his father and mother and their first three children, including himself. Winslow based the date of their arrival as between March 1667/1668 and September 1670, the dates the third and fourth children were born.

Christopher Nicholson acquired 200 acres on the north bank of the Perquimans River less than a mile west of the mouth of Sutton Creek in an area referred to as Old Neck. Today this would be about two miles east of the town of Hertford, North Carolina. Whether Christopher was an active Quaker before leaving New England is unclear, but he certainly was one after his arrival in North Carolina.

Nicholson's early arrival in North Carolina and his involvement in the General Assembly of the fledgling colony is evident from the fact he was referred to in 1677 as an "ancient inhabitant" and a "burgess." His involvement in the affairs of the colony resulted in Christopher Nicholson being involved in what became known as Culpeper's Rebellion. This armed uprising, which occurred from 1677 to 1679, was a revolt against proprietary rule in the Albemarle section of North Carolina, caused by the efforts of the proprietary government to enforce the British Navigation Acts. Those acts denied the colonists a free market outside England and placed heavy duties on commodities.

The colonists' resentment focused on the deputy governor, Thomas Miller, who also acted as the customs collector. Led by John Culpeper and George Durant, the rebels imprisoned Miller and other officials, convened a legislature of their own, chose Culpeper governor, and for two years exercised all the powers and duties of government. Culpeper was finally removed by the proprietors and tried for treason and embezzlement, but was acquitted on the grounds that no regular government existed in the Albemarle area at the time of the rebellion. It is not correct to say that Culpeper's Rebellion was a warmup to the American Revolution. The Albemarle colonists overthrew the corrupt English officials and governed themselves, but were not trying to overthrow British rule. They simply wanted a governor who would do his job honestly.

The Quakers at Albemarle did not support the uprising, and sided with the English officials. On 13 September 1679, they prepared a paper titled *Remonstrance from the Quakers in Carolina to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina* in which they informed the proprietors that the group "who are in Scorne called Quakers" were a "seperated people and have stood single from all the seditious actions which hath happened within this County of Albemarle." As a result, the leaders of the rebellion took out their anger on the Quakers as well, and Nicholson was among some of the Quakers seized by the rebels.

By this time, Christopher Nicholson was a widower. His wife Hannah died on 2 December 1678, less than a week after the birth of her seventh child, and likely as a result of childbirth. After waiting the requisite year, Nicholson married Ann Atwood, the daughter of Thomas Atwood of Middlesex, England. The record of the marriage of "*Cristopher Necholson of Paquimance River in ye County of albemarle & Ann atwood of ye same County,*" dated 11 April 1680, is the oldest record in existence for the Perquimans Monthly Meeting.

Nicholson remained active in both Quaker and civic affairs for the rest of his life. His house was the site of a number of monthly and quarterly meetings for the Albemarle Quakers, though that fact may only have meant that his house was bigger than that of his neighbors. He witnessed marriages, was the executor of several wills, and was one of five persons chosen as surveyors “*to cleere all the high Roads for Horse and Foote.*” He even served as a juror in five trials.

Christopher Nicholson “*departed this Life y^e 8th of desemb^r 1688.*” He apparently died suddenly for he did not leave a will, and his property passed to the eldest son Samuel. There was evidently a request, or at least an understanding, that Samuel was to give part of the land to his brother Joseph. On 26 June 1690, “*Ann Nickolson ye Relick of Cristopher Nickolson*” remarried to Richard Dorman.

At the time of the death of their father, the three oldest Nicholson children were married. One could make the supposition that the Nicholson children remaining at home did not take to their new stepfather since, at the first opportunity at the next term of the Perquimans Precinct court held in July 1690, those old enough to do so requested other guardians. Joseph Nicholson, on behalf of himself and his brothers John and Nathaniel, petitioned the court for the “*lyberty to chuse their Guardians, which is allowed them.*” Joseph and Nathaniel chose their older brother Samuel, while John chose his sister’s husband, John Gosby. The court granted the petition, ordering that the guardians receive the proportions of the estate which “*belongeth to the Orphans under their care.*”

Ann, by Richard Dorman, had two more daughters, Deborah and Hannah, and possibly a third daughter Mary. After Dorman’s death she married a third time to Richard Cheston, a cooper, on 2 January 1711/1712.

Christopher Nicholson, by Hannah Redknap, had the following children:

- i. **Deliverance Nicholson** Deliverance married (1) Joseph Sutton before 3 Apr 1685, and (2) Andrew Reed, 1696-1697. She died 10 Apr 1700.
- + ii. **Samuel Nicholson** Samuel, born 12 Mar 1665 and the eldest son, was our direct ancestor.
- iii. **Hannah Nicholson** Born 4 Mar 1667, Hannah married (1) John Gosby on 5 Jul 1685, and (2) Francis Foster on 14 Aug 1694.
- iv. **Joseph Nicholson** Joseph was born 28 Sep 1670, probably the first of the children to be born in North Carolina. He married Hannah Albertson on 4 Jun 1693, and died 1697-1698 apparently without issue, as his will left his estate to his brothers.
- v. **John Nicholson** John was born 17 Dec 1673 and married 20 Nov 1700 to Priscilla Tomes. John died 1710-1712.
- vi. **Nathaniel Nicholson** Born 7 Jan 1675, Nathaniel married Sarah Maris in Oct 1704. He died in 1737.
- vii. **Benjamin Nicholson** Benjamin was born 26 Nov 1678. He died sometime after 19 Jan 1712, leaving everything to his brother Nathaniel.

By his second wife Ann Atwood, Christopher Nicholson had the following children:

- viii. **Elizabeth Nicholson** Born 13 Jan 1680/1681, Elizabeth died on 11 Sep 1682.
- ix. **Sarah Nicholson** Sarah was born 15 Aug 1682; Sarah married James Newby after 5 Jul 1699. Sarah died 13 May 1718.
- x. **Elizabeth Nicholson** Elizabeth was born 11 Mar 1683/1684 and married John Newby on 11 Aug 1701. She died 6 Mar 1720.
- xi. **Christopher Nicholson** Christopher Jr. was born 2 Nov 1685. He married Mary Pool on 12 Nov 1707. He died 23 May 1723.

- xii. **Thomas Nicholson** Thomas was born 7 Feb 1687/1688 and died a few weeks later on 4 Mar 1687/1688.
- xiii. **Ann Nicholson** Ann was born 8 Feb 1688/1689, two months after her father died.

With all the children listed above, including a number of sons, one would conclude that there would have been a number of Nicholson descendants. That does not appear to have been the case. In a 1743 deed, various descendants of the family sold “land that Samuel Nicholson, at the request of his father Christopher Nicholson, made over to his brother Joseph,” and Joseph in his will gave it to his brother John, who died without heirs and left it to his brother Nathaniel Nicholson, who also had no heirs and left it to his brother Benjamin Nicholson. The deed made mention of “all failing of heirs” and stated that the land was referred to as the “Log house” land. It appears that only the son Christopher above had a male descendant. He had one son Thomas. Except for him, the Nicholson name died out with this generation.

Nicholson Family - Third Generation

Samuel Nicholson was born 12 March 1665, almost certainly while his parents were still living at Marblehead, Massachusetts. Being the eldest son, he inherited considerable property from his father, and applied for even more because of his father’s unused headrights.

As mentioned previously, Samuel, “for love I bear my brother, Joseph,” deeded Joseph 200 acres of land on the northeast side of the Perquimans River “when it shall come into my hands by the death of Ann Dorman, the Relict of Christopher Nicholson.” Joseph never got the property since his stepmother Ann outlived him. But Samuel Nicholson continued to look after his brother Joseph, when for a mere £20, Samuel sold Joseph 300 acres “on the west side of Suttons Creek.” This was land granted to Samuel in 1694 “by the Lords,” i.e., the land he received for the family’s headrights.

Samuel evidently received half his father’s estate, which is where he lived, for in a 1708 deed from Samuel to his daughter Abigail, he gave her “my Plantation at the River side, next to Ezekiel Modlins line, the other part being possessed by Ann Dorman.” The deed indicates Samuel’s half was 200 acres, though in 1717 and 1718 Samuel Nicholson paid tax on 350 acres of land.

On 16 December 1688, Samuel Nicholson married Elizabeth Charles, mentioned previously in this work. Elizabeth was the young lady, who at the age of about 18, became the head of the family because her parents and five older siblings had all died. The couple married “at ye quarterly meeting” at Jonathan Phelps’ house.

Samuel Nicholson was a justice of the Perquimans County court from January 1696/1697 to April 1701. He was also a Burgess in the colonial Assembly in 1708. At a 1716 marriage of a daughter of John Pritloe, Samuel Nicholson and another man were appointed to stay at the John Pritloe home the night of the wedding to see “*that there be no disorders.*” On 4 Dec 1717 Samuel and other friends “up the creek” requested to have a week day meeting at his house, which Perquimans Monthly Meeting ordered to be on the fourth day of the week.

Samuel Nicholson died 29 March 1727/1728 in Perquimans County. His crudely written will, dated seven days prior and signed with an “S” mark, read in part:

... my will is that my dear and well beloved wife, Elizabeth Nicholson, Shall have the whole Use and Benefit of all my Lands and houses and plantation during her life; and

after her death, my will and pleasure is that my daughter, Elisabeth Anderson, shall have and enjoy all my Lands, plantations houses and profits, She and her Lawful heirs for ever. Also I give to my Said daughter, Elizabeth Anderson, a Negro woman called Bes.

I give to my daughter, Sarah Nicholson, one Neigro boy called Sesor, during her naturall Life, and at har dises, to fall to them of har kindred which she may think fittest to Life with. I allso give to my Said Daftor, Sarah Nicholson, a father bed and furniture.

I allso give to my Gran Children, forty shillings a pease, to be pid to my Friend, Sarah Gloster, as much good fine Silk Crape as will make har a Suit of Close, a pare of good Stays, three yards of muslin, a pare of worsted hoes, two Yards of Holen, as much fine Garlick, as will make har a Shift.

And as for the Rest of my Estate of what Remains after Lagists and Just debts are duly paid, I give to my Loveing Wife, Elizabeth Nicholson, to be at har disposing. I also make and ordain my Loveing Wife, Elizabeth Nicholson, and my Son-in-Law, John Anderson, Executrex and Executor of this my Will.

The will indicates Samuel was a slave holder, an issue that would soon become a contentious one for Quakers. A little over a year later, on 4 April 1729, Elizabeth declared her intention to marry Zachariah Nixon, the son of Zachariah Nixon and Elizabeth Page, also direct ancestors. Elizabeth lived almost another twenty years. Her will, dated 19 March 1747/1748 and proved in the January 1748/1749 Court term, named son-in-law John Anderson, daughter Elizabeth, daughter Sarah Jones, several grandchildren and “cousin Joseph, son of Thomas Nicholson.”

Samuel and Elizabeth (Charles) Nicholson had five daughters, who all grew to adulthood and married, though the oldest three died relatively young and before their parents:

- + i. **Abigail Nicholson** Abigail, born 24 Sep 1689, was our direct ancestor.
- ii. **Hannah Nicholson** Hannah was born 9 Apr 1692. She married Stephen Scott on 13 Apr 1721 and died six years later on 20 Dec 1727 at age 35. Her husband Stephen Scott was at liberty to marry Ruth Glaister on 5 Jun 1729.
- iii. **Jane Nicholson** Born 10 Nov 1694, Jane married Joseph Barrow on 17 Jul 1712 at the house of “*her father Samuell Nicholson.*” “*Mrs. Jane Barrow*” died at age 33 on 13 Jan 1727/1728, about three weeks after her older sister and 2½ months before her father Samuel.
- iv. **Elizabeth Nicholson** Elizabeth was born 15 Jan 1697/1698, and married John Anderson on 28 May 1719.
- v. **Sarah Nicholson** Sarah, like her older sister Elizabeth, was mentioned in the wills of both her father and mother. She married John Jones.

Some accounts also list a daughter Ida, but no evidence of her existence has been found. Also some accounts of the Nicholson family do not list our direct ancestor, Abigail Nicholson, as a child of Samuel and Elizabeth Nicholson despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

For example, the old register for the Perquimans Precinct of old Albemarle County titled *Births, Marriages, Deaths and Flesh Marks* has the entry “*Abygale Nickolson y^e Daughter of Samull Nickolson & Elizabeth his wife – the 24th of Septemb^r 1689,*” born a little over nine months after her parents’ marriage and thus the first child. Also, the Perquimans Monthly Meeting records have on page 13 (in badly torn condition) a marriage certificate that states “*Nathanell Abertson son of Albert*

Albertson Lat of paq—, and Abigall Nicoleson dau of Samuell ... —, 5m, 1705 ... a meeting att her father Samuell Nicoleson — Listed as witnesses who signed the marriage certificate were “*Samuell Nicoleson*” and “*Elizabeth Nicoleson.*”

Unlike her younger sisters Hannah and Jane, for whom records of their deaths exist, there is no record of when Abigail died. She was not named in her father’s will when he died in March 1728, though Abigail would have been just 38 years old. Abigail married before she turned 16, and her last child was born in 1724 when she was still 35. Since she was still of child-bearing age, it must be assumed she died about 1724-1726, explaining her absence in her father’s will.

As indicated in the marriage certificate mentioned, Abigail married Nathaniel Albertson. An account of that family follows.

Albertson Family

The origins of the Albertson family who settled in the old Albemarle area of North Carolina are unknown. The first Albertson ancestor of whom we can be certain was an Albert Albertson, who was in North Carolina very early, at least by 1668 when he married there.

It is frequently repeated that Albert Albertson was the son of Nicholas Albertson of Scituate, Massachusetts. The Scituate inhabitant was called “Nicholas Albeson the Swede” in a report by soldiers of the town during Phillip’s War in 1676. *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth* identify Nicholas Albeson in 1674 as one who was brought before the court for various offenses, including “*breach of the Sabbath and pilfering and telling a lye in his examination*” and who was “*centanced by the Court to be publicly whipt*” which “*accordingly was inflicted.*” In other words, at least as far as this book goes, our kind of guy. The book *Old Scituate* also describes that in 1676, the hut of “Nicholas the sweede Albeson” burned down and the town later voted to allow him three pounds towards rebuilding his house.

Though it is possible that our ancestor, Albert Albertson, could have been related to the Nicholas Albertson of Massachusetts, it is not likely, and there is no evidence whatsoever to support that hypothesis. It is more likely that our ancestor, Albert Albertson, was of English origin. Albertson is an English language patronymic surname meaning the obvious, i.e., “son of Albert,” and records of its use for centuries can be found in that country.

The first record of Albert Albertson is his marriage, recorded in the tattered *Births, Marriages, Deaths and Flesh Marks* register, which reads “*Alburt Alburton & Mary Gosbey w— 2³ Desember 1668.*” The day in December was written as a two followed by a four overwritten by a five as shown. So presumably the marriage occurred either on Christmas eve or Christmas day in 1668. After Mary Gosby’s name was the letter “w” and then a torn area. Was that to say “widow of” or “were married”? We will never know.

A document dated 22 March 1669/1670 indicates that Albert Albertson was to pay David Williams five barrels of Indian corn, as well as tobacco, as part of his rent for the “mill & plantation,” indicating Albert did not yet own a farm. Albertson did eventually receive a grant of land in the Perquimans Precinct, which was recorded years later on 22 May 1694 as being 290 acres “joining the Swamp of Suttons Creek.”

Albert Albertson died “*att his on [own] house*” on 28 February 1701/1702. He left a will dated 10

February 1701/1702, which was proved 14 April 1702. Albert had four sons: Albert Jr., Esau, Nathaniel and Peter. In his will, Albert Sr. took a somewhat unusual step in leaving “*all that Plantation where I[live] with all the land thereunto belongi[ng] unto*” to his “*loveing Sons*” Peter and Nathaniel, to be equally divided between them. Peter and Nathaniel also got “*my mill and mill horse Called Jack.*” Evidently Albert Sr. was having none of the usual “everything goes to the oldest son” stuff. Albert Jr. received “*tenn pounds Sterling*” in his father’s will, along with a future colt “*that Shall happen after this yeare.*” The second “sonn Easaw” received a “*mare fillie aged twellve months.*” Peter and Nathaniel were also named the executors of the will.

The will may have been equitable because Albert Jr. had received a land grant of his own for 300 acres on the banks of the Perquimans River. But there seems to be a hint of bad blood in the family. The October 1702 session of the Perquimans Court indicates the following: “*Albert Albertson vars Peter Albertson And Nathanel Albertson Execeter of Albert Albertson desesed in a plea of y^e case And they Confesed Judgment for tenn pounds Starling ordered that Peter Albertson and Nathanel Albertson pay to Albert Albertson tenn pound Starling With Cost.*” It appears Albert Jr. had to sue his younger brothers, as executors of their father’s estate, to even get the £10 left him by his father. The court ordered the younger brothers to pay the £10 and awarded Albert Jr. court costs.

Albert Albertson, presumably all by his wife Mary Gosby, had the following children:

- i. **Albert Albertson** Born 15 Jul 1669, Albert Jr. married Elizabeth Mullen. Albert appears on the Perquimans Rent Roll in 1700, with 300 acres on Deep Creek.
- ii. **Susanna Albertson** Born 19 Feb 1670, Susanna may have died young, for there is no further record of her.
- iii. **Esau Albertson** Born 19 Aug 1671, Esau married Sarah Sexton on 17 Jan 1700/1701. For a time he served as constable “from the hithermost part of Little River to the lower side of Suttons Creek.”
- iv. **Hannah Albertson** Hannah was born 11 Dec 1675. She married Joseph Nicholson on 7 Apr 1693, and died soon after, on 2 Jan 1694/1695.
- v. **Peter Albertson** Peter was born the ‘last of June’ in 1677, assumed to mean 30 Jun 1677. He married Ann Jones on 27 Aug 1701.
- + vi. **Nathaniel Albertson** The birth date of Nathaniel was not recorded, but he is presumed to have been the youngest child. He was our direct ancestor.

Albertson Family - Second Generation

Nathaniel Albertson, with his older brother Peter, inherited his father’s house and property, along with a horse-driven mill. According to their father’s will, the brothers were to divide the inheritance equally.

It is not clear if Nathaniel’s father or his brothers were Quakers, but he definitely was. On 12 July 1705, Nathaniel Albertson married Abigail Nicholson at her father’s house. Though the marriage record in the Perquimans Monthly Meeting records is torn and the complete date is not readable, the record of the marriage was also recorded in the precinct register. That record states “*Nathanl. Albertson & Abigaill Nicholson took each other for Man & wife att a Meeting held att the House of Saml. Nicholson the 12th of the 5th Month 1705*” (12 July 1705).

Nathaniel received land from his wife's uncle several years after his marriage to Abigail. On 3 May 1709, Christopher Nicholson and his wife Mary "of the North side of Suttons Creek on the Road of Perquimans" assigned over by deed "*all their Right Title Interest and Claims to this Pattent to Nathaniel Albertson.*"

As explained earlier, Nathaniel's wife Abigail appears to have died about 1724-1726, and certainly by 1728 when her father wrote his will. There is no evidence that Nathaniel ever remarried. Nathaniel signed a will dated 4 December 1751, and he probably died soon after, as the will was proved in the January 1752 court session.

In his will Nathaniel Albertson bequeathed to his son Joshua "*all my Land from long Branch down to the Creeks Swamp and so down to the branch at the upper end of my Manner Plantation & so out to the back line to him & his heirs for ever, also one feather Bed & Furniture on which I lie, also the one third part of all my Stock of Cattle & Hogs.*"

He gave to his son William "*my Manner Plantation I now dwell on with all the land from the afore mentioned branch at the upper end of said Plantation, running with a Direct course with the branch from the creek swamp to the back line & then down to the line of that land was farmed by his grandfather Samuel Nicholson,*" providing that the house could be used by his daughter Hannah "*as long as She Shall remain unmarried.*" William also received "*one third part of all my stocks of Cattle and Hogs.*"

Nathaniel Albertson was a slaveholder and he left three slaves to his children. He gave a "*young Negro woman named Joan*" to his son William and a "*young Negro boy named Abraham*" to his grandsons Benjamin and Chalkley Albertson, sons of William. He also gave "*one Negro girl named Rose she and her increase*" to his son Joshua and his daughter Hannah "*to be equally divided betwixt them.*"

Nathaniel's son Aaron received "*one hundred weight of fresh pork, also one third part of all my Stocks of hogs & Cattle.*" He then divided his sheep and furniture among his daughters. His three sons were named his executors.

Nathaniel Albertson and Abigail Nicholson had the following children:

- | | | |
|--------|----------------------------|--|
| i. | Sarah Albertson | Born 2 Nov 1706, Sarah married Richard Davis of Virginia on 7 Oct 1723 at "ye Lower Meeting House." He died in 1737. |
| ii. | Elizabeth Albertson | Born 10 Sep 1708, Elizabeth married Samuel Newby, the son of James Newby and Sarah Nicholson, on 11 Nov 1725. |
| + iii. | Aaron Albertson | Born 13 Nov 1710, Aaron was our direct ancestor. |
| iv. | Jane Albertson | Born 18 Feb 1712, Jane married William Jones on 7 Oct 1741. |
| v. | Joshua Albertson | Born 1 Jul 1715, Joshua married Mary Symons on 5 Dec 1734. |
| vi. | Hannah Albertson | Born 18 Apr 1719, Hannah married John Nixon on 10 Mar 1753 as his fifth wife. |
| vii. | Lydia Albertson | Born 20 Jan 1721, "Lidda" married Thomas Trueblood, son of Amos Trueblood, on 14 Mar 1743/1744. |
| viii. | William Albertson | Born 23 Dec 1724, William married Sarah Pritchard in Oct 1747. He died in 1784. |

Albertson Family - Third Generation

Our ancestor, Aaron Albertson, was born 13 November 1710 in Perquimans County, North Carolina. On 2 July 1729 he declared his intention to marry Ann Gilbert and they were married two months later, on 10 September 1729. The register for the Perquimans Precinct of old Albemarle County titled *Births, Marriages, Deaths and Flesh Marks* has an entry which reads: “Aron Albertson & Ann Gilbert was Married the 10th: of the 7 mo. 1729.”

It is often repeated that Ann Gilbert was the daughter of a Josiah Gilbert and Ann Pierce, but no account had ever been located which presents evidence to support such a claim. But a clue posted on the Internet eventually led to a visit in 2007 to the Wilson Library at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, which houses the Southern Historical Collection. In that collection are eleven sheets of paper, accession number 1336, describing a very old family bible which was lent to the university so its contents could be transcribed, which occurred in July 1947. The bible was the property of Mary Henderson, the unmarried daughter of John Steele Henderson, a former U.S. Congressman from North Carolina. The bible had been given to John Steele Henderson by a member of his bible class. After the transcription of its contents, the bible was returned to Mary Henderson, who died in 1965. The location of the bible today is unknown.

The 1947 transcription describes the old bible as a “Genevan” bible bearing the imprint of “Christopher Banker, London, and dated 1599.” The transcriptionist made an error, since early Geneva bibles were printed by Christopher *Barker*, not Banker. Barker held a patent in England to print the Geneva version of the bible, and he and his son printed approximately seventy editions of the Holy Bible between 1575 and 1599.

The Geneva bible is one of the most historically significant translations of the Bible in the English language, preceding the King James translation by 51 years. It was the primary bible of the 16th century and was the bible used by William Shakespeare, Oliver Cromwell, John Milton and others. It also was used by many English Dissenters, and would have been popular among Quakers. What made the Geneva version of the Holy Bible unique was that, for the first time, a mechanically-printed, mass-produced bible was made available to the general public. Reprints of a 1599 English Geneva bible can still be purchased today.

Handwritten notations in the old bible listed the births and deaths of several members of early Quaker families who lived in the Albemarle area of North Carolina, primarily the Pierce, Gilbert and Morris families. One of those notations said “*Writ by Thomas Gilbert in y year 1760,*” which seems to indicate the source and date of the information. Others continued to update family information in the bible, since Thomas Gilbert’s death was recorded, and births of children until 1799.

One of first notations in the bible is: “*Josiah Gilbert departed this life y^e 12th day 4th month called April about twelve o’ clock in the year 1760.*” Other far older entries were likely recopied from other family bibles, including the birth of Thomas Pierce and Mary Kent, both in 1669, as well as the date of their marriage in 1690. Thomas Gilbert listed the children of this marriage, including daughters Ann and Sarah Pierce. Oddly, he did not record the marriages of Josiah Gilbert to both Ann and Sarah Pierce, but did note the he was “*the son of Josiah Gilbert and Sarah his wife.*” One of Thomas’ entries was that John and Sarah Williams had a daughter named Mary, the significance of which will be shown in a moment. Perhaps one of the most important entries records the fact that “*Granmother Peirce Departed this Life y^e 2 day of the 1 month 1749.*”

This bible is a critical piece of circumstantial evidence because it proves that Josiah Gilbert was married to the daughter of Mary (Kent) Pierce, who died on the day noted in the bible. This validates

the tradition that Josiah Gilbert married Ann Pierce, the daughter of Thomas Pierce and Mary Kent, and following Ann's death, to her sister Sarah as her third husband. More on the Pierce and Kent families will appear in a future chapter.

Aaron Albertson's name appears in only a few records. An undated entry in the Perquimans records indicates that the "*Inhabitants of Old Neck complained that they were at great hardship for want of a road, and prayed the Court to have one cleared from Francis Toms Bridge to the mouth of Suttons Creek,*" and Aaron Albertson was one of seven persons assigned to "keep the road in order." A list of house-holders taken in 1744 lists his name, as does a list of taxables taken in 1742. Albertson also served as the executor for his son-in-law William Charles when the latter's will was proved in January 1771.

Aaron lived to be quite old for a period in history when the average life expectancy was about 35. He signed a will dated 15 October 1769, but it was not proved until the April 1782 session of court, so we can assume he died in early 1782 at age 71. His will read in part:

I give to my son Benj^a Albertson my plantation I now dwell on with all the land thereunto belonging ... my loving Anne have the use of one third of the aforesaid plantation and houses during her widowhood.

I give to my loving wife Anne Albertson the one half of all my moveable estate during her natural life and after her decease to be equally divided betwixt my four children Nathaniel Albertson, Abigail Cosand, Jean Charles and Benjamin Albertson ...

I give to my four children (viz) Nathaniel Albertson, Abigail Cosand, Jane Charles, and Benj^a Albertson the other half of all my moveable estate to be equally divided betwixt them ...

Aaron Albertson and Ann Gilbert had at least the following children:

- i. **Joseph Albertson** Born 10 Sep 1730, Joseph was the first child born to Aaron and Ann, but there is no further record of him and he is presumed to have died young..
- ii. **Abigail Albertson** Born 2 Mar 1732, there are some interesting records regarding Abigail's marriage. On 2 Jul 1755, the minutes of the Perquimans Monthly Meeting indicate that Abigail was at liberty to marry "Gabriel Cossan." But an entry dated 6 Aug 1755 states "*Friends appointed to attend wedding of Gabriel Cossan & Abigail Albertson, signified there was no wedding.*" A bride left at the alter comes to mind. However maybe some Friends should have been appointed to check on what those other Friends were drinking, because the Albemarle register has the entry "*Gabriel Cosand & Abigal Albertson was Joyned Together in Matrimony the 9th: day of July 1755*" and also lists the births of six of their children. "Abigail Cosand" was also listed in her father's will.
- iii. **Nathaniel Albertson** Born 19 Jun 1733, Nathaniel married Mary Bogue on 2 Jun 1756. He died in 1785, as his will was proved in July of that year.
- + iv. **Jane Albertson** Born 20 Dec 1735, Jane (or Jean) was our direct ancestor.
- v. **Benjamin Albertson** Born 29 Jul 1739, Benjamin married Mary Small in Jan 1760. Benjamin continued to live at Old Neck near the present-day town of Hertford, where he died on 27 Sep 1800.

Jane Albertson (or if you prefer, Jean Albertson, since her name is seen spelled both ways, even in her father's will) was our direct ancestor. She married William Charles, who was a distant cousin (second cousin once removed, to be exact). Their common ancestors were William Charles and Abigail Bailey.

Cornell Family

The reader may think other accounts in this work were bizarre, such as the whippings of the Quakers in New England or the family of Edmund Nicholson being charged with his murder because Edmund drowned at sea. But as the expression goes, you haven't seen anything yet. In what may be one of the most bizarre stories told in a family account, this chapter describes the strange death of a direct ancestor, Rebecca Cornell, in 1673. Her son was later tried and convicted of burning her to death, based on nothing but circumstantial evidence and the testimony of a ghost. That's right, a ghost!

As with other surnames in very old records, the name Cornell is often seen spelled many ways, such as Cornwell, Cornwall, Cornhill, etc. The origin of the Cornell family was Essex County, England and baptism records have been found in the village of Saffron Walden there for children of our immigrant ancestor, Thomas Cornell. The parents of this Thomas Cornell have never been identified, though there have been decades of published speculation. The most probable option is that Thomas was the person of that name baptized at Saffron Walden on 1 June 1595, son of William Cornell, but that speculation is based on the fact that Thomas named his first son William.

The town of Saffron Walden is about 45 miles north of London, and today has a population of about 15,000. The town is very old, and a stone church was first built there in 1066. The town's first charter was granted in 1300, and the town was first known as *Chipping Walden*. However, in the 16th century and 17th century, the saffron crocus plant became widely grown in the area, and the saffron extract was used in medicines, as a valuable spice, a perfume, an aphrodisiac, and as an expensive yellow dye. This industry gave its name to the town and *Chipping Walden* later became *Saffron Walden*.

As is usually the case, the early parish records of Saffron Walden are incomplete, but the records list the baptisms of eight children, and the deaths of two, for parents Thomas and Rebecca Cornell. The ancestry of Thomas' wife Rebecca has been the subject of considerable debate and articles like "Who was Rebecca Cornell?" published in *The American Genealogist* in January 1960.

During the trial of their son Thomas Cornell Jr. for the murder of his mother (see below), testimony was made by John Briggs, in which reference was made to Rebecca Cornell as "sister Cornell." As a result, many have assumed Rebecca's maiden name was *Briggs*. The previously mentioned article in *The American Genealogist*, written by Dr. George McCracken, asserts that not enough proof exists to conclude Rebecca was a Briggs, arguing that terminology of the seventeenth century could have meant only a sister-in-law relationship.

Some researchers have pointed out that a daughter Rebecca was born to a "Henrie Briggs" of London and was baptized 25 October 1600 at St. James Church in Clerkenwell. The date of the baptism is consistent for the Rebecca who married Thomas Cornell, and Henry Briggs also had a son John. But London was a considerable distance from Saffron Walden, and the age of the John Briggs born in London does not match well with the age of the man of that name in Rhode Island. McCracken concludes that "if Rebecca Cornell was really a Briggs, then she was not the one baptized in Clerkenwell."

The last baptism of a child for Thomas and Rebecca Cornell in the parish records for Saffron Walden was recorded on 15 January 1636/1637. Probably in 1638, Thomas Cornell and his family emigrated to New England. The first record of him in America is in Boston, where in a vote held at a town meeting on 20 August 1638, Cornell was permitted to buy "*William Baulstone's house, yard, and garden, backside of Mr. Coddington, and to become an inhabitant.*" Today this property would be

found on Washington Street, between Summer and Milk Streets, in downtown Boston.

What Thomas Cornell purchased was the second of two inns or *ordinaries* licensed in Boston before 1639. These “houses of entertainment” were licensed to sell liquor. Cornell also purchased from William Baulstone two acres “in the Mill Field,” three acres at Hogg Island, and 80 acres at Mount Wollastan, the seventeenth century name for Quincy, Massachusetts.

The General Court held at Newton, Massachusetts in 1637 had ruled that it was unlawful “*for any person that shall keepe any such inn or common victualling house to sell or have in their houses any wine or strong waters, nor any beare or other drinke other than such as may and shall be souled [sold] for 1d the quart at the most.*” The word “beare” was an old spelling for *beer* and “1d” refers to the price, one pence (the abbreviation “d” is still used today; a “16 d. nail” is a “sixteen-penny nail”). Thomas Cornell fell afoul of this law. Records indicate “*Thomas Cornhill was licensed upon tryal to keepe an inn in the room of Will Baulstone till the next General Court 4 Jun 1639*” and that he “*was fined £30 for several offenses selling wine without license and beare at 2d a quart.*”

A fine of £30 was a very stiff fine. Cornell was represented in court by a man named Thomas Lechford, who was the first professional lawyer to practice in the Massachusetts Bay Colony and who was frequently at odds with colonial authorities in Lechford’s three-year stay in Boston. Lechford also had the dubious distinction of being the first lawyer disbarred in America. Lechford kept a “note-book” dated from 27 June 1638 to 29 July 1641, when he had finally had enough of Massachusetts and returned to England. Lechford, upon his return to England, wrote not only of the stifling religion in the colony but also that his disbarment had left him poor and starving and forced to return to England.

Lechford’s “note book,” eventually published in 1885, contains the “humble petition of Thomas Cornell of Boston, Innkeeper,” a document presented to the General Court on 4 June 1639. In the petition, Lechford argued before the court:

Sheweth that whereas in the winter tyme when provisions were Deare & scarce and yo^r petitioner had much losse by his small beare by the frost, he did sell some stronger beere w^{ch} he was at cost to preserve from the frost by fire, for the necessary use of strangers, unto some others, for 2d. a quarte, and did since draw out about a rundlet of sacke in his house, not knowing any law to the contrary, seing M^r. Fortescue told him that he had liberty to Draw by the gallon, or 2 or 3 gallons, yo^r petitioner hoping that he might so Doe & save himselfe a labour of sending to the taverne. But seeing yo^r petitioner now understandeth that these things are against the lawes, he is very sorry for his offences and all other offences that have been taken notice of by the Court, beseeching you to consider that some miscarriages may passe in such an house against his will and wthout his knowledge, but he hath ben hitherto carefull and shall hereafter Godwilling be more carefull to keepe a good conscience in the said place if you shall please to continue him therein, if not he shalbe ready to leave the same as soone as he can get a chapman for his house, for that he hath not ben heretofore accustomed to such a housekeeping and these are his first offences and his first warning.

All W^{ch} Considered yo^r petitioner humbly prayeth the Co^{rt} to be pleased to remit his ffine lately imposed upon him by the Court of Assistants for the said offences, and as long as he continueth in the said housekeeping he promiseth by the help of God to be carefull not to offend in such things or in any other, and shall as his duty bynds him pray for your long life & prosperity & the whole State.

Lechford even noted in his notebook that he charged Thomas Cornell 2 shillings, 6 pence for his services. His actions on Cornell's behalf were only partially successful. Two days later, the court reduced Thomas Cornell's fine by £10, but he was given one month *"to sell off his ware which is upon his hand and then to cease keeping intertainment and the town to furnish another."* In other words, he now had a tavern without a liquor license. Cornell was evidently not as innocent as he was portrayed in the petition to the court. Massachusetts colonial records noted Cornell *"had warning the 10th 4th m^o,"* which would seem to indicate that Thomas Cornell had been warned by the colonial authorities that he was in violation of the law on 10 April 1639.

No longer able to operate the inn because he lost his liquor license, Thomas Cornell soon sold "his house and lands." On 11 January 1639/1640, Cornell sold the property to Edward Tyng, who owned a warehouse and brew house, and Cornell moved his family to Rhode Island.

Cornell had become a religious dissident, becoming a follower of Anne Hutchinson and what became known as an Antinomian. Such a person held the belief that faith alone, not just obedience to religious law, was necessary for salvation. Anne Hutchinson was an early settler in Massachusetts, and soon became the leader of a dissident church discussion group. She held religious meetings for women, which soon appealed to men as well. Eventually, she went beyond Bible study to proclaim her own theological interpretations of sermons, some of which offended the colonial authorities (one must keep in mind that there were very few things which did not offend the colonial authorities of Massachusetts). A major controversy ensued, and after a trial before a jury of officials and clergy, Hutchinson was banished from Massachusetts and fled to Rhode Island.

During her imprisonment, some of the leaders of the Hutchinsonian movement prepared to leave the Massachusetts colony and settle elsewhere. Nineteen men met on 7 March 1638, at the home of the wealthy Boston merchant William Coddington. The men elected Coddington their leader. They initially planned to move to Jersey or Long Island, but Roger Williams convinced them to settle in the area of Rhode Island, near Williams' Providence Plantations settlement. Coddington purchased Aquidneck island from the Indians and the settlement of Pocasset (later called Portsmouth) was founded. Anne Hutchinson followed in April 1638, after her trial.

The name of Thomas Cornell was not among the group, but among the obnoxious heretics were his neighbors, Baulstone and Coddington, and his possible brother-in-law, John Briggs. Thomas Cornell arrived two years later and was admitted a freeman of Portsmouth on 6 August 1640. On 4 February 1641 "a piece of meadow" was granted him to be fenced in at his own expense. The same year he was appointed constable, and the following year ensign in the militia, though the latter position may have been held by his son Thomas.

Following a short and decisive conflict between the English colonists in Massachusetts and the Pequot Indians in 1636-1637, the Narragansett Indians became the most powerful Indian nation in southern New England. Roger Williams had become friends with the Narragansetts and it was not long before the other New England colonies began to fear and mistrust the Narragansetts, regarding Roger Williams' colony and the Narragansetts as a common enemy. Over the next three decades the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth colonies exerted pressure to destroy both Rhode Island and the Narragansetts.

Because of this, in the fall of 1642, Thomas Cornell moved to New Netherlands (today New York) near present-day New York City. Roger Williams and John Throckmorton, leaders of the Rhode Island colony, were part of this move. The reason for the move was to get beyond the reach of the

Massachusetts authorities. The latter viewed the Rhode Island settlements as a squatter sovereignty settled by fugitives from Boston.

Thomas Cornell seems to have been treated as a friend and associate of Williams and Throckmorton. The Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, John Winthrop, noted that “Mr. Throckmorton and Mr. Cornell established with buildings, etc., on neighboring plantations under the Dutch. On 2 Oct 1642, the local Dutch government granted him permission with his associated (thirty-five families) to settle within the limits of the jurisdiction of their mightinesses to reside there in peace.” After receiving permission to settle there, Cornell and Throckmorton procured a survey and map of the area, and on 6 July 1643 John Throckmorton received a grant for himself and his associates.

The area where Throckmorton settled was on what is known as Throgs Neck in the Bronx (named after “Throgmorton,” one of the many variations of his name). Today, the I-295 freeway to Long Island crosses the Throgs Neck Bridge. The “neighboring plantation” where Thomas Cornell settled was on what became known as Cornell’s Neck. Today the Cornell property would be found in the Harding Park community of south central Bronx in New York City, about one mile northeast of Riker’s Island.

An historical account about the Harding Park area prepared by the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation describes the “first inhabitants of the area were the Siwanoy, Native Americans, who belonged to the Wappinger Federation. The Algonquin-speaking Siwanoy had several villages along the Bronx River, including a relatively large settlement called Snakipins (‘ground nuts’ in the Siwanoy language), situated near the modern intersection of Leland Avenue and Soundview Avenue. Archeologists believe the settlement had about 70 lodge sites. The Dutch began acquiring large tracts of land from the Native Americans in 1639, including the area that was to become the Bronx. Clashes between the Europeans and various tribes marked the next few decades. As part of a three-year series of reciprocal raids known as the ‘Pig Wars’, Wampage, a Siwanoy leader led an attack on Bronx families including the Cornell family who had built the first farmhouse in what would become the Harding Park neighborhood. Family members who managed to escape did so only because an English ship was fortuitously passing by. A year later Thomas Cornell and his remaining family returned, and the area came to be known as Cornell’s Neck. Nearby Cornell Avenue also bears his name.”

The “Forgotten New York” website supplies a slightly different spin on the same story: “Europeans began settling the region in the early 1600s, and the Cornell family built the first permanent European settlement in the spit of land first known as Snakipins by the Indians, then Cornells Neck and later Clason Point. In the 1640s a series of skirmishes between the Cornells and the Siwanoy, known as the Pig Wars, were led by Wampage, the Siwanoy sachem believed to be the Indian leader who killed Anne Hutchinson and her children in 1643 at Split Rock, now in the northern Bronx. This act was done, some historians believe, in retaliation for New Netherlands governor Willem Kieft’s February massacres of refugee Weekquaesgeek at Corlaer’s Hook and Pavonia in today’s New Jersey. A passing ship rescued the Cornells, and they persisted, returning to their adopted Bronx home the year after Wampage’s last raid. Britisher Thomas Pell arrived at a treaty in 1654 with several Siwanoy sachems, including Wampage, that the Dutch authorities didn’t recognize. This disagreement was rendered moot in 1664 when the British fleet appeared in the harbor and the Dutch capitulated.”

The early name of Cornell’s Neck later was changed to Clason Point (pronounced *Clawson*) after a wealthy Scottish merchant who bought much of the area in 1793. Harding Park is an interesting maze of narrow unnamed streets and bungalows. It seems independent from the rest of the Bronx, since its street pattern is different and it’s cut off by water from the rest of the borough. The Harding Park

section of Clason Point is also known as “Little Puerto Rico” with narrow streets and bungalow-style homes along the water. As mentioned above, there is a Cornell Avenue in the neighborhood to this day.

As mentioned in the historical accounts, the stay of the Cornell family and the other displaced English settlers in the Dutch New Netherlands colony was cut short by the Indian war which broke out in February 1643. The conflict started when Dutch Governor Kieft ordered an attack on Indian encampments, and in retaliation, the Indians soon killed many of the white settlers around New Amsterdam, including the English settlers north of the town. Those that could fled to the relative safety of New Amsterdam. Roger Williams wrote “Mine eyes saw the flames of these towns, the flights and hurrying of men, women, and children and the present removal of all that could to Holland.”

A number of the English settlers were killed. Massachusetts Governor Winthrop wrote in his journal in September 1643 that the Indians “set upon the English who dwelt under the Dutch. They came to Mrs. Hutchinson’s in way of friendly neighborhood, as they had been accustomed, and taking their opportunity, killed her and Mr. Collins, her son-in-law, and all her family, and such of Mr. Throckmorton’s and Mr. Cornhill’s families as were at home; in all sixteen, and put their cattle into their houses and there burnt them.” The “Mrs. Hutchinson” he referred to was Anne Hutchinson, who Winthrop had banned from Massachusetts. Despite Winthrop’s contention to the contrary, there is no evidence that any of Thomas Cornell’s family were killed in the attack.

Most who escaped the Indian attack returned to Rhode Island. Thomas Cornell was among those who returned to the Rhode Island colony, which by now had a grant from the English King. Cornell returned to Portsmouth, where he secured a grant of land from that town on 29 August 1644 “butting on Mr. Porter’s round meadow.” On 4 February 1646, another grant of 100 acres was made to Thomas Cornell by the town of Portsmouth “on the south side of the Wading River and so as to run from the river towards the land that was laid out to Edward Hutchinson” (a son of Ann Hutchinson).

In the book *History of Portsmouth 1638-1936* by Edward H. West, published in 1936, the land Cornell received was described as “a small tract on Common Fence Point, another on the East Road, south of Richard Borden’s, but his large tract was south of Wading River, part of it being what we now call Lawton’s Valley, a piece of which is still owned by a descendant” (in 1936). Today, the property would be found on Aquidneck Island about midway between Portsmouth and Newport, west of Highway 114 (West Main Road) between the Lawton Valley Reservoir and Carr Point. Bob Watts, who lives in the area, states that the Cornell homestead once stood on the site of the Valley Inn Restaurant at 2221 West Main Road.

Peace was eventually restored in New Netherlands, brought about by the mediation of Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island. As mentioned in the previously quoted historical accounts, Thomas Cornell returned to the Dutch colony, where he received another land patent from Governor Kieft dated 26 July 1646. Because of the age and interest of the document, it is reproduced in part here:

We William Kieft, Director General, and the Council on the behalf of the High and Mighty Lords, the States General of the United Netherlands, the Prince of Orange and the noble Lords, the Managers of the incorporated West India Company in New Netherlands residing, by these presents do publish and declare that we, on this day the date underwritten, have given and granted unto Thomas Cornell a certain piece of land lying on the East River, beginning from the kill of Bronck’s land east south east along the river, extending about half a Dutch mile from the river till to a little creek

over the valley (marsh) which runs back around this land; with the express condition and terms that the said Thomas Cornell, or they who to his action hereafter may succeed, ... shall acknowledge as their Lords and Patroons under the sovereignty of the High and Mighty Lords the States General, ... the aforesaid Thomas Cornell in our stead in the real and actual possession of the aforesaid piece of land, giving him by these presents the full might, authority, and special license, the aforesaid piece to enter, cultivate, inhabit and occupy in like manner as he may lawfully do with other his patrimonial lands and effects ...

*Done in the Fort Amsterdam in New Netherlands, this 26th of July, 1646, undersigned
William Kieft*

The reference to “Bronck’s land” in the land grant was to the land of Jonas Bronck, a Swede who had settled early in New Netherlands. The Bronx River and, later, the borough of the Bronx in New York City were named after him. Since the land patent granted the right to Thomas Cornell to “cultivate, inhabit and occupy in like manner as he may lawfully do *with other his patrimonial lands*,” the strong implication is that this was not the only land Thomas held on Cornell’s neck, and was in fact a second land grant.

Cornell’s land grant was huge, extending from the East River “half a Dutch mile.” Many people are not aware that there used to be many different miles, e.g., a German mile, an Irish mile, an Italian mile, etc. The exact length of a “Dutch mile” or “Hollandic mile” remains allusive since it was not precisely defined, and what definitions of it do exist varied at different periods in history. Scholars agree that a “Dutch mile” in the seventeenth century was the equivalent of at least three English miles but no more than six. Arnold J. F. van Laer, a former librarian and archivist for the New York State Library and the Division of History and Archives, was one of the foremost authorities on colonial Dutch records. Van Laer cites from various sources the length of a *Dutch mile* as 7420 meters, 7407.41 meters, 5555.6 meters or 5358 meters. Take your pick. But we can assume the Thomas Cornell’s land extended inland from the East River at least a mile and a half.

The issue of the Dutch land grant to Thomas Cornell would resurface a few years later in a 1665 court case in which the ownership of the lands was questioned. After Thomas Cornell died, his lands on Cornell’s Neck passed to his widow Rebecca, who in turn gave the land to her eldest daughter Sarah, who at the time was the wife of Charles Bridges. In 1664, Thomas Pell of Onkway, Connecticut also claimed the land on Cornell’s Neck, stating that he had bought the land directly from the Indians in the area. Of course, the Indians had already sold the land to the Dutch, who then granted parcels of it to Thomas Cornell and other settlers, but selling land more than once was deemed a perfectly acceptable practice by Indian tribes.

On 29 September 1665, the case went to trial and Sarah and her husband produced “*a grant and patent from the Dutch governor, Kieft, to Thomas Cornell, deceased, father of Sarah, one of the plaintiffs*,” which was read in court. The testimony in the case also referred to “*an act from the late Dutch governor, Stuyvesant, produced, where he buyes the same lands of the Indians again, (though alledged to be bought long before,) and confirms it to Thomas Cornell, his heires and assigns*.” This confirms the practice of the Indians selling the same land to the white man as many times as they could get away with it.

Of course, Pell argued that he bought the land in question “*in the year 1654, of the natives, and paid them for it*.” He further argued that the land in question fell within the Connecticut colony (such boundary disputes between colonies were common) and that “*no patent could be granted by the*

Dutch, they having no right.” The court records indicate that several “*testimonys were read to prove that ye Indians questioned Mr. Cornell’s and other plantations there, about not paying for those lands, which was the occasion of their cutting them off and driving away the inhabitants.*”

The jury decided in favor of Sarah Cornell and her husband, and Pell was ordered to “*pay costs and charges of suite, and sixpence damage.*” Though the lawsuit itself is interesting, it is the testimony of the Indian attacks which are quite riveting. Testimony documented in the court records indicates that “*Thomas Cornell was in lawful possession of the said lands, and that he was at considerable charges in building, manuring, and planting ye same, that after some years the said Thomas Cornell was driven off his said lands, by the barbarous violence of the Indians who burnt his house and goods, and destroyed his cattle.*”

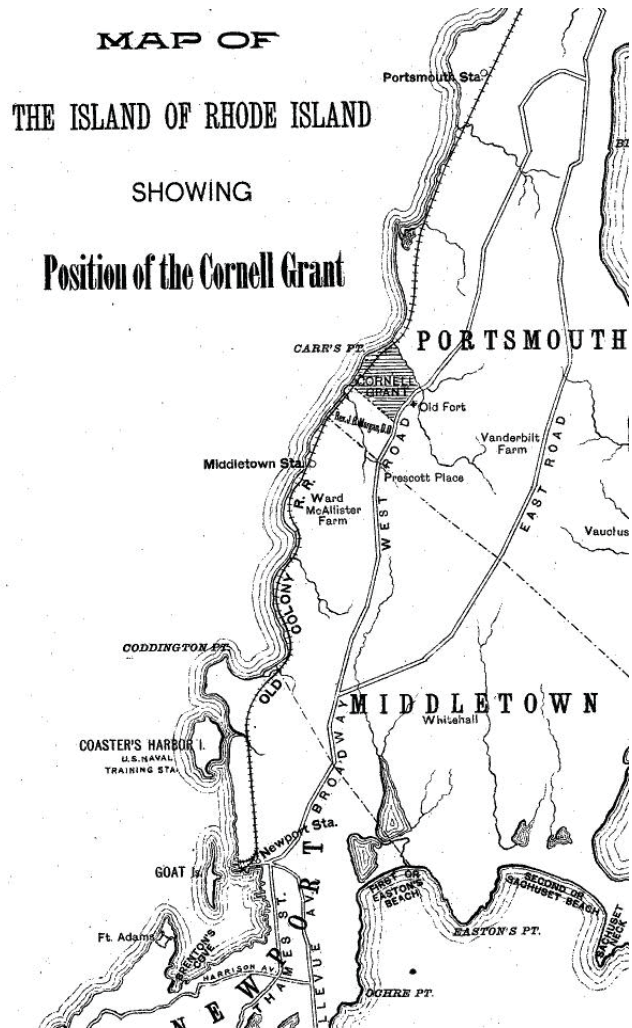
In his book *Genealogy of the Cornell Family*, published in 1902, author John Cornell wrote “Thus we infer that after several years residence at ‘Cornell’s Neck,’ perhaps nine years, Thomas Cornell was again driven by the Indians from his property in New Netherlands, and returned to his homestead at Portsmouth, where he lived, and died, and was buried. For we find a record of him as serving on a coroner’s jury in 1653, and in 1654 Thomas Cornell was one of the commissioners of ‘*ye foure-towns upon ye re-uniting of ye Colonie of Providence Plantations.*’ He probably died the following year.”

Thomas Cornell and his family did, in fact, return to Portsmouth, Rhode Island, apparently after having been attacked by Indians a second time. It is believed that Thomas died about 1655. In the book *Genealogy of the Cornell Family*, John Cornell wrote that “an old memorandum made by Stephen B. Cornell of Portsmouth about the beginning of the last century, and still preserved in the family, states that Thomas Cornell, by will dated December 5, 1651, gave to his wife Rebecca all his real estate.” He also wrote that the will was not known to still be in existence (in 1902). A will for Thomas Cornell has never been found, though in all likelihood it existed at one time.

It was quite unusual during this period for a man to write a will leaving everything to his wife and nothing to his children, especially his sons, but in the case of Thomas Cornell, this appears to have been the case. At this point, the account of the Cornell family shifts to Thomas’ widow, Rebecca Cornell. Because her son was charged with murdering her by burning her to death, much has been written about Rebecca Cornell. Two books that mention the case are *Haunted Providence: Strange Tales from the Smallest State* by Rory Raven and *Ghosts of Newport: Spirits, Scoundrels, Legends and Lore* by John T. Brennan. But the best account is the book *Killed Strangely, The Death of Rebecca Cornell* by Elaine Forman Crane. Ms. Crane is to be commended for an excellent work, and some of what follows must be credited to her.

Rebecca Cornell, who was about 55 when her husband died, remained on the family’s farm on Aquidneck Island near Providence, Rhode Island for the rest of her life. There are a few records which mention her; e.g., on 10 December 1657 the widow was granted ten acres of land in exchange for another ten acres previously granted her husband. In 1659 Rebecca deeded those 10 acres to “her son and daughter Kent,” i.e., her daughter Ann and Ann’s husband Thomas Kent. On 30 April 1661, Rebecca, “widow and executrix of Thomas Cornell,” sold two parcels of land, containing eight acres with a house and fruit trees to Richard Hart for £30, the sale confirmed by her son Thomas two years later.

At some point before his death, Thomas Cornell had purchased land in Dartmouth, in the Plymouth Colony. Dartmouth was across the bay from Portsmouth. The land was part of a larger tract purchased from the Indian chief Wesamequen and his son Wamsutta by a deed dated 29 November



Left, an 1890's map which shows Cornell's Neck on Long Island Sound in what today is the Bronx, part of New York City. Cornell's Neck is where Thomas Cornell settled in 1642 in what was at that time a Dutch colony. When they were driven out by Indian attacks in 1643, which killed many settlers, Cornell and his family settled in Portsmouth, Rhode Island. The position of their land grant can be seen in the old map, right. It was on this farm where Rebecca Cornell was "killed strangely," launching a trial that attracted a great deal of attention when it occurred in 1673. Her son was found guilty of killing her and hanged, the verdict being partially based on the testimony of a ghost. Honestly!

1652 at New Plymouth. The original tract embraced all the shore for three miles east from the Acushnet River, extending “from the sea upward to go so high that the English may not be annoyed by the hunting of the Indians in any sort.” This tract was divided among the original patentees into large shares of many hundreds of acres.

It appears Cornell owned a half share of this land, evidently with John Briggs, his brother-in-law. On 25 October 1663 Rebecca conveyed to her sons Samuel and Joshua each a one sixth of a share of land at “Coshena and Acockset” (part of Dartmouth), and perhaps a one-sixth to son John, who lived in Dartmouth. There is a Cornell Pond, a pond and park, located in the Hixville section of Dartmouth to this day.

In the deeds and Rebecca’s will the land in the Plymouth Colony in Massachusetts was referred to as “Acushnett Acocksett” or “Acushnett and Acocksett,” with the usual spelling variations. Evidently the settlers had trouble figuring out what to call the area, as another deed about this same time refers to “Lands formerly Called by the Names of Acushnett ponagansett Acocksett &c Since Comonly Called by the Name of the Towne of Dartmoth ...”

The town of Acushnet, Massachusetts remains to this day, famous as the original home of the Acushnet Company, which owns the Titleist and Pinnacle brands, under which golf balls, golf clubs and other golf accessories are marketed. The name “Acushnet,” which is also the name of the river the town lies on, comes from the Wampanoag “Cushnea,” meaning “peaceful resting place near water.”

On 7 July 1663 Rebecca gave her eldest son, Thomas Jr., the farm on which she lived by a deed of gift. At least two of her daughters, Sarah and Rebecca, and one or two of her sons remained in the Dutch settlements near present-day New York City, and Rebecca Cornell conveyed her husband’s extensive property on Cornell’s Neck to her two daughters, Sarah and Rebecca. The daughter Rebecca subsequently conveyed her part of the property to her sister Sarah, who became the sole owner of Cornell’s Neck in what is today the Bronx in New York City.

Evidently Rebecca Cornell became a convert to Quakerism soon after her husband died. The first Quakers did not reach America until 1656, about the time Thomas Cornell died. Because Thomas and Rebecca had been religious dissidents, Rebecca’s conversion to Quakerism seems rather predictable. No extant Quaker records name her as a member, since the first entry in the Rhode Island Monthly Meeting records is three years after her death. But there is sufficient circumstantial evidence to show she was an active Quaker.

For example, volume seven of the *Vital Record of Rhode Island, 1636-1850*, published in 1895, lists the names of Friends who died in Rhode Island. The records include two entries of Quakers who died in Rebecca’s house: “Ann Richardson, wife of William, shipmaster, Newport, died at the house of Thomas Cornell, Portsmouth, buried in Clifton graveyard, May 5, 1659” and “Benjamin Allen, son of Ralph, Sandwich, died at the house of Thomas Cornell, Portsmouth, buried at Clifton graveyard, Feb. 27, 1669.” Clifton Graveyard, located in present day Newport, Rhode Island was named after the first owner of the land, Thomas Clifton, who left it in his will in 1675 to the Society of Friends. Most of the people buried there are Quakers.

The fact that two Quakers died in the “house of Thomas Cornell, Portsmouth” (it is not clear if the reference was to Thomas Sr., or his son Thomas Jr., who lived with Rebecca, but who would have been considered the man of the house) strongly implies that the household was Quaker, and that

traveling Quakers often stayed there. But the most convincing evidence comes from the entry in the Society of Friends records from Newport, Rhode Island: "*Rebecka Cornell widdow was killed Strangely at Portsmouth in her own Dwelling House.*" The Quakers would not have noted her death if she had not been a member.

The phrase "killed strangely" has been scrutinized by researchers for over a century. The phrase, of course, is the basis for the title of the book *Killed Strangely, The Death of Rebecca Cornell* by Elaine Forman Crane, published in 2002. It is interesting that Friends did not record that Rebecca "died strangely," but was "killed strangely." The difference may be subtle, but there is an implication that there was an opinion among people at that time that Rebecca's death may not have been accidental.

Rebecca Cornell died the evening of 8 February 1672/1673 in the home she shared with her eldest son Thomas Cornell Jr. and his family at Portsmouth, Rhode Island. Her body was found in her room burned almost beyond recognition, or as was stated at the time, burned "*to a cole.*" Today, we would have no knowledge of the details concerning her death were it not for the fact that her son was eventually charged with her murder, found guilty and executed. Depositions taken from witnesses and other trial information were preserved and form the basis of a very eerie story.

Given that this occurred in the 1600s, the reader might think that the colonial authorities might have suspected Thomas Cornell Jr. was guilty of his mother's murder, tried him and then hanged him. It didn't happen that way. The coroner examined the body, they buried Rebecca, then they got suspicious after taking depositions from witnesses, including ghosts. They dug up Rebecca's body, examined her again, got more suspicious, then tried Thomas Jr. and hanged him. The result was much the same.

The day she died, Rebecca Cornell had not been feeling well, and she spent most of the day in her room. She shared the house she inherited from her deceased husband with her son, Thomas Jr. Rebecca had a large room on the first floor of the house, and the other part of the first floor was for her son and his family. Both first floor rooms had a large fireplace for warmth. There were also rooms upstairs, undoubtedly bedrooms.

Rebecca was 73 years old at the time. The son, Thomas Cornell Jr., was 46 years old, with five or six children at home, and married to his second wife, Sarah, by whom he had one daughter. Sarah was also pregnant at the time. Though Rebecca was of an advanced age for the time, she was far from incapacitated. Testimony was given that Rebecca "ran after pigs" and "collected wood for her fireplace," indicating she was in relatively good physical condition.

Thomas Jr. had been away from the house the day his mother died, returning about sundown. At "*a little after sunsett*" he went into his mother's room and talked with her for "*about one houre and halfe.*" At the time he went into the room, Rebecca's eldest grandson, also named Thomas, was in the room but left after his father arrived. After approximately an hour and a half, Thomas Jr. left the room and, joining the rest of the family, "*went to Supper, haveing salt-mackrill for Supper, which his Mother cared not for because shee used to say it made her Dry.*"

During the course of the family dinner, the family was joined for dinner by two men, Henry Straite and James Moills. According to their later testimony, this was about seven in the evening. For Straite, the Cornell home was "*where he Diated & Lodged*" (i.e., where he ate and slept, thus he was a boarder), and Moills also worked for Thomas Cornell Jr. on the farm. The pair regularly ate with the family and were used to seeing Rebecca Cornell at the dinner table. Noticing her absence from the

table, Straite *“inquired where y^e sd M^{rs} Cornell was, & why shee was not at supper wth them.”* Straite confirmed Thomas Jr.’s testimony when he said that Cornell answered *“we haveing nothing but mackrill to supper, my Mothr will not eate any, for shee saith it makes her dry in the night.”*

As the family was finishing dinner, Sarah Cornell (Thomas Jr.’s wife) asked her stepson Edward to check on Rebecca and ask her what she would like for supper and if she would like some boiled milk. The young man did so but immediately returned from the room, asking for a candle, *“saying there was fire in his Granmothers roome, upon which every one there Hastened to see what it was.”*

Henry Straite was the first to enter the room, quickly followed by the others. By candlelight, they saw a figure on the floor, and probably because the settlers in the area still had problems with Indians, Straite’s first reaction was that it was a *“Drunken Indian burnt to Death”* and shook the arm of the person *“speakeing Indian.”* But Thomas Cornell Jr, who had come into the room with the others cried out *“Oh Lord, it is my Mother.”* James Moills, upon entering the room, also realized it was Rebecca Cornell, testifying later that he *“knew it to be her by her Shoes.”*

The body was so badly burned it was virtually unrecognizable and was apparently still smoldering since Straite later testified that he *“raked away y^e fire wth his hands.”* All the witnesses who came into the room that evening provided consistent testimony that a curtain and a valance at the foot of Rebecca’s bed had been burnt, but were no longer in flames by the time they entered the room. Rebecca’s body lay on her left side with the head towards the fire.

Rebecca’s death, probably because of the strange circumstances, quickly became somewhat of a public spectacle. The records indicate the names of seven men, all individuals who lived in the area, who visited the scene of Rebecca’s death the evening it occurred. Some of them could have simply been there to gawk; to be able to say they had seen the badly burned corpse.

More men showed up the next day when Portsmouth’s coroner, William Baulstone, arrived with twelve men to hold a coroner’s inquest. The group reported:

The Body of the sayd Rebeca we found dead upon the floore, her Clothes very much Burnt by fire, and Her Body very much scorched and burnt by fire, And after dilligent Inquirie and Examination of Wittnesses, wee the sayd Coroners Inquest caused the sayd Body of Rebeca Cornell Widdow to Mr Thomas Cornell of Portsmouth to be stripped of the Residue of Clothes upon it (unburnt) turned and Handled, and searched to the best of our Judgments and understandings, doe finde and declare, That upon the Evening after the Eight Day of February 1672/3 the sayd Rebeca being in or about the age of 73 yeares, was brought to her untimely death by an Unhappie Accident of fire as Shee satt in her Rome, the time afore specified.

The coroner’s jury, having visited the Cornell home on Sunday, February 9th, the day after the death of Rebecca Cornell, found that her death had been “an unhappy accident.” Rebecca Cornell was buried the following day, Monday, in the family cemetery on the farm property, a cemetery which exists to this day, but which has become terribly overgrown. Presumably that should have been the end of the tragedy, and it likely would have been were it not for the appearance of Rebecca’s ghost.

John Briggs, who lived at Portsmouth and was *“sixty foure yeares or thereabouts,”* testified before Deputy Governor William Coddington ten days after Rebecca was buried that her ghost appeared before him. His testimony, documented in Newport Court Book A dated October 1673, was as follows:

That on the Twelfth Day of this Instant month ffbruary in the night as this Depont lay in his Bedd, he being in A Dreame of Mrs Rebeca Cornell Deseased, and being betweene Sleepeing and Wakeing, as he thought he felt something heave up the Bedclothes twice, and thought some body had beene coming to bed to hime, where upon he Awaked, and turned himeselfe about in his Bed, and being Turned, he perceived A Light in the roome, like to the Dawning of ye Day, and plainly saw the shape and Apearance of A Woman standing by his Bed side where at he was much Afrighted, and Cryed out, in the name of God what art thou, the Aperition Answered, I am your sister Cornell, and Twice sayd, see how I was Burnt with ffire, and shee plainly Apeered unto hime to be very much burnt about the shoulders, fface, and Head.

From a purely genealogical point of view, the fact that John Briggs testified that an apparition appeared before him and said “I am your sister Cornell” is what has made researchers believe that the Rebecca who married Thomas Cornell was born Rebecca Briggs. The fact that John Briggs and Rebecca’s husband Thomas Cornell had invested together in property in the Plymouth Colony near Dartmouth makes the familial connection a distinct possibility, perhaps even likely.

But from the viewpoint of common sense, today we would throw Mr. Briggs in the nut house, but his testimony occurred in 1673, when belief in spirits and ghosts was taken very seriously. In her book about Rebecca’s death, author Elaine Crane wrote that “disagreements might arise over the purpose of a particular nocturnal vision, but for a thousand years and more ghosts had been bona fide members of the invisible world, and few would be foolhardy enough to challenge their existence.” One of the things that set the Protestant reformation apart from Catholicism was the belief that “human souls went directly either to heaven or hell without delay or a return ticket,” and therefore ghosts were not the *souls* of dead people, but rather their *spirits*. These spirits, it was believed, always had a reason for their appearance, usually “to correct an injustice that might not be detected by other means.”

Apparitions were closely linked to dreams, which people of this time considered windows into the “invisible world.” Apparitions played a big part in some of the witchcraft narratives that appeared in New England in the 1690s. The book *Wonders of the Invisible World* by Cotton Mather, published in Boston in 1693, contains an account titled *A Narrative of an Apparition*, which describes a story very similar to that told by John Briggs. In that account a man named Joseph Beacon, who lived in Boston, had an apparition of his brother, who lived in London. The brother had been murdered and the apparition was seeking Beacon’s help in bringing the guilty party to justice.

In short, an occasional appearance of a caller from the invisible world in the 1600s was not very controversial and most people living at that time were unlikely to question such an event. Looking at the issue well over three centuries later, a more relevant question today would be whether or not John Briggs was telling the truth. Possibly he did not like Rebecca’s son and suspected the son of Rebecca’s murder. Crane, in her book, points out that the “apparition did not accuse anyone directly. She said to her brother ‘see how I was burnt,’ which was slightly more accusatory than if she had said ‘see how I *am* burnt,’ but still only hinted at deliberate malfeasance by another person. Furthermore, the ambiguity of her remark may have been carefully crafted, since Rhode Island law discouraged accusations that could not be proven – perjury to take a life was a capital crime.”

The same day John Briggs testified about the appearance of the apparition of Rebecca Cornell, hearsay testimony was also given by John Russell of Dartmouth, who reported a conversation he had “lately” with George Soule, the Constable of Dartmouth. Soule had told Russell that he had once visited

Rebecca Cornell in Portsmouth, and Rebecca had told Soule “*that Shee intended in the spring of the yeare, to goe and Dwell with her son Samuell, but shee feared Shee should be made away before that time.*”

So there you go. The damning evidence of some good third-party hearsay and the appearance of the ghost of Rebecca Cornell was now before the authorities. But they already had their suspicions and the body was exhumed ten days following her burial, the purpose being a second examination of the corpse by two “Chyriurgions” (*chirurgion* was an old spelling for *surgeon*). The Society of Friends even noted in their records that Rebecca “*was twice Viewed By the Crowners [coroner’s] Inquest digged up and buried again by her Husbands Grave in their own Land.*” In between being “*digged up and buried again*” the doctors found that the body had a “*Suspitious wound on her in the uppermost part of the Stomake.*” A total of twenty four men signed the coroner’s inquest, stating they had witnessed the examination and found that Rebecca Cornell had died as a result of the “*Suspitious wound, and fire.*” There was a rumor later that the stomach wound was inflicted by “*the iron spyndell of a spinning whelle.*”

The next day, on 21 February 1672/1673, Thomas Cornell Jr. was questioned again by the colonial authorities. He told much the same story as he had before, but added that he thought that his mother had died when “*her Clothes tooke fire from A Cole that might fall from Her Pipe as shee satt Smoaking in Her Chaire.*” It was not uncommon for women to smoke pipes in the colonial era. Sarah Cornell, the wife of Thomas Jr., was also questioned. When questioned about the death of her mother-in-law, Sarah responded that Rebecca was found “*lyeing dead in the floore, being Burnt, but how it came shee knows not, nor can Imagine, but Lookes at it as A wonderfull thing.*” Saying the death of your mother-in-law was “a wonderful thing” when you might be a potential murder suspect wasn’t real smart.

Other witnesses were questioned again as well. Henry Straite, who was the first one into Rebecca’s room the night of the accident, stated that “*at other times when they have had Mackrill for Supper, y^e sd M^{rs} Rebeca Cornell used to be called, & did use to come & supp with y^e rest in Mr Thomas Cornells roome.*” James Moills, who had eaten with the family that night, mentioned that “*it was Usiall, & sildome otherwise, that one or more of y^e Children, were in ye roome wth their gran-mother, but knows not y^e Reason they, nor any of them were not wth her then.*”

The authorities took testimony from George Soule, the Dartmouth Constable, who stated that he had spoken to Rebecca Cornell “winter last” and that she said that “*shee would goe live wth her son Samuell y^e next spring*” because a “*differance was arisen between her & her son Thomas, about rent.*” When Soule advised Rebecca to stay where she was, she reiterated that “*shee would goe live wth her son in the spring, if shee was not otherwise disposed of.*” A person named Mary Almy testified that several times she had observed “*Undutyfull-ness*” on the part of Thomas Cornell Jr. towards his mother, and that Rebecca complained of being “*much neglected.*” Sarah Wilde testified that Rebecca had told Sarah that her son Thomas had “*sett his Teeth at her*” and had been a “*Terror to Her.*”

Evidence was presented that there was not a warm relationship between mother and son. A friend of Rebecca Cornell testified that Rebecca had complained that Thomas “*carried himselfe very unkindely to Her, detaineing Her Rent from Her, and would pay Her none, & was soe High & soe Crose, that shee durst hardly speake to hime.*” Another friend of Rebecca stated that her son and his wife “*were very cross to her,*” but this may have been because “*he would not keepe her A mayd.*” Rebecca had also divulged to the friend that “*shee had made over her Estate to Her Son Thomas; & that if shee had thought her son Thomas first Wife would have dyed before Her, shee would not have made it over to*

hime.”

Then there was the evidence concerning the corpse itself. On Sunday evening, a day after Rebecca died and following the first coroner inquest, Elizabeth Parsons and another woman prepared Rebecca Cornell’s body for burial. While doing this grim task, Parsons testified that “*there was noe Apeareance of Blood about y^e Corps.*” The next morning, Rebecca’s son Thomas and another man came into her room to measure the corpse “*for y^e makeing A Coffin to interr Her in,*” and the records noted “some” then said the corpse “did purge” blood. Elizabeth Parsons returned to the Cornell home on Monday before the funeral to observe first hand if Rebecca’s body was purging blood or not and testified that she “*found that y^e corps did not purge, onely saw that shee had bled fresh Blood at y^e Nose.*”

There was a reason for this intense interest in whether or not the corpse purged blood. Ancient folklore held that purging blood purified a body, and cleared that person of a charge or any suspicion of guilt. The fact that Rebecca’s body did not purge blood would have indicated to her neighbors and friends that she was not guilty of any wrongdoing, that she had not been a bad mother or committed suicide for example. But Rebecca’s body had showed signs of fresh bleeding when her son Thomas “*had beene in the roome.*” There was a common belief in these times that a corpse might bleed at the touch or even approach of its murderer.

Of course, there is a much more logical explanation. After death a great deal of blood can collect in the lungs of a corpse. As the initial stages of the decomposition of the body proceed, internal gasses start to build up, and eventually, several days after death, there is a “bloody purge” from the lungs of the corpse due to this build-up of pressure. Some of this blood is expelled through the mouth and nose, and the face may be covered in it, and a large puddle of blood may collect around the body.

All this hearsay, bleeding corpses and testimony from ghosts was not boding well for Thomas Cornell Jr., and the suspicion that he murdered his mother mounted. Though to us today it may seem incredible that a man could be tried for murder based on such evidence, such was not the case in the 1600s. A book titled *The Countrey Justice*, published in London in 1618 by Michael Dalton, served as a guide for Justices of the Peace. Dalton states that in “*cases of secret murthers, and in cases of Poysoning, witch-craft, and the like secret offences, where open and evident proofes are seldome to be had, there (it seemeth) half proofes are to be allowed.*”

As a result, Thomas Cornell Jr. was tried for the murder of his mother. By seventeenth-century standards, he received a fair trial, and had many of the legal liberties we enjoy today. He was entitled to an attorney, could not be coerced into a confession, could not be forced to testify against himself, and could confront witnesses in open court. The jurors in the Rhode Island court likely applied due process conscientiously, though likely no more eager to serve as jurors than most of us are today. Half of the twelve jurors were Quakers, a group who did not take lightly the sacrifice of human life.

The jury found Thomas Cornell Jr. guilty, deciding that he “*did violently Kill his Mother, Rebeca Cornell, Widdow, or was ayding or Abetting thereto.*” He was sentenced “*to be Hanged by ye neck untill you are Dead Dead.*” Yes, the record said “dead dead,” as in very dead. At 1:00 in the afternoon on 23 May 1673, Thomas was escorted to the gallows and executed. According to Francis Brinley, who had taken testimony in the case, “a great Number of Spectators were there.” Essentially the rock concerts of their day, in the colonial era public executions were well attended, drawing hundreds and sometimes nearly a thousand onlookers.

In a letter to John Winthrop “the Younger” (the governor of Connecticut and the son of the governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony), one of the assistants who had participated in recording the testimonies of the witnesses wrote that the verdict was strongly influenced by the “*devilging*” of John Brigg’s ghost story, the “*unkindnes*” of Thomas toward his mother, the wound made by the “*iron spyndell*” and the fact that Thomas “*was the last man in her company.*”

In an appeal made to the General Assembly before Cornell’s execution, Thomas asked to be buried alongside his mother on the family farm. The General Assembly denied the motion but agreed that “*if his friends have a desire, they may interr the body in lands lately to him belonging,*” as long as his grave was far removed from his mother’s grave.

What was probably the greatest spectacle in the Rhode Island colony to that point did not end there, and there exist several interesting sidebars. Thomas’ wife, Sarah Cornell, was pregnant when her mother-in-law died, and not long after her husband’s execution, she gave birth to her third daughter. Perhaps as a statement in the belief that Thomas did not kill his mother, Sarah named the child Innocent Cornell. When she grew up, Innocent married Richard Borden. Their great⁴-granddaughter, Elizabeth Andrew Borden and known better as “Lizzie Borden,” would become a household name for giving “her mother forty whacks.”

Thomas Cornell Jr. wasn’t the only person held responsible for the death of his mother. A year after his execution, in May 1674, an Indian named Wickhopash was indicted on charges of “*actinge abettinge or consetinge to the Death of Mrs. Rebecka Cornell of Portsmouth.*” Thomas Jr. had sued the Indian three years before, and Wickhopash was convicted of stealing “*a rapier [a sword] and trading cloth*” from Thomas, and sentenced to thirty lashes, a heavy fine, and the threat of slavery if he defaulted. Presumably many must have thought the Indian held a grudge against Thomas Cornell, and killed Thomas’ mother because of it. Wickhopash was found innocent.

Even more bizarre, in October 1675, Rebecca Cornell’s son William, evidently convinced his sister-in-law Sarah had played a part in the murder of his mother, filed a personal indictment against Sarah. A personal indictment was extremely unusual, and though legal, was rarely used in either England or colonial America. It permitted an individual to file criminal charges against another person, something normally done by government authorities. William Cornell agreed to be bound by £100 to further the action, indicating he was very serious about the charge. It is not clear whether William’s intention was to clear his brother’s name or to expose his sister-in-law as a co-conspirator.

The court examined the evidence of William’s personal indictment of Sarah Cornell and found it compelling enough to order her arrest and to have her be held in jail “*till cald for by the court.*” The indictment accused her of “*murtheringe of Mrs. Rebecca Cornell, or beinge abettinge or consenting thereto.*” It is difficult to believe that Sarah, who had been busy preparing the family meal in view of a number of other people at the time her mother-in-law was fatally burned, could have been the murderer. But there were those who suspected her involvement at some level. This is shown by the testimony of the wife of Anthony Shaw, who told the court that Sarah had visited her husband in prison before his trial and that “*they Desired some time of Privacy, & soe went together into A Private roome, & whilst they were together, y^e sd Tho Cornell and his Wife had those Expretions each to other, that if you will keepe my Councell I will keepe yors, & soe they spake each together, & then y^e Dore of y^e roome in which they were was opened.*”

No record exists of the evidence presented against Sarah or of the trial testimony, but Sarah was acquitted. But that still wasn’t the end to the saga of Rebecca Cornell. The Portsmouth Town Council

has seized Thomas Jr.'s property after his arrest, which it divided among his widow and children. Conspicuously missing in that property was the 100-acre farm that had belonged to his father, and later Rebecca. Thomas Jr.'s son, Thomas Cornell III, claimed the family homestead by "*Vertue of his Granfathers and Granmothers wills*" and recorded it in his "*full possession*" on 25 January 1676, nearly three years after his grandmother's death. His claim was very likely entirely bogus since his grandfather's will, now lost, was reputed by other documents to have left everything to his grandmother, and his grandmother's will had no such stipulation.

Rebecca Cornell's sons apparently thought the claim was without merit as well. A month later, William, John and Samuel Cornell filed a lawsuit against their nephew. The case dragged on for some time. Twice the jury reported being unable to reach a verdict, and it wasn't until the court sent them back a third time to try to reach a verdict that they decided in favor of the grandson. But wait, there's more! Sarah Cornell, in 1678, sued her stepson Thomas, claiming the 100-acre farm was hers. The jury again decided in favor of the grandson, but awarded dower rights in the "*proper Estate of her deceased Husband*" and she and her stepson were able to reach an agreement "*in a friendly manner.*"

Meanwhile Sarah Cornell remarried to a Portsmouth resident named David Lake, who author Elaine Crane said "was apparently confident that his new wife posed no threat to his longevity." Sarah died in 1690, after having five more children by her new husband.

The will for Rebecca Cornell, like that of her husband, was believed to be missing for a couple of centuries, until it was found in 1913 by a Mr. Hickes, a Portsmouth town clerk. The will was discovered in an old box in the cellar of the Town House at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, which contained a number of other ancient documents. A copy of the original will and a transcript of it appeared in the 1945 book *Delafield: the Family History* by John Ross Delafield. The will, dated 2 September 1664, is quite lengthy and will not be replicated here in its entirety.

But in her will, Rebecca Cornell identified herself as the "heire and sole Executrix" of her deceased husband Thomas' will. To her eldest son Thomas, Rebecca left "*all my ffarme lyinge on the West side of the aforesayd Rhoad Island ... together with all the housinge thereon ... already in his posession and made over unto him by deed of gift.*" But Rebecca had a stipulation in her will that her son Thomas was to pay £100 after her death, £10 to each of her other ten children. The money was to be paid in five annual £20 installments to her executors, who would decide how the money was to be allocated, depending on the needs of the children. It was evidently this financial obligation that had caused animosity between Rebecca Cornell and her son Thomas.

In her will, the land Rebecca's husband had bought "*at Acushnett Acocksett*" in the Plymouth colony was divided five ways among her five youngest sons. To her daughters Sarah and Rebecca she divided the land "*neere Brunkses*" (later known as The Bronx) in what would become New York. Rebecca's will names valuable personal property gifted to some of her children (including Thomas), including "*my greate silver boule,*" "*my great chest,*" "*one silver drame cup,*" "*my second best gilt spoone,*" "*my silver chaine and whistle,*" "*one silver spoone and a silver wine cup*" and "*my best gilt spoone my gold ringe and one silver wine cup.*"

The children of Thomas and Rebecca Cornell were (order only approximate):

i. **Sarah Cornell**

Sarah was probably the oldest child, and like the first eight children, was likely born in Saffron Walden in Essex, England. Sarah accompanied her parents to what is now New York City and evidently never returned to Rhode Island. The marriage

record of the Dutch Church of New Amsterdam, the only church in the area in 1643, contains the entry, translated into English: “On the 1st day of September, 1643 were married Thomas Willett, previously unmarried, of Bristol, England, and Sarah Cornell, not before married, of Essex, England.” Willett died soon after, and Sarah married (2) Charles Bridges, who died 5 Aug 1682. Bridges’ name appears in the Dutch records as “Carel Ver Brugge.” In between her first and second husbands, Sarah apparently had admirers, although evidently one of them was unacceptable to her. On 11 Aug 1647, John Dolling was ordered by the local court “not to visit nor trouble Sarah Willett.” Even in 1647, they had restraining orders. Sarah was a witness at the 1662 baptism of her niece Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Cornell. In her mother’s will, executed in 1673, Sarah was the recipient of the Cornell property on Cornell’s Neck in what is today the Bronx in New York City. On 20 Nov 1682, Sarah married (3) John Lawrence, son of John Lawrence and Susannah Lawrence.

- + ii. **Ann Cornell**
- iii. **Thomas Cornell**

Ann was our direct ancestor.

Thomas Jr. was christened 21 Oct 1627 at Saffron Walden in County Essex, England. While his parents were in New Netherlands, Thomas Jr. was probably among the 140 English volunteers organized by Governor Kieft to retaliate against the Indians in 1643. He didn’t make a very good soldier. First, he was the subject of an attempted murder; his assailants were convicted in a court martial and given the death sentence, but then pardoned “to make an impression on them and others.” Second, in 1644, Thomas was tried and convicted of desertion, taken to the place of execution and fastened to a stake where a marksman fired a ball over his head “as an example to other evil doers.” On 17 Mar 1655 Thomas was chosen with three others to assess land and buildings of John Wood, deceased. He had a grant of ten acres on 10 Dec 1657. On 4 May 1670 he and three others were appointed to audit the colony’s accounts. His bill to the Assembly for further encouragement of a troop of horse was referred on 7 Jun 1671 to the next Assembly. At the same meeting it was ordered that Thomas Cornell be a messenger from the court to carry a letter to the Governor of Plymouth, and that he be supplied with 20 shillings in silver by the treasurer “towards bearing his charge.” On 23 May 1673 Thomas was executed for the murder of his mother. On 7 Mar 1674 it was “*Ordered by the Assembly, whereas, Thomas Cornell of Portsmouth, who was lately executed for murdering his mother, Mrs. Rebecca Cornell, whereupon according to law, this court of Tryalls have made seizure of his estate. This Assembly (in consideration of the matter, and for the supply of the wife and children of the said Thomas), do see cause to release the said seizure and empowere the council of the towne of Portsmouth to take care and order that the estate of the said*

Thomas be soe secured and improved that just debts and other charges be first paid and discharged, and that then his wife and children be supplied and relieved and to that end to order and appoint an executor or executors for the true performance thereof, and that this said Towne Council doe make a will according to law, divide the estate to this wife and children of the said Thomas.” Thomas’ first wife was Elizabeth, last name unknown, named in his mother’s 1664 will. Thomas married (2) Sarah Earle, daughter of Ralph Earle. Sarah died at Tiverton, Rhode Island in 1690.

iv. **Rebecca Cornell**

Rebecca, named for her mother, was christened 31 Jan 1629/1630 at Saffron Walden in Essex, England. Like her older sister Sarah, Rebecca stayed in New York and did not return to Rhode Island when her parents did. On 9 Dec 1647 Rebecca married George Woolsey, son of Rev. Benjamin Woolsey, at the New Amsterdam Reformed Church in New Netherlands (“*Jarge Woltzen, j.m., van Jarmuyden & Rebecca Corne, j.d., uyt oudt Engelandt*”). Woolsey was born 27 Oct 1610 at Yarmouth, England. He was the town clerk of Jamaica, on Long Island. George died at Flushing, Long Island, on 17 Aug 1698. Rebecca was named in the 1664 will of her mother and given half the family’s land on Cornell Neck, which Rebecca sold to her sister Sarah. Rebecca was buried in New Amsterdam on 5 Feb 1713, at age 93. One of her descendants, Theodore Wollsey, served as the president of Yale College (later Yale University) for a quarter century, 1846-1871. During his presidency, the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences became the first U.S. college to award a doctorate (Ph.D.) degree. Senator and presidential candidate John Kerry was also a direct descendant of Rebecca (Cornell) Woolsey.

v. **Richard Cornell**

There is no record of the birth of Richard, but he was listed as the “second son” in his mother’s will. Like his sisters Sarah and Rebecca, he remained in New York and did not return to Rhode Island when his parents did. About 1655, Richard Cornell married someone named Elizabeth, thought by some to have been Elizabeth Jessup because of Richard’s apparent close connection to Edward Jessup. Richard settled at Flushing, Long Island before 1656, when his name appears in the account book of John Bowne, now in the Library of the Long Island Historical Society. A fascinating record in the Dutch court records, dated 4 May 1663, mentions Richard Cornell (as “*Ritzert Cornewell*”) and the families of his two sisters Sarah and Rebecca: “*Hendrick Janzen (Cooper) of the ship Purmerland Church, now a prisoner, acknowledged that he with Jasper Abrahamzen, committed great violence at Rendel Huit’s house and forced his wife to give them to eat; they proceeded to Joris Wolsey’s house and demanded drink, so that Wolsey & Ely Douty & Ritzert Cornewell had enough to do to put them out, then they went to Carel Van Brugge’s house and*

demanded drink, and continued their violence in a manner indecent to be mentioned, so that Carel & Douty & Ritzert Cornewell had enough to do before they could get them out, not without tearing a flap or fall of his unmentionables, which they removed in the shoving out of his body.” A flap of the guy’s unmentionables was torn and removed? Whoa! Richard appears in many early records for Flushing, New York. In 1663 the Town Clerk of Flushing informed the Governor that “Richard Cornhill had been sent to agree with him about tithes,” having been authorized to offer “100 Schapel of grain, ½ of peas & ½ of wheat.” In 1665, Richard was a delegate from Flushing to the Hempstead Convention that framed the “Dukes Laws,” the first legal code made in the Colony. This convention was called to settle the affairs of the government under the changes made by the English in taking possession of the colony of New York from the Dutch. Towns were invited to send two delegates who were “the most sober, able and discrete persons” chosen at their respective Town meetings. Richard served as Justice of the Peace in 1666, was appointed by Governor Nicholls to enroll the Militia in 1667. In 1670, he was appointed by the Governor to lay out roads in Newtown, and the following year was appointed to adjust the boundary between Bushwick and Newtown, but did not serve. He was given permission to sell liquors and powder to the Indians. Future British Governor Francis Lovelace reportedly paid him a visit at his house just before the capture of New York from the Dutch. In 1676, he had a survey of 180 acres on the south side of Fresh Kill (Staten Island) and in 1684 Richard petitioned to be put in possession of this land. In 1679, “Richard Cornhill” bought 100 acres of woodland in Hempstead, northwest of Little Success Pond, on the road to Madnan’s Neck. In 1684, Takapousha and other Indians sold to “Richard Cornhill” and others all the lands called Flushing, bounded west by Flushing Creek, south by Jamaica line, east by Hempstead, north by the Sound.

vi. **William Cornell**

William Cornell left very few records in his wake. Along with his brothers, he received property at Dartmouth from his mother, mentioned in her will as land “already in his possession.” It is possible that William was poorer than his brothers since his mother, in her will, not only left him £10, an amount she bequeathed to all her children, but another “*tenn pounds to be paid him out of my other estate.*” William was also given a “*silver drame cup.*” William was the son of Rebecca who filed a personal indictment against his sister-in-law Sarah for the murder of his mother. No further record.

vii. **John Cornell**

John Cornell, like his brother William, settled on land at Dartmouth in the Plymouth Colony, land given him by his mother in her will. He reportedly married Mary Russell, daughter of John and Dorothy Russell of Dartmouth, about

1669. Mary testified in the murder trial of her brother-in-law Thomas Cornell Jr. in 1673. John Cornell had problems with the Indians and had to abandon his land near Dartmouth and moved to Long Island, where several of his brothers and sisters were living. As noted in the 1865 book *Queens County in Olden Times* by Henry Onderdonk, on 3 Oct 1676, the Governor of New York granted a petition for 100 acres of land “*improveable and not yet appropriated, on the west side of Cow Neck, with meadow proportionable, to John Cornell, who, with his wife and five children, had been driven from his habitation at the eastward by the Indians.*” Cow Neck is a peninsula that juts into Long Island Sound where the town of Port Washington, New York is today. After receiving the grant, John Cornell proceeded to build a house on the land. For some reason, this infuriated others living nearby and the town of Hempstead voted on 14 Oct 1676 that “all holders of rights on Cow Neck should go and pull down the building that Cornell had set up.” Abraham Smith was employed by the town to “warn off John Cornell,” and told Cornell “if he had any goods or things in the small building, he would do well to take them out.” A large group of men showed up and tore the structure down. Cornell got a warrant to “bring the rioters with all force, civil and military, before the Governor.” A court case ensued, which involved 37 men who had signed a paper asserting their rights “in Hempstead, and especially on Cow Neck.” An attorney for the prisoners insisted that according to law “there must be twelve to make an unlawful assembly a riot,” but the charges of rioting remained. The trial proceeded and the defense contended that “near twenty Hempstead men” charged with riot held title to the land and “questioned whether a riot can be committed on one’s own land” and argued that “their endeavor to defend their title legally not to be a riot.” One of the defendants argued that “he had no arms, gave no threatening words nor heard the forewarning of Cornell in His Majesty’s name.” Another defendant “read from Dalton’s Justice, that to remove a common nuisance any number of persons may meet and remove it to another place.” Another argued he “meddled with nothing but what was his own.” It was mentioned in the testimony that John Cornell had called the group tearing his house down “wolves and Indians.” A witness, Christopher Yeomans, testified he “heard a great noise of people” from his house at Great Neck, across Manhasset Bay from Cornell’s contested land, and rowed across in his boat with others to see what was going on. Cornell spoke to Yeomans, who responded “I am none of them,” to which Cornell then asked Yeomans to “bear witness what ye see done.” A man named Thomas Rushmore seems to have been the leader of the group and, according to Cornell, was the “first who laid hold of and struck at the building which they quietly pulled down.” Another

witness testified that Rushmore said “Come let us do what we came about,” and the “rest followed him and pulled down what had been set up and then cut it to pieces.” The jury found all of the defendants guilty and fined them varying amounts depending on their involvement in the incident. Rushmore was fined the most, £40, and sentenced to “six months’ imprisonment.” The court ruled that “Mr. Cornell has liberty to settle at Cow Neck again, where he was and if the land shall appear to belong to the Hempstead men, they shall be paid for it as much as they can prove it to be worth.” Probably to ease tensions over this incident, Governor Andros issued a patent to John Cornell on 29 Sep 1677 for 116 acres “near the bottom of Cow Neck, adjoining Cow Bay,” with the right to acquire an additional 100 acres. This privilege was exercised when a patent was taken from Governor Dongan, dated 13 Dec 1686, for 100 acres to the north of Cornell’s property “and extending to the Sound.” A tract of land on the first grant was also reserved for a family burying ground. John and his wife were both buried there. About 1694-1695, Cornell sold part of his farm to Captain John Sands, and the area took the name of Sands Point, by which it is still known today. John Cornell died about 1704.

viii. **Elizabeth Cornell**

Christened 15 Jan 1637 at Saffron Walden in Essex, England, Elizabeth was probably the last of the Cornell children born in England. On 9 Jul 1661 Elizabeth married Christopher Almy, the son of William Almy and Audrey Barlowe, at Bristol, Rhode Island. Almy was born in 1632 at Dunton-Bassett, Leicestershire. In 1667 Christopher Almy and several others bought land from the Indians at Monmouth, New Jersey, where he lived several years before returning to Rhode Island by 1680. On 5 Mar 1680 he and several others bought Pocasset (Tiverton) lands for £1100, he having 3-3/4 shares out of a total of thirty. The purchase was made from Governor Josiah Winslow. In 1690, Almy served as an Assistant to the colony (equivalent to a colonial Senator). On 27 Feb 1690, Almy was elected governor of Rhode Island, but refused to serve for reasons satisfactory to the Assembly (this was the first election for governor since the deposition of Andros). On 24 Aug 1693 Almy was sent from Rhode Island to England to present their grievances to Queen Mary, and on 28 Oct the same year the Assembly compensated him over £135 for his expenses for the trip. Almy’s will was dated 4 Sep 1708 and proved 9 Feb 1713. In his will, Almy left his widow Elizabeth a Negro couple named Cumbo and Margaret, with the stipulation that after his wife’s death the slaves were to be freed and given a bed, cow, and use of 20 acres in Pocasset for the remainder of their lives. Elizabeth received two cows, horses, the “best feather bed,” his house and land in Rhode Island, half the fruit orchard, and all household goods. However, Elizabeth died before her husband,

in 1708. Christopher Almy died on 30 Jan 1713. Presidents Jimmy Carter and Richard Nixon were both direct descendants of Elizabeth Cornell.

ix. **Samuel Cornell**

Samuel was probably the first child born after the family reached America. On 21 Nov 1664 Samuel's brother Joshua "of Accookset in New Plimouth" sold two parcels of land to Samuel "of the same place." Purchased for £24, one of the adjacent parcels was that given to Joshua by their mother and the other one he had purchased. On 21 Mar 1669 Rebecca Cornell gave her "*loving sonn Samuel Cornell, now an inhabitant in the town of Dartmouth in New plimouth*" a tract of land "*by me purchased since the decease of my aforesaid husband.*" The land was a one-sixth share of land "*within the aforesaid town of Dartmouth*" and "*now in the possession of my said son Samuel.*" He lived at Dartmouth the rest of his life. In 1688, there was an agreement made between Samuel and his nephew Thomas (the son of his brother Thomas) over the property line between them, there having been "*a great difference between us.*" His will, dated 3 May 1699, was proved 5 April 1715.

x. **Joshua Cornell**

Joshua was given land at Dartmouth by his mother on 21 Oct 1664, which as just mentioned, he later sold to his brother Samuel. There is no further record of him.

xi. **Mary Cornell**

Her "fifth daughter Mary" was mentioned in Rebecca Cornell's will, so she was alive in 1664. No further record.

Rebecca Cornell's will left "*unto my second Daughter Ann tenn acres of Land lying in the Bounds of portsmouth neere George Layton's mill and butts upon the land of her Husband Thomas and after the decease of herself and Husband the said Land is to go to her daughter Sarah. And I doe give unto my daughter Ann the sum of Tenn pounds to be paid out of the aforesaid hundred pounds.*" Rebecca also divided her clothes among her four daughters (ignoring the eldest Sarah) "*to be equally divided amongst them only in the divission my wedding petticoat is to go to my daughter Ann.*"

Our direct ancestor, Ann Cornell, married Thomas Kent. She was likely one of the older Cornell children, and probably the second child after her sister Sarah. She was born in County Essex, England, probably in the town of Saffron Walden, though there is no record of her birth in the incomplete parish records there. Ann and her husband were Quakers, and Ann may have been the only child of Thomas and Rebecca Cornell who followed the faith her mother adopted following the death of Ann's father.

Kent and Peirce Families

Our earliest Kent ancestor is Thomas Kent, whose origins or ancestry remain unknown. It is often repeated that he was born in 1635, but there is no evidence to support that. It is probable that he was born closer to 1625. This is based on the assumption that he was approximately the same age, or older, than his wife, Ann Cornell. We do not know the date of birth for Ann, but she was listed in her mother's will as the second daughter, while the third daughter Rebecca was christened 31 January 1629/1630 in England. Since Thomas Cornell Jr. was christened 21 October 1627, it is likely that an older sister to Rebecca would have been born about 1625.

The first record of Thomas Kent is in Portsmouth, Rhode Island on 10 December 1657 when Stephen Wilcox and Thomas Kent were granted 16 acres of land by the town at 2 shillings per acre, "*each paying therefor 16s.*" From this record, it is inferred that each man received eight acres.

Early town records for Portsmouth, Rhode Island mention Thomas Kent several times. On 11 May 1658 a Portsmouth town meeting noted that Thomas Kent was received as a freeman "*of this Towne.*" On 15 September 1659 Thomas Kent was chosen to serve on a jury. A Portsmouth town meeting held 5 January 1660 mentioned roads in the town and referred to the "land of Thomas Kent." On 4 June 1660 Thomas Kent was chosen "*Towne Sargent.*" On 11 May 1661 Thomas Kent, "*towne sargant,*" presented seven bills to the assembly who approved them and ordered the town treasurer to pay him 42 shillings and six pence for "*warninge towne meetings and Comitioners and Jury men.*"

Thomas Kent and Ann Cornell were probably married about 1656-1657. There is no record of the marriage, but they may have married as Quakers, and the earliest Rhode Island Quaker records are missing. At the time Thomas Kent's mother-in-law, Rebecca Cornell, wrote her will on 2 September 1664, Thomas and Ann were still living in Portsmouth, since Rebecca left her daughter ten acres of land which "*butts upon the land of her Husband Thomas.*" The will describes the bequeathed land as "*lyinge in the Bounds of portsmouth neere George Layton's mill,*" which places the land lying in very close proximity to the Cornell farm at Portsmouth, and evidently adjacent to it.

About 1665-1667, Thomas Kent and his new family left Rhode Island and joined a number of Quakers moving to North Carolina, or as the colony was known at that early date, "Carolina." The North Carolina colonial court records (Vol. I, p.393) indicate that at the February 1693/1694 court session, Thomas Lepper proved ten headrights, whose names included "Tho. Kent, Ann Kent, Sarah Kent, Rebecca Kent and Ann Kent." Thus Thomas Lepper sponsored the importation of the Kent family to North Carolina, receiving a grant of land for each imported person.

Many of the early settlers to the Perquimans area of old Albemarle County, North Carolina obtained land by land grant from the provincial government. But Thomas Kent bought his land from an individual, as indicated in Deed Book A for Albemarle County, North Carolina. On 10 March 1668, "William Voss of Perquimans in the County of Albemarle in the province of Carolina, planter" sold 100 acres to "Thomas Kent, planter of the aforesaid County," the "land lying and being in Perquimans, on East side of the River beginning at a White Oak on the South East Side and next to William Charles on the Northwest Side."

Evidently, Thomas Kent did not sell his land in Portsmouth, Rhode Island before moving to North Carolina. On 1 March 1672, "Thomas Kent planter, Pequimins in County of Albemarle in province of Carolina" granted his son-in-law "Larence Gonsalles" a power of attorney to manage his affairs in Rhode Island. The "Larence Gonsalles" in the record was Lawrence Gonsalvo (there are many

spellings for the name), the first husband of Sarah Kent, the eldest daughter of Thomas Kent. This record confirms the connection of the Thomas Kent of Portsmouth, Rhode Island as being the same Thomas Kent in Perquimans Precinct, Albemarle County, North Carolina.

On 14 June 1672, in an unclear record (part of the record is missing), Thomas Kent either received or granted an interest in eight acres at Portsmouth, with “Stephen Wilcooks.” It is presumed that Kent was granted the interest held by Stephen Wilcox of the adjacent land to Thomas Kent’s eight-acre land grant from the town of Portsmouth. That eight acres, along with Thomas’ own eight-acre grant, and the ten acres his wife inherited from Rebecca Cornell, would explain the sale of 26 acres to William Hall three days later, on 17 June 1672. Hall bought a dwelling house, orchard and 26 acres in Portsmouth from “Lawrence Gonsales, of Pequemins, county of Albemarle, province of Carolina, tailor, son-in-law to Thomas Kent, of Pequemins, and late of Portsmouth, by marriage with Sarah, eldest daughter of Thomas Kent ...” So it was not until 1672, at least four to five years after Thomas Kent moved to North Carolina, that he sold his property at Portsmouth.

When Thomas Kent purchased his property in the Perquimans Precinct of Albemarle County, North Carolina, the deed mentioned the property being “next to William Charles.” Another deed in 1672 mentions another adjoining neighbor being Christopher Nicholson. And in a second deed in 1672, Thomas Kent sold some of his property by a “Bill of Sale unto Ralph Fletcher.” The Charles, Nicholson and Fletcher families are all direct ancestors mentioned in this work.

Thomas Kent did not live much longer. A record in the old register of births, marriages, deaths and flesh marks kept for the Perquimans Precinct of old Albemarle County notes that Thomas Kent “*Departed this Life the 2d: of June 1678.*” It has been often repeated that Thomas was killed by Tuscarora Indians, but is not very likely for two reasons. First, the problems with the Tuscarora tribe began over thirty years after Thomas Kent died, and secondly, Thomas left a will, which is unlikely if you were killed in an Indian attack. This confusion probably resulted because one of Thomas’ daughters married a man who was killed by the Tuscaroras.

Thomas Kent left a will, but it was not recorded and no copy of it is known to exist. We only know of its existence by the record in the Berkeley Precinct Court dated 13 February 1679, which indicates the will of Thomas Kent was proved by Thomas Lepper, and the witnesses to the will were Christopher Nicholson and Ralph Fletcher.

The fact that Thomas Lepper (his surname is also seen recorded as *Leper*, *Leeper*, etc.), who paid for the passage of Thomas Kent and his family to North Carolina, was also chosen by Thomas Kent to be his executor after his death, speaks to Lepper being a close friend. How close is reinforced by the fact that “Thomas Leper and Ane Kentt the widdow of Thomas desesed tooke each other as man & wife the 17th of ...” (recorded in the Perquimans register, the document was torn and the month and year of the marriage are unknown). The former Ann Cornell was still alive in 1715 when Thomas Lepper wrote his will naming his “wife Anne.” It appears from the will that Lepper died without descendants.

Thomas Kent and Ann Cornell had at least seven daughters, but no sons, and the Kent family name died out with his branch of the family. The first three daughters were born at Portsmouth, Rhode Island, and the last four in the Perquimans area of North Carolina. When you read the following, note the frequent deaths of their husbands. The Kent daughters were:

- i. **Sarah Kent** Sarah must have married young, probably when she was about 15 or 16, because she was married by June 1672 when a power

N^o
24

Albemarle

Be it known unto all men by these presents that I William Voss
of Perquimans in the County of Albemarle in the Province of
Carolina planter do for me my heirs Executors, Administrators
and Assigns, bargain alienate and sell unto Thomas Kent or
his Assigns planter of the aforesaid County A parcel of Land
lying and being in Perquimans, on the East Side of the
River, beginning at a white Oak on the South East Side and
next to William Charles on the Northwest Side, Containing one
hundred Acres or thereabouts, be it more or less, with all
the privileges and appurtenances therunto belonging for Ever.

To have and to hold and Enjoy from all persons
^{or persons} whatsoever that shall lay any claim to it, as far forth as I my
self have or had by Virtue of an Assignment by Patent from
William West and for the true performance of the premises I
do hereunto set my hand and Seal the 11th day of March 1668

Witnessed by

Herman Smewin
Arnold White

The mark of
William Voss

Recorded the 10th of March 1668.

By Thomas Harris Clerk.

Examined and Entered the 13th of the 11th month of
June 1678.

In this very early deed recorded 10 March 1668, Thomas Kent purchased 100 acres of land in the old Albemarle county of the province of Carolina (it would be 1712 before the province was split into North and South Carolina). Thomas Kent and his family joined many Quaker families in the move to the southern colonies about this time. Note the deed was signed by the seller a day after it was recorded, one of many illogical discrepancies one encounters in genealogical research.

of attorney was granted by Thomas Kent to “Lawrence Gonsales, ... son-in-law to Thomas Kent, ... by marriage with Sarah, eldest daughter of Thomas Kent.” The last name of Sarah’s husband is seen written many ways, including Gonsalvo, Consalvo, Gonzales, Gunsalis, etc. Lawrence was a tailor. Sarah was Lawrence’s second wife, and he had a son Lawrence Jr. by a previous marriage. He and Sarah also had a son Thomas, and possibly a son James (one account of the Kent family claims the Perquimans birth register mis-identified *Thomas* as *James*). Lawrence died 27 Dec 1687, leaving a will that mentioned but did not name his wife and children. There was evidently an epidemic which swept through the area at the time since the couple’s son Thomas died one day after his father. Sarah married (2) on 1 Jun 1689 to John Johnson, who died a few years later, leaving a 1693 will naming his wife Sarah and “Lawrence Gonsalvo.” Lawrence Jr. died in 1698. Sarah married a third time on 6 Jan 1697/1698 to William Long. William, who apparently had no children, left a will dated 1712 and died before Sarah. Sarah, widowed three times, died 3 May 1718, leaving a will naming relatives but no children.

ii. **Rebecca Kent**

Rebecca married about 1675 to William Wyatt. The couple had five children before William died 14 Jan 1687/1688 without leaving a will. Rebecca then married Thomas Long, son of James and Alice Long, and had five more children by him. Thomas Long died 28 Sep 1721 and Rebecca on 20 Oct 1728. Ann Kent married 10 Jun 1679 to “James Hog the son of John Hog of York Sheare in ...” (the document is torn but it seems clear that James Hogg and his family had come to North Carolina from Yorkshire in England). Five children were recorded for them, but the will of James Hogg dated 1708/1709 names his wife Ann and a sixth child, a “daughter Elenor” who was under the age of 19.

iii. **Ann Kent**

iv. **Elizabeth Kent**

Recorded in the Perquimans birth register, Elizabeth was born 1 Jun 1667. She married, at age 16, William Charles Jr., the son of direct ancestors William Charles and Abigail Bailey, on 8 Nov 1683, recorded in the Perquimans Precinct register. The marriage was also recorded in the Quaker’s Perquimans Monthly Meeting records, which had begun to keep such records by this time. William died 17 Apr 1687, leaving a will naming his wife Elizabeth and a daughter Jane. Elizabeth then married on 11 Aug 1687 to Giles Long (the *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register* by James Hathaway records his name incorrectly as *John* Long). Giles and Elizabeth had a daughter born 10 Apr 1688 and died two days later. The birth evidently took its toll on the mother as well since “*Elizabeth Longe ye wife of Jeiles Longe died ye 14th of Aprill 1688.*”

v. **Mary Kent**

Shown in the Perquimans Precinct birth register, Mary was

+ vi. **Mary Kent**

born 17 Sep 1668 and likely died soon after.

Mary Kent, our direct ancestor, was born 14 Feb 1669/1670 and married Thomas Peirce.

vii. **Hannah Kent**

Hannah was born 10 May 1673 and married first, probably about 1693, to John Southwick and the couple lived in Bath County, North Carolina. John died in 1696, leaving a will naming his “wife Hanna” and a daughter Sarah. Hannah then married, about 1697, to Furnifold Green. He suffered the fate of many colonial children, having to bear as a given name the surname of some ancestor. He is believed to have been the son of Timothy Green, who married Ann Farneffold and is believed to have had at least three sons. One evidently was named Furnifold, though, as you can imagine, the odd name appears spelled lots of ways, such as Farnifold, Fernifold, etc. The couple had four sons, Furnifold Jr., Thomas, John, and James, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Jane. Furnifold and one son, believed to be John, were killed by Tuscarora Indians about 1714; another son was wounded but escaped. James, being the youngest, is believed to have been with his mother at church at the time of the attack. It is further assumed that Thomas was the wounded son. The period of 1711-1715 was a tough time for the settlers in eastern North Carolina, a period known as the Tuscarora War, during which hundreds of white settlers and over a thousand Indians were killed.

Our direct ancestor, Mary Kent, was born 14 February 1669/1670, her birth listed in the registers for Perquimans Precinct of old Albemarle County, North Carolina. Mary’s marriage was also recorded in these registers when a barely literate scribe noted “*Thomas Perce & Mary Kent ware Mariade the 30th July 16_.*” The page was torn and the year of the marriage is missing. Such “oh-so-close” records have been known to cause meticulous, anal-retentive genealogists to leap from high places.

Peirce Family

The name of the man Mary Kent married was Thomas Peirce. Like many names recorded in the colonial era, when spelling was considered a highly dispensable skill, the name is seen written numerous ways, e.g., *Pearce*, *Pierce*, *Peerce*, *Peirc*, *Perce*, etc. Relatively few records seem to be extant regarding this family.

Fortunately, as mentioned previously, a very old family bible was provided to the Southern Historical Collection at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill in July 1947. The bible was the property of Mary Henderson, the spinster daughter of John Steele Henderson, a former U.S. Congressman from North Carolina, the bible having been given to him by a member of his bible class. After the transcription of its handwritten contents, the bible was returned to Mary Henderson, who died in 1965, and the location of the bible today is unknown.

The Geneva bible, printed by Christopher Barker in London in 1599, was used by many English Dissenters, and was popular among Quakers. Handwritten notations in this particular bible listed the births and deaths of several members of early Quaker families who lived in the Albemarle area of North Carolina, primarily the Peirce, Gilbert and Morris families. One of those notations was “*Writ*

by *Thomas Gilbert in y year 1760*,” indicating the source and date of the information. Thomas Gilbert recorded, probably recopied from other family bibles, the birth and death dates of various members of the Peirce family, who were his own ancestors.

Gilbert recorded in the bible that “*Thomas Peirc y^e son of John Peirce and Mary his Wife was borne y^e 8th day of y^e 7 mo 1669*,” i.e., 8 September 1669. Though we know the names of the parents of Thomas Peirce, we know little else. There has been considerable conjecture as to his ancestry, but a lack of records makes any suggestion very speculative.

According to Quaker records, Thomas Peirce was the eldest son, so by the naming tradition popular at the time, his grandfather may have been named Thomas as well. One possibility (and only that) is that Thomas’ grandfather was the “Thomas Pearce” who was a member of the Grand Council of Albemarle which met on 27 April 1672. The combination of agricultural problems and unpopular new rules imposed by the colony’s proprietors led to the Grand Council instructing Governor Peter Carteret and John Harvey to go to London and present the colony’s case to the Lords Proprietors.

The *Grand Council’s Instructions to Governor Peter Carteret* and the *Grand Council’s Letter to the Lords Proprietors*, both a single sheet of watermarked paper folded to four pages and dated 27 April 1672, were each signed by nine men who were obviously prominent in the colony. One of the men who signed was Thomas Pearce, who unable to write, signed with an “O” mark.

The first Peirce ancestor of whom we can be certain was the John Peirce mentioned above, who married Mary Scott, a daughter of Joseph Scott. John and Mary Peirce were Quakers and their names, and those of their children, appear in the Perquimans Monthly Meeting records when those records began to be kept about 1680. The book *History of Perquimans County* briefly mentions a court record dated 4 July 1680 which gave the names of five Quakers who were “imprisoned for not bearing arms” and “who suffered confinement for six months.” Among the five was the name *John Peirce*.

In the “additions” to the Perquimans Monthly Meeting records in Hinshaw’s *Encyclopedia of Quaker Genealogy* is an interesting but probably often overlooked record dated 10 September 1681 which states six Quaker men “were chosen to settle dispute between Charles Prows and John Peirce.” One of the basic Quaker tenets was that Friends did not sue one another, and if two members had a dispute that could not be resolved without ending up in court, other Quakers would step in and mediate a solution.

“*John Pearse*” of “*Perqinnams In the County of Albemarle Carolina*,” left a will dated 13 September 1682, and he died very soon thereafter, since the will was proved 1 October 1682. In the will, John Peirce left “*my son Thomas ... thee muskett & thee Gunn that my father Gave him ... my sonn John thee Case hardened Gunn ... my sonn Joseph thee Long Gunn ... my wife the Gunn that was my Brothers Calebs*.” The “brother” Caleb mentioned was his brother-in-law Caleb Scott, who had died before John Peirce prepared his will.

John Peirce left some other personal items to his children, e.g., Thomas was to “*have my Castor hatt*,” which wasn’t a style of hat but one made of a beaver pelt (*castor* is French for beaver). He bequeathed “*one New pewter Dish*” to his son Joseph and a “*pewter Brimmd Bason*” to his daughter Rebecca. Peirce divided his cattle and horses among his children, including “*one Baule fase Mare branded with IP the sayd mare to be Delivered to them soone after my Disease [decease]*.” The last record indicates the “flesh mark” or brand used by John Peirce.

After dividing his personal property among his four surviving children, John Peirce stated in his will that “*thee remainder of what shall be then left of my sayd moveable estate then to be equally Divided betwene My wife and my fowr Children*” with the condition that “*My Childrens portions shall remaine in my Wifes hands whilst my Children are under age.*” John was relatively young and knew his wife was likely to remarry, so his will specified that “*if my Wife shall take a Husband then ... my Childrens portions shall be Delivered Into the hands of him or them.*” A trusting Quaker, John even gave any future husbands of his wife Mary the “*over sighte And Charge*” of his will “*untill such time as my Children shall Come of age.*”

In early colonial times, a man could do nothing better than leave land to his sons, and John Peirce requested in his will that his land be “*sirveyed and patented in three Distinckt surveys & patents for and in thee Names of my three sonnns Thomas John and Joseph*” with the condition that his wife “*Shall Have her Choyse of any one of thee three parsells of Land Dureing her Life and then to returne to thee heire.*” He left the division of the three parcels of land to the discretion of the trustees of his will, fellow Quakers William Bundy and Jonathan Phelps, with whom Peirce had shared a prison cell for six months just two years prior. During their confinement, the men had time to become closely acquainted and obviously trusted one another.

In the event that Bundy or Phelps died before his will could be properly executed, John Peirce specified in his will that the oversight of his will was to be carried out by “*the mans meeteing of the people of God which are by thee World Dispitefully Called Quakers to whome I att This time Doe belong.*” This referred to the Perquimans Monthly Meeting for men (Quaker monthly meetings held separate men’s and women’s meetings). Peirce referred to the congregation as “the people of God” but acknowledged they were “dispitefully called Quakers.”

Finally, John Peirce showed a side of him not common in colonial wills by providing for his children’s education. During a time when there were no public schools, parents had to either self-educate their children or hire tutors. Peirce stated in his will that he wanted “*my Children be taught to Read Good English the Cost & Charge of the same to bee expended out of their owne Sharees of thee estate.*”

Though not mentioned in the will, John Peirce left one other thing for his wife that she might not have even known about when he died. We are probably safe in assuming John Peirce did not have a long, lingering illness before he died, since eight and half months after John wrote his will, his wife Mary had another child by him, a daughter Mary born 27 May 1683. With a household with five minor children, Mary wasted little time finding a new husband, marrying William Bundy on 15 December 1683. Bundy had been chosen by John Peirce as the executor of his estate, and apparently took the duties personally. Mary had another daughter, Sarah Bundy, by William Bundy. After William died, Mary married a third time to Nicholas Simons by whom she had no children. The Geneva bible mentions that “*Mother Simmons*” died 22 May 1724 “*aged between 74 and 75 years.*” Either the date is wrong or her age was 54-55 years.

The children of John Peirce and Mary Scott were:

- + i. **Thomas Peirce** Born 8 Sep 1669, Thomas was our direct ancestor.
- ii. **John Peirce** Born 29 Aug 1672, John Peirce received a “patent” for 300 acres of land “in Perquimans Precinct joining the Perquimans River and Thomas Peirce” on 1 Sep 1694. This was as specified in his father’s will. There is no record that he married. His sister Rebecca later testified that John was lost at sea and that he had no heirs.

- iii. **Joseph Peirce** Born 8 Mar 1674/1675, Joseph married Damaris Nixon, the daughter of Zachariah Nixon and Elizabeth Page, on 11 Aug 1699. Joseph Peirce died 16 Nov 1705, leaving a will which was probated in Jan 1705/1706. Damaris was a direct ancestor through her second husband, Richard Ratliff.
- iv. **Deborah Peirce** Born 5 Mar 1677/1678, Deborah died 7 Mar 1678/1679, two days after her first birthday, her death recorded in the Perquimans death register.
- v. **Rebecca Peirce** Born 9 Aug 1680, Rebecca married Francis Toms, Jr. on 5 Jun 1722, as his second wife. Francis received four land grants totaling 920 acres, all in Perquimans County. Like his father, Francis was very active in the Quakers. He died 12 Sep 1729. From her husband's will, Rebecca received a slave named Guy, 150 acres of land, and two horses named Fox and Dick. On 10 Nov 1730, Rebecca married William Moore.
- vi. **Mary Peirce** Mary was born 27 May 1683, after the death of her father. She has often been confused with two other people with the same name who married Peter Jones and James Skinner respectively. No further record.

Our direct ancestor, Thomas Peirce, was born 8 September 1669, a date noted by the Society of Friends in the Perquimans Monthly Meeting records and by descendants in the old Geneva bible previously mentioned.

The first record we have of Thomas Peirce is in 1685, when at the age of 15 or 16, he was listed as a "collector of quit rents in Albemarle." That is, he was the local tax collector. Quit rent is an old term for an annual fee levied on those who received land grants, done as a form of property tax. Quit rents went to the Governor of the colony (as the representative of the Crown) and was usually a small, almost ceremonial amount, but nonetheless was useful in reminding everyone who was boss. Quit rents did not place a heavy financial burden on colonists, which is probably why they gave the task of collecting them to a teenager. According to the book *The Quit-Rent System in the American Colonies* by Beverley Bond, in the Carolina colony the quit rent rate was two shillings per hundred acres, and was used to pay the salaries of local officials.

The old Geneva bible transcribed at the University of North Carolina in 1947 had an entry stating that "*Thomas Peirc and Mary Kent was marayed to gather y^e 30th day of y^e 5th month 1690,*" i.e., on 30 July 1690.

Thomas Peirce received a land patent on 20 April 1694 for 300 acres of land in Perquimans Precinct, "*joining a Pocoson, Joseph Scott, and Perquimans River.*" A "pocosin" is a term for a type of wetland where ground water saturates the soil except during seasonal dry spells. A pocosin, which comes from an Algonquian Indian word, usually occupies poorly drained ground between streams.

Thomas Peirce was a party to a couple of interesting deeds. On 7 January 1705/1706 Thomas and three other Quakers bought an acre of ground "*for a valuable consideration*" from Francis Toms Sr. The acre they purchased was "*in the midst of*" Toms' property but had a "*house there built to worship God in.*" The deed specified the Quaker meeting house was to belong to the four Quakers "*during their Natural Lives and then forever to belong to a Society of Protestant Disenters Vulgarly called Quakers living in Perquimans Precinct.*"

On 18 October 1714, Thomas Peirce, planter, bought 300 acres of land from John Pettiver, Gentleman, a farm that had been the property of James Coles, deceased. The deed described that the sale included a house, out houses, barns, gardens and orchards, but didn't include a 10-foot-square plot where Coles and a couple of others were buried. Peirce paid Pettiver for the property by giving Pettiver a "*Negro Girl Named Philis*." This made Peirce a slave-trader, a role that Quakers would find increasingly uncomfortable as the decades went by.

Thomas Peirce continued to live in Perquimans Precinct, today Perquimans County, North Carolina, for the remainder of his life. He wrote a will and, according to the Geneva bible, died seven days later on 19 February 1731/1732. The will named his wife Mary, sons Thomas, Joseph and John, and a daughter Mary Jones, to whom he left a slave. He named his son-in-law Peter Jones the executor of his will rather than any of his sons. The Geneva bible noted that "*Granmother Peirce Departed this Life y^e 2 day of the 1 month 1749*," i.e., 2 March 1749/1750.

Thomas Peirce and Mary Kent had the following children, all born in the Perquimans Precinct, today Perquimans County, North Carolina:

- i. **John Peirce** John, the eldest son and named for his grandfather, was born 30 Jul 1691. He married Sarah Copeland, the daughter of John and Mary Copeland of Surry County, Virginia. John died 12 Oct 1726, three days after writing his will. He had five young children at the time of his death, with another in the oven. In his will, John gave each child an ewe, and the unborn child a bed. The children were also left the use of "negroes Febey and Pender." He left half of his land "at Mill Branch" to his brother-in-law Peter Jones and the other half to his wife, with the latter half to go to his sons Copeland and Thomas after his mother died.
- ii. **Thomas Peirce** Thomas was born 24 Nov 1693 (the Geneva bible says 29 Nov 1693). He married Mary Copeland, the sister of Sarah, on 13 May 1718. Thomas and his wife had six children, including the youngest, a daughter, named *Kerenhappuch*. The name means "horn of eyeshadow" in Hebrew, and was the name of the third daughter of Job in the Bible. After Mary died in 1743, Thomas married (2) Isabel Pritchard, the daughter of Gabriel Newby and Mary Tomes, and widow of both John Henley and Benjamin Pritchard. Thomas moved to Chowan County, North Carolina, where he died in 1756, his will probated in October of that year.
- iii. **Ann Peirce** Ann was born 30 Jan 1695/1696. She died at the age of three, on 27 Oct 1699.
- iv. **Mary Peirce** Mary was born 28 Jun 1699 and married Peter Jones on 1 Sep 1720. Peter didn't have to go far to find a bride, since the Peirce and Jones families lived on adjacent farms. Peter was the son of another Peter Jones, and because they died two years apart and nearly everyone in the family was named Peter, the family remains a mess genealogically speaking. Mary's husband died in 1753, leaving a will dated 17 February that year and proved in the April session of court. Peter's will specified that his sons receive an "*Education to Reade & write*

- + v. **Sarah Peirce**
- vi. **Joseph Peirce**

a Ledgable hand and work Arithmitick through the single rule of three.” Mary survived her husband. They loved weird names from the Bible, naming some of their kids Zephaniah, Zechariah and Malachy.

Sarah was our direct ancestor, marrying three times.

Joseph was born 26 Jul 1705 (Hinshaw says 1704) and married Penelope Tomes, the daughter of Francis Tomes, on 16 Apr 1727. Penelope died less than a year later, on 12 Feb 1727/1728. Joseph married (2) someone named “Alic” (presumably *Alice*), whose maiden name is unknown. Joseph died 21 Sep 1736, and his widow later married Caleb Callaway.

Our direct ancestor, Sarah Peirce, was born 24 April 1702 (according to the *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*) but her date of birth was recorded in the Geneva bible as 29 April 1702. Either the Quaker clerk or the person who made the entries in a family bible was incorrect; take your choice. Sarah married three times. Her first husband was George Sutton, whom she married on 25 October 1722 “*att the dwelling hows of Thomas Peirc at Paquimons.*” George died soon after, for there are no known children born to him and Sarah, and she married (2) John Williams on 22 April 1725 “*at the Dweling House of Thomas Pierce at Perquimons.*” She was listed as “*Sarah Sutton Relict of Gorge.*”

After having three daughters by John Williams, John died and Sarah took, for her third husband, Josiah Gilbert on 23 December 1730, again “*at ye house of Thos. Peirc.*” Sarah would have five more children by Josiah Gilbert. Sarah’s parents, Thomas and Mary Peirce, signed all three marriage certificates. It is interesting that when Thomas Peirce wrote his will in 1732, he mentioned four of his five surviving children in his will. Sarah’s name does not appear in the will, but after throwing three weddings for her at his house, the father may have figured Sarah had already received her inheritance in the form of wedding presents.

We are descended from Sarah Peirce through her second husband, John Williams, and whose daughter Anne married into the Morris family, to be dealt with in a future chapter.

Symons Family

The first Symons ancestor of whom we can be certain is “William Simons” of East Hampton, which today is in Suffolk County, New York on Long Island. As the reader should be used to by now, the family name in early colonial records appears spelled several ways, but most often *Simons*, *Symonds* or *Symons*. The latter spelling seems to be more prevalent with later generations, and was adopted for the chapter heading.

An excellent account of the Symons family was published in 1968 in the journal *North Carolina Genealogy*, with an article titled *Simons-Symons Genealogy* by William Perry Johnson. Some of the material in this chapter can be credited to Johnson’s research.

The first record we find of William Simons is dated 17 November 1651, when the town of East Hampton decided to build a “*meetinge house*” that was to be 26 foot by 20 foot in size. Simons and four other men were ordered to “*gett Sixe loade of thach*” and were given fourteen days to do it or receive a ten shilling penalty. The same five were also to build a fence around the meeting house.

The origins of William Simons before he moved to East Hampton are unknown, but there is a good chance he was from Lynn, Massachusetts. Many of the inhabitants of East Hampton were from Lynn, including six of the original nine settlers of the town. In depositions found in the town records for East Hampton, William’s wife referred to “*a house at lin*” at one point and in another, in regard to a petticoat belonging to another woman, the reference in the records that the woman “*never wore it at Linn.*”

The first settlers to East Hampton, on the east end of Long Island, came there in 1649. As early as 1651, the town records indicate that an area called “*Occabonack Meadow*” was laid out and proportioned into 34 lots. There is an area still known today as the “The Meadows” on the very eastern end of Long Island near Acabonack Harbor. “Acabonack” was an Indian word meaning “root place,” which was applied to the meadows near the harbor where the Indians found certain roots which they prized. In the town records, it was indicated William Simons received lot number three.

Puritan New England was a bit of a socialist experiment, and the town of East Hampton doled out land to William Simons in several small grants from 1653 and 1655, while in 1656 another man received “*5 acres of land y’ [that] was Goodman Simons.*” The term *Goodman* or *Goodwife* were forms of address used in England and colonial America at that time, used where “Mr.” or “Mrs.” might be used today. William had previously received land on two occasions that was taken from others, so Karl Marx would have been proud of East Hampton. William Simons also bought some land from another inhabitant of East Hampton, when the man acknowledged in a deed “*full payment for a peece of land I sold him.*” It appears Simons ended up with 12 acres of land.

William Simons and his wife, “Goodwife Simons” or “Goody Simons” also appear in several court records. *Goodwife* was often abbreviated to *Goody*, but both terms should be interpreted as a modern form of “Mrs. Simons.” On 3 July 1654, Lion Gardiner (his first name was always recorded “Lion”) filed an action against “goodwife Simons” for defamation.

On 11 January 1654/1655, William Mulford filed an “*action of Defamation against William Simons for uttering slanderous speeches*” against Mulford’s wife. A jury found for the plaintiff and Simons had to pay a fine of ten shillings and “*Court Charges.*” In October of that year, William was found guilty of “*provocking speeches to the 3 men In Authority being a Disturbance to them in ther*

pceedings.” The reference to the “3 men” was a common term for the magistrates of the town. Simons must have made a very un-Puritan remark to the men, and for that, he was fined five shillings which was to “*be Disposed of to make a paire of stockes.*” Thus the amount of Simons’ fine was earmarked for “stocks,” large wooden boards that were used to secure a person’s feet, hands or head, and where the person remained locked in place until his sentence was up. The town magistrates were likely sending Simons a message. It would be interesting to know what Simons said to the judges.

Goodwife Simons testified in a court case in which a woman at East Hampton was charged with being a witch. New England was a case of “the lunatics running the asylum” and they loved their witch trials. The woman was charged with witchcraft because she had held another woman’s baby that was sick, and then five days later, the baby died. During the trial, there was mention of burning dockweeds in a fire, a black cat, someone who pulled a pin out of their mouth, etc. Despite such compelling and damning evidence, the woman was acquitted.

The last record of William Simons living at East Hampton was on 1 June 1663, when it was noted in the town records that he bought a small parcel of land. By later that year, he had moved to the Isle of Wight. An East Hampton town record dated 12 September 1664 indicates “William Symons” was living on the “*Isle of Wight*” and had granted a power of attorney to Jeremiah Conkling “*to sell my 12 acres of land at Easthampton.*” William gave Conkling the “*power to act ... as if I my selfe were present my sellfe & my Sonne Concerning this ...*” It was signed by “Willyam Simons” and “Thomas Simons,” both with their marks. William Simons’ mark was the letters “WS”, in that order but both upside down, and Thomas’ mark was the letter “B”.

Some people have confused the reference to “Isle of Wight” in the document to mean William and his son had moved to Virginia, where Isle of Wight County was formed in 1634. But the Isle of Wight was a name also given to what today is called Gardiners Island, about 6-8 miles northeast of the area where Simons had lived at East Hampton (*Isle of Wight* was named for the largest island off the coast of England). An Englishman mentioned earlier, Lion Gardiner, had purchased the island that would eventually bear his name from Chief Wyandanch of the Montaukett tribe. The purchase was made in 1639, reputedly for “a large black dog, some powder and shot, and a few Dutch blankets.” The original 1639 royal patent gave Gardiner the “right to possess the land forever” with the island being declared a proprietary colony with Gardiner getting the title of Lord of the Manor and thus able to establish laws for the island.

The evidence that William Simons lived on Gardiners Island by 1663 comes from the inventory of the estate of Lion Gardiner, who died in 1663. The inventory included a house on the island that “*Goodman Simons lives in.*” Gardiners Island is owned to this day by Lion Gardiner’s descendants, and the 3300-acre island is the only American real estate still intact as part of an original royal grant from the English Crown. In 1989, *Newsday* claimed the island was worth \$125 million.

If it could talk, the island would have its share of interesting tales to tell. For example, the pirate Captain Kidd buried treasure on the island in June 1699. Kidd had stopped at the island while sailing to Boston in an attempt to clear his name. With the permission of the proprietor, Kidd buried \$30,000 in treasure in a ravine between Bostwick’s Point and the Manor House. For their troubles Kidd gave the family a piece of gold cloth (a piece of which is in the East Hampton library) captured from a Moorish ship off Madagascar, as well as a bag of sugar. Kidd warned that if the treasure was not there when he returned, he would kill the Gardiners. But Kidd was to be tried in Boston and Gardiner was ordered by Governor Bellomont to deliver the treasure as evidence. The booty included gold dust, bars of silver, Spanish dollars, rubies, diamonds, candlesticks, and porringers (a shallow cup or bowl

with a handle). Gardiner kept one of the diamonds which he gave to his daughter.

During the War of 1812, the British came to arrest then Lord of the Manor John Lyon Gardiner. Gardiner, who was a delicate man, adopted the “green room defense” by staying in a bed with green curtains surrounded by medicine to make him look feeble. The British, not wanting a sick man aboard, let him be. Julia Gardiner, who later became President John Tyler’s wife, was born on the island in 1820.

In recent years, an ownership dispute over Gardiners Island would have made a good soap opera. Because of the high cost of upkeep, in 1937 the island was put up for sale but was bought at the last minute by a Gardiner descendant, Sarah Diodati Gardiner, for \$400,000. With her death in 1953, the island passed in trust to her nephew, Robert David Lion Gardiner, and his sister, Alexandra Gardiner Creel. Their aunt had also set aside a trust fund for upkeep of the island, but it was exhausted by the 1970s. When Creel died, her rights passed to her daughter, Alexandra Creel Goelet. She and Robert Gardiner had a highly publicized dispute over ownership of the island. Gardiner, who claimed the title “16th Lord of the Manor of Gardiner’s Island” and lived in East Hampton, married in 1961 but had no children, leaving him with no heir. In 1989, Mr. Gardiner even attempted to adopt a middle-aged Mississippi businessman, George Gardiner Green, Jr., as his “son.” Robert David Lion Gardiner was described in a *New York Times* article after his death in 2004 as being “as vigorous a snob as he was a defender of his island, and he made a game of deriding people with names like duPont or Rockefeller as nouveaux riches.” Upon Gardiner’s death, total ownership of Gardiners Island passed to Alexandra Gardiner Creel.

Returning to the Symons family, how long William Symons stayed on Gardiners Island, or where he died, remain unknown. Genealogist William Perry Johnson believed that a patent granted to William’s son Thomas in North Carolina for the transportation of “— *Symons, Mary Symons, W^m Symons, Rebecca Symons, Eliz. Symons, Jer. Symons, Mary Symons*” and a slave boy named Will indicated it was “apparent that” Thomas had imported his parents and siblings to North Carolina. While the conclusion is perhaps not “apparent,” there is a strong probability that was the case.

What is indisputable is that Thomas Symons (the second and ensuing generations usually had their names recorded with a “y” in the surname, and will so appear in this work) moved to the Albemarle region of northeastern North Carolina sometime before 1679. Whether he moved with his parents or after their deaths remains unclear.

The known children of William Symons and his wife (possibly Mary) were:

- + i. **Thomas Symons** Thomas was our direct ancestor.
- ii. **Jeremiah Symons** Based on the age given for him when he died, we can assume Jeremiah was born circa 1655. Jeremiah became a Quaker and a member of the Pasquotank Monthly Meeting in Pasquotank County, North Carolina. He married Anne, last name unknown, and the couple had nine children, though one of them made a bad Quaker, and was disowned twice. Jeremiah died 21 Aug 1715 “aged about 60 years.”

There were almost certainly other children, such as the names credited to Thomas Symons for transportation to North Carolina, though we cannot be certain of this.

Second Generation

Our direct ancestor, Thomas Symons, was probably born about 1648-1649. Though there is no evidence his parents were Quakers, Thomas and his brother Jeremiah certainly became active members of the Society of Friends, possibly after moving to North Carolina.

A letter written by Thomas Symons in October 1684 was recorded in the town records for East Hampton (Book A, page 78). Because of the antiquity of the letter it will be replicated here (please note that “y^t” is an Old English abbreviation meaning “that”):

David Gardiner

understanding by Calebs Lambs men y^t thou dost ffrequent Boston every yeere makes mee bold to trouble thee with these few lines which are to Request thee being acquainted with my land at Easthampton uppon Long Iland as I suppose to make sale of it for me to ye best Chapman & to satisfie thy selfe for thy paines & trouble, Lett thou sellest it for bee laid out in Linnens & wollens, but not of ye finest sort, I was told about May last, by one Daniell Johnson a barmodian [Bermudian] y^t hee mett with James Loper in ye west Indies, who falling in discerse together Conserving mee did acquaint ye said Johnson y^t my land Joyning to his, would willingly buy it, which thing I shall refer to thee, not doubting but thou wilt doe thy uttermost endeavor, & sell it to best advantage noe more at present, till I heare from thee but my true love to thy selfe & wife with thy sonn in Law James & Daughter Elizabeth, desireing to heare from thee by first oportinuty whether thou wilt undertake this business for me or not: My Concernes not Permitting mee to see thee att prsent, And In soe doing thou oblidge & Ingage mee to serve thee in what I may who am thy ffriend:

*Thomas Symons ye sonn of
William Simons Deceased*

ffrom Lettell River

In Albemarle County

In ye Province of North Carolina 8th tober 1684.

Besides being in old-style English and using the phonetic spelling common for the time (e.g., “*conserving*”), the letter has the distinct prose of something written by a Quaker. In the letter, Thomas Symons asked for the assistance of David Gardiner back in East Hampton in selling the twelve acres of land that his father had owned (David Gardiner was Lion Gardiner’s son). Thomas indicated his own father had passed away by this time. The fact that Thomas was informing Gardiner that Thomas’ father was dead strongly implies that William Simons moved to North Carolina with his sons, for if the father had remained at East Hampton or on Gardiners Island, Gardiner would almost certainly have known of his death.

Thomas gave Gardiner a tip on a man who may have been willing to buy the parcel of land, and asked Gardiner keep some of the proceeds from the sale “*to satisfie thy selfe for thy paines & trouble.*” Exchange of money between individuals in different American colonies was nearly impossible at that time since each colony had their own currency, sometimes using things like tobacco, making movement of funds difficult. Because of that, Thomas Symons asked Gardiner to send the proceeds from the sale to him in the form of linens and woolens, among the most valuable of commodities in colonial America.

Thomas Symons wrote a second letter to David Gardiner on 28 September 1685, nearly a year after his first letter. This indicates the slow communication prevalent in early colonial America, before there was government-supported mail delivery which we take for granted today, or for that matter, even addresses to which mail could be sent. In the second letter, Thomas wrote “*I have sent one Letter*

before & it was left at Samuell Walkers Marchant in Boston, where I was told y^t thou didst use to lodge when in Towne” and that *“haveing heard nothing of y^t Lettr Causd me to write”* the second letter. Symons also included the names of five men as those that *“trade from Boston to theise parts,”* and said he had no question that one of the men would *“Carefully deliver what Letter thou shalt send to mee.”* Sending letters in the 1600s was nothing like it is today.

Symons wrote *“I understand y^t my land is not sould at Easthampton”* and again asked for Gardiner’s help in selling his father’s former property and to *“pay thy selfe out of it, & send mee ye Remainder in goods which shall bee usefull for this place.”* The goods Symons specifically asked for was *“Keirse, Peniston, Blewe Linning, Dowlis Seirge Lookerum & Canvis.”* Between the old spelling and the now-rare terms, considerable translation is required here. *Kersey* is a woolen fabric used for coats; *penistone* was likely a reference to a fine wool from the now-rare Penistone sheep, at one time used for carpets; *“Blewe Linning”* was simply “blue linen”; *dowlas* was a coarse linen cloth from the north of England; *serge* was a wool cloth; *lockram* was a coarse linen used for sheets or shirts; and *canvas* was used for the same things it is today.

Thomas Symons again reminded Gardiner that there was a potential buyer for the property in one James Loper, who lived next to Symons’ land at East Hampton. Symons said if Loper *“will give as much as another let him have it.”* In other words, sell it to Loper unless you can get a better price from someone else. Because he was not sure if his first letter had ever reached Gardiner, Symons closed his letter again with the news that *“my ffather & mother are both dead.”*

Both letters provide clues as to the ancestry of Thomas Symons. In the first letter, Thomas wrote *“I desire thee to Rember my kind love to my unckill fithian & all my kindred.”* Since William Fithian was one of the 34 original founders of East Hampton, there is a good possibility that he was the brother of Thomas’ mother. In the second letter, Symons told Gardiner to *“Remembr my love”* to Gardiner’s son-in-law James, *“thy brother Jeremiah”* and to *“all my Cosins,”* hinting also at a familial connection to the Gardiners, although the term “cousin” was very loosely used in colonial times.

Both of the letters from Thomas Symons were copied by the clerk for the town of East Hampton as a record of the seller’s right to the property and his granting of a power of attorney to Gardiner to sell the property. The property was sold several months after Thomas Symons’ second letter, with a deed recorded at East Hampton on 22 February 1685/1686 in which *“David Gardiner of ye Isle of wight in New Yorke Collony in America as agent unto Thomas Symons of Albemarle County of worth (sic) Carrolina”* sold the two six-acre lots for £14 current money of Boston to Jeremiah Conkling Jr. We can only assume that Thomas Symons and his family eventually received some cloth as payment.

About 1677, Thomas Symons married someone with the first name of Rebecca. It has been widely reported that she was Rebecca White, but that is quite unlikely. This assertion probably originated because of the will of Arnold White, who died in 1690. In the will, White referred to *“Brothers henry white and thomas Simons,”* with the implication that Thomas was his brother-in-law. However, the will of White’s father, Henry White Sr., did not name a daughter Rebecca, and the use of “brother” was abused a bit by the love-oriented Quakers and cannot always be taken literally. Far more damaging is the fact that a son of Thomas and Rebecca Symons married a daughter of Henry White Jr. Had Rebecca been the sister of Arnold White and Henry White Jr. (who were brothers), that would have meant the young couple who married would have been first cousins, a practice strictly forbidden by the Quakers.

The first record that can be found of Thomas or Rebecca Symons in North Carolina is 24 June 1679

when “Rebecca Simons” was listed as a witness to a marriage at the house of Henry White. A year later, on 30 June 1680, Thomas was one of the 29 men who signed a petition to the King of England concerning the Culpeper Rebellion. The Rent Roll of Land in Albemarle County (undated, but studies have shown it was created about 1696) lists “Thomas Simons” at “Little River, Pascotank” with two land parcels, 200 acres and 96 acres. Thomas’ brother Jeremiah lived nearby and had 150 acres of land.

Though the two brothers may have been close, there is evidence that there was a serious falling out between the two in 1701, to the point that the Quaker meeting stepped in to try to settle the argument. At a quarterly Quaker meeting held at the house of Henry White on 27 December 1701, there was reference in the marginally literate record that “*whereas a deferance haponed [difference happened] between Thomas Simons and Jeramiah his Brother and thay have laid the eshew [issue] of the said deferance before the said meeting.*” The meeting appointed a committee (remember Quakers loved their committees) to speak to the brothers and work out a settlement between them.

The six men decided that “*Thomas Simons hath bought the land thay were in deferance aboute fairly and honestly and Jeramiah Simons hath ronged his brother Thomas in Exclaming against him and it allsoe our Judgment that Thomas Simons hath bin to rash with his Brother Jeramiah conserning the negro and thay ought to acknowlege the same and put a finall End to ther deferance for the truth Sake.*” From this we can assume the discord between the brothers stemmed from the purchase of some land by Thomas (possibly from Jeremiah) and over a slave. The six Quakers found fault on both sides, and it is not clear if the issues between the brothers were ever settled.

The stream near where Thomas Symons and his brother lived became known as “Symons Creek.” Both Thomas and Jeremiah were active in the local Quaker meetings, known in the earliest records as “a monthly meeting held at the house of Henry White,” then a little later as “a monthly meeting held in Pasquotank at Symons Creek.” Toward the end of the eighteenth century it became “Symons Creek Monthly Meeting held in Pasquotank County.” The creek is still named after the family to this day but spelled “Symonds Creek” and can be found about eight miles due south of Elizabeth City, North Carolina.

Thomas Symons died 18 April 1706, since the Pasquotank Quaker records noted “*the death of thomas Symons being the 18 day of 2 month in the yere of our acount 1706 and is gone to his Resting place.*” Symons left a will dated 20 January 1702/1703 in which he left his farm to his wife Rebecca as long as she was alive, and then for it to go to his son John. Thomas left a second farm, purchased from James Newby, to his son Peter, who was not yet 21 years of age. Thomas Symons did not name anyone else in his will, despite having two married daughters. Both of Thomas’ sons-in-law signed as witnesses to his will.

Thomas’ wife Rebecca died 25 April 1718, when the Quakers at Pasquotank Monthly Meeting wrote in their minutes “*Rebeckah Symons departed this life 25 of y^e 2nd mo 1718 aged about 64 years she having borne a faithful testimony in her day and kept y^e faith to y^e end.*”

Thomas and Rebecca Symons had the following children (birth dates from Quaker records):

i. **John Symons**

Born 22 May 1678, John received the bulk of his father’s estate since he was the eldest son. He married Damaris White, daughter of Henry White and Damaris Page, and after her death, John married (2) Priscilla (Tomes) Kinsey, the widow of John Kinsey. John Symons had seven children by his first wife

- and two more by his second. The Pasquotank court records indicate that one of his daughters, Damaris, gave birth to a “mulatto bastard” and the Quakers disowned her. John Symons died in 1741.
- ii. **Frances Symons** Born 2 Jun 1680, the daughter Frances died in 1687.
 - iii. **Thomas Symons** Born 17 Sep 1682, Thomas Jr. apparently died young, for no further record of him can be found.
 - iv. **Peter Symons** Born 8 Dec 1684, Peter married Martha Pritchard, the daughter of Thomas and Barbara Pritchard. They had four children before he died in 1715 at age 30.
 - + v. **Mary Symons** Born 4 Feb 1687/1688, our direct ancestor Mary married John Morris.
 - vi. **Elizabeth Symons** Born 22 Apr 1691, Elizabeth married Zachariah Nixon, who was born 22 May 1684, the son of Zachariah Nixon and Elizabeth Page. The marriage occurred “at a Meeting at Symons Creek, Pasq Co” on “11, 1mo 1707/8” according to *The History of Perquimans County*. Zachariah Jr. had a grant of land in Perquimans County on 21 Jan 1712/1713 for 105 acres “in the fork of Little River, adj John Tomlin.” He received another grant in Chowan County, North Carolina for 110 acres “in the fork of Coniby Creek Swamp, adj Edward Moseley” on “Xber 21, 1712.” The “Xber” is an old reference to December, the tenth month of the year under the old calendar (remember “Dec” is the Latin prefix for ten, and the Roman numeral “X” is ten; thus *Xber*). Zachariah Nixon Jr. died on 12 Oct 1739. It was his son Zachariah who laid out the town of Nixonton, North Carolina. Elizabeth died 27 Oct 1725.

Mary Symons, our direct ancestor, was born 4 February 1687/1688 in Pasquotank County, North Carolina. She married John Morris in 1703 (in the Quaker records at Pasquotank, John was listed as being free to marry Mary in a record dated 4 November 1703; it is assumed the marriage took place soon after that). Mary (Symons) Morris died 14 October 1745. An account of the Morris family follows.

Morris Family

The first Morris ancestor in this work is John Morris, who was in North Carolina very early. His origins or even exactly what his surname was are in question. There has been a great deal of conjecture regarding him, most of it unprovable and dubious. The book *The Morris Family of Washington County, Indiana* by Earl C. Morris and Ralph L. Morris states that it was “believed he was a Morrison that dropped the ‘son’.” This is based on the fact that at least twice his name was recorded as “Morrison.” That is possible, but it is more likely to simply have been the result of sloppy clerical entries.

Many accounts regarding the early Morris settlers in North Carolina refer to him being a signer of the *Remonstrance from the Quakers in Carolina to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina*, a document dated 13 September 1679. The significance of this is that the 21 signers of the petition were very early settlers in the area since, in a footnote to the document, the scribe wrote “*most of us whose names are hereunto subscribed have been Inhabitants in Carolina since the yeares 1663 and 1664.*” Thus many accounts regarding the Morris family indicate John Morris was in North Carolina by 1664.

That may be true, but there is one small problem; John Morris may or may not have signed that document. The original is in very bad condition and a number of pieces of the document are missing. The last names of eight of the 21 signers are missing and the signature indicated by many as being that of “John Morris” is simply “John” on the original. Experts have studied this document and, for example, the partial signature “Fran--” is believed to have been “Francis Tomes” and the signature “Christop--” is believed to have been that of Christopher Nicholson. The signature “John--” is believed to have been that of John Morris, and that is quite possible, but not irrefutable.

Whether or not John Morris signed the 1679 document, he did sign one the following year. The *Petition of the Inhabitants of Albemarle County to the King*, dated 30 June 1680, was signed by a number “*of y^e Inhabitants of Albemarle County in Carolina,*” one of which was “John Morris.” John’s name also showed up in the records of the General Court for the County of Albemarle, when on 20 March 1680, he was ordered to pay 1500 pounds of tobacco “*with costs of Sute*” to Christopher Oldfield “*according to the deed.*”

There has been considerable speculation regarding John Morris’ origins. It has been pointed out that the first John Morris of record came to Jamestown, Virginia aboard the *Bona Neuva* in 1619 and was counted among the inhabitants of the “Colledge lands” in “Elizabeth Cittie” in the muster of William Tucker’s command in 1625. There is no further record of him, but a number of researchers have been unable to pass over this first John Morris in America and claim him as the progenitor of our family. But this is a questionable supposition at best.

Some presume that John Morris was from Massachusetts, as was his wife, but there is no proof of this either. Another researcher leans to the conclusion that a 26-year-old John Morris, who sailed from London to Virginia on the ship *David* in 1635 is more likely to have been the family progenitor, perhaps a grandfather, of our John Morris. But even that assumption would have made him 69 years old when his grandson married and that, in itself, is unlikely. All we can state with confidence is that the name was common among early immigrants to America, and we simply do not know John Morris’ ancestry or origins.

Probably sometime in the mid-1670s John Morris married Damaris Page, the daughter of Isaac Page and Damaris Shattuck. An account of the Page and Shattuck families appears elsewhere in this work.

They had at least two children since Isaac Page's will mentions his daughter "Damaris, and her children." The 1680 will was witnessed by his daughters "Demaris Moris" and Elizabeth Page. A typescript titled *Genealogy of Morris-Trueblood-Moore-Parker*, prepared by Harvey Morris in 1935, refers to a birth recorded in the records of Little River Monthly Meeting which states that "John Morris, son of John Morris" was born "y^e 3rd of y^e 3rd month 1680." This record, if valid, was not transcribed by Hinshaw, and remains unconfirmed. The other child, a daughter, is identified by the entry in the Pasquotank records when "Elisabeath Morrison, daughter of John, Little River" married.

John Morris died about 1680, for on 10 September 1681, Henry White and "Damaris Morison" declared their intention for a second time on marrying at a monthly meeting held at the house of Henry Prows in Little River. Henry White died 3 October 1712, while "Damaris White, widow" died 12 November 1722 at age 63.

John Morris and Damaris Page had the following children:

- i. **Elizabeth Morris** Elizabeth grew up in the home of her stepfather, Henry White. She married on 6 Dec 1696 to "*Samuell Charles, at the house of Henry White.*" Thus she married in her own home. As mentioned previously, she was identified in the record as "Elisabeath Morrison," the "daughter of John."
- + ii. **John Morris** Born in 1680, John was our direct ancestor.

Second Generation

Born in 1680, John Morris never knew his father of the same name. Instead he was raised by his stepfather Henry White, whom his mother married when he was one year old. Gwen Boyer Bjorkman, a respected and veteran Quaker researcher, presents almost overwhelming circumstantial evidence through the use of marriage records, witness lists and deed records that this John Morris was the son of Damaris Morris(on), widow of John Morris(on), and the second wife of Henry White.

In the Pasquotank County Deed Book A, page 6, is a deed written "*Henry White Senr of the County of Albemarle in North Carolina for several reasons that moveth me hereunto but especially for love and affection that I bear to my son in Law John Morris ... make this Deed of Gift ... a parcel of land, the quantity not known out of a Patent in the kings name bearing date the 25th day of September 1663.*" The deed gifting the parcel of land, without an acreage listed, was dated 18 April 1704 and acknowledged in open court on that day by Henry White.

By now, the reader should not be alarmed over the use of the term "son-in-law" used by Henry White in reference to his stepson. In the 1600-1700s, son-in-law could have referred to either your daughter's husband, as we now use the term, or what we now call a stepson. There are numerous cases where the use of "son-in-law" and "daughter-in-law" are known to have referred to a stepson or stepdaughter. In colonial times, *in-law* simply referred to relationships that were not by blood.

The purpose for Henry White's deed of gift was to provide for a son that he had raised as his own, but was not his son by blood. Henry White would make out his own will two years later, in 1706, in which he provided for his own five sons. There was a reason for the timing of the deed of gift to John Morris, given to him in the spring of 1704. A few months before, on 4 November 1703, John Morris was noted by the Pasquotank Monthly Meeting as being "at liberty to marry Mary Symons." John was married by April 1704 and needed some land to start his own family.

John Morris appears to have stayed in Pasquotank County. A John Morris who bought 220 acres on Cashoke Creek in what today is Bertie County, North Carolina in early 1707 is often confused with our John Morris, but was a different John Morris. John appears in several records of the Pasquotank Monthly Meeting. On 19 December 1711 he was chosen overseer for the meeting. "Overseers" were members in charge of decision-making between regularly scheduled monthly meetings. In 1720, John's name was on a list of "sufferings on account of church rates or priest's dues." In 1722, John was again chosen overseer.

On 7 July 1726 John Morris was chosen to take care of building an addition onto the Quaker meeting house "for women friends to hold their Monthly Meeting." This came just one month after his wife Mary had been chosen the overseer of the Pasquotank Monthly Meeting, so we can assume perhaps there had been some serious lobbying going on in the Morris household.

John Morris signed his will on 18 November 1739, and according to Pasquotank Monthly Meeting records, died two days later on 20 November 1739 at age 60 (he was actually 59). His wife, the former Mary Symons, lived another six years; she died 14 October 1745.

The original recorded will for John Morris is in the North Carolina State Archives in Raleigh. He left one half of his plantation to his son Joseph and the other half to his son John. Being among the most valuable of possessions in colonial times, feather beds were bequeathed to his children Sarah, Zachariah, Hannah and Isaac. Livestock were divided among John's children, with "*the residue of my Estate to be equally Divided Between my five Children that Remain unmarried.*" John Morris noted in his will that "*of my Children that are Married I have given their full share.*"

As executors of John Morris' will, his wife Mary and sons Aaron and Joseph prepared an inventory of his estate, dated 5 April 1740, which surpassed in detail possibly any colonial inventory in existence. They evidently accounted for every single item John Morris owned and often its condition. The inventory, also in the North Carolina Archives, listed 199 separate items. Some of the more interesting things in the inventory are listed here, with explanations in parentheses:

- five feather beds & furniture (*beds* were the mattresses, *furniture* was the bed frame)
- 2 Loose Coverlets (bedspreads)
- One old worsted Rugg with Some holes in it
- Diaper sheets (blankets; *diaper* was white fabric patterned with diamond-shaped figures)
- one old Couch
- one Square Black Walnut Table
- one Cypress Table
- one old Seader Chest (cedar chest)
- one Cypress Dovetailed Chest (a cypress chest made with tenon and mortise construction)
- one Large Two Armed Chare (armchairs)
- 9 high Backed Black Cherry Chears (probably the dining chairs)
- 2 old Hickry framed Chares
- one woollen wheel part worn (spinning wheel for wool)
- one Linnen wheel part worn (spinning wheel for flax)
- 3 Large Old washing Tubbs (colonial era washing machines)
- 8 London Pewter Plates part worn
- 2 Dozen & ½ of Pewter Spoons (30 spoons)
- 2 old Black tinn Spoons
- one old Pewter Chamber pot (a vessel used in a bedroom as a toilet)
- one Large old Cracke pott and hooks wt 54 lb. (the original crock pot)

one iron Kettle wt 23 lb (cooking wasn't for the weak)
 one fire Shovel (for cleaning out the fireplace, a.k.a. the furnace and oven)
 one old falling ax broken
 one old horse plough
 one Oyster Shell mill & Frame (shells were ground up for use in chicken feed and for roads)
 one very old Cloth Loom
 nine Barrels of Indian Corn
 15 very Sorry Sheep (were they very sorry looking, or felt bad, or what?)
 2 Small bound books
 one New England Spelling book
 nine old Gunns (just because you were Quaker didn't mean you couldn't be well armed)

John Morris and Mary Symons had the following children:

- i. **Aaron Morris** Born 14 Sep 1704, Aaron married Mary Pritchard in 1724. On 14 Jan 1729 Aaron's father gave him 50 acres of land. Aaron died in 1770.
- ii. **Elizabeth Morris** Born 6 Nov 1707, her name was recorded as Elizabeth in the Little River meeting records, but the name was marked out and "Bette" written in the margin. So it appears she preferred to go by the nickname Betty. In the Quaker records for Pasquotank meeting, it was noted on 5 Aug 1725 that "Betty declared intention of marrying William Symons." But the meeting disapproved, noting "Betty being William's father's brother's daughter's daughter, the meeting advised against the marriage as within the fourth degree of consanguinity." Stated more succinctly, the pair were first cousins once removed. William Symons soon married someone else, for there are records of his first child being born 29 Jun 1726. Betty evidently died before her father since she is not in his will.
- iii. **Joseph Morris** Born 4 Feb 1709/1710, Joseph married soon after 2 Dec 1731, when Pasquotank meeting declared him clear to marry Elizabeth Pritchard. In his father's will, Joseph received half of his father's plantation, specifically "*that part whereon he now dwels.*" Joseph had at least five children.
- iv. **Sarah Morris** Sarah was born 6 Nov 1712, and was still unmarried at the time of her father's death. On 6 Nov 1740 Sarah was free to marry Samuel Moore of the Perquimans meeting. Samuel Moore left a will dated 26 May 1754 and proved in the Jan 1756 session of court. In his will he named his wife Sarah and six children.
- v. **John Morris** Born 21 Feb 1716/1717, John Jr. was at liberty to marry Sarah Peirce on 1 May 1745. John received from his father the other half of his father's plantation "*Whereon I now Dwell.*" According to the account by Harvey Morris, John died in 1775, when his will was proved.
- vi. **Mary Morris** Born 24 Jan 1719/1720, Mary Morris was at liberty to marry John Robinson on 2 Mar 1737/1738. Mary was not named in her father's will.
- + vii. **Zachariah Morris** Zachariah, born 23 Nov 1722, was our direct ancestor.
- viii. **Hannah Morris** Born 23 Feb 1726/1727, Hannah was at liberty to marry

ix. **Isaac Morris**

William Bundy on 6 Dec 1750.

Unlike his eight brothers and sisters, Isaac's birth was not listed in the Pasquotank birth records. But his death was, and the Quaker clerk noted that "Isaack Morris, son of John and Mary Morris, died 13 Feb 1762, age about 33." Isaac was also listed in his father's will. There is no record that Isaac married.

Third Generation

Zachariah Morris was born 23 November 1722 according to the Pasquotank Monthly Meeting records. He grew up on his parent's farm in Pasquotank County, North Carolina, near the small community of Nixonton. His father died soon after Zachariah turned seventeen. In his will, his father left Zachariah *"one feather Bed and furniture it being the Bed that I now lie on with all the furniture thereunto belonging, also two three year old Heiphers and their increase also one Bay Mare & her increase also two sheep and their increase."*

Zachariah Morris married Anne Williams, the daughter of John Williams and Sarah Peirce. Anne's mother was the daughter of Thomas Peirce and Mary Kent, and the widow of George Sutton, who had died shortly after their wedding. Sarah then married John Williams. Anne Williams had an older sister Mary and a twin sister Sarah, as indicated by the entry in the Albemarle birth register: "Sarah & Ann Williams Daughters of John Williams & Sarah his wife," who were born 12 February 1727/1728. The births of the three daughters were also noted in the Quaker records for the Perquimans meeting.

Of the three daughters, only Anne lived long enough to marry. The transcript of the Geneva bible found in the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill has entries stating *"Sarah Williams Departed this Life y^e 15 day of the 12 month 1744/5"* and *"Mary Williams y^e Daughter of John and Sarah Williams his Wife Departed this Life y^e 16th day of November in ye year 1756."*

The ancestry of Anne Williams beyond her father remains unknown. John Williams was a Quaker, and an entry in the Perquimans meeting records dated 2 December 1724 noted that John Williams complained to the meeting that Ralph Bufkin had not paid a "just debt." John Williams also had a cattle mark registered 11 October 1727.

John Williams left a will dated 29 January 1727/1728 in which he named his wife Sarah and a daughter Mary. His twin daughters Sarah and Anne were born just fourteen days later, and since John did not revise his will to include them as heirs, we can assume John died shortly after writing his will and before the birth of the twins.

In his will John Williams also mentioned a clue to his ancestry: a brother Nathaniel. Nathaniel Williams married a wife named Elizabeth, who was named in the will of Thomas Underwood of Isle of Wight County, Virginia and also in the will of Elizabeth Bridger of the same county. This hints that Isle of Wight County may have been the former home of the Williams family, but the name is so common that it is nearly impossible to track the ancestry of John Williams with any certainty. John's wife Sarah, having been widowed twice at a young age, married for the third time on 23 December 1730 at her parents home to Josiah Gilbert.

There were at least two (and maybe three) men named John Williams in the Albemarle area of northeast North Carolina about this time. One received a patent for 340 acres on Albemarle Sound

by the “Great Swamp” in 1719. This swamp evidently later was named Cypress Swamp. A deed in 1743 refers to him as an adjacent land owner, indicating this was not our ancestor, who died in early 1728.

Another John Williams, mentioned as an adjacent land owner in other land records in 1725, lived on the southwest side of the Perquimans River. He had received an undated land grant of 300 acres “on the side of Castletons Creek” and was adjacent to several other Quakers. There is good reason to suspect this John Williams was our ancestor because a 1743 deed mentions a sale of some land on “Castletons Creek” and refers to “*a dividing line between Peter Jones Jun, & the Orphans of John Williams dec.*” Another deed the same year refers to a “*John Williams dec*” and one in 1746 to the “*orphans of John Williams.*”

Returning to Zachariah Morris, the Perquimans meeting records indicate that he was “reported married” to Anne Williams at a monthly meeting held 1 November 1752. In accordance with a 1750 act of Parliament, England and its colonies had just changed to the Gregorian calendar in 1752, with the most notable change being that September 2nd was followed by September 14th. The month of September that year only had 19 days, a change necessary to synchronize the calendar with the seasons. Exactly when Zachariah Morris and Anne Williams married is not known, but it was likely in October 1752.

In his preparations to be a husband, Zachariah Morris bought 190 acres on the northeast side of “*Vosses Creek swamp*” on 13 January 1751/1752. The deed referenced a line “*between s^d Morris and Joshua Davis*” so evidently Zachariah already owned adjacent land when he bought the 190 acres. Morris bought the land from another Zachariah, Zachariah Nixon, for slightly over £34. This was the second time Nixon had sold the property, the first time a year previous when he had sold the same parcel to the aforementioned Joshua Davis. For some reason, the property returned to the possession of Nixon.

The reference to Vosses Creek helps pinpoint the location of the Morris farm. The creek was originally called Vosses Creek after the Voss family, early settlers, and later Brights Mill Creek or Brights Creek after another family that lived in the area. Today it is known as Mill Creek and is several miles northeast of Hertford, North Carolina in Perquimans County.

Zachariah Morris appears in few other records, except that he was chosen to be overseer of Perquimans Monthly Meeting in 1762. The last mention of him in those records was when it was noted on 1 May 1776 that he and his family were granted a certificate transferring their membership to “Great Contentney” Monthly Meeting further west. Great Contentnea Monthly Meeting was located in what today is Wayne and Greene Counties in North Carolina, about a hundred miles southwest of the Perquimans and Pasquotank area.

The area where Zachariah Morris moved in 1776 represents a genealogical nightmare to researchers today. When Zachariah moved there, the area was in Dobbs County. Wayne County later split off from roughly half of Dobbs, the other half later becoming Glasgow and Lenoir Counties, and the former Dobbs County ceased to exist. In 1799, Glasgow County was renamed Greene County. All the early records for Dobbs County were destroyed in an arson fire when the Greene County courthouse burned in 1876.

Thus we do not know how Zachariah Morris came to first own land in Dobbs County, whether by grant or purchase. But Wayne County formed in 1779 and a surviving deed dated 15 March 1785

found in that courthouse showed that Zachariah Morris purchased 150 acres from John Cook for £80. A 1786 tax list also exists for Wayne County, listing all white males over the age of 21 and taxable property such as acreage and slaves. These “tax lists” were used in selecting jurors and in eligibility for voting. White females were not listed unless they were widows or adult single women responsible for the tax on their property. The tax list had the acreage a person owned and the number of slaves, male or female, between the age of twelve and fifty. The tax list indicated Zachariah Morris owned 150 acres, had one “free poll” (himself) and no slaves. Zachariah’s two oldest sons were also listed on the tax list, since both were over 21 years old. The two younger sons were still living at home, and uncounted, being less than 21 years old and unmarried.

Zachariah Morris’ wife, the former Anne Williams, died 28 April 1795 at age 67, her death noted in the Quaker records for Contentnea meeting (the meeting soon dropped the “Great” from the name of their monthly meeting). Zachariah Morris died 2 March 1809 at age 87, a very old age for that time. Both are believed buried in the cemetery for Contentnea Monthly Meeting, though today there is no sign of any headstones at the site of the former meeting house.

Zachariah left a will dated 4 December 1802. The will states “*Whereas I have heretofore given to all my children parts of my estate and being now very old and unable to do much labor*” and proceeded to give all of his surviving children except Jeremiah a token five shillings. To Jeremiah, he gave “*all the remaining part of my estate of what sort soever on conditions that he will take care of and support me while I live.*” Sons Zachariah and Jeremiah were named executors.

The children of Zachariah Morris and his wife Anne Williams were not recorded in the Quaker records of either Perquimans or Contentnea meetings. The names of a few of them are known to us from the marriage records of Contentnea Monthly Meeting, but not all. Fortunately, the very old family Geneva bible, described earlier in this work and loaned to the University of North Carolina in July 1947, had entries recording the births of the Morris children.

The children of Zachariah Morris and Anne Williams (all born in Perquimans County, North Carolina) were:

- i. **John Morris** John was born 14 Jul 1753, a twin to Sarah. The Geneva bible which lists the births of the Morris children shows John and his sister Sarah born the same day. There is no further record of John, and he likely died young.
- ii. **Sarah Morris** Sarah, a twin to John, was born 14 Jul 1753. She married while the family was still in Perquimans County, when the Quaker records there indicate she was reported married to Jesse Bogue on 5 May 1773. Jesse and his wife joined the rest of the Morris clan in the move to Contentnea meeting. The Perquimans records indicate Jesse was granted a certificate to the “Monthly Meeting in Dobbs County” in 1776 and the Contentnea records show Sarah was received there in a meeting dated 11 Mar 1776. Jesse died 10 Feb 1795 “in his 50th year.” Sarah married second to Silas Hollowell “at Contentney Meeting house” on 12 Apr 1801. “Sarah Hollowell” was listed in her father’s 1802 will.
- iii. **Mary Morris** Born 29 Feb 1756, Mary married Richard Davis on 20 Jun 1779 at Contentnea meeting. She died 13 Dec 1799 at age 43. She was not named in her father’s will since he outlived her, but her

- iv. **Zachariah Morris** son John Davis received her five shilling share of the will. Born 8 Mar 1760, Zachariah Jr. married Celia Peele, whose name was often butchered in old records and most often spelled “Selea,” etc. The couple married 14 Feb 1784. Zachariah died 24 Apr 1810, just a year after his aged father. Contentnea records only indicate two children, Robert and Charity. Celia lived until 1850 and migrated to Indiana with many others in the Morris family.
- v. **Isaac Morris** Born 25 Apr 1763, Isaac married Millicent Bundy on 14 Sep 1788 at Contentnea meeting. Isaac reportedly moved to Grayson County, Virginia, where he died in late 1825 or early 1826. The February 1826 term of the Grayson County court noted “*Milly Morris the widow of Isaac Morris dec’d came into Court and relinquished her of administration on the estate of her husband.*”
- + vi. **Jeremiah Morris** Born 15 Oct 1766, Jeremiah was our direct ancestor.
- vii. **Thomas Morris** Born 19 Mar 1769, Thomas married Sarah Musgrave on 19 Nov 1789, the marriage recorded by Contentnea as having taken place at the Neuse meeting house, which was about six miles west of Goldsboro, North Carolina. The family later moved to Surry County, North Carolina near the town of Mt. Airy, and later yet to Indiana. Thomas reportedly died near Paoli, Indiana in 1815.

Fourth Generation

Our direct ancestor, Jeremiah Morris, was born 15 October 1766, or as was recorded in the Geneva bible, “*Jere^m Morris Son of Zachariah and Ann his Wif Was Born y^e 15 of y^e 10th Moth 1766.*” Jeremiah was born in Perquimans County, in the Dismal Swamp area of northeast North Carolina, a couple of miles northeast of the town of Hertford. He spent his early youth on his parent’s farm in the area of what was then called Vosses Creek, today known as Mill Creek. Jeremiah was described many years later in a historical account of a descendant as “a carpenter and farmer of North Carolina.”

When he was nine years old, his family moved to Dobbs County, North Carolina, a move of about one hundred miles. We do not know exactly where the family lived, but it was likely near the county line between what is today Wayne County and Greene County, roughly halfway between the towns of Goldsboro and Snow Hill.

About the time the family decided to make the move to Dobbs County, things were beginning to heat up between England and her American colonies. Less than three weeks before the family received a certificate from their Quaker meeting transferring their membership to Contentnea meeting, North Carolina’s Fourth Provincial Congress adopted the Halifax Resolves, authorizing the colony’s delegates to the Continental Congress to support independence from Britain. The 83 delegates present at the Fourth Provincial Congress unanimously adopted the resolves, and with the vote, North Carolina became the first colony to instruct its delegates to vote in favor of independence. In short, the Revolutionary War was coming on, and fast.

On 22 February 1789, Jeremiah Morris married Margaret Charles, the daughter of William Charles and Jane Albertson, a family described earlier in this work. The marriage took place at the Contentnea



Top, the former site of the Contentnea meeting house and cemetery, of which there is no sign of either today, is in the middle of a large farm. When visited in 2007, the site appeared intact and there is no evidence it was being disturbed by the farmer, but it probably had been in the past since the meeting house and cemetery site are in the middle of an actively farmed field today. Bottom, a recently-erected stone marker is now at the site noting the land's former use. Several generations of Morris ancestors were buried at this site.

meeting house. The meeting house is no longer there, though the site where it stood is known. Today a large gravestone-style monument stands alone in a field marking the location of the former meeting house, located east of Airport Road about three miles southeast of the small town of Fremont, North Carolina.

On 1 April 1791, Jeremiah Morris purchased a small tract of land for £30 from Isaac Woodard. The 50 acres was described as being on the “south side of Great Contentney Creek.” On 17 November 1798, Jeremiah bought 130 acres of land from his father, paying just over £112 to “Zachariah Morris Sr.” for land located on the southeast “side of Turners Swamp.” The same day, Jeremiah bought another 53 acres adjacent to his own property from his brother Thomas for £35, ten shillings. His father’s 1802 will also left “*all the remaining part of my estate of what sort soever on conditions that he will take care of and support me while I live*” to Jeremiah, so it is assumed that Jeremiah’s aged father lived with him and Margaret until Zachariah died in 1809.

It would appear that Jeremiah Morris moved his family in 1810. On 23 February 1810, he purchased 96½ acres from Sampson Bridgers for \$280.50. Notice the shift from British pounds used for Jeremiah’s earlier purchases to dollars. The United States began minting its own coins in 1793, but it was a few years before it began to replace the use of the British pound. In an undated deed filed in May 1810, Jeremiah also purchased 205 acres from Maret Bartlett for \$482.50 and which was obviously adjacent to the other property he bought, since the second deed referred to “*Sampson Bridgers Corner*.” Both parcels of land were described as being on the south “*side of Watery Branch*.”

Many of the names of the streams mentioned in these wills are still in use, and this allows us to ascertain the approximate location of Jeremiah Morris’ farm. He and his family lived in the northeast corner of Wayne County, about where a line running due south from Stantonsburg and a line running due east from Fremont would intersect.

Jeremiah Morris died 15 September 1826, the date of his death noted in the Quaker records for Contentnea meeting. His widow Margaret would live many more years and joined her children in the Quaker migration to Indiana. A women’s monthly meeting held at Contentnea on 10 February 1827 recorded the fact that several people were requesting certificates in preparation for their moves to Indiana and noted that “*Margaret Morris requests one for herself and daughter Pininah Morris to the same place*.” Once in Indiana, Margaret Morris paid \$220 for 80 acres (W½ of NE¼, Sec.34, T16, R8) in Reserve Township of Parke County on 20 October 1827. Her youngest son Thomas came to live with her before 1840 and Margaret sold the property to him on 25 September 1846 for the same price she paid. Margaret died at age 87 on 10 December 1854 in Parke County, Indiana and was buried in the cemetery at Rocky Run Monthly Meeting.

Jeremiah Morris and his wife, the former Margaret Charles, had the following children (their births recorded in the Contentnea records):

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| i. Mary Morris | Born 8 Nov 1789, Mary married Isaac Woodard on 11 Jan 1807 at the Contentnea meeting house. Isaac was born 14 Apr 1783, and died by 1816 in Wayne County. Mary married second to Aaron Overman on 12 Jan 1817, by whom she had six more children. They went to Indiana, where Overman died in 1842 and Mary on 7 Apr 1849. She was buried at Rocky Run meeting in Parke County, Indiana. |
| + ii. William Morris | Born 24 May 1791, William was our direct ancestor. |
| iii. Jonathan Morris | Born 8 Jun 1793, Jonathan died 12 Dec 1808 at age 15. |
| iv. Nathan Morris | Born 3 Oct 1795, Nathan died 20 Jun 1806 at age 10. |

v. **Zachariah Morris**

Born 25 Apr 1798, Zachariah married Rebecca Horn, daughter of Abel Horn and Elizabeth Outland, on 9 Nov 1817 at the Contentnea meeting house. The couple were very young, Zachariah just nineteen and Rebecca only fifteen when they married. The couple had three children before Rebecca died 24 Jan 1824 according to the Contentnea records. Despite being a mother of three, she was only 21 when she died. Zachariah then got into trouble with his fellow Quakers by marrying Rebecca's younger sister Mahala, who was also only fifteen when she married her brother-in-law. The Contentnea records indicate that both Zachariah and Mahala were disowned on 8 Jan 1825 for marrying out of unity, i.e., contrary to the rules. The Quaker rules were relatively simple: one could not marry a non-Quaker, a first cousin, children of half brothers or sisters, etc. These were not issues here. But the Quakers also prohibited marriage between a man and his deceased wife's sister. But Quakers also were big on forgiving, so on 12 Aug 1826 the meeting recommended Zachariah and his new son, William Exum Morris, "to the care of this meeting as Members." A month later, on 9 Sep 1826, Zachariah and his son were reinstated as members. On 14 Oct 1826, Mahala was visited by Friends appointed to do so and "had satisfaction" and the meeting also received "her into membership in our Society." On 9 Mar 1833 Zachariah and Mahala were granted certificates to Bloomfield Monthly Meeting in Indiana. Mahala died 12 Dec 1848 and was buried at Rocky Run meeting in Parke County, Indiana. Zachariah married a third time to Margaret (Hollingsworth) Lewis on 9 Feb 1852 at Vermillion meeting in Illinois. Zachariah had a total of fourteen children by his three wives. He died at age 89 on 2 Nov 1887 and was buried at Coloma meeting in Parke County, Indiana.

vi. **Exum Morris**

Born 12 Jun 1800, Exum appears to have been the first of the Morris family to move to Indiana, having been granted a certificate on 9 Oct 1824 to transfer his membership to Lick Creek meeting in Orange County, Indiana. He went there and did not waste any time finding a wife as the Lick Creek Quaker records indicate he was at liberty to marry Mary Hollowell on 15 Jan 1825. After having one daughter Margaret, Exum's wife died. According to the *Portrait and Biographical Record of Montgomery, Parke and Fountain Counties* published in 1893, after the death of his wife, Exum went back to North Carolina, but returned to Lick Creek in Indiana with his mother (Exum's father Jeremiah died during his absence) and his brother Thomas. The Quaker records bear this out. They soon moved on to Parke County, Indiana, where Exum married Eleanor Newlin on 6 May 1829, by whom he had ten more children. After their marriage, Exum and Eleanor moved to Vermillion County, Illinois, less than 25 miles to the west, where Exum bought 160 acres from the government about a mile southeast

of the town of Georgetown, Illinois. In 1838 the family sold out and returned to Parke County, Indiana, where Exum bought 160 acres east of Bloomingdale, on which the family resided until 1860, when Exum again sold out and moved to Plainfield, where he “engaged in mercantile pursuits.” Exum died 13 Dec 1862 and was buried at Sugar Grove meeting.

vii. **Celia Morris**

Born 22 Aug 1802, Celia married James Cox, the son of Thomas and Miriam Cox, on 26 Jul 1821 at Turner’s Swamp meeting house in Wayne County, North Carolina. James Cox was born 9 Dec 1796, and after having two children by Celia, the family moved to Indiana in 1827. James died on 1 Oct 1828 at age 31. On 6 Jan 1830, Celia married Jonathan Cox, her deceased husband’s cousin (which, if you were wondering, was okay with the Quakers). Late in her life, Celia’s mother lived with her as indicated by the 1850 census for Parke County, Indiana. Jonathan Cox died 6 Mar 1873 in Parke County. In the 1880 census, Celia lived alone, and the census taker noted she was “infirm.” Celia died on 6 Apr 1891 in Parke County and was buried in the Coloma cemetery.

viii. **Peninah Morris**

Born 26 Sep 1806, Peninah went to Indiana with her mother and a couple of brothers following the death of her father. Peninah married Scott Noel, the son of Lewis Noel and Sally McCammon, on 30 Apr 1829 in Parke County, Indiana. Scott Noel came to the county from Kentucky in 1826, as he claimed years later, “with a gun and a dog.” Peninah and her husband lived at Rockville, Indiana, where Peninah died in 1880 and Scott in 1889. An obituary for Scott Noel appeared in the 7 Feb 1889 edition of the *Rockville Tribune*. Several accounts stated that Scott Noel served 21 years as postmaster for the town and as Justice of the Peace, as he was listed in the 1880 census. Both Scott and Peninah Noel were buried in the Rockville Cemetery.

ix. **Thomas Morris**

Born 12 Jul 1812, Thomas went to Indiana in 1827 with his mother after the death of his father. On 7 Jun 1837 Thomas traveled about 30 miles west, where he married Margaret “Peggy” Bogue at Vermilion Monthly Meeting, just over the line into Illinois. She was the daughter of Job Bogue and Sarah Smith. The couple returned to Parke County, where Thomas lived the rest of his life. After Peggy died, Thomas married second on 18 Feb 1876 to Catherine Siler, who survived him (she died in Haviland, Kansas on 8 Aug 1892). Thomas died 10 Feb 1888 in Parke County at age 75 and was buried at the Coloma cemetery. In the 1850 census, Thomas and his wife Peggy had two black children living with them. Thomas apparently had no children of his own and, in his will, he left his estate to the Coloma Monthly Meeting and Bloomingdale Academy.

Besides giving birth to the nine children listed above, Margaret (Charles) Morris also cared for a girl

named Jane Harris, who was born Christmas day 1819. In the Bloomfield Quaker records for Parke County, Indiana, Jane is listed in the family of Margaret Morris with the notation that Jane was indentured to Margaret Morris. She apparently was not the daughter of a Quaker family since there was also a notation in the records for Bloomfield meeting that “Jane Harris (an indentured person)” was received in membership at the request of Margaret Morris on 8 August 1832 when Jane was twelve years old.

Fifth Generation

Our direct ancestor, William Morris, was born 24 May 1791 in Wayne County, North Carolina. He was a member of Contentnea Monthly Meeting, though not without a few issues that had to be worked out, like marrying someone who wasn't a Quaker. Generally this was a kiss of death for a Quaker, and that person was disowned and the Quaker records never mentioned that person again. This was not the case with William Morris, with whom we will continue after an account of the Edmundson family, a member of which William Morris married.

Edmundson Family

Every family history has its “brick wall,” i.e., a surname which proves to be incredibly frustrating despite the amount of effort expended in researching it. For this work, the Edmundson family proved to be its “brick wall.” An inordinate amount of time was spent trying to break through that barrier and extend the Edmundson family tree, but without success. That lack of success remains a source of frustration for the compiler, who in the process, found lots of company. Other descendants of this branch of the Edmundson family have had the same lack of success in researching this family.

As with most family names, *Edmundson* can be found spelled a number of alternate ways in old records, primarily *Edmondson* or sometimes with a “t” inserted, such as *Edmundston*, or the “d” missing, as with *Edmunson*. By default, the *Edmundson* spelling will be used here because most direct descendants spelled their name that way. Three researchers of this family, Lee Edmundson, J. Ray Edmundson and Dr. Stephen Edmondson (notice the different spelling of their surnames so common with this family name), have each spent untold hours working on the origins of our branch of the Edmundson family, without success. Independent research by the compiler proved equally fruitless.

The first Edmundson ancestor of whom we can be certain is a man who has been referred to as “Lt. James Edmundson,” his title derived from service as a militia officer during the American Revolution, even though he rose to the rank of Captain in the militia. Unfortunately, little else is known about him. Many suggestions have been made by family researchers regarding James’ ancestry, but no conclusive proof of his parents has been found. It is often repeated that James Edmundson was born about 1751, but there is no proof of that either. Based on one record that does provide a birth date, James likely was born about 1740.

One frequently proposed theory is that James Edmundson was the son of John Edmundson and Mary Cullen, a theory that is strengthened by the fact that James Edmundson named a son Cullen Edmundson. That theory, though possibly correct, has no evidence, especially since a marriage of a John Edmundson to a Mary Cullen has not been found. Some have identified James’ father to be Joseph Edmondson of Craven County, but no proof exists for this either. The James Edmondson who was the son of Joseph and Priscilla Edmondson died in 1766, leaving a widow “Aliss” and no known children.

Another theory popular among Edmundson family researchers is that James Edmundson was the son of a Thomas Edmundson by an unknown wife. This theory is slightly more plausible because a person often referred to as “Dr. Thomas Edmundson” owned property in the area where our James Edmundson lived and there may have been a deed that links the two. The reason for the weasel words “may have been” is that the original deeds were destroyed by fire many years ago and all we have to go on are surviving deed indexes.

James Edmundson lived about 12-13 miles northeast of present-day Goldsboro, North Carolina in what was then Wayne County (today Greene County). The area was under the jurisdiction of a number of different counties in the early formation of the colony. For example, until 1746 the area was part of Craven County. In that year, Johnston County was formed from the western part of Craven County and for the next twelve years the area where James Edmundson lived was part of that county. In 1758 Dobbs County was formed from the eastern portion of Johnston and the records of Johnston went with the newly formed Dobbs. In 1779 Wayne County was formed from the western portion of Dobbs and in 1791 most of the remainder of Dobbs was divided into Glasgow and Lenoir Counties, and Dobbs ceased to exist. Glasgow County was later changed to Greene County. The

reason for Glasgow County being changed to Greene County is an interesting sidebar.

James Glasgow was likely a close acquaintance of James Edmundson. The two owned property close to one another, with one deed showing that land owned by Thomas Edmondson near Great Contentnea Creek and the mouth of Toisnot Swamp was bounded by “the land of James Glasgow.” During the American Revolution, James Glasgow served as a colonel in the Dobbs County militia, and was James Edmundson’s commanding officer. Following the war, Glasgow was appointed as the first secretary of the state of North Carolina, a position he held for 21 years during the time North Carolina was both a colony and a state.

In 1797, charges surrounded Glasgow’s office for its handling of the issuing of land grants to former soldiers from North Carolina who had served in the Continental Army (not the militia, as Glasgow himself had done) during the Revolution. During the war, the North Carolina General Assembly had set aside land (in present-day Tennessee) and promised it to soldiers, based on their rank and term of service. An investigation continued for more than a year, and finally under increasing pressure, Glasgow resigned from office in 1798. He was eventually found guilty of two charges of misconduct in office and fined £2,000. At the time of the discovery of the frauds, Glasgow enjoyed great public support. Horrified at learning of Glasgow’s possible involvement in any type of fraud, Governor Samuel Ashe remarked “An angel has fallen!” After being found guilty of misconduct in office, Glasgow left North Carolina and lived the rest of his life in obscurity in Tennessee.

In 1799, with the phrase “That from and after the passing of this act, the county of Glasgow shall be called and known by the name of Greene County,” the North Carolina General Assembly removed the honor it had bestowed upon James Glasgow eight years before, and renamed the county in honor of Nathanael Greene.

The records of the early counties for this area of North Carolina (Johnston, Dobbs, etc.) were kept at the courthouse in Lenoir County. In 1878, a courthouse fire in Kinston, the county seat of Lenoir County, destroyed almost all these records. The few records which survived were the original grantee and grantor index book, the latter which was not discovered until the early 1980s. As a result, most early wills and land records were lost, making the genealogical research of men like James Edmundson very difficult.

After the 1878 fire, which was caused by arson, another fire two years later again destroyed what records they had started keeping again. But that wasn’t the only problem. An article in *The Kinston Journal* newspaper dated 20 May 1880 described “Last Wednesday two little boys of Tom Johnson, living near Southwest Creek, about three miles from Kinston, found two of the books belonging to the Superior Court Clerk’s office which were supposed to have been burned in the last fire. The rascal had cut out and destroyed all the writing - about 20 pages - from the State Judgment Docket, and about 100 pages from the Civil Judgement and Execution Docket, and had thrown the books in a hole of water by the side of the road within a few steps of Southwest creek.” One gets the impression the county did not expend a great deal of effort in protecting their records.

Dr. Thomas Edmundson

Our first Edmundson ancestor was probably Thomas Edmundson, though the proof of that is circumstantial and far from compelling. He was often referred to as “Dr. Thomas” in records and sometimes listed as a physician. He first shows up in North Carolina records in 1752 when he received a 640-acre Granville land grant on Toisnot Swamp. Thomas proceeded to receive a number

of land grants in what eventually became Wayne (and later Greene) County, North Carolina.

The grantor index for Johnston County rescued from the fire covers the years 1755-1793 and includes land which became Dobbs, and from Dobbs, which became Wayne County, etc. The index shows transfers of land from Thomas Edmundson to James Edmundson and from Thomas to John Edmundson. It has been presumed by many that James and John were his sons, though as mentioned earlier, there is no proof of that. Researcher Stephen Edmondson points out that “a circle drawn with a radius of five or six miles and centered at Stanton’s Bridge on Contentnea Creek would encompass all these land tracts, including the plantation of James Edmondson at Bullhead on Appletree Creek.”

Thomas was listed in 1778 when he and William Speight were appointed commissioners to build a bridge over “Contentney Creek.” It can be assumed this was where a modern concrete bridge on Speights Bridge Road still crosses Contentnea Creek today in Greene County.

There is even proof that John was the son of Dr. Thomas Edmundson. A surviving deed in Edgecombe County (which also gave up part of its land for what would become Wayne County) for a Joseph Mayo in 1779 (vol. 3, page 39) describes property “*which was part of a Granville Grant to Doct^r Edmundson who conveyed it to his son John Edmundson who conveyed it to the s^d Joseph Mayo.*” As for our direct ancestor, James Edmundson, it has been assumed by a number of researchers of this family that James was John’s brother and also a son of Dr. Thomas Edmundson.

Dr. Thomas Edmundson acquired substantial land holdings north of Contentnea Creek and in the Toisnot Swamp area, which today would be near Stantonsburg, North Carolina. There is evidence he was living there as late as 1786. Today a small pond named *Edmunson Pond* can be found in the area just east of Highway 58 leading into the town of Wilson. No will for Dr. Thomas Edmundson has been located.

James Edmundson and the Militia

The first Edmundson ancestor which can be proven, James Edmundson, first appears in a deed in which he receives land from Thomas Edmundson, presumed to be James’ father, in the period 1771-1773. An entry in Book 9 of the surviving deed index for the period April 1771 - April 1773 mentions this transaction, but there are no other details due to the loss of the original deeds.

During the American Revolution, James Edmundson served in the Dobbs County militia. The information for many of North Carolina’s county militia groups is sparse at best, and the records available for Dobbs County are no exception. Among the few records to be found is mention in the *Colonial and State Records of North Carolina* (v. 10, p. 936) dated 25 November 1776 in which the colonial Assembly was considering the appointment of officers “to the two Battalions of Volunteers directed to be raised for the aid of the State of South Carolina.” One of the militia officers, from Dobbs County, was “James Edmonson” who was appointed a Second Lieutenant.

This was in response to a resolution passed by the Continental Congress on 16 November 1776 (CSRNC, v.10, p.912), recommending that North Carolina “render immediate ... assistance to their friends in South Carolina.” The resolution was signed by John Hancock, the president of the Continental Congress, and famous for his signature on the Declaration of Independence. South Carolina had been a battleground since late June 1776 when the British had tried to take Charleston and when the colony asked other colonies for help.

North Carolina agreed to send two battalions of militia volunteers to South Carolina's defense since the North Carolinians thought it "highly probable the Town and Fortifications of Charlestown, in South Carolina, will be attacked this Winter, when the Rigour of the Season prevents the Enemy from pursuing their military Operations in the more Northern States" and because South Carolina was burdened with "numerous internal Enemy," i.e., Tories faithful to the British cause. Each battalion was supposed to consist of about 850 men, but it appears the two battalions amounted to about 1200 men total. James Edmundson was a member of the First Battalion, commanded by Col. Abraham Sheppard.

The two battalions (CSRNC, v.10, p.928-929) were to depart for Charleston as soon as possible, and were to remain in South Carolina until the end of March 1777, unless South Carolina "shall judge it necessary" to discharge them early. According to the act passed by the North Carolina assembly, the men were to be fed at the rate of 10¢ per day, paid for by North Carolina until the militia force reached Charleston. While in South Carolina and during the return to their homes in North Carolina, feeding the men was to be the responsibility of South Carolina.

The militia brigade was commanded by Allen Jones, appointed Brigadier General by the assembly. The appointments of most militia officers during the American Revolution was based primarily on their social status. Those with the most money, influence and land usually got the best positions in the militia's chain of command. Despite having seen military service only briefly as a member of the army of Governor William Tryon during the Regulator's War in 1771, Jones continued to serve as a militia general for the remainder of the war. Primarily a politician, Jones wrote Governor Richard Caswell in September 1777, stating "I confess my ignorance of military affairs."

James Edmundson and the other militia troops left for South Carolina in December 1776 with the intention of aiding the port city of Charleston as it prepared for a possible British assault. It does not appear the militia group experienced any significant action, and according to one account, upon learning the threat had receded, the militia "returned to North Carolina after marching as far southward as Camden."

Since the records are so sparse for early Revolutionary War militia groups, we are left to infer what action James Edmundson and his fellow Dobbs County militiamen may have seen. One good possibility is that he participated in the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, which occurred 27 February 1776 near Wilmington, North Carolina. The book *The North Carolina Continentals* by Hugh F. Rankin mentions that the Dobbs militia was present at this battle, with Col. Abraham Sheppard in charge of that group. Whether James Edmundson was present that day is not known.

It seems Col. Abraham Sheppard hated South Carolina so much that he would do almost anything to not be sent back there. He hated the climate, he hated the mosquitos, he hated the people. There does not appear to be one good thing Sheppard said about South Carolina. While still in South Carolina, Sheppard wrote the place was "the most miserable part of God's creation, both men and lands." So he cooked up an idea so he would not end up there again. In addition to its militia groups, North Carolina was attempting to raise nine regiments of troops for General Washington's continental army. Sheppard pleaded with the assembly to let him create a tenth, despite the fact the other nine were not yet fully staffed. At first, the assembly said no, and Sheppard's pleading turned to promising. He told the assembly if they would permit him to create the 10th North Carolina Regiment of Continental troops, he would recruit 300 men, march them north and help Washington pulverize the British, ending the war much sooner. The assembly decided to let him do that.

The 10th North Carolina Regiment was organized 19 April 1777 and Sheppard put out handbills all over the northeastern part of the state, and as instructed by the assembly, promising *“to pay to each soldier you shall enlist thirty dollars bounty, and engage a suit of clothes, or in lieu thereof twenty dollars, and 250 acres of land to each soldier who shall enlist during the war, or 100 acres of land to such as shall enlist for the term of three years.”*

Sheppard soon reported that he had raised his quota of men. A total of 328 men enlisted, but according to one account they were the “sickly offscourings of the back country.” Probably unaware of this, General Washington ordered Sheppard’s unit to proceed to Richmond, Virginia and await further orders. At this point, Sheppard’s military leadership skills seem to have begun a lengthy downward spiral.

In June 1777, Sheppard marched his men into Virginia, but stopped a few miles from Halifax, where he left his men and returned to his home in Dobbs County, North Carolina. Washington became irritated when the men of the 10th North Carolina Regiment didn’t show up as expected. When Sheppard was discovered enjoying life back at home in Dobbs County, North Carolina Governor Richard Caswell went nuts, writing to Sheppard *“I was induced to believe you would not only be able to raise men to serve their country, but that the officers would be punctual in obeying orders. In the first I am happy to find I was not mistaken; but, what shall I say to the latter?”*

Governor Caswell, who was likely embarrassed by Sheppard’s lack of action, ordered Sheppard for *“God’s sake, and your Country’s sake, for your own honor and that of your Regiment, let me entreat you, nay order and command you, immediately to”* proceed to collect his troops and join General Washington. Caswell finally got Sheppard and his regiment moving by late September 1777. A committee formed to look into this issue concluded that *“Colonel Sheppard and the officers under his command have disobeyed orders on frivolous and insufficient reasons; that their conduct casts a shade, not only on themselves, but in some measure draws a reflection on this State.”*

Despite the fury leveled at Abraham Sheppard, by mid-February 1778 he had managed to move his regiment no farther north than Hanover County, Virginia. He had been forced to leave 47 men behind before leaving North Carolina due to illness, and proceeded to lose more along the route north. A total of 118 men deserted the unit along the way, nearly one per mile. In addition, a number of men had fallen ill and twenty died, buried in shallow graves along the way. As Rankin wrote in *The North Carolina Continentals*, to “many observers, it was already clear that Sheppard’s Tenth Regiment would be more of a hindrance than any great aid to the war effort.” When the pitiful remains of the regiment finally reached Washington at Valley Forge, the unit was disbanded and the remaining men attached to other regiments. It was written of Sheppard that he was a man “whose enthusiasm was boundless, but whose efforts bordered on the inept, and who somehow managed to see his command melt away before it reached a war zone.”

It would seem that James Edmundson initially enlisted in the 10th North Carolina Regiment. A roster exists titled “Roster of Captain Abraham Sheppards Company for Col. Abraham Sheppards Battalion, July 1st, 1777.” The Captain was Abraham Sheppard Jr., the son of Colonel Abraham Sheppard Sr. There were three other officers in Capt. Sheppard’s company; listed immediately after Capt. Sheppard is the entry “James Edmundson 1st Lieut” and under the column titled “Dates of Commissions” is “19th April 1777,” the day the 10th North Carolina Regiment was organized.

However, no other record has been found which supports the position that James Edmundson was a member of the infamous 10th North Carolina Regiment. There are several records which indicate the

enlisted men and officers of that regiment, and Edmundson's name is not among them. Instead, James Edmundson appears to have changed his mind and stayed with the local militia of Dobbs County, the command of which was taken over by James Glasgow after the departure of the inept Abraham Sheppard to join Washington's continental troops.

Two records found in the North Carolina state archives indicate that James Edmundson later was promoted to the rank of Captain in the Dobbs County militia. One record, from the Dobbs County Militia Rolls for the years 1767-1781, provides a "Return of the Dobbs Regiment of Militia, July 5th, 1779" and is essentially an eighteenth-century spreadsheet:

Field Officers and Captains	Lts.	Ensgs.	Sergts.	Cor.	Pvts.	Total
James Glasgow, Col.						
Henry Goodman, Lt. Col.						
Thos. Williams, 2nd Major						
Captains						
John Kennedy	0	0	2	2	34	38
John Creel	1	0	2	2	52	57
Frederick Herring	1	1	2	2	36	40
Joseph Pipkin	1	1	2	2	34	38
Thomas Grantham	1	1	2	2	38	42
William Speight, resigned	1	1	2	2	56	60
William Harper	0	0	2	2	33	37
William Ormond	1	1	2	2	31	35
Isaac Hines	1	1	2	2	19	23
Stringer Mackilwean	0	0	2	2	26	30
Jacob Johnston	1	0	2	2	25	29
Thos. Pridgeon, discharged	1	1	2	2	36	40
William Fellow	1	1	2	2	47	51
Menan Patrick	0	0	2	2	34	38
Thos. Williams, promoted	0	0	2	2	32	36
Stephen Cobb, discharged	1	0	2	2	51	55
James Edmundson	1	1	2	2	22	26
Total Lts. = 12						
Total Engs. = 9						
Total Sergts. = 34						
Total Cor. = 34						
Total Pvts. = 607						
Total = 675						

The Dobbs County militia return listed seventeen men with the rank of Captain, including James Edmundson. The total number of men listed on the return did not include lieutenants and ensigns, who were officers. The total count was off by one, not too bad since they lacked calculators in 1779.

Another document in the North Carolina State Archives, undated, lists 618 men who were members of the "Dobbs Militia." This list was obviously assembled many years after the fact since it includes

the birth and death dates for the men on the roster, their wife's and father's name if known, and where they were born and died. This second list has a total of 19 Captains listed. One of the people on the list is "James Edmundson" who is listed as born in 1740 and died in 1798. His wife's name was listed as "Penelope" and his rank given as "Captain," with no further information.

About this same time, James Edmundson's name can be found on a voter list for Dobbs County in 1779. The list has historical significance and the *Kinston Daily Free Press* newspaper ran a well-written article in its 2 November 1962 edition titled "It Was Not Easy To Vote in 1779":

In 1779 the outlook for the success of the American Revolution had grown very dim. This year and the next were to be the darkest hours for the patriots. Kinston, the home town of Governor Richard Caswell, had become the de facto capital of the new State. Here the State's Board of War usually met in secret sessions. Sometimes the Council of State met here. Sessions of the General Assembly, being more a matter of public knowledge, usually were convened at larger and more heavily guarded towns. While the name of the town was changed from Kingston to Kinston by law in 1784, already by 1779 the patriots were calling it Kinston in derision of the King of England from whose title the original name derived.

The vote in the general election in 1779 required the highest patriotic conviction. If the Revolutionary cause failed, each of these voters would be marked as among the rankest seditionists. For these were the men of Dobbs County who closest held to heart the pledge of the Declaration of Independence, the pledge of "our sacred honor." This list of Dobbs voters is complete but does not complete her roll of honor, for there were those who were away with the armies in the field and the women whose names do not appear on this list. Still, these are the fathers and brothers and staunch supporters of those who fought, and each of them deserves to be remembered.

Even to those whose resolute patriotism stilled all fear of the possibility of danger in defeat, to vote was no easy matter. The voting place was at the old Dobbs County Courthouse erected near Walnut Creek about midway between present LaGrange and Goldsboro. Dobbs County included practically all of the areas now comprised in Lenoir, Greene and Wayne Counties, and it was from these areas that the voters came on horseback to cast the vote of freemen in a ___ State. Because of the distances, the polls were open for two days, March 10th and 11th.

Among the 588 men on the voter list are the names of John and James Edmundson.

Bullhead Plantation

During the American Revolution, the large plantation where James Edmundson lived received the name the area would go by to the present day. Even today, Greene County, North Carolina, where James Edmundson lived, contains nine townships, one of which is "Bull Head Township," after the name of James Edmundson's plantation. A number of accounts regarding how "Bullhead Plantation" came to receive its name can be found. This account is based on half a dozen other accounts which all report slight variations of the same story, but with a few pertinent background facts added.

Bullhead Plantation received its name from an incident which happened near the end of the American Revolution. A description of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse was provided at length earlier in this work. In that battle, on 15 March 1781, the American general Nathanael Greene, with about 4,400

men, met the forces of the British general Lord Cornwallis, who had about 1,900 men. Technically the British were able to claim victory, but paid very dearly for it.

After being mauled by the American rebel forces in Guilford County, Cornwallis' troops limped back to his base at Wilmington, North Carolina, which he reached on April 7th. During the retreat, British troops and a number of British officers, including two generals, died as a result of their wounds from the battle. All were buried along the route of the retreat.

On April 25th, Cornwallis left Wilmington and headed north for Virginia with less than 1400 men, giving up on North Carolina. Once in Virginia, he would take command of all the British forces there, in the belief that control of Virginia would isolate the northern and southern patriot forces from each other and ultimately lead to a British victory. During the last week of April and the first couple of weeks of May in 1781, Cornwallis' army crossed North Carolina, destroying what he could and confiscating what he needed.

All along the way, Cornwallis' forces skirmished with American forces, though there were no major battles. One of those skirmishes was on the banks of Contentnea Creek, where Col. James Gorham and 400 Pitt County militia tried to stop the British at Peacock's Bridge. The Patriots fired upon the British dragoons as they galloped across the sturdy bridge, but to no avail; the rebel forces scattered as soon as the enemy reached the opposite side. This skirmish occurred on 6 May 1781 near present-day Stantonsburg in Wilson County, North Carolina. A bridge on Highway 58 still crosses Contentnea Creek at the same point today.

Because this skirmish occurred only about seven miles from the Edmundson plantation, we are safe in assuming the incident which happened there occurred on the same day or close to it. The British were scouring the countryside for badly needed supplies, plundering every village, farm and plantation they encountered. James Edmundson's plantation was no exception. It is not known if James was home when the British showed up or not. There is the possibility that he was away from home with his militia unit at the time, though there is no record of that.

As the story goes, when the British redcoats arrived at Edmundson's plantation, James (some versions of the account say *his help* or *his hired hands*) turned his cattle loose and attempted to drive them into the nearby Nahunta Swamp to keep the British soldiers from killing them. But he was too late and the redcoats spotted the cattle and "made for them." Among his stock of cattle was a "fine blooded bull" that Edmundson prized according to the tradition, the animal having been imported from Holland. The huge bull had always been confined to a stall for safety.

When the British soldiers saw the bull, they gave chase. The bull became furious and attacked the redcoats. According to tradition, the redcoats shot the bull in the "front yard of Mr. Edmondson's home." The British troops skinned the bull, took the meat, and "to add to the horrors of vengeance hung the bull's head on a huge ash by means of spikes that had been taken from the blacksmith's shop on the farm. Mr. Edmondson was so grieved by the misfortune that he christened his plantation 'Bullhead'. The mighty ash stood until recent years, but had to be cut down because it was decayed and was no longer safe. At present some local people have pieces of the historical tree as souvenirs."

The locale near Bullhead plantation even had its own post office at one time. On 2 May 1836, a post office for "Bull Head, North Carolina" was established, with a post office building on the Edmundson plantation. On 13 June 1895, the spelling of the post office was changed to one word, "Bullhead, North Carolina," and remained that way until 30 March 1907, when the post office was closed. Then,

as today, people in the area got their mail from the “Snow Hill” post office several miles away. The old Bullhead post office building is still standing, and is used today for storage.

Today there are no obvious signs of the former Bullhead Plantation. The old farmhouse remained standing until about 1980, when it was torn down. Descendant J. Ray Edmundson Jr., who still lives in the area, has wood from the old ash tree that the British hung the bull’s head on, as well as wooden pegs used in the construction of the old farm house which belonged to James Edmundson. J. Ray and his brother still own 75 acres of land that was part of the original Bullhead Plantation, including the Edmundson family burial plot and the land where the old post office building is located.

Wayne County was established on 2 November 1779, carved off from the western part of Dobbs County. It was named for “Mad Anthony” Wayne, a general in the American Revolution. A tax list exists for the year 1786 (unlike most of the other counties mentioned previously, many records for Wayne County have survived) and “James Edmundson” is listed as owning 810 acres and 10 slaves.

During this period, following the American Revolution, James Edmundson was adding land to his holdings at a brisk rate. He obtained a very large parcel of land by a “land entry.” These were allowed as a result of an act of the General Assembly in 1777 in which a land entry system was established within each county. Under this system, citizens were allowed to enter claims on any land which had no legal owner. The claimant had to provide a description of the land he wished to “enter” and pay the fees. After a waiting period in which no one protested the pending claim, the land was surveyed and a land patent issued.

James Edmundson claimed 600 acres in Dobbs County “*near the Watery Branch Joining Richard Brassels & Samuel Barfields lines.*” The date of the entry was 6 June 1778. This record is one of the few records for Dobbs County which have survived, mainly because the entries were filed by the Dobbs County clerk into Entry Books and sent to the Secretary of State for issuance of land grants. Because of that, these copies are the only land records for Dobbs County which have survived.

Edmundson was also buying and selling real estate on speculation, known from Wayne County records which have survived. For example, on 31 March 1783, James purchased 300 acres adjoining his own property and that of Elisha Downing, selling the same 300-acre parcel a little over two years later. On 10 November 1784, James Edmundson received a land grant from the state of North Carolina for 477 acres, possibly as a result of his militia service. On 10 October 1786, James bought 371 acres from James Glasgow, who was a neighbor of Edmundson. On 26 September 1787, James purchased another 200 acres from William Lancaster for £100.

Not long after, the first census for the fledgling United States was taken. James Edmundson appears in the 1790 census for Wayne County, North Carolina. His household was listed as having one white male over 16 (James himself), five white males under the age of 16 (his five sons), five white females (his wife Penelope and four daughters), and 19 slaves. James Edmundson was a large slave owner. Of the 722 households listed in the 1790 census for Wayne County, only fourteen had more slaves than James Edmundson, including one man who owned 70 slaves.

One good account of the Edmundson family titled *Walston Edmundson Heritage* mentions that a “List of Taxables” in 1796 indicates that James Edmundson was the largest landowner in Wayne County, North Carolina that year, with a total of 1770 acres.

James Edmundson’s Wife

No marriage record for James Edmundson is known to exist, not surprising since most records for Dobbs and other early counties were destroyed by fire. We know from several records that her first name was Penelope, but her maiden name remains unknown, and has been the source of much speculation. There is no evidence which might indicate her ancestry, but that has not slowed others from providing all kinds of suggestions. The most common suggestion is that her last name was *Stanton*, suggested so many times that it is beginning to be accepted as fact despite not a shred of evidence to support the idea.

The suggestion of Stanton as Penelope's surname probably originated because she and James had a son Bryant who named one of his sons Wiley Stanton Edmundson during a period when middle names were often based on a maternal maiden name. Certainly there was a Stanton family in Wayne County, as a John Stanton appeared in both the 1786 tax list and the 1790 census. There is also evidence that the Stanton and the Edmundson families were acquainted, based on a 27 August 1773 deed between Thomas Edmundson and James Stanton for land sold to Stanton located "on the north side of greate Contentney Creek" and a 10 January 1789 deed when James Edmundson deeded to 215 acres "on the north side of Nahunta at the head of Appletree Swamp" to John Stanton.

Another suggestion, offered in the Edmondson Family Bulletin (No. 77, p. 16), is that Penelope was a *Mooring*. This was based on the fact that a Burwell Mooring lived in Dobbs County and "that there were several Edmundson marriages with Moorings." This idea is enhanced by the fact that one of the sons of James and Penelope Edmundson was named "Burrell" or "Burwell." Burwell Mooring was the son of John Mooring and Ann Burwell, thus the source of the name. It has been suggested, without proof, that perhaps Penelope was the sister of Burwell Mooring.

Though there is a good possibility that James Edmundson's wife could have been a Stanton or a Mooring, the evidence is far from compelling. Another alluring possibility, suggested by researcher Judy Davis, is that Penelope's last name was *Burgess*. Again, there is no evidence, but the similarity of given names in the two families is very interesting. A William Burgess left a will in Hanover County, North Carolina in 1781 in which he named, among others, sons Bryant, Cullen, Burrell and John. These same four names were given to sons of James and Penelope Edmundson. William Burgess also had a wife and daughter named Penelope, both named in his will. None of this proves anything, but there are certainly some interesting naming parallels.

James Edmundson's Will

James Edmundson left a will dated 23 December 1798, which was proved in the April 1799 court session in Wayne County, implying James died about March or April 1799. In his will, James distributed his property nearly equally among his twelve children (six sons and six daughters). He left each of the children one slave, a horse, with bridle and saddle, a feather bed and bedstead, two cows and calves, two ewes and lambs, a dozen plates, two pewter basins and two pewter dishes. Each of his six sons also received two sows and pigs, one chest, one table, 3 chairs, a case of knives and forks, one iron pot and a frying pan.

Because the lengthy will dictates the same items be left to each of his children, one historical account stated that James' will "reads like a parity on 'Partridge in a Pear Tree' as he parcels out basins, frying pans, setting chairs, and feather beds to each of his 12 children."

Most importantly, each of the six sons received land. In his will, James Edmundson left 267 acres to his son John, 360 acres to Cullen, 275 acres to Bryant, 342 acres to Burrell, 200 acres to Theophilus,



The site of James Edmundson's grave in the old Bullhead Plantation cemetery in what is today Greene County, North Carolina. The grave marker was erected by descendant J. Ray Edmundson Jr. and is not the original grave marker. Notice the spelling of the surname on the stone. The half-acre family cemetery is maintained by descendant J. Ray Edmundson Jr. It is located on the west side of Bullhead Road near the intersection with Fort Run Road.

and 400 acres to Wright (called “Right” in the recorded version of the will). The last tracts of land were not to be given to the two youngest sons until after the death of James’ wife Penelope. It was mentioned in the will that Wright’s 400 acres also included “the maner plantation,” implying the youngest son was to receive the centerpiece of Bullhead Plantation. In total, James Edmundson bequeathed 1844 acres of land, indicating what a large landowner he was.

James Edmundson was evidently literate since he signed his will and among the items in the inventory of his estate was “a parcel of books.” The inventory of his property was completed by his executor and eldest son John and provided to the probate court, dated 6 July 1799. The lengthy two-page list of James’ possessions included all of his personal property, including his household items, livestock and farm tools. The first item on the list was his most valuable property, his 19 slaves. They were not identified on the inventory, though the twelve bequeathed to each of his children were named. It has been pointed out in one other account regarding the Edmundson family that all six of the sons of James Edmundson sold most of the land they received in their father’s will.

The Widow Penelope Edmundson

James’ widow lived for nearly another twenty years after James died. Penelope never remarried and appears to have lived on Bullhead Plantation for the remainder of her life. She was still alive on 4 January 1816 when some of the personal property of James Edmundson “lent to his wife Penelloppy” was “sold by her consent.” The property was four slaves: two men, a boy and a woman. They were sold for just over £538. There is no record of her date of death, but she likely died in 1818, as a sale “of the Balance of the property of James Edmundsons Dec^d” was held on 6 June 1818. The results of that sale, recorded in the Wayne County probate records, required six pages to list everything sold and appears to have been a complete liquidation of James Edmundson’s estate, almost guaranteeing his widow Penelope had also died by this time. An account dated 6 May 1819 in the Wayne County probate records referred to “Penelope Edmondson, dec^d”.

Both James and Penelope Edmundson are almost certainly buried in the old Bullhead Plantation cemetery in what is today Greene County, North Carolina. There is a stone there today, erected by descendant J. Ray Edmundson Jr., but it is not the original grave marker. In a deed dated 3 August 1863, in the middle of the Civil War, descendant John J. Edmundson sold 275 acres of land that had been part of Bullhead Plantation “with the exception of one half (½) acre embracing the family grave yard or burying ground.” The graveyard is well maintained to this day by descendant J. Ray Edmundson Jr. The small cemetery is located on the west side of Bullhead Road near where it connects to Fort Run Road.

The Children of James and Penelope Edmundson

Little is known of the children of James and Penelope Edmundson. Research done by Stephen W. Edmondson, the account *Walston Edmundson Heritage* and a few other accounts were the source of most of which follows concerning the twelve children (order of birth only approximate):

- i. **John Edmundson** John was the oldest son and executor of his father’s will. He was reportedly born 15 Dec 1771. He is identified in several records as a physician, adding credence to the claim that his grandfather was Dr. Thomas Edmundson. According to one descendant, John studied medicine at the University of Pennsylvania and was one of the earliest physicians to practice in Wayne County. He sold the land he received from his father

and bought land in Greene County. His first wife was Elizabeth Jordan, the daughter of James and Elizabeth Jordan, whom he married before 1802, and they had five children. One of their sons, Turner, went to Texas and was the first mayor of Paris, Texas. Turner was killed in a dispute about a land border. John married (2) Sallie Taylor in 1820, who died in 1822 according to a DAR record. John Edmundson then married (3) Vicey Jordan Parks, daughter of Frederick and Winifred Jordan and first cousin of his first wife Elizabeth, in 1832. Vicey was born 1 Oct 1778 and had been previously married to John Parks. John Edmundson and Vicey signed a premarital agreement in 1832 (Deed Book 15, p. 393) retaining their own property. She died 20 Aug 1842 and was buried at Bullhead Plantation. John practiced medicine in Stantonburg, though by the 1850 census, he was likely retired and was listed on the census as a farmer. He died 11 Nov 1853 and is buried beside Vicey in the Bullhead Plantation cemetery.

ii. **Cullen Edmundson**

Cullen, the second son, was born 17 Jul 1775. He was listed in the 1800 census in Wayne County, but later sold the land his father gave him and moved to Greene County. He married Margaret Cannon Mooring, widow of Henry Mooring, the son of William Mooring and Priscilla (Celey) Edmundson, the latter reported in many accounts to have been the sister of James Edmundson. Cullen and Margaret were married in 1810, about four years after Henry's death. Margaret had four sons by her first marriage, but Cullen and Margaret had one daughter, Elizabeth Ann Edmundson, and possibly others. The family later moved to Madison County, Tennessee. Several of the Mooring sons moved to Caddo Parish, Louisiana, near Shreveport, and established Mooringport on the Red River. Elizabeth Ann Edmundson married Matthew Goodrich Jackson, son of Zebulon Jackson and Mary Ann Goodrich of York County, South Carolina. Cullen died 24 Jun 1836.

iii. **Bryant Edmundson**

Bryant eventually moved to Twiggs County, Georgia, where family tradition states his oldest child, Louisa, was born in 1807, however he appears in the 1810 census for Wayne County with a wife, a son and three daughters. The family moved to Henry County, Georgia in 1826 and in 1828 moved farther west to Mountville in Troup County. There he owned over 1000 acres of land and had 9 slaves shown in the 1840 census. He died 27 Mar 1854 in DeKalb County, Georgia, and was buried near his wife Smitha Williams Edmundson in the family cemetery on Salem Road. Smitha was born in 1780 in North Carolina and died 22 May 1837. The graves were moved many years later to a family plot in the city cemetery in the town of LaGrange. Members of this family were quite prominent in Troup County for generations.

iv. **Martha Edmundson**

Martha, reportedly born in 1787, married Stephen Braswell, who was at the estate sale in 1818 following Penelope

- v. **Polly Edmundson** Edmundson's death. They were the parents of three daughters. Polly, probably a nickname for Mary, married Henry Edwards, who was at the estate sale in 1818. No further record.
- vi. **Laney Edmundson** Laney married James Bryant, who was at the estate sale in 1818. No further record.
- vii. **Burwell Edmundson** Burwell (or Burrell) Edmundson reportedly married a Sally Taylor, allegedly a second wife, but both of these contentions are in question. Longtime family researcher Nancy Taylor says he did not marry Patsy Mooring and she doubted he married Sally Taylor as some have claimed. Burwell is never listed in the census of Wayne County. He bought some land from his mother, in addition to the land left to him by his father, but he sold both parcels of land by 1806, and evidently moved to Greene County like his older brothers, since a tax record for that county in 1816 lists him as the owner of 200 acres.
- viii. **Penelope Edmundson** Every family has its black sheep, and the daughter Penelope, named for her mother, was the "interesting" daughter of the Edmundson family. Penelope, born about 1790, seemed to like having children, just not husbands. She is shown in the 1818 estate sale as "Penelope Edmundson, Jr." where she bought "1 Negroe by the name of Moses." She is likely the "Penelopy Edmondson" in the 1820 census of Wayne County with three females under the age of ten in the household. She is not listed in later censuses for Wayne County. On 2 Aug 1822 Penelope purchased 82 acres of land located "on both sides of the Watery Branch," land that had been part of her brother Cullen's inheritance. In 1828 she sold the same parcel of land. Penelope appeared in court in 1825 and 1826, charged with having two bastard children named Thomas and Malviney (bond dated 31 Mar 1826). She declared before the court that the two illegitimate children were fathered by a Thomas Person. Thomas Person may have died in 1822; the record is not clear on that, but Person had a wife named Rachel and two children, A. G. Person and Rachel W. Person. A deed in 1826 refers to her as "Penelope Edmundson, planter." She evidently left the area by 1830 and may have moved to Arkansas, as the 1850 census of Independence County, Arkansas shows a Penelope Edmundson, age 60, living in the household of Theophilus Edmundson, born 10 Mar 1828, and Patience Edmundson, born about 1818. Thomas, the brother of Theophilus, lived nearby in neighboring Izard County. All were born in North Carolina. Family legend says Theophilus and Thomas traveled from North Carolina to Mississippi, and then to Arkansas by 1850. The family tradition from this branch of the family was that the two brothers were illegitimate, making this connection very likely. Theophilus owned a store in Pleasant Grove, Arkansas for years and had a sawmill at Mountain View for a time. His brother "Tom" served as a Major in the Confederate Army but later resigned his commission. Tom was shot and killed on his

- front porch during the Civil War. According to the family story, Tom's wife had been washing in the creek when a man "insulted" her. She told the man she was going home to tell Tom what happened, but the man beat her to the house, called Tom out on the porch and shot him to death.
- ix. **Elizabeth Edmundson** Elizabeth was married three times: (1) William Miller, by who she had three children, James, Penny and Percy Miller; (2) Furney Ivey, by whom she had a son Turner Ivey; and (3) James Skippers, by whom she had two daughters, Elizabeth and Kitsey Skippers.
 - + x. **Pearcy Edmundson** Percy was our direct ancestor (see below).
 - xi. **Theophilus Edmundson** Theophilus was born about 1795 and was the only son who left much a genealogical trail behind. The estate records for his mother show the Theophilus had to repay his mother for 18 months of board and schooling he had received (there were no free schools at this time and you either paid for an education or learned at home). He died relatively young in 1824, leaving a widow, the former Clarkey Sauls, the daughter of John Sauls and his wife Nancy Ann Braswell. Theophilus and his wife had four children before he died: Bryant, Burwell, Chelley, and Barnabas. The last child died young.
 - xii. **Wright Edmundson** Due to there being an extant bible record for the youngest son, we know that Wright was born 20 Jun 1796. As with his next older brother, Wright had to repay his mother's estate for the boarding school he attended. This implies his mother Penelope was illiterate (quite common for females of this period) and she had to resort to an outside school for her son's education after her husband James died. Wright married Susanna Dickinson, daughter of Shadrach Dickinson and Keziah Simms. They had ten children. Wright sold the land he inherited from his father and moved to Edgecombe County, North Carolina. Wright died 24 Dec 1860.

Pearcy Edmundson

Our direct ancestor, the daughter Percy, was born 4 March 1793 in Wayne County, North Carolina. She grew up in a household where her father had been a militia officer in the American Revolution and in a family that had many slaves. Technically, she herself was a slaveholder since her father's will bequeathed to Percy a slave by the name of Cortney. Of course, Percy was only about six when her father died, so her mother would have kept the slave until Percy was of age (the 1810 census shows that the mother Penelope still owned 15 slaves).

Yet despite growing up on a very large plantation with many slaves, Percy Edmundson married a young man who was a Quaker, a group which bitterly opposed slavery by this time. It can probably be presumed that this situation made no one happy except for Percy Edmundson and her new husband, William Morris. It would probably not be a stretch to assume that Percy was not welcomed with open arms among William Morris' fellow Quakers. That assumption is bolstered by the fact that Percy would not be admitted as a member of the Society of Friends until nearly two decades after she married William. Their story continues next.

William Morris

We continue with the account of the Morris family, returning to William Morris, who was born 24 May 1791 in Wayne County, North Carolina, the son of Jeremiah Morris and Margaret Charles. William Morris was the fifth generation of the Quaker Morris family from North Carolina.

William Morris married Percy Edmundson about 1813-1814. We know her identity based on many later references to William's wife Percy (with many alternate spellings, such as Percy, Piercy, etc.), though no record exists of the marriage. The reason for that is that Percy was not a Quaker, and William "married out of unity." The first record we find mentioning William Morris is in the Contentnea Monthly Meeting records, where other Quakers were wringing their hands over William's conduct, trying to decide what to do about him.

The Quakers were prodigious record keepers, but sometimes they weren't all that good at preserving those records, and many of the early records for a number of meetings are missing. According to the introduction for Contentnea Monthly Meeting in the *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy*, the men's minutes for Contentnea before 1814 "are lost." As a result, we are unable to see the whole picture of the events which took place regarding William Morris.

But several facts are clear. First, we know that William married Percy Edmundson, probably in 1813. Second, from later Quaker records in Indiana, it is clear that Percy was not a Quaker, which was a very safe assumption anyway, since her father fought in the Revolutionary War, indicating her family certainly wasn't Quaker. Third, we can assume that William Morris was disowned for marrying a non-Quaker, though the missing records for Contentnea don't provide us with that information.

But the first extant records in early 1814 for the men's meeting at Contentnea do provide a glimpse of what was occurring at that time. At a Monthly Meeting held on 12 March 1814, a "*reference was handed from Contentney Preparative meeting to this, respecting William Morris requesting to become a member. Thomas Cox & Joseph Everitt are appointed to visit him & report to next Meeting.*" It is clear the Contentnea Quakers anguished over this decision, which was delayed for months. The April meeting recorded that the "*case of William Morris continued under the Care of the same Committee another month by reason of their not being satisfied to make a report.*" The May meeting recorded "*friends appointed to visit William Morris report they have and had a good degree of satisfaction. The meeting not being fully satisfied the case is therefore referred under the care of the same another month.*" The June and July meetings were much the same; more "not satisfied" and let's think about this some more.

The August and September meetings don't mention William Morris. Finally, in the minutes for the monthly meeting held at Contentnea on 8 October 1814, it was recorded "*The Committee in consequence of Wm Morris request to become a member of our Society report they have visited him to good satisfaction & this meeting being satisfied receives him a member.*"

Since William Morris was a birthright Quaker, there was no reason for him to have requested membership at Contentnea and be reinstated as a member had he not previously been disowned. Given the fact that it is known that he married shortly before this time and that no record of his marriage is recorded in the marriage records for Contentnea, which have survived, it is almost certain that William was disowned for marrying out of unity, but the records that would indicate this fact have been lost.

Other Quaker records indicate that, although William was reinstated as a Quaker, neither his wife nor his children were considered Quakers. This assumption is made for several reasons. First, William's family were not listed in the birth and death registers at Contentnea, whereas the families of William's siblings were. Second, when it came time to join others in the migration to Indiana in the 1820s, "William Morris requested a Certificate for himself" to transfer his membership to Indiana. Had his children been Quakers, the men's meeting would have issued certificates for William and his sons. But the definitive proof comes from an entry dated 9 May 1832 recorded in the minutes of Bloomfield Monthly Meeting in Parke County, Indiana, when William's wife "Percy" and eleven of their children, all named, were finally received as members of the Society of Friends.

One of the first records we find for William Morris was when he attended a couple of sales of the balance of the property of his wife's father, James Edmundson. The first sale was on 4 January 1816, when William's sole purchase was a keg for 77¢. The second sale was on 6 June 1818. William Morris' name appears a number of times on the list of items sold at the second estate sale, which like many garage sales today, was held on a Saturday. William bought the following items:

1 Table	\$2.25	1 Pot Hanger	\$1.00
1 Bed Stead & Cord	20.10	1 pr. dog irons	2.00
1 lot wooden ware	.50	1 Churn	.36
1 lot of iron ware	.81	2 doz. plates	2.35
1 dutch oven	.50		

"Dog irons" were andirons used in a fireplace, important for proper burning, preventing burning wood from rolling out, and minimizing smoke. Though no married women were listed among the people who purchased items in the estate sale (only men's names were listed), we can safely assume that James Edmundson's daughter Percy was there helping choose the items which William and Percy needed at home. Notice that nothing but household items were purchased.

On 9 March 1822, William Morris' father gave his son half of his land at the very eastern edge of Wayne County, North Carolina. Jeremiah Morris had purchased the land in 1810, separate purchases of adjoining parcels of 205 acres and 96½ acres. In the 1822 gift deed, Jeremiah gave 151 acres of land on the "south side of Watery Branch" to William, his oldest son, "*being one half of the land I own on the south side of Sd. Branch.*" Today this land would be located about three to four miles due south of the town of Stantonsburg.

As mentioned previously, William's younger brother, Exum Morris, went to Indiana in late 1824, and appears to have been the first of his family to do so. William and his sister Mary, the wife of Aaron Overman, were the next of the Morris family to join the tide exiting North Carolina and moving to Indiana. They all requested certificates from Contentnea Meeting on 12 August 1826. The two families probably began preparing for their move, which was made during the winter months of 1826-1827, for the Lick Creek meeting records in Orange County in southern Indiana show the families were received from Contentnea on 17 February 1827. Based on other accounts, the 700-mile trip probably took at least six weeks.

William waited in Orange County, where his younger brother Exum had been, until the arrival of his mother and other family members, who seem to have followed a few months later and who were received at Lick Creek meeting in May 1827. A short account of the Morris family in a Parke County History mentions that William's father, Jeremiah, "was a large slave-owner in the Carolinas, and thinking to try the Northern states, he started for Indiana, but died before reaching this state. His wife resumed the journey with her family, being 9 weeks on the way ...".

Like many accounts in the very common historical “ego books” published between 1880 and 1900, this account is fanciful and only vaguely based on reality. Jeremiah Morris wasn’t a slave-holder at all, let alone a large one. Obviously the source of this information in the 1800s was confusing William’s father with Percy’s father. And there is no evidence William’s father died on the way to Indiana. He did die about a month after William and others requested certificates of removal to Indiana, but there is no evidence he planned to accompany his children. To the contrary, Jeremiah’s wife did not request a certificate to Indiana until five months after her husband died.

In December 1827, probably after several months of scouting out their options in Indiana, most of the family moved on to Parke County in western Indiana, near the town of Rockville. William and Percy Morris spent the rest of their lives there. The aforementioned ego book, the *Portrait & Biographical Record of Montgomery, Parke & Fountain Counties*, published in 1893, mentions that William Morris came to Parke County in “the winter of 1827,” where William “immediately purchased 80 acres of timberland, which he set about clearing and improving. Later he located on 240 acres in Penn Township, which at his death in 1850 was considered one of the best-improved farms in the county.” The account also mentions that Percy was “a daughter of James Edmundson.”

The early land records for Parke County, Indiana suffered nearly the same fate as those of Dobbs County, North Carolina. On 12 November 1832, the courthouse in Rockville, Indiana was partially destroyed by fire and Deed Books A, B and C were burned. Book D, which was the one currently in use at the time, would have been lost as well except that the Recorder had taken it home to enter some deeds. After the fire, the county made a valiant effort to re-record the lost deeds from the originals, which were entered in what became known as the Relief Record Book.

From that book, we have confirmation of the account in the ego book. William Morris first bought 80 acres (E½ of SW¼, Sec. 21, T16, R8) in Reserve Township on 26 January 1828, paying \$300 for the property. He kept this property for 13 years, but eventually sold it for \$1100 in 1841. Meanwhile, on 10 January 1829, William paid \$350 for 160 acres (NW¼, Sec. 27, T16, R8) in Penn Township, and though it sounds like it was some distance away, it actually adjoined the southeast corner of his 80-acre property. A year and a half later, on 4 July 1831, William bought another adjoining 80 acres (W½ of NE¼, Sec. 27, T16, R8) for \$250.

The latter two parcels, in Penn Township of Parke County, are where William spent the remainder of his life. The 240 acres William Morris owned are located about five miles northwest of Rockville, and today would span the 10 O’Clock road (also known as County Road 23 and previously as 210W) about where it intersects County Road 177. The property immediately to the south of him was owned by William’s brother Zachariah, who bought that property in 1836.

The reference to the 10 O’Clock road is interesting, and the origin of this term is well known to many people in this part of Indiana. The Treaty of Fort Wayne, negotiated by governor William Henry Harrison in 1809 with the Indian tribes of Indiana and Illinois, obtained three million acres of land for the white settlers in the area. The most important part of the treaty was to establish the western line of the affected land, which was established by a survey. But according to legend, the Indians did not trust the surveyors’ equipment, so a spear was thrown down at ten o’clock in the morning and its shadow became the treaty line. There are other variations of the legend that say it was either a tree or a fence that was used. Despite the name of the road, the 10 o’clock line did not pass through Penn Township itself.

Speaking of the Indians, they were not much of a problem for the white settlers arriving in the Parke

County area from North Carolina and other points east. Most of the Native Americans chose to move west, many to Oklahoma where lands were set aside for them. But a book found in the Rockville Public Library titled *Parke County Communities* contains a collection of historical accounts about the early settlements in the area, and one story in particular is of interest.

After the area around Penn Township was opened for settlement six years before William Morris arrived, very few Indians were seen. One exception was a “Wea Indian with an unpronounceable name whom the settlers chose to call ‘Johnny Green,’” who remained behind and was a serious nuisance to the settlers. “He was often an unwelcome, unexpected visitor at the homes of the settlers. His savage brutal stories and his miserable disposition when drunk created a feeling of fear and distrust especially with the women and children.” The Indian had an especially annoying habit of often being in settler’s homes when they returned after being away for a time.

One day “Johnny Green” showed up at the home of Coleman Puett and “began relating his cruel stories of atrocities he had committed on women and children while the men had been away fighting the Indians. Mr. Puett on this occasion knocked him down and threw him out the door.” The Indian left and spent the night nearby, while members of the Puett family kept an eye on him. The next day the Indian “went on to Sugar Creek but Puett and his son took their rifles and followed him.” They encountered the Indian “sitting on a rock fishing in Sugar Creek. No longer willing to trust the old Indian, Puett shot him and he fell into the creek someplace near Turkey Run. A number of stories were told concerning his demise to prevent anybody from being prosecuted since the Indian treaty promised punishment for the killing of Indians by white men.”

What makes this story of extra interest is the fact that the early deeds for Parke County show when William Morris bought the 160 acres where he later lived in Penn Township, he purchased the land from Coleman Puett and his wife Judith. Assuming the incident took place somewhere near where Turkey Run empties into Sugar Creek, it occurred about seven miles from where Puett, and later William Morris, lived. It would be fascinating to know if William Morris and his family ever heard the story of Puett killing the Indian, since the story probably didn’t surface until some years later.

Penn Township itself was not always called that. It was originally named Scott Township, after General Winfield Scott, but as more and more Quakers like William Morris arrived in the area, they objected to the name since it honored a military person. They chose a different man to honor and suggested the name *Penn*, and the reader should be able to guess its origin. One thing that was a bit unique about Penn Township was the number of free black families who settled there. Blacks were rarely found on the frontier, but the 1850 census identifies a number of them, including neighbors of William Morris. The old book *Memories of Parke County* states that “before the Civil War, a considerable number of negroes who had obtained their freedom came to Penn Township.”

The Friends of Parke County built a meeting house in 1826, the year before William Morris and his family arrived. It was made of logs and was twenty feet square. The heating of the small building was interesting; they used a “basin scooped out of the ground in the center of the room” and used charcoal for fuel. At first, the Quakers tried to hold both men’s and women’s business meetings in the small room at the same time, with a “wagon cover” (i.e., a tarp) for a partition. That probably didn’t work too well, and they later tried holding separate meetings, but that probably wasn’t convenient either since either the men or the women had to wait. In 1827 a second room the same size as the first was added so that business meetings could be conducted simultaneously.

This first Monthly Meeting was called “Elevalus,” but a man named Nathaniel Newlin must have

thought it was a stupid name, and complained about it. The name was soon changed to Bloomfield and the nearby village took the same name. The name stuck for a time, but eventually the name of the town was changed to Bloomingdale when the locals applied for a post office and it was discovered there already was another Bloomfield, Indiana. The Quaker meeting changed its name as well.

In 1830 a school house was built near where the present-day Friends church stands. It had two brick chimneys, glass windows and a floor of sawed lumber. Like most schools of the time, people had to pay to send their children there. Two years later, the Quakers either outgrew the old meeting house or got tired of the charcoal smoke, and they decided to build a new meeting house that was 35 x 70 feet in size with 10½ foot ceilings. The new building was completed in 1834.

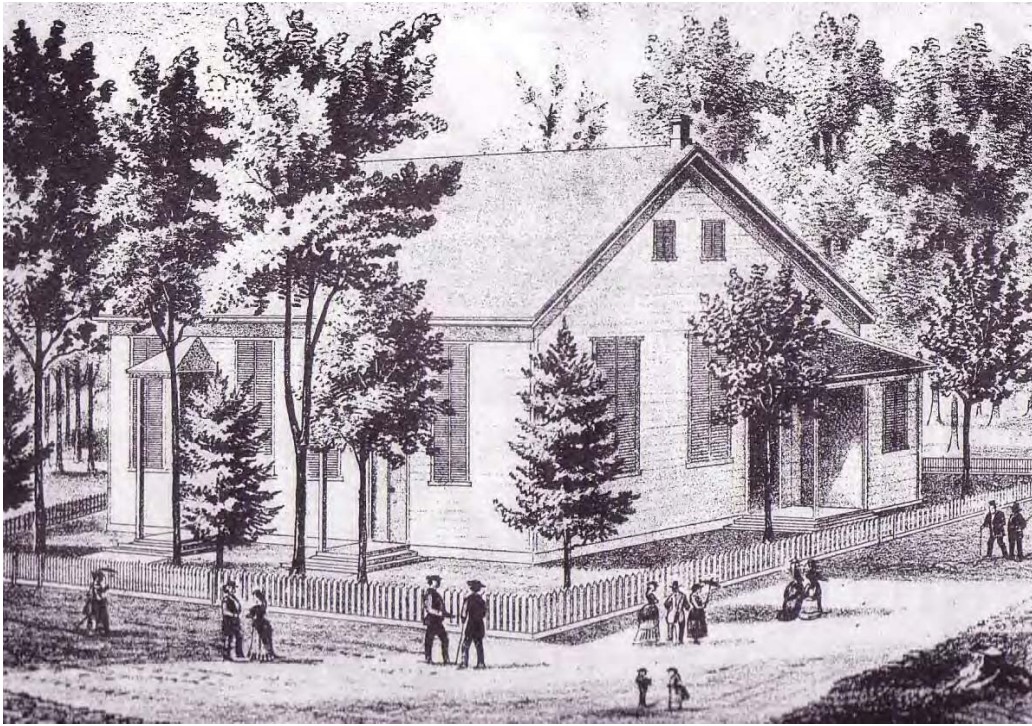
In 1846 a much larger boarding school was built, initially called the Western Manual Labor School. Children could board there for 75¢ a week, and could work for 3-4 hours a day to pay for their boarding. They were paid 3¢ to 6¢ an hour “and at the same time promote their bodily health and mental vigor.” Today the concept would be considered child abuse and those promoting the idea would be executed. The manual labor system, good in theory, proved difficult in practice for such a small school and the idea was later abandoned.

During the winter of 1849-1850 the school building caught fire and burned to the ground. Friends raised funds and built an even larger building (40'x60') which cost \$950. They got rid of the dangerous fireplaces and put in stoves for heat. Classes far beyond the typical school house environment were offered, including chemistry, astronomy, geology, botany, geometry and algebra. The school had an extensive laboratory for its time, containing a high power microscope, a telescope, coils and batteries, and a dynamo and galvanometer among other fairly cutting-edge equipment. The name of the school was changed to the Friends Bloomingdale Academy in 1862, and it continued to operate until 1916. The last school building, a structure built in 1860, stands to this day and is a local historical landmark.

Though William Morris and his family, as Quakers, were overseen by the Bloomfield (later Bloomingdale) Monthly Meeting, they likely did not attend that meeting every Sunday. The town of Bloomingdale was about four miles northeast from the Morris farm. For many of the Quakers in Penn Township that was a bit far to travel for meeting, and after several years a preparative meeting was established near the small community of Coloma, Indiana. Established in 1834, the Rocky Run Preparative Meeting grew until they were granted their own Monthly Meeting status in 1864. The meeting was renamed Coloma Monthly Meeting about 1883. This meeting house was less than two miles due south of the Morris farm.

William Morris and his younger brother Zachariah Morris evidently remained close their entire lives. As young men in Wayne County, North Carolina, both got into big trouble with their fellow Quakers of Contentnea Monthly Meeting for marrying in ways unacceptable to Friends' standards. But both recovered and stayed with the Quaker faith their entire lives. Both came to Indiana, where they lived on adjoining farms in Parke County. One can assume they assisted one another with harvesting crops and other chores. William even chose his brother Zachariah to be the sole executor of his estate.

As a result, a glimpse into the life of Zachariah would be like a look into William's. But since William did not seem to be very active in Quaker affairs, and Zachariah was, Zachariah's life is more visible to us today than that of William. In 1951, the Indiana Historical Society published the letters written by an English Quaker named John Candler to his wife in England. Candler and three other Quakers were visiting the United States on an anti-slavery mission and were traveling through Indiana



The Bloomingdale Meeting House (formerly the Bloomfield meeting) in Bloomingdale, Indiana. The family of William Morris attended this church, seen in an old drawing, top, and as it looked in 2007, bottom, with the addition of the bell tower.

in 1853, when he wrote in a letter dated 29 October 1853:

Having engaged a covered carriage for W&J Forster, and a man to drive them, and a single horse chaise for Wm Holmes and myself we left Terre Haute yesterday for an excursion to this part of the Indiana backwoods; the day was chilly but clear and pleasant, and we enjoyed the ride. The distance for the day was 28 miles and it took us seven hours to perform it, as the road was muddy in some parts and corduroy in others; there was only one small village on the road and very few houses. We passed some apple orchards in which the trees were loaded with fine fruit, and large quantities of it lay wasting on the ground.

At sun down we reached the homestead of Zachary Morris, a backwoods farmer, unexpected by himself or any of his family; we asked him whether he could take us in, and our driver, lodge us all and give provender to our horses? He replied "Yes and welcome." His good wife was gone from home to assist at a quilting in the house of a colored neighbour, where a company of the new settlement women had gone for an afternoon to assist in making a new quilt, and to sup together. The daughter took us in and set about to prepare us an evening meal, for we had travelled without dinner, and the father of the family heaped logs on the keeping room fire, and gave us a good blaze. We supped at seven oclock, after which, according to usual custom, the whole family came together to read the Bible. An aged grandmother, 86 years old, was placed in an armchair opposite the open fire place and the blazing wood, father, mother and seven children assembled round, and these together with ourselves and the driver made fifteen in the company. At 9 oclock we all retired to bed, first asking the usual question "At what hour do you breakfast?" "We breakfast," said our host, "at half past 5 oclock, but if you would like it sooner we can get it ready!"

We thanked him, told him that would be early enough for us, and requested to be called in the morning. Three good beds were prepared for us in one large room, and a fourth in a passage adjoining. We laid ourselves down, looked through the uncurtained windows at the beautiful stars and fell asleep. At a quarter to five our young friend Cornelius Morris marched in upon us to light our candles and announce the hour of rising; we went out doors to wash, and then sat down to breakfast. Our hostess must have risen at 4 o'clock or earlier, for she had prepared us a sumptuous meal consisting of hot bread, boiled and fried potatoes, sweet potatoes, cold roast pork, peach butter, preserves, coffee, milk and cream! Added to all of this was a flowing jug of sweet cider unfermented, an excellent drink, and to a thirsty man, delicious. We asked our host about his apple crop. He had gathered about 200 bushels and after giving away to his neighbours, had stored 175 bushels for family use. We were all greatly pleased with this hospitable family; the boys, a fine looking company, help their father on the farm, so that he hires no laborers.

This letter provides a peek into the personal lives of a Quaker family that we rarely get in genealogy. Though William Morris was dead by this time, we can assume that he and his brother Zachariah led quite similar lives. Several references made by Candler are interesting. He writes of the Quaker women meeting for a quilting party and eating dinner together: an 1850's Quaker woman's version of a girl's night out. The neighbor where the quilting party was held was black. This was likely the Artis family, who lived next to William and Zachariah Morris, and whom the brothers tried to help, as is evident in William's will.

The mention of the “aged grandmother” is an accurate reference to Margaret (Charles) Morris, who was evidently living with her son Zachariah in 1853. Even her age was about right. Several people have referred to the quip made by Zachariah that he could get the men up earlier than 5:30 in the morning for breakfast if they so desired as an indication of his sense of humor. That’s likely accurate, but one must also consider the possibility that, as a hard-working farmer, perhaps Zachariah wasn’t kidding.

It is rare that we know the politics of our ancestors (and if we do, sometimes we wish we hadn’t) but a biographical sketch for William Morris’ son James mentions that William “supported the Whig Party.” The Whig Party was a political party in the United States from the early 1830s to the mid-1850s. The party was formed in opposition to the policies of President Andrew Jackson and his Democratic Party. In particular, the Whigs supported the supremacy of Congress over the presidency. The name was chosen because *Whig* was then a widely recognized label for people who opposed autocratic rule. Prominent Whigs included Daniel Webster, William Henry Harrison, Zachary Taylor and their preeminent leader, Henry Clay of Kentucky. Abraham Lincoln was the most prominent Whig in frontier Illinois and Indiana. The Whig party eventually morphed into the Republican party.

While William Morris and his family lived the remainder of their lives in Parke County after moving to Indiana, he evidently dabbled in real estate in other places, and presumably visited them. The book *Portrait & Biographical Record of Montgomery, Parke & Fountain Counties* has a biographical piece on one of the sons of William and Percy Morris in which it is mentioned that in “1845 he went to Henry County, Iowa, where his father had previously bought eighty acres.” This part of Iowa was over 250 miles west of the Morris home in Parke County. In addition, the estate records for William Morris indicate that he also owned 240 acres in Porter County, Indiana near Lake Michigan. The land was located very near what today is Interstate 94 between the towns of Chesterton and Michigan City, Indiana.

William Morris made out his will on 5 April 1850, apparently none too soon, as he died two days later. In his will, William stated “it is my desire that my dear wife Percy have all of the plantation west of the road.” A “state road” (today the 10 O’Clock road previously mentioned) passed through the middle of William’s land, so he owned land on both sides of the road. Note William’s North Carolina roots in his reference to his “plantation.” Also note the spelling of his wife’s name. Percy’s name is seen spelled many ways, but Parke County’s recorder used the spelling *Pearcy*, presumably based on William’s handwritten will, so this spelling is likely the correct one.

Besides half the farm, William left his wife “the barn and barn field as long as she may live” (which was believed to be on the east side of the road), the horses “*jim and lise & the colt and quean*,” “four cows of the best,” “40 heads of hogs average,” “35 average sheep,” and the “*work cattle dick and broad*.” The latter served as William’s tractor. The will is a little strange in that William did not name all his children specifically, only mentioning that Percy was to make “all of the balance of the children equal to the first,” and requesting that she “give as much housing property to those that has not been set of as the first one had.”

It is questionable what this means (though apparently his family understood), but it seems to indicate that the first child had already received his inheritance, and the will was requesting that the rest of William’s children were to receive similar shares of his estate equally. This is verified by the fact that the eldest child did not receive anything from William’s estate, while the estate was divided equally eleven ways among the remaining surviving children.

The remainder of William's will dealt with miscellaneous possessions like his "horse waggon and the carriage and all of my plows and gearing." William noted in his will the "400 dollars that I have given to my son Jeremiah and 390 dollars that I have given to my son James and 100 dollars that I have given to my son William C. Morris," requesting that the "three named sums is to count for so much of their parts of my estate."

After his signature and the witnesses' signatures on the will, William added "One thing forgotten it is my desire that Morrison Artis have his lease on that 7 or 8 acres of land that he has got fenced in and that he be not disturbed for about 5 years from this time." The odd language seems to indicate that Artis was to be forgiven the lease payments for five years for the small (and fenced) portion of the Morris farm where Artis and his family lived. This is confirmed by the 1850 census, taken just five months after William died, which lists Morrison Artis, his wife Sarah, and two small children living next to Percy Morris and her children. The Artis family, from North Carolina, were black. They had not been in Indiana long since their oldest child, just three years old, had been born in North Carolina.

Evidently William's executors took William's philanthropy serious and converted his request into a permanent bequest. Both the court papers for his estate and the deed for William's land when it was eventually sold mention "Excepting out of said boundary one field as now enclosed in which the barn stands containing eight acres more or less." This makes it sound like perhaps the Artis family was living in a portion of the barn.

A tax list for Parke County has survived for the year 1851, and indicates that "Piercy Morris" was the owner of 132 acres of land (the part of William's farm to the west of the road) and that William Morris' heirs were the owners of the remaining 108 acres (to the east of the road). The improvements on Percy's portion were worth \$950, suggestive of a house and barn, while the heirs' portion of the farm had improvements worth only \$250, probably only for the barn used by the Artis family.

Because the three youngest children of William and Percy Morris were under the age of 21, the three were required to pick a guardian even though they were living with their mother on the Morris family farm. Percy, being a woman in the 1850s, had the same legal rights as "Dick," the family's cattle "tractor." Thus, she could not act as the guardian of her own children after the death of her husband. The three minor children each chose a guardian. The son Mordecai chose William Lewis, his brother-in-law; the daughter Percy chose Zachariah Morris, either her uncle or her brother of that name; the youngest, son Robert, chose Samuel Jordan, his brother-in-law.

The court records for the estate of William Morris indicate that he owned "eight shares of stock in the Indianapolis and Springfield Plank Road Company." William could not have owned the stock long, for the company had only been incorporated on 19 January 1850, just three months before William died. The company was to be capitalized for \$200,000 by selling shares at \$25 per share. Thus William owned \$200 of the stock, the equivalent of over \$5000 today. The executor of William's will, his brother Zachariah, sold the stock for a loss, receiving only \$125 for it.

The goal of the new company was to build a toll road from a "point on the National Road west of Indianapolis" to the state line "in the direction of Springfield," Illinois. The road was to be at least 40 feet wide, built with gravel or earth or "McAdamized," though plank portions could be as narrow as sixteen feet. Tolls were set by the Indiana General Assembly; a horse and rider paid 5¢ per ten miles, while a carriage or wagon paid 15¢. The road was built, though as plank portions rotted away, the roads were purchased by the local counties and converted into free roads. Today U.S. Highway

36 between Indianapolis and Springfield lies on this old route.

Because of the amount of land William Morris owned and the complexity of his estate, it was several years before the estate was settled. The total value of the estate was \$1332.90, divided among eleven heirs. It does not appear the oldest child, Jeremiah, received any money. The bulk of the 240 acres owned by William Morris was purchased by his son James E. Morris, and this property remained in the Morris family for many years.

Pearcy (Edmundson) Morris only lived four years after her husband's death. Percy, whom the 1850 census indicated could neither read nor write, died 11 October 1854. Like William, she was buried in the Quaker cemetery by the Rocky Run meeting house (today the Coloma Meeting) in the small village of Coloma, Indiana. There is no stone marking either grave, but the records for Rocky Run Monthly Meeting indicate they are both buried there.

William Morris and Percy Edmundson had the following children (the first eight born in North Carolina, and the remaining six in Indiana):

- i. **Jeremiah Morris** Born 2 Feb 1815, Jeremiah was the oldest child and evidently received an inheritance separate from his siblings as indicated by his father's will. That was likely property, possibly in Henry County, Iowa, where his father had purchased land though William Morris never lived there. On 8 Nov 1837, Jeremiah married Mary Ann Lewis at the Vermilion Monthly Meeting just over the state line in Vermilion County, Illinois. The *Encyclopedia of American Quaker Genealogy* by Heiss states that Mary Ann died 25 May 1851 at Pilot Grove Meeting, Illinois; however that is not very likely since she appears in the 1860 census in Warren County, Iowa with her husband. In 1841 Jeremiah and his family were granted a certificate to Salem Monthly Meeting in Henry County, Iowa. In 1850, the family returned to Vermilion County, Illinois with their four children. In early 1857, the family moved again, this time to the town of Indianola in Warren County, Iowa, transferring their membership to Three Rivers Meeting there. They were living there at the time of the 1860 census. The family then moved to Bourbon County, Kansas near the town of Ft. Scott, where they were when the 1870 census was taken. By 1880, the family was back in Warren County, Iowa. A widowed Jeremiah Morris appeared in the 1885 state census for Warren County, and it is presumed he died there. Jeremiah and Mary Ann Morris had twelve children listed in the Rocky Run meeting records, the last born in 1865.
- ii. **Peggy A. Morris** Born 16 Sep 1816, Peggy (she was probably *Margaret*, named for her grandmother, but seems to have always gone by her nickname) married twice: (1) Eli Lewis on 7 Feb 1839 at the Bloomfield meeting house in Parke County, Indiana. Like several of her siblings, Peggy and her husband moved to Henry County, Iowa, where four of their children were born. They moved there in 1842 and returned to Parke County in 1850. Eli died there 23 Aug 1856 and Peggy remained a widow for 16

years. Peggy had nine children by Eli. She then married (2) Solomon Allen on 26 Sep 1872. Solomon was twenty years older than her, having been born 20 Oct 1796 in Shenandoah County, Virginia. Despite that, he lived to be 95 and survived her. Peggy died 1 Jan 1890 in Parke County and was buried in the cemetery next to the Coloma meeting house. Solomon Allen died in Nov 1891 (day unknown) and was buried in the same location.

iii. **Mary Jane Morris**

Born 1 Oct 1818, Mary Jane Morris always went by the nickname *Polly*, and even had a younger sister named Mary. On 16 Nov 1837, she married Exum Outland (recorded in the Bloomfield meeting records) and had a son and daughter by him before Exum died on 15 Sep 1841. Polly then married Samuel S. Jordan about 1845, by whom she had another eight children. Apparently Polly and Samuel married in a civil ceremony for the Quaker records at Bloomfield noted that she married contrary to discipline. She condemned her misconduct and was forgiven. Samuel Jordan's occupation was a carpenter. Unable to farm anymore, Polly and Samuel moved to Indianapolis in 1891. Samuel died there on 30 Nov 1898 at the age of 82. "Pollie Jane" was still alive at the time of the 1900 census, living with her son Barclay Jordan in the city of Indianapolis.

iv. **Betsy Morris**

Born 21 Feb 1820, Betsy (probably a nickname for Elizabeth) married William Lewis on 9 Aug 1838 (Bloomfield meeting records). William Lewis and Eli Lewis, whom Betsy's sister Peggy married, were brothers. The couple had ten children, with the last child, a daughter Sybil, born 8 Aug 1862, before Betsy died. On 26 Mar 1868, William married Nancy Ann Hunt, the daughter of our direct ancestors, Newby Hunt and Sarah Stanley.

v. **James E. Morris**

Born 30 Jun 1821, his full name was James *Edmundson* Morris, as noted in several accounts. It must have been conflicting to be an active anti-slavery Quaker and have been named in honor of a major Southern slave owner. James was married four times and had thirteen children. An account about James in the *Portrait and Biographical record of Montgomery, Parke and Fountain Counties, Indiana* mentions that James worked on a farm for \$9 a month when he was a young man, "which was considered a good price at that day." In 1846, James moved to Henry County, Iowa, where his father had previously purchased 80 acres of land, to which James "subsequently added twenty-five acres more." Probably while there, James married (1) Mary Bennett, by whom he had two children, one of whom died as an infant. But Mary died after a few years and he returned to Parke County, Indiana in 1851. James married (2) Rachel R. Smith on 7 Apr 1852 at Vermilion meeting just over the line in Illinois. They had six children before Rachel died "soon after the war" (Civil War). James married (3) Rebecca Davis, the

daughter of Samuel Davis and Jane Hockett on 11 Jan 1870. The marriage was a civil ceremony and it was noted James had married contrary to discipline, but he was forgiven for his foolish indiscretion on 16 Feb 1871 by Rocky Run meeting. After the death of his third wife, on 13 Nov 1879, James married (4) Indiana Rubottom. James E. Morris speculated in land during the Civil War and did fairly well for himself. He eventually owned two farms with 300 acres, and another 250 acres of bare land. There is a record in the Rocky Run meeting minutes which indicates that James E. Morris was “released from membership” on 16 Apr 1896. James died 20 Nov 1897 and was buried in the Rocky Run cemetery. Untypical for Quaker grave sites, his grave has a large elaborate stone.

vi. **William C. Morris**

Born 16 Dec 1822, William married (1) Susannah Lewis of Greenfield Meeting on 21 Jun 1845 in nearby Tippecanoe County, Indiana, where they lived for a while after marrying. Thus, William became the fourth Morris sibling to marry a Lewis. In 1848, the couple moved to Vermilion County, Illinois, just west of Parke County. They had two sons, Thomas and Allen, before Susannah died about 1851. In Jan 1853, William returned to Parke County to marry (2) Sarah Hill at the Bloomfield meeting house on 12 Jan 1853. About 1855-1856, William and his family moved back to Parke County from Vermilion County, where they stayed for about twenty years. In 1875, they returned again to Vermilion County, and were living there at the time of the 1880 census. In 1892, they made a serious move, this time to Oregon, where their Quaker membership was transferred to the Newberg meeting. On 19 Apr 1900, the Coloma (Rocky Run) meeting in Parke County, Indiana noted William had returned there from Newberg, Oregon. It is presumed his wife Sarah died in Oregon, for he returned alone and it was noted by the census taker on 13 Jun 1900 that he was widower. William lived with his son Emmet at the time of the 1900 census, and probably died not long after.

vii. **Zachariah Morris**

Born 5 Dec 1824, Zachariah appears to have been a bit rebellious. In the 1850 census, he was no longer living at home, though both an older and younger brother were still there helping their mother with the farm. Rather, “Zach Morris” was staying in an “inn” (boarding house) with an occupation listed as a “merchant.” He soon moved to the town of Georgetown in Vermilion County, Illinois, where he lived the rest of his life. On 12 Nov 1850 he married (1) Mary H. Canaday in a civil ceremony, despite both being Quakers. Naturally they both were in trouble with the Society of Friends for this infraction, but all one had to do was tell your fellow Quakers you were sorry and condemn your actions, and bingo, you were in good graces again. Mary did that, but Zachariah, who evidently was tired of his Quaker roots, refused and was disowned by the Vermilion Monthly Meeting on 8 Nov 1851. There is no record

- they ever had children, and Zachariah married (2) Elizabeth E. Partlow on 23 Jan 1871 in a civil ceremony in Vermilion County. They had at least two children. Zachariah, at 63, married (3) a 47-year-old divorcee named Sarah “Sallie” Eliza Ross of Alvin, Illinois on 27 Oct 1887 in Vermilion County. In census records Zachariah was listed either as a “merchant” or a “stock dealer.” He likely died before 1900.
- viii. **Wright E. Morris** Born 1 Mar 1826, Wright was still living with his mother at the time of the 1850 census. He was disowned by the Bloomfield meeting on 10 Feb 1858 for having married contrary to discipline. No further record. Several accounts state he married Mary Taylor and lived in the town of Mattoon in Coles County, Indiana, with sons Charles and Edgar. But that is not accurate, as that person was a physician named William E. Morris.
- ix. **Thomas Morris** Born 30 Oct 1827, Thomas was born in Indiana soon after the family arrived there from North Carolina. It is clear that Thomas was not normal. In the 1850 census (the first where all the children were listed), 22-year-old Thomas was living at home with his mother, and the census taker noted that Thomas had no occupation (when everyone was at least a farmer) and that he could not read or write. It is likely Thomas was born retarded. After Thomas’ father died in 1850, William Lewis, the husband of Thomas’ older sister Betsy became Thomas’ guardian. In a Parke County probate court record dated 8 Jul 1854, while William Morris’ estate was still being settled, “William Lewis, guardian for Thomas Morris, Exparte” petitioned the court for the sale of Thomas’ father’s land in Porter County, Indiana, presumably for the money to assist in Thomas’ care. The fact that Lewis was a guardian “exparte” is in itself telling. The law term means “from one side only, with the other side absent or unrepresented,” strongly implying Thomas was unable to represent himself. Thomas was staying with his older brother James E. Morris at the time of 1860 census, so various members of the family may have taken turns caring for Thomas. But Thomas evidently died soon after, for a second court record dated 14 May 1861 refers to the “Estate of Thomas Morris (an Insane person).” In the record, William Lewis, as Thomas’ guardian, filed a final report and vouchers before the court, which noted that Lewis had “been allowed the sum of \$60.00 for seven years services,” and discharged William Lewis from his role as Thomas’ guardian.
- + x. **Mary M. Morris** Born 26 Mar 1829, Mary was our direct ancestor (see below).
- xi. **Mordecai Morris** Born 8 Jan 1831, Mordecai married Anna Pritchard, the daughter of Benjamin and Sarah Pritchard, who lived near Paoli in Orange County, Indiana, over a hundred miles southeast of Parke County. By the time of the 1860 census, both her parents had died, and the Pritchard children were managing the farm on their own, ranging in age from 23 to seven. Mordecai and Ann

married at the Lick Creek meeting house in Orange County on 4 Nov 1868 and the couple returned to Parke County. In 1873, Mordecai and his family moved to Georgetown in Vermilion County, Illinois, where his older brother Zachariah lived. He and Anna stayed there the rest of their lives, appearing in the 1880 through the 1910 census. There is no record after 1910. Mordecai and Anna Morris had five children, three of whom survived to adulthood.

xii. Percy E. Morris

Born 14 Jun 1832, Percy, named for her mother, did not seem to have a happy life. On 9 Feb 1854, just months before her mother died, Percy married James P. Bryant in Parke County, Indiana. Like several of her brothers, Percy married James in a civil ceremony and had to condemn her actions before the Bloomfield Quaker meeting, and was forgiven on 9 May 1855. She and James lived in Parke County, Indiana for years, farming less than a mile northwest of the farm of William Morris, and they appear in the 1860-1880 censuses. The couple had nine children, five sons and four daughters. In the 1880 census, James was noted by the census taker as being disabled, further noting that the problem was his "spine." Meanwhile, it would seem that Percy had become disenchanted with the Society of Friends, for the Rocky Run meeting disowned her on 18 Nov 1869 for having "joined another society." However, she later returned to the Quakers since the monthly meeting records for Bloomfield noted on 15 Feb 1882 that Percy and three of her daughters had been received in membership. After James died, Percy sold the farm and bought a home in the town of Bloomingdale, which she operated as a boarding house, since the 1900 census taker noted the widow's occupation was a "boarding house keeper." In 1902, after another of her daughters died, Percy and her daughter Frances moved to Indianapolis, where Frances died three years later. At the time of the 1910 census, Percy was living with her eldest son William in Indianapolis, where he worked as a contractor building homes. She was listed by the census taker as *Ellen*, either a mistake or perhaps her middle name. It was further noted by the census taker that only two of her nine children were still alive. Only the two oldest children, both sons, were still alive; the other seven, including all four of Percy's daughters had died. And the other son, Martin Luther Bryant, was a widower and an inmate in the insane asylum on part of the Marion County Poor Farm near Indianapolis. Percy died in 1915 at the age of 83, and was brought back to be buried in the Bloomfield meeting cemetery in the town of Bloomingdale.

xiii. Robert Morris

Born 7 May 1834, Robert is a bit of a mystery. He married "Phebe Brinkerhoof" on 17 Dec 1857 in Warren County, Iowa. The marriage was a civil ceremony and the Bloomfield meeting records indicate that Robert was disowned for marrying contrary to discipline on 11 Aug 1858 and there is no further

record of him in the Quaker records. Phoebe is also a mystery. She is believed to be the Phoebe Gee born on 27 Apr 1834 in Gallia, Ohio, who later married George Brinkerhoof (b. 1822 in New York) and had a daughter Annie. Brinkerhoof reportedly died 21 Feb 1852 in Indianola, Warren County, Iowa. This Phoebe is very likely the same person since the 1870 census for Warren County shows Robert Morris and his wife "Phebe," with "Anna Morris" age 16 (too old to be his daughter) and six other children of their own. On 20 Sep 1874, "Annie Brinkerhoff" married in Warren County to William L. Morris, who was Robert Morris' nephew (by oldest brother Jeremiah). Robert and Phoebe appear in the 1880 census, where they owned a farm near Indianola. Phoebe died there on 18 Dec 1891. Robert evidently died before 1900 as well.

xiv. **Penina Morris**

Born 27 Apr 1838, Penina likely died as an infant since there is no record of her in the 1840 census or any time after.

Our direct ancestor was Mary M. Morris, who was born 26 March 1829 in Parke County, Indiana near the tiny town of Coloma just a couple of years after her parents had moved there from Wayne County, North Carolina. It is not known what her middle initial stood for, if anything. Since Mary had an older sister *Mary Jane*, who always went by the nickname Polly, her parents named their fourth daughter Mary as well.

Mary grew up in a strong Quaker environment in Parke County, Indiana, but in a family where some of her siblings were starting to move away from the Quaker religion. Mary tried to remain faithful to the Quaker ideals, but found it difficult when the Friends turned on her for standing her ground on a important family issue. She showed by her actions in her later years to be a very formidable person who was not afraid to fight for what she believed.

Mary M. Morris married Nathan T. Hunt, and we return to the Hunt family next.

Nathan T. Hunt

We continue with an account of Nathan T. Hunt, the eldest son of Newby and Sarah (Stanley) Hunt. Nathan has the distinction of being the first of our Hunt ancestors for whom a photo exists, for two reasons. First, he lived during a time when photography had finally become commonplace, and second, the Quakers of his generation had begun to accept the idea that family portraits shouldn't be considered a violation of the Quaker tradition of "plainness."

In all the records in which Nathan T. Hunt's name was recorded, nothing has been found which would indicate his middle name. It is possible he did not have one; it was not unheard of in the nineteenth century to give a child a middle initial but no middle name, a common practice among the Scots-Irish for example. Harry S. Truman is perhaps the best known example of this; the initial "S" didn't stand for anything. Nathan seemed to favor his initials and his name is often seen written as just "N. T. Hunt," and is also a way he is known to have signed his name.

Nathan T. Hunt was born on 2 March 1825, two days before John Quincy Adams was sworn in as the sixth president of the United States. The year he was born saw the opening of the Erie Canal, the cornerstone laid for the Bunker Hill monument, the opening of Sing Sing Prison in New York, the first production of aluminum in pure metal form, and the invention of the electromagnet. Nathan was born in Guilford County, North Carolina while his family still lived there. Nathan was only 4-5 years old when the family moved west to Indiana, so it is unlikely he remembered much of his native state.

Nathan lived with his family in Hendricks County, Indiana, near what later would be the town of Amo, until he was 15 years old, when the family moved to Annapolis in nearby Parke County. It seems the family lived in the town of Annapolis itself and not on a farm. At the time of the 1850 census, Nathan, who was 25 by this time, was listed as a "ginner," a generic term for someone who worked in a "ginning mill." The latter term started with the refining of cotton, but came to be applied in the production of other fabrics as well. Nathan likely worked in a wool and carding mill known to have been on the eastside of Annapolis at the time, one that was powered by horses.

Unlike many of his siblings, who either left the Quaker faith or were disowned by the Society of Friends, Nathan remained with the faith until his death. The Bloomfield Meeting House, where Nathan attended meeting, was just a mile and a half south of Annapolis, and it was likely here that he met Mary M. Morris, the daughter of William Morris and Percy Edmundson. The Morris family lived several miles southwest of the meeting house, but Nathan and Mary would have had ample opportunities to meet at the church building.

A letter, today in the possession of descendant Robert E. Kennedy of San Luis Obispo, California, was written by Nathan T. Hunt to Mary Morris before they were married, probably about 1850. The letter, written in a flowery Quaker style, stated:

Annapolis First day evening

Cousin Mary

I can not refrain from writing thee a few lines on the eve of my departure, not knowing whether I will see thee soon agen [again] or not, if not I will remember the hours, and happy hours they were to me, that I have spent with thee. Yes them sweet smiles and sparkling eyes of thine are ever present to me eaven in my dreams I hear thy voice. I hope I shall see thee agen in a few weeks and enjoy the pleasure of thy company.

When I am gone far away among strangers I humbly ask thee occationly to

cast a thought upon thy unworthy friend. It appears I did not get started the day I had set on account of rain. Oh! I must tell thee what a fine time I had the other night. I had some business at Solomon Ablens so on seventh day evening I went down. As I came back I called at Uncle Zac's and the way I did (spree) Martha was not a little and quit. Thee knows I am opposed to sitting up very late so we went to bed middling earley not later than one oclock though the clock was a half a day to fast.

I told Martha some fine yarns. I told her one thing she did not believe that was I loved her. I could not make her believe it though it is a sentimental truth I do love her. I think my love there is like it is some place else, it's lost. I expect Martha has told thee all about it. I would give a dollar to know what she said about it.

Mary, for one thousand dollars don't let any one see this especially Martha, and the next letter I write I am going to come and bring it. I know, beg pardon for these few lines. Speak a good word to Cousin Martha for me. I will write a few lines on the other page to bid thee farewell.

Nathan T. Hunt

On another sheet, Nathan made an awkward attempt at a love poem:

*Farewell to thee Mary I love thee as ever
Tis our lot for the present to part
Though duty impels me from thee love to sever
I'll cherish thee still in my heart*

Obviously Nathan wasn't very good at writing letters, and evidently even a worse poet. His letter is a bit rambling, and the references to Martha (possibly Martha Morris, the daughter of Zachariah Morris and a first cousin to Mary Morris) are odd. Martha Morris was unmarried at this time and about the same age as Nathan and Mary. One gets the impression that perhaps Nathan had been a potential suitor of Martha at one point, but that he had shifted his interest to Mary. It is unlikely we will ever know.

Nathan's references to Mary Morris' "sweet smiles and sparkling eyes" must have done the trick, for the records of Bloomfield Monthly Meeting note that Nathan and Mary married in the Rocky Run meeting house on 13 February 1851. Though Rocky Run would not be granted the status of its own monthly meeting until nearly the end of the Civil War, it had its own meeting house from about 1834. The log structure was used for both meetings and as a school, and had a "great open fireplace that would take in wood seven feet in length." Mary's father had died by the time she married and she had been left about \$121 in his will, a sum equivalent to over \$3000 today.

An existing 1851 tax list for Parke County, Indiana shows Nathan Hunt and his brother Thomas were living together in what was likely a rental or boarding house (there was an assessment for personal property, but not real property) in the town of Montezuma, Indiana. On 13 October 1852, Nathan and Mary Hunt were granted a certificate transferring their membership to Sugar Plain Monthly Meeting in Boone County, Indiana, where Nathan's older sister Nancy Ann had moved a couple of years before. They lived in the town of Thorntown, where Nathan seems to have worked in various capacities in town. The town of Thorntown was started by Cornelius Westfall, who platted the town with 94 lots on land he had bought from the government. The town blossomed and Westfall did well financially. He even hoped that Thorntown would be chosen as the county seat and platted a public square at the center of town.

Nathan T. Hunt and his wife were in Thorntown before the transfer of their Society of Friends

Nathan T Hunt &

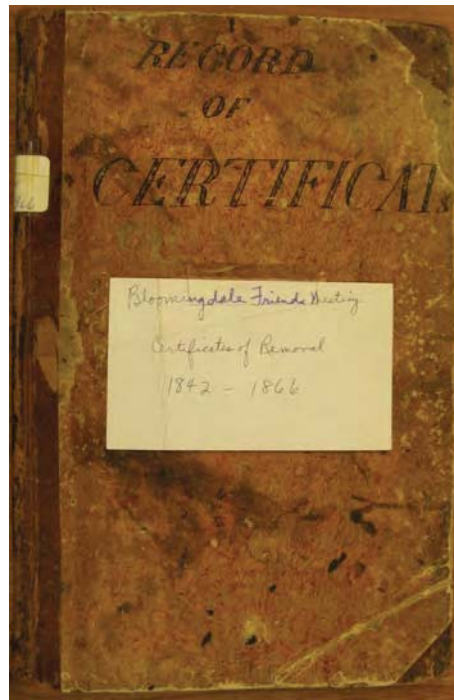
Mary M. Morris Marriage Certificate
 Whereas Nathan T Hunt of the County of
 Parks and State of Indiana, Son of Nancy Hunt
 and Sarah his wife, and Mary M. Morris daughter
 of William Morris late deceased and Percy his wife
 having declared their intentions of marriage with
 each other before a Monthly Meeting of the Religious
 Society of Friends held at Bloomfield, And having
 consent of Parents their said proposals of marriage
 were allowed by said meeting.

These are to Certify whom it may concern that for the
 full accomplishment of their said intentions this
 the Thirtieth day of the Second month in the year of
 our Lord one Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty
 One - They the said Nathan T Hunt and Mary M.
 Morris, appeared in a Public Meeting of the said People
 held at Rocky Run and the said Nathan T Hunt
 taking the said Mary M. Morris by the hand declared that
 he took her the said Mary M. Morris to be his wife -
 promising with divine assistance to be unto her a loving
 and faithful Husband until death should separate
 them. And there the said Mary M. Morris did in like
 manner declare that she took him the said Nathan
 T. Hunt to be her husband promising with divine
 assistance to be unto him a loving and faithful
 wife until death should separate them. And
 moreover they the said Nathan T Hunt and Mary
 M. Morris (she according to the Custom of marriage
 adopting the name of her husband) did as a further
 confirmation, thereof then and there to these presents
 set their hands.

Nathan T Hunt
 Mary M. Hunt

And we whose names are also hereunto subscribed
 being present at the solemnization of the said marriage
 have as witnesses thereto set our hands & the day and year
 above written.

The entry in the Bloomfield Monthly Meeting marriage book for the marriage of Nathan T. Hunt and Mary M. Morris. Each marriage entry in the book was two pages with the witnesses recorded on the second page. The book was used to record marriages from 1829-1851 at Bloomfield Meeting. The marriage of Nathan and Mary appears to be the last marriage entered in this book, and the last page is missing. Only a fragment of the second page survived.



To Sugar Plain Monthly Meeting of Friends
Dear Friends

Nathan T. Hunt and Mary M.
his wife having removed and settled within
the limits of your Meeting request has been
made for our certificate of their right of
membership. This is therefore to certify that
on due enquiry respecting their conduct and the proper
adjustment of their outward affairs no objection
appears to the issuing of a certificate in their behalf
We therefore recommend them to you and remain
in love your friends

Signed by direction and on behalf of Bloomfield
Monthly Meeting of Friends held 10th Month
13th 1852. Barnabas C. Hobbs Clerk
Rebecca T. Hobbs Clerk for the day
Nathaniel Newton Correspondent

Top, the Bloomfield Monthly Meeting Certificates of Removal book from the Earlham College archives. Note the poor planning when the clerk wrote the title on the cover. Bottom, the entry of the certificate of removal for Nathan T. Hunt and his family in the book, transferring their membership to the Sugar Plain Monthly Meeting at Thorntown in 1852.

membership, for Nathan was among those who purchased land from Westfall, buying a 2000 sq. ft. lot which was part of the public square on 24 February 1852. Nathan paid Westfall \$93.75 for the lot, which was eighty feet deep and had 25 feet of frontage on Main Street. There seems to have quickly been a disagreement regarding the sale of the property, for a Boone County court record dated 18 March 1853 indicates Nathan sued Westfall for a breach “of his covenants” and was awarded \$98.96 in damages. The amount was for “damages and costs and charges,” so Nathan T. Hunt was evidently awarded the return of his purchase price plus court costs. Through his attorneys, Westfall appealed the case to the Indiana Supreme Court. The case was heard by the court on 28 November 1856 but the final judgment in the case is unknown. Westfall appears to have won the appeal, for Nathan still owned the property on the public square on 14 April 1857 when he sold the land for an undisclosed sum of money to James C. Hague.

Nathan T. Hunt left relatively few records in his wake. One of the few that could be found was his joining the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (I.O.O.F.) while he lived at Thorntown, Indiana. The I.O.O.F. is a fraternal society that got its start in this country in 1819, though it existed in England centuries before that. No one knows for sure where the name came from, though there are a number of theories.

The Oceola Lodge chapter of the Odd Fellows was begun in Thorntown on 4 March 1856, with officers elected and a number of men initiated into the fraternal organization. “N. T. Hunt” paid a stiff \$25 fee to join, the equivalent today of nearly \$600. From the old I.O.O.F. record book found in the Thorntown Public Library, we know that Nathan T. Hunt was present for most of the Odd Fellow’s weekly meetings for the remainder of 1856. Nathan paid \$2.60 in dues on 31 December 1856, and a week later was appointed a *Grand Guardian* for the lodge. Why is it visions appear of Jackie Gleason and Art Carney in their coonskin caps? Perhaps Nathan didn’t like being Grand Guardian, because the I.O.O.F. records indicate he was absent for many of the meetings the following year. Nathan never attended another meeting after 8 July 1857.

Nathan T. Hunt and his wife may have initially lived with his parents on his father’s farm about two miles southwest of Thorntown, which Newby Hunt purchased on 3 March 1852. A deed dated 2 July 1853 indicates Nathan T. Hunt purchased lot 13 in the South Addition of Thorntown. Nathan paid \$250 for the lot, probably indicating it did not have a house on it. The lot was located on the east side of Market Street, the second lot south of Plum Street. Nathan evidently built (or had built) a house on the site, for he sold the property less than four years later on 14 April 1857 for \$1500.

Meanwhile Nathan had bought a lot across the street (at the southwest corner of Plum and Market) for \$300, possibly hoping to replicate his success in housing speculation. However, something may have changed his plans, for he sold the same property on 12 March 1858 for \$335, the price indicating the lot was still without improvements. The deed listed Nathan and Mary as residents of Marion County, Indiana, indicating they were probably living in Indianapolis at this time. Nathan may have joined his brother Thomas in the move to Indianapolis, where Thomas was at the time of the 1860 census, but Nathan soon returned to Thorntown, for he was listed as an agent for a sawmill at Thorntown in the 1860 census.

Meanwhile, Nathan’s father, Newby Hunt, had bought acreage at the west edge of Thorntown and was selling lots in his own Hunt’s Addition to the town. On 26 June 1861, a few months after the Civil War broke out, Nathan’s wife Mary M. Hunt purchased 1¼ acres from her father-in-law immediately west of Newby’s town addition. She paid \$500 for the property, which she sold back to Newby Hunt nine months later for \$1900, again implying a house had been built on the property during the interim.

Why Mary bought and sold the land instead of Nathan is unclear.

There are no more listings for Nathan T. Hunt in the Boone County land records, and where he and his family lived from 1862 until Nathan's death in 1871 is not known, though it likely was in a rental house in Thorntown. Confirmation of this speculation comes from the 1870 census, at which time Nathan was not a landowner.

Oddly, on 16 March 1864 Nathan's father bought the same lot on Main Street which Nathan had purchased twelve years earlier from Westfall. He paid \$500 for the property. A little over a year later, on 7 April 1865, just as the Civil War was ending and two days before Robert E. Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox Court House, Newby Hunt sold the same property on Main Street to Joseph Hill for \$1000, the increase in the price hinting that improvements had been made to the building which was probably on the property by this time. It was with Joseph Hill that Newby Hunt partnered in the hardware business, operating a hardware store at the location on Main Street now owned by Joseph Hill.

The interaction of the players in the *Hunt and Hill* hardware business was complex, but Nathan T. Hunt does not seem to have been an owner in the business. He did, however, help run the business and evidently worked there on a daily basis. Like his father, Nathan was listed as a "hardware dealer" in the 1870 census. As described in gory detail in the chapter on Newby Hunt, the hardware business was poorly managed and soon became mired in debt. The result was that everybody began suing everybody else. Joseph Hill sued the Hunts, the Hunts sued the Hills, creditors sued them both, and the claimants of the bankruptcy court seized what property they could, including all the real estate belonging to Newby Hunt and Joseph Hill.

Though Nathan Hunt's name appears in the bankruptcy lawsuits, he appears to have escaped the wrath of the court, possibly because he did not own any real estate which could be seized. In a statement to the court, Nathan's father Newby claimed that he had become paralyzed and was unable to attend to the hardware business, so on 31 December 1870 Newby sold his interest in *Hunt & Hill* to his son Nathan. According to his father's statement, less than eight weeks later on 23 February 1871, Nathan T. Hunt sold his interest in the firm to Joseph Hill and his son, "transferring to them all the books, papers, accounts etc. and the taking from them an agreement dated on that day that they would assume and buy all the liabilities of the firm ...".

Though this was sworn in an affidavit filed with the federal bankruptcy court, how much of this is true remains unknown. We do know that the issue was unresolved between the partners of the failed hardware store by the time of the March 1871 term of the Boone County court, when Joseph Hill filed a lawsuit against Cyrus E. Hunt and his father Newby Hunt to reclaim \$270.32 in debt. Though served by a process server, Newby Hunt failed to show up in court, and it was noted in the court records that Cyrus could not be found by the server. Hill won by default and was awarded damages in the amount of the debt plus his court costs. Meanwhile Newby's son Thomas E. Hunt filed a lawsuit against Joseph Hill and his two sons Elijah and John to collect a debt of \$423.35 and won. In the September 1871 term of the court, Thomas was awarded that amount by the court plus \$40 in attorney fees and court costs.

Another lawsuit was filed by Joseph Hill against Nathan T. Hunt, but Nathan did something unexpected to escape the claims of the suit: he died suddenly. Though only 46 years old, Nathan T. Hunt died on 11 September 1871 without leaving a will. One can speculate that he may have suffered a stroke or heart attack because of the intense pressure on him due to the financial quagmire produced



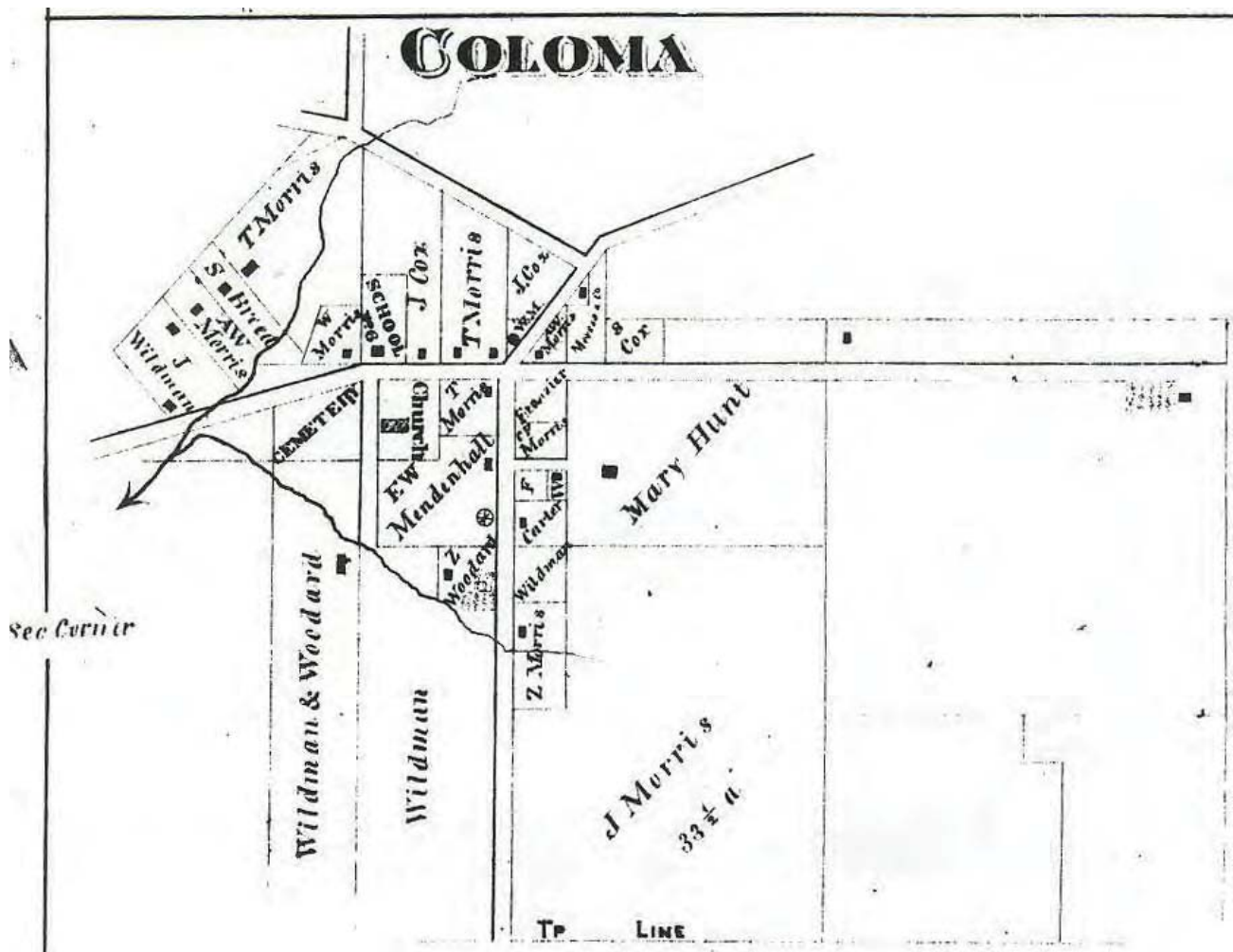
The only known photograph of Nathan T. Hunt, taken at Thorntown, Indiana. It is undated, but was probably taken about 1865-1871. The photograph is an old albumen print, the dominant form of photography from 1860-1890. By this time, portraits began to be permitted by Quakers.



Three portraits of Mary M. (Morris) Hunt, wife of Nathan T. Hunt. Left, this photo was probably taken at Thorntown, Indiana before Nathan died. The middle photo was taken at Rockville, Indiana, almost certainly after Nathan had died and Mary moved back to Parke County (Rockville was its county seat and probably the only town large enough to have a photography studio). Right, a portrait taken in Portland, Oregon when Mary was in her late 70s.



The present-day Sugar Plain Meeting House near Thorntown, Indiana and the adjoining Sugar Plain cemetery where Nathan T. Hunt is buried.



An 1874 plat map for Parke County, Indiana shows Mary Hunt living in the village of Coloma that year. There is no present-day structure at the position indicated as a dwelling on the plat map. After her fellow Quakers disowned her at Thorntown, Mary returned to her native Parke County and lived among her Morris relatives, a number of whom can be identified on the plat map.

by the failure of the hardware store. Nathan's death was noted by the Sugar Plain Monthly Meeting and he was probably buried in the Sugar Plain Cemetery but there is not a grave marker for him. In the September 1871 term of the Boone County court, Joseph Hill's attorney reported the death of the defendant before the court and filed a motion to postpone the case "with leave to make other parties defendants herein." In the January 1872 term of the court, Hill's attorneys asked that the case against Nathan be dismissed.

Six months after her husband died, Nathan's widow, Mary M. Hunt, decided to move back to Parke County, Indiana. There was nothing left for her in Thorntown. Nathan's parents and his brothers had moved to Illinois, and Mary likely desired to be near her Morris family, most of whom lived near Coloma, a tiny Quaker community just west of Rockville, Indiana. On 20 March 1872, the Sugar Plain Monthly Meeting near Thorntown noted in its records that Mary had requested a certificate of removal for her and her family to Rocky Run meeting. However, the Quakers at Thorntown were reluctant to grant her permission to transfer her membership to the other meeting.

The committee appointed to look into Mary's affairs dragged its feet for months, and was granted a continuance by the monthly meeting for five months in a row until they reported an "obstruction." In the November 1872 monthly meeting, it was reported that Mary and another party "were not fully reconciled." The committee-happy Quakers appointed no less than five men and five women to work out the problem between Mary M. Hunt and the other unnamed party. By January 1873, the meeting reported no progress and suggested it would be best to "arbitrate the cause of objection." Meanwhile they approved a certificate of removal for Mary's children, but not for her. The February 1873 monthly meeting noted that Mary "refused to submit the matter in dispute to arbitrators." The minutes of the March meeting noted "*for refusing to submit a case of difficulty to arbitrators and does not seem in a Suitable disposition of mind to make Satisfaction,*" the meeting decided to disown Mary M. Hunt, which was official on 20 August 1873.

The minutes of Quaker monthly meetings are frustratingly lacking in details. Mary and another party (obviously another Quaker) had some type of disagreement, probably involving a financial matter. Though never identified in the Quaker records, the obvious choice for the other party was Joseph Hill, who was also a Quaker and had filed a lawsuit against Nathan T. Hunt shortly before Nathan died. Perhaps upon the advice of his attorney, Hill did not pursue the matter in court against Nathan's widow, but may have lobbied his fellow Quakers into believing that Mary should make good on a debt he felt owed him by Mary's deceased husband.

It would seem that Mary M. Hunt left Thorntown before the issue of her refusing to submit a dispute to arbitration resulted in her disownment. Though Mary herself could not be received at Rocky Run Monthly Meeting when she returned to Parke County, her five children were received in membership there on 13 March 1873. Once back in the friendlier territory of her native Parke County, Indiana, the issue seems to have simply disappeared. If Mary condemned her behavior and was reinstated by the Rocky Run Meeting, there is no record of it. It is quite possible that the Rocky Run membership, probably half of whom were Mary's relatives, sympathized with Mary Hunt and simply ignored their fellow Quakers at Thorntown.

On 22 December 1875, Mary M. Hunt married Millican Mills, a widower nearly fifteen years her senior from nearby Vermilion Monthly Meeting just over the line in Illinois. The marriage was noted in the Quakers records for Rocky Run meeting, proving Mary once again was considered a member in good standing in the Society of Friends. Millican Mills was born 27 December 1814 in Jefferson County, Tennessee. His Quaker parents came to Illinois in 1824 and Millican lived most of his life

in Vermilion County, Illinois.

A birthright Quaker, Millican was disowned by the Vermilion meeting in 1835 (when he was a rebellious 20 years old) for “*not observing plainness in dress & address, for Horse raceing, on a wager & for giving and receiving money bet on Horses running.*” He was restored to membership in the Society of Friends in 1845. Millican bought 120 acres of government land about a mile west of Ridge Farm, Illinois in 1848. Millican’s wife of many years, the former Martha P. Smith, died 1 October 1874 at Vermilion and Millican found a new wife in Mary M. Hunt, who was living less than 25 miles to the east of his home.

It’s not clear if Millican and Mary Mills lived in Vermilion County, Illinois or Parke County, Indiana for the next six years. At the time of the 1880 census, they were shown living in Penn Township of Parke County with Mary’s 17-year-old son George and daughter Mary Idella Hunt, but a year later Millican and Mary were granted certificates from Vermilion meeting to Bloomingdale meeting in Parke County. In December 1881, Millican Mills and his wife Mary and stepdaughter Mary Idella Hunt had their Quaker membership transferred to Lawrence Monthly Meeting in Kansas, though they were already in Kansas since the clerk of the Bloomingdale meeting referred to them as “members of this meeting having settled in your limits.”

Their stay in Douglas County, Kansas, in or near the town of Lawrence, was only for a few months, for the records of the Bloomingdale meeting in Parke County indicate the three were back from Kansas by 14 June 1882. But nearly five years later, on 16 February 1887, the three again moved to Kansas, only this time to an area under the control of Haviland Monthly Meeting in the town of Haviland. Where they lived in Kansas is not clear, but appears to have been in or near the town of Ashland, in Clark County, Kansas.

Millican and Mary Mills arrived in Kansas in February or March 1887. Less than two years later, in January 1889, Millican Mills left and returned to Vermilion County, Illinois. The couple may have had a falling out, for Mary did not accompany him and remained in Kansas. A couple of subtle clues point to the suggestion that the couple had split up without a formal divorce, which would have been frowned upon by the Quakers. The book *Portrait and Biographical Album of Vermilion County, Illinois*, published in 1889, mentioned that “Millican is living in this township, aged seventy-four,” without mentioning a wife. Second, Mary’s only daughter, and with whom Mary lived late in life, ended up with a number of photos that had been in the possession of Mary, but there was no photo of Millican Mills. Millican died two years later on 28 January 1891 and was buried in the cemetery of Vermilion Monthly Meeting next to his first wife.

In January or February 1892, Mary M. Mills, now widowed twice, returned to Parke County, Indiana. By this time, she was living with her daughter, Mary Idella Hunt, who had married and had two children of her own. Mary Mills would remain with her daughter’s family for the rest of her life. Over the next several years, the family moved around quite a bit; they are known to have been in Des Moines, Iowa about 1891 and in Lafayette, Indiana about 1893-1894, and possibly other places. By 1897 the family settled in Portland, Oregon, when they showed up in the city directory living in east Portland. At the time of the 1900 census, the 71-year-old widow “M.M. Mills” was living with her daughter’s family in Central Addition of the Mt. Tabor area of east Portland.

As with her excursions to Kansas, Mary M. Mills and her daughter’s family were able to ride to Portland in the relative comfort of the train. Union Pacific had track laid to Portland by 1887, and the trip would have taken only a few days. An advertisement for Union Pacific in the *Oregonian*

newspaper in 1897 boasted that it only took “3½ days to Chicago” and “4½ days to New York.” The ad also refers to “Free Reclining Chair Cars,” “Steam Heat” and “Pintsch Lights” in the cars. The latter were gas lamps which used a compressed gas derived from distilled naphtha. They were popular in railroad cars because they burned brighter and longer than the oil lamps they replaced.

Though Society of Friends meetings were established in the 1600s in America, they were late in coming to the west coast of the United States. The first Quaker meeting on the Pacific coast was established in Newberg, Oregon in 1878. To this day Newberg has a substantial Quaker population and is the home to George Fox College. When Mary M. Mills arrived in Portland, a monthly meeting there had only been established a few years, the Portland Monthly Meeting being setup in 1893. The *Sunday Oregonian* newspaper for 4 June 1893 mentioned a Friends Church opening “three blocks south of Sunnyside station on the Hawthorne Avenue motor line.” The meeting was also called the “First Friends” church or “Sunnyside” meeting. Rather belatedly, on 11 March 1905 Mary was granted a certificate by Bloomingdale meeting in Parke County, Indiana to “Sunny Side Monthly Meeting” in Portland.

Portland city directories confirm Mary Mills lived with her daughter’s family until her death on 10 February 1910. At the time of her death, Mary was living at 94 E. 53rd Street (using the pre-1931 address system). Today this Portland address would have been located on NE 53rd Ave. between Everett and Flanders Street, though the house is no longer there. Her death certificate indicates Mary died of stomach cancer, which she had had for two years. Mary M. Mills was buried in Rose City Cemetery in Portland three days after her death.

The date of her death was also entered in the *Recording Book of Portland Monthly Meeting* and a copy of an unpublished handwritten obituary survives, today in the possession of great-grandson Robert E. Kennedy. The obituary mentioned that of Mary’s four surviving children, all were “privileged to be present and contribute to her comfort during her last sickness.” It also stated that Mary had “made her home with her daughter” since the death of Millican Mills (and likely before). Mentioned as being a birthright Quaker, Mary was “the oldest member of Portland monthly meeting of the Friends Church.”

Of the five children of Nathan and Mary who reached adulthood, all of them left the Society of Friends. None were disowned; the four sons just moved away from Parke County, Indiana and never returned, either to the town or the religion. The sole daughter remained in the religion for a time but eventually left it later in life.

Nathan T. Hunt and Mary M. Morris had the following children (all born in Thorntown, Indiana):

- i. **Julius M. Hunt** Born 12 Mar 1852, Julius died on 29 Sep 1852 at the age of six months.
- ii. **Thomas Elwood Hunt** Born 25 Sep 1853, Thomas’ name only appears with the initial “E” for his middle name in the Quaker birth registers and the family bible. However the name “Elwood,” spelled with one “L,” does appear in a couple of other records, including a membership transfer to Rocky Run meeting and in a birth record of one of his children in Iowa. The combination of first and middle names *Thomas Elwood* (or *Ellwood*) was common for children of Quaker families because Thomas Ellwood (1639–1713) was an influential figure in the Quaker movement. Ellwood was born to wealth in England, the son of a squire, and



A dark and blurry tintype showing Mary M. Hunt and her two youngest children. The kids are Mary Idella Hunt and George Warren Hunt. Where or when this photo was taken are unknown, but was clearly after Nathan T. Hunt died.

To Sunnyside Monthly Meeting of Friends
Portland Oregon

Mary Mills a member of Meeting
having settled in your limits no
Obstruction appear to prevent the
Transfer of her membership
Therefore we recommend
her to your Christian care and
are in love your friends

By Authority of Bloomingdale
Monthly Meeting held at Bloomingdale
Parke County Ind 3 Mo 13th 1905

E. B. Morris } Clerk
Myra Jenkins }

E. B. Morris
Correspondent



Mary M. (Morris) (Hunt) Mills was a Quaker until her death. Top, a record for the relatively new Sunnyside Monthly Meeting in Portland, Oregon in 1905 indicates Mary had her membership transferred there from Bloomingdale Monthly Meeting in Parke County, Indiana after the formation of the new meeting. Bottom, Mary's grave marker in the Rose City Cemetery in Portland, Oregon.

well educated. He later joined the Quakers and became a friend of George Fox, William Penn and John Milton. Like many early Quakers, he was persecuted for his faith and spent time in prison. His autobiography, published posthumously and titled *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood*, was widely read by Quakers. Thomas E. Hunt moved to Warren County, Iowa, near the town of Indianola. The reason for this move is unclear but it may have been because he had family there. Two of his uncles, his mother's brothers Jeremiah Morris and Robert Morris, both settled in Warren County and lived near Indianola. Perhaps Thomas had gone there to work on their farms. While in Warren County, Thomas met a young lady named Josephine (Leona) Mullen, born Mar 1862 in Taylorstown, Pennsylvania, the daughter of Joseph and Margaret Mullen. She was likely given the name Josephine because of her father's name and was nicknamed "Josie" in the 1870 census, but must have had the middle name Leona because she seems to have went by that most of the time. Thomas Hunt and Leona Mullen married on 22 May 1879 in Indianola, a town less than twenty miles south of Des Moines, Iowa's state capital. In the 1880 census, Thomas and Leona, with a 3-month-old unnamed infant, lived next to Leona's parents in Indianola. Both Thomas and his father-in-law were listed as laborers. About 1888 Thomas and his family moved into Des Moines. His first four children are assumed to have been born near Indianola, while the last four were likely born in Des Moines. Thomas joined his brother Charles, who had been working as a teamster for a couple of express companies, and formed their own express company called Hunt Bros., with an office at 200 W. 5th in downtown Des Moines. The company was short-lived for it appears only in the 1888-1889 city directory and not thereafter. However Thomas stuck with being a teamster and was listed with that occupation in a number of Des Moines city directories up through 1898. By the time the 1899 directory came out, Leona Hunt was listed as the head of the household and a widow. Thomas Elwood Hunt died 10 Jun 1899 according to the family bible. An official record of his death has never been found, and it is not known where he died. Though we know Thomas lived in Des Moines, Iowa, he may have died elsewhere while working as a teamster. His widow Leona is listed in the directories after his death and also appears in the 1900 census living in Des Moines with her children and her father. The widow Leona Hunt continued to be listed in the Des Moines city directories through 1909 and she probably died about that time. Thomas and Leona Hunt had eight children: Louis Elmer (1880-1953), Mayme (1882-?), Gertrude (1884-?), Clarence (1886-1949), Harry Allen (1888-1954), Frederick (1892-?), Gladys Irene (1886-1985) and Nathan (1898-?).

- iii. **Charles Freemont Hunt** Born 4 Apr 1856, Charles' middle name comes from his death

certificate, the information for which was supplied by his daughter, so presumably it was accurate though the spelling may not be correct. The origin of the name is unknown, but odd as it may seem, he may have been named after the American military officer and explorer, John Charles Frémont, who was the first presidential candidate of the anti-slavery Republican Party in 1856. Because of that, there were quite a number of Quaker children born about 1856-1857 with the given names "Charles Fremont." Charles Hunt may have left home when his brother Thomas did and went to Iowa with him. He has never been positively identified in the 1880 census, but he may have been the Charles Hunt living in Dallas County, Iowa near the town of Adel. He was listed as a servant for a German immigrant farmer named Frank Schyler, i.e., he was a farm hand. Adel is only slightly over 20 miles west of Des Moines, which could explain why Charles F. Hunt appears in the Des Moines city directories beginning in 1884, when he was an employee of the United States Express Company. That company was one of the four leading freight companies of the day, operating in the northern states from New England to Colorado. In the 1886-1887 Des Moines city directory, Charles was a teamster for the White Line Transfer Company, a local Des Moines company started in 1880, and under another name, operates to this day. About 1888-1889, Charles and his brother Thomas started their own express company called Hunt Bros., but it did not exist long. Charles also had a job for a time as a fireman for the Des Moines Electric Railway Company (see the chapter for his brother George for more on this) but he was generally listed as a expressman or driver. Charles also had another job, initially probably part-time, and that was as a showman. Charles had trained animals and he put on some type of animal show. At one time a photo existed which showed him with trained dogs but the location of the photo today is unknown. In the 1893 Des Moines city directory, Charles was listed as working at the Wonderland Museum, which was located on the southeast corner of Walnut and Fourth. This theater offered live entertainment and evidently Charles F. Hunt's animal show was part of the featured entertainment. Charles got married during this time, marrying Della P. Ditch, born 7 Mar 1861, and daughter of David and Margaret Ditch. Charles and Della were married in Des Moines on 15 May 1885. About 1899, Charles F. Hunt moved his family to Portland, Oregon, possibly coming to Portland with his brother George. Charles is listed in the 1899-1900 city directory as a carpenter. But he quickly resumed his occupation of "showman," as that was his occupation in both the 1900 and 1910 census for Portland. Most Portland city directory entries don't list his occupation, though in one he was listed as a "showman" and "animal trainer" in another. An



Charles Freemont Hunt, son of Nathan T. Hunt and Mary M. Morris, and his wife Della Ditch. Charles worked as a teamster early in his life, but for much of his life he worked as a showman with an animal act, often as part of a traveling circus. Charles and Della are both buried in Rose City Cemetery in Portland, Oregon.

article in the 6 Jul 1910 edition of the *Oregonian* mentioned Charles briefly: “*MONKEY CHEWS UP OWNER, Salem, Or., ‘Jack,’ a big Rees monkey belonging to Charles Simpson of the Arnold Carnival Company shows, which arrived here today, turned on his owner while he was being fed today and bit into Simpson’s left arm near the elbow, tearing away the flesh to his wrist and then embedding his teeth in Simpson’s hand and fingers. When the monkey was pulled away, Simpson was bleeding profusely, his flesh hanging in shreds from his forearm. Simpson recently acquired the monkey from Charles Hunt, also with the show, and the animal was not familiar with the ways of his new master.*” So we know from this that Charles F. Hunt also had a rhesus monkey at one time (never trust a newspaper to spell anything right, and technically, it was a rhesus *macaque*). Charles Hunt evidently worked for E. J. Arnold, who owned a traveling carnival headquartered in Portland and which operated under several different names over the years. Arnold’s company specialized in street carnivals, county and state fairs and offered an array of acts, including tethered balloon ascensions and parachute drops, “high-diving coyotes,” a “death-defying slide for life,” a trapeze act, a bicycle high-wire stunt, the Edison electric show, Japanese acrobats, vaudeville acts, etc. The carnival also offered a merry-go-round and a 60-foot Ferris wheel. Charles may have been part of what was called “Prof. Horne’s dog and monkey circus.” As a performer, Charles traveled a great deal. The carnival group performed in towns and cities all around the state; newspaper entries referring to them performing at North Bend, Salem and Albany have been found. Because of the travel, Charles appeared twice in the 1900 census. On 7 Jun 1900, he was counted with his wife and daughter at his home in Portland; four days later he was counted again while staying in a hotel with other members of a traveling circus in the small town of Condon, Oregon. On 20 May 1918, Charles’ wife Della died from heart-related problems and was buried in Rose City Cemetery close to her mother-in-law Mary Mills. Following the death of his wife, Charles lived the remainder of his life with his married daughter and her family, where he was at the time of the 1920 census. In that census, Charles was listed as a peddler of candy, possibly still with the carnival. For the last several years of his life, Charles lived at 1557 E. Taylor (old-style address) in Portland, which today would be at 5831 SE Taylor. The small two-story house Charles lived in, built in 1911, remains there today. Charles F. Hunt died 16 Jun 1925 in Portland, also from heart problems similar to what his wife had. On his death certificate, he was listed as a “retired showman.” Charles was buried in Rose City Cemetery in Portland. Charles and Della Hunt had one daughter, Nettie Leona Hunt, born 2 Jan 1887 in Des Moines, Iowa. Nettie

married Raymond C. Gollings, an undertaker, in Portland on 10 Sep 1910. Nettie died in the hospital on 3 Sep 1931, three days after having a thyroidectomy operation for a toxic goiter. Nettie and Raymond also had just one daughter, Merle Ellen Gollings (12 Oct 1912 - 5 Nov 1979).

iv. **William Newby Hunt**

Born 28 Jun 1857, William's middle name was evidently in honor of his grandfather Newby Hunt. Like his older brothers, William left home in the mid- to late-1870s and struck out on his own. He went to Illinois, where at the time of the 1880 census, he was living in McLean County near the town of Danvers. William N. Hunt was listed as a farm hand living with the family of 29-year-old John H. Stephenson. William married Katherine Lorena Osborn on 26 Sep 1882 in Danvers, Illinois. Lorena, as she was always called, was the daughter of William S. Osborn and Mary E. Petty and was born 28 Mar 1864 near the small town of Deer Creek in Tazewell County, Illinois. William and Lorena continued to live in Illinois until about 1886-1887, when the family moved to Clayton County, Iowa. At the time of the 1900 census, the family was renting a house in the town of North McGregor, Iowa, located on the Mississippi River. William worked for the railroad and was a brakeman, a member of the train's crew responsible for assisting with braking a train when the conductor wanted the train to slow down. A brakeman's duties also included ensuring that the couplings between cars were properly set. Brakemen rode in the caboose, which was built specially to allow a crew member to apply the brakes of the caboose quickly and easily, which would help to slow the train. Not long after the 1900 census, Lorena died (though no record of her death has been found) and the family scattered. William N. Hunt is listed in the 1901-1902 city directory for Portland, Oregon, and he lived there the rest of his life. A check of early city directories shows that William worked either for the railroad (one year as a conductor and one year as a an engineer) or as a teamster (driver) for several different laundry companies in Portland. At the time of his death, William was listed as working as a bridge tender. William's son, Edgar R. Hunt, moved to Portland about 1913 and began living with his father, which continued until William's death from a cerebral hemorrhage on 24 Feb 1927. Like others in his family, he was buried in Rose City Cemetery in Portland. William and Edgar lived for a number of years on Belmont Street; today a ramp for the Morrison bridge occupies the location of their former home. William and Lorena Hunt had five children: Alfaretta May Hunt (1883-?), who married Edward H. Tolson; Walter Hershel Hunt (1886-1933); Albert W. Hunt (1888-?); Edgar R. Hunt (1891-1928); Bernice E. Hunt (1894-?). The son Walter had his own plumbing business in Spokane and died there; he had a son Walter Clifford Hunt who died in Olympia, Washington



William Newby Hunt, son of Nathan T. Hunt and Mary M. Morris, and his wife Katherine Lorena Osborn. “Will” Hunt worked as a brakeman for the railroad, as a teamster, and late in life as a bridge tender in Portland. Will’s wife died before he came to Portland. The couple had five children. Will Hunt is buried in Rose City Cemetery in Portland, Oregon.

in 1995. The son Albert was an electrician and lived in Alameda, California. Edgar, as mentioned previously, moved to Portland and was an elevator operator for a number of years in downtown Portland buildings. Edgar died of stomach cancer at the age of 36 in 1928, a year after his father died. Like his father, he was buried in Rose City Cemetery in Portland. The oldest daughter raised her little sister after the death of their mother and the two apparently stayed in Iowa.

+ v. **George Warren Hunt**

Born 14 Jun 1863, George was our direct ancestor and will be accounted for in a later chapter.

vi. **Virgil L. Hunt**

Born in Jul 1867 (exact date not listed), Virgil died on 23 Oct 1868 as noted in the minutes of the Sugar Plain Monthly Meeting at Thorntown, Indiana. The infant was buried in the Quaker cemetery there.

vii. **Mary Idella Hunt**

Born 10 Mar 1869, Mary Idella Hunt was the only daughter in the family. Since her mother was also named Mary, Mary Idella seems to have always gone by her middle name or the nickname “Della.” Idella accompanied her mother and stepfather Millican Mills when the family moved to Lawrence, Kansas in late 1881 and then returned to Parke County, Indiana a few months later. Idella also accompanied them in the move to Kansas in 1887, where the family evidently lived in the town of Ashland. According to the family bible, Idella Hunt married Henry B. Powell on 7 Sep 1887; based on other records, this marriage occurred in Ashland, Kansas in a civil ceremony. Henry was born 7 Sep 1862 (and thus used a cheap trick to remember his anniversary by marrying on his birthday). He was the son of Andrew J. Powell and Nancy Ann Boltenhouse, whose maiden name was Henry’s middle name. On 8 Jun 1887, before the couple married, Henry wrote a love letter from Carrizo Springs, Colorado to Idella in Ashland, Kansas. At the time Henry was working as a carpenter in Carrizo Springs and in his letter, referred to the house he was building for him and Idella. Idella may not have been wild about the idea of moving to such a remote place since she had asked in a previous letter about whether it would “be lonely” there. Henry responded in his letter “No, Pet, I don’t think it will be. Our house will be only a ½ mile or a little more from the center of town and it will be on a hill so we can see all over town and close to 2 roads.” Carrizo Springs, Colorado, like many western towns, sprang up quickly and disappeared almost as fast. The town, at its peak, had four saloons, at least one café, a general store, a school and even its own newspaper, the *Carrizo Current*. Though the town only began about the time Powell was there building a house, and soon reached a population of 400, it began to decline about two years later and was completely deserted by 1893. In the book *A History of Early Baca County*, it is pointed out that “Carrizo Springs was known as one of the most disorderly towns on the frontier. Since the time of the first appearance of

the cattlemen, the canyon country has been the hangout of a great many hard, unsociable characters, and the nearness of the town to this country determined its fate from the beginning.” The term of their stay in Carrizo Springs was short for Henry and Idella Powell because the town died a fast death. There is no sign of the town today. The birth of the Powell’s first child, son Francis C. Powell, was on 21 Jun 1888 in Colorado, and is assumed to have been while the couple lived at Carrizo Springs. The birth of the second child, daughter Hazel Clare Powell, was on 6 Aug 1890 in Des Moines, Iowa, where the family moved after leaving Colorado. The family, now with Idella’s mother Mary M. Mills living with them, lived in Henry’s hometown of Lafayette, Indiana about 1893-1894, but by 1897 the family moved to Portland, Oregon. Idella, a birthright Quaker, was noted in the Haviland Monthly Meeting records in Kansas on 4 Sep 1897 when “Ida Hunt Powell” was released because she was an “isolated member.” In reality, they likely had no idea where Idella was and cut her loose as a member of their meeting due to lack of contact. According to her grandson Robert Kennedy, Idella left the Quaker faith and converted to the Christian Scientist religion in her later years. Henry B. Powell appears in the city directories for Portland until his death. He was listed most years as either a “lather” or “lathing contractor,” though he was listed several years as a carpenter, a shipping clerk and several other occupations. Idella worked as a dressmaker most of her life. Henry died in Portland on 15 Mar 1920. On 30 Jul 1921, Idella remarried to the widower George Hopkins Sanford, born 3 Sep 1859 in Potsdam, New York. Ironically, Sanford owned Hunt Transfer and Storage in Portland, though there was no connection to our Hunt family. He also had been a neighbor of Henry and Idella Powell. Sanford was a self-made man and entrepreneur, having experimented with a number of occupations. He had run a drug store in Ortonville, Minnesota for three years, tried raising hops near Eugene, Oregon for a year, tried mining in Idaho, ran a mercantile business in Farmington, Washington for a year, worked in an auction house for four years, a furniture company for a while, and ran his own hardware business in Winlock, Washington for three years. Sanford returned to Portland and was manager of Calef Brothers furniture dealers for eight years. In 1914 he purchased the Hunt Transfer & Storage business in downtown Portland. The business, which employed seven people and his two sons, utilized four trucks and a wagon. Sanford’s former storage warehouse is still there, located at 3rd and Glisan in Portland’s historic Old Town district, and underwent a \$25 million transformation from storage to office and retail space in 2007-2008. In 1923 Idella and her husband moved to California to enjoy their retirement. George Sanford had made sufficient amounts of money from his transfer and



Mary Idella Hunt, daughter of Nathan T. Hunt and Mary M. Morris, and her two husbands, Henry Powell, upper right, and George Sanford, lower right. “Della” had two children by her first husband, Henry Powell, shown in the group photo with her mother Mary. Mary lived with Della and her family from 1889 until her death in 1910.

storage business that the couple no longer had financial worries. Or at least until the stock market crash of 1929, when George lost all his money, resulting in him having to work as a gardener during the depression years. Confirmation of this memory of grandson Robert Kennedy comes from the 1930 census. That record shows George and “Della” Sanford living in a small rental home in San Diego, with George listed as a “laborer” doing “odd jobs.” George Sanford died in San Diego on 30 Aug 1939. Idella lived four more years, dying in Los Angeles on 3 Feb 1943. She was buried in Forest Lawn cemetery at Glendale. By her first husband Henry B. Powell, Idella Hunt had two children, mentioned previously, both of whom lived in San Diego. Son Francis C. Powell married Lucy V. Raymond on 28 Dec 1911, from whom he later divorced, and had three children. Daughter Hazel Clare Powell married three times. Her first husband, Warren Camp, was an entertainer, playing ragtime piano music in clubs around the Northwest. The couple married on 11 Apr 1910 in Portland, but the marriage was very short-lived. Camp died in Seattle on 6 Dec 1911 from an overdose of cocaine. He was quite talented and had become known for several compositions, including “Chocolate Creams,” “Good-By, Sweetheart, Good-By” and “Rag with No Name.” Hazel later married Edwin R. Kennedy (1884-1955), from whom she divorced after having one son. That son, Robert E. Kennedy, had a distinguished career at California Polytechnic State University in San Luis Obispo, and the Robert E. Kennedy Library on campus is named after him. Hazel married (3) to Harold B. Bronson on 21 Jul 1928 in Prescott, Arizona. Hazel died 13 Oct 1969 in San Diego.

We will return to the Hunt family and continue with an account of George Warren Hunt after an excursion into the Shelley and related families.

Shelley Family

To start with, there is no known connection between our Shelley ancestors and the poet Percy Bysshe Shelley or his wife Mary Shelley, the author of *Frankenstein*. That branch of the Shelley family were prominent members of Parliament from West Sussex, England. Our Shelley ancestors were dirt-poor farmers and shepherds from the small town of Downton in Wiltshire, England. Compared to the Hunt family and the other Quaker families described in this work, the Shelleys were relative latecomers to America, not arriving in the United States until nearly 1900.

Downton is located about six miles south of the town of Salisbury. Downton is a very old town, and its history can be traced back to the time of the Iron Age. The town was visited by King Henry II in 1157-1158 and King John in 1206-1208. It was one of the first towns established in the area, but is now just a village. The St. Lawrence parish church at Downton is ancient; the oldest part of the present structure dates back to 1130, with major restorations occurring in 1648 and 1860. Generations of Shelley ancestors attended this church.

First Generation Shelley Family

The first Shelley ancestor of whom we can be certain is George Shelley, who married Rachel Newman on 21 November 1734 at Downton. A printed genealogy provided by a distant Shelley cousin in England states that George Shelley was a fourth-generation Shelley ancestor, with a great grandfather Richard Shelley, grandfather Thomas Shelley and a father Richard Shelley. However the connection to George Shelley, for whom no birth record has been found, cannot be proven, so that ancestry will not be reproduced here.

Though most of our Shelley ancestors were dirt poor, George Shelley seems to have been slightly more affluent, and left a will dated 20 December 1770. In that will he was listed as a “brickmaker” and left “*to my eldest son James Shelly the brick kilns, bricks, waggons, carts, horses, harness and all thereunto belonging.*” George Shelley died soon after as he was buried 2 January 1771 at Downton. “Rachel Shilley, Widow,” age 90, was listed in the Downton burial registers dated 21 January 1801, so she outlived her husband by 30 years. George and Rachel Shelley had the following children (all baptized at Downton, England):

- i. **(Unknown) Shelley** Baptized 23 Aug 1736, the first child of George and Rachel Shelley is listed in the baptism records of the Downton church, but no sex or given name is listed. There is a good possibility that this person was a son, William Shelley, who was listed in the Downton burial registers as having been buried 6 May 1801 at age 65. He was listed as a “pauper” and a “labourer.” No person named William Shelley is listed in the Downton baptism registers about the year 1736, making him a suspect for being this child.
- ii. **Sarah Shelley** Baptized 9 May 1740, Sarah married Robert Tanner on 20 Jul 1761 at Downton. She was referred to as “Sarah Hurnby” in her father’s will nine years later.
- iii. **Patience Shelley** Baptized 6 Jun 1743, there is no further record of her.
- + iv. **James Shelley** Baptized 30 Oct 1746, James was our direct ancestor.
- v. **Rachel Shelley** No baptism found, but her father’s will referred to daughter “Rachel Scoates”.
- vi. **Esau Shelley** Baptized 18 Jan 1750/1751, Esau married Mary Wellsted at

Downton on 2 Nov 1773. In his father's will, Esau was left the family home.

Second Generation Shelley Family

Our direct ancestor, James Shelley, married twice. His first wife was Elizabeth "Betty" Osman, whom James married on 19 September 1767 in the parish church at Salisbury. Betty is not specifically named in the Downton burial registers, but is almost certainly the "Wife of James Shelly" buried at Downton on 3 November 1779. The Downton parish records indicate the baptisms of the following three children to James and Betty Shelley:

- | | | |
|------|------------------------|----------------------|
| i. | James Shelley | Baptized 4 Jan 1769. |
| ii. | George Shelley | Baptized 4 Jun 1770. |
| iii. | William Shelley | Baptized 1 Mar 1773. |

It is likely that two, or even all three, of the children of James and Betty Shelley died young. In the Downton burial registers, "a Child of James Shelly's" was buried on 16 June 1772 and another "Child of James Shelly" was buried 2 November 1777. Since James Shelley, the father, had another son George by his second wife, it is probable that George was one of the children listed in the burial registers. James may have been the other. A William Shelley who died of smallpox, aged 20, was buried on 12 December 1791 at Downton. A check of the baptism registers for Downton do not indicate a William Shelley born in 1771; the son William listed here would be the closest match to that date.

James Shelley married (2) Elizabeth Beacham on 18 March 1781 at Downton. Elizabeth Beacham, it was noted in the marriage register, was "of Whiteparish." Whiteparish was a small village a short distance from Downton and had its own parish church. It was also noted on the marriage register that they were married by license (not uncommon for a second marriage). Elizabeth was baptized 29 April 1762, the daughter of Saul and Elizabeth Beacham. She was just 18 years old when she married 34-year-old James Shelley. No death dates or burial records were found for James or Elizabeth in the Downton records. By his wife Elizabeth, James Shelley had four more children (all baptized at Downton):

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|---|
| + iv. | Joseph Shelley | Baptized 25 Dec 1782, Joseph was our direct ancestor. |
| v. | Anne Shelley | Born about 1785, Anne and her two younger siblings were not baptized as infants like most children, but rather, all three were baptized on 12 May 1792, with their ages listed as 7 years, 5 years, and 3 years respectively. Anne married (1) James Mussel on 13 Apr 1809 at Downton, and (2) James Prince. In 1836 James Prince and his wife sailed to Canada with their five children and settled in the Talbot Settlement. A few years later they moved to Toronto, Canada. |
| vi. | Mary Shelley | Born about 1787, Mary married John Kervill on 6 Jun 1810 at Downton. |
| vii. | George Shelley | Born about 1789, George was listed in the Downton burial registers as a "pauper" and "killed by a fall from a horse" at the age of 13. He was buried at Downton on 29 Jul 1802. |

Third Generation Shelley Family

Joseph Shelley was baptized on Christmas day 1782 in the parish church at Downton. On 28 October



The Downton parish church in Downton, Wiltshire, England. It was here in Downton that generations of the Shelley family were born, lived and died. This church is very old, parts of which date back to the year 1130. The old door in the lower photo was about 5'10" high, built when people were a lot shorter than they are today.

Marriages in the year 1734

Edward Painter of the parish of Gotton & Susanah Blake April the 2^d
 Zachariah Dorden of the parish of Northwylmbridge & Mary Matthews April the 3^d
 Joseph Champion and Ruth Mitchell April the 14th
 Christopher Sanner and Abigail Rock April the 18th
 John Brangy and Ann Clark June the 2^d
 Joseph Giler and Mary Tery June the 16th
 William Beach of Clarendon Parish and Elizabeth Bryson July the 14th
 Joseph Muffett and Mary Marsholt September the 27th
 Thomas Parly And Elizabeth Noish October the 15th
 John Nfhen and Mary Humseyat November the 12th
 George Shelley and Rachel Newman November the 21st
 Joseph Fox of Kils and Sarah Potts December the 19th

Baptisms in the year 1746

Robert the son of Robert & Hannah Russell was Baptized April the 14th
 Joseph the son of Peter and Martha Cooke April the 16th
 Ruth the daughter of Robert and Elizabeth Buckford May the 4th
 Sarah the daughter of Stephen and Ann Cooper May the 27th
 John the son of John and Margaret Muckham June the 17th
 Mary the daughter of Ralph and Mary Laroos June the 29th
 Betty the daughter of John and Ann Church July the 4th
 John the son of James and Elizabeth Sanders July the 18th
 Mary the daughter of Charles and Sarah Poole July the 19th
 Job the son of Richard and Elizabeth Shelley August the 10th
 James the son of Elizabeth Oakford Basse born August the 17th
 Mary the daughter of Samuel and Elionor Harris August the 25th
 John the son of Bernard and Mary Green August the 30th
 Leah the daughter of Jane Cook Basse born September the 7th
 Hannah the daughter of Thomas and Martha Bundy September the 7th
 George the son of George and Christian Quinton September the 8th
 George the son of John and Mary Tery September the 10th
 Rachel the daughter of Thomas and Maria Wellwood September the 15th
 William Jacob the son of Henry and Elizabeth King September the 27th
 Sarah the wife of John Tery October the 1st the 1st person of 10 years
 Joseph the son of John and Mary Transtons October the 6th
 Betty the daughter of Joseph and Mary Gauntlett October the 10th
 James the son of George and Rachel Chubb October the 16th
 John the son of Samuel and Rachel Shelley October the 30th

1734
1746
22

Photos of the original pages from the Downton Parish Registers (accessed with special permission at the Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre in Chippenham, England in 2008). These show the marriage of George Shelley and Rachel Newman on 21 November 1734, as well as the baptism of their child James Shelley on 30 October 1746. These are among the oldest records of our Shelley family in Downton, England.

This is the last Will and Testament of me George Shelley
 of the parish of Stowton in the County of Wilts Brickmaker Touching
 that Willing and disposing of such Real and Good Chattels or Estates
 whereunto God has been pleased to bless me I Will I give devise
 and bequeath to my Eldest Son James Shelley the Brick Kilns
 Furnaces, Haggons, Carls, Horsec, Harnejs and all the unts of
 belonging I also give my said Son James Shelley one large Wrench
 Subb one half of a Hoghead and one half paying all my Debts and
 Funeral Expenses what so ever and where so ever. Also I give
 devise and bequeath to my Youngest Son Ephraim Shelley all that
 Messuage or tenement whereto I now live in together with all my
 Household Goods except what I have given my said Son James
 I also give and bequeath to my Daughter Sarah Sturby the sum
 of three Pounds of Lawfull Money of Great Brittain Also I give
 and bequeath to my Daughter Rachel Scott the sum of three
 Pounds of like Lawfull Money all which I give or sum of Money
 I will and order to be paid to them respectively by my said Son Eph
 Shelley within two Years after my decease Also my Will and
 desire is that my said Son James Shelley and my said Son Eph
 Shelley shall allow my said Wife good and sufficient Maintenance
 after my decease during her Life I also give my Port to my
 said Son Eph Shelley he paying first the Value thereof to Richd Scott
 James Shelley and to the My I do hereby nominate constitute
 and appoint my said Sons James and Eph Shelley sole Executors
 of this my last Will and Testament hereby revoking all former
 Wills by me made In Witness whereof I have hereunto
 set my Hand and Seal the twentieth Day of December
 in the Eleventh Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord King

George Shelley
 his Mark



Page one of the original will of George Shelley, who died in 1771, complete with official wax stamp. In his will, George, who was a brickmaker, left his eldest son James his kilns and brick making tools. George may have been the last of the Shelley family to have enough of an estate to bother having a will. Most of his descendants were destitute agricultural workers.

1805 he married Sarah Miller, the daughter of Robert and Sarah Miller. Sarah had been baptized at Downton on 5 March 1781. The marriage register indicates Sarah Miller was “of Standlinch Parish” when she married Joseph Shelley. Standlynch was a tiny village very near Downton which did not have its own parish church. No other record of Robert Miller and his wife Sarah exists in the Downton parish registers other than the baptism of their daughter Sarah. It is a possibility that the Robert Miller, age 77, who was buried at Downton on 19 June 1837 was Sarah’s father.

Joseph’s wife is presumed to be the Sarah Shelley, age 60, buried at Downton on 2 January 1843. Joseph Shelley was listed as 69 years old in the 1851 English census. It was indicated that he was a “lodger” and a “widower,” as well as a “Pauper (Ag Lab),” indicating that the Shelley family was very poor. The term “Ag Lab,” short for “agricultural labourer,” appeared often in British census schedules. These were the vast majority of people who lived in rural areas, too poor to be able to afford land of their own. Instead, they were people who hired out each year (sometimes at an annual hiring fair in the larger towns) for wages and housing. Some were rehired by the same farmer year after year, while others moved from place to place until they found a good fit.

In the mid-1820s, a man named William Cobbett toured southern England on horseback, reporting on its cultivation and the standard of living of its farm laborers. He wrote in his 1830 book *Rural Rides* that “Forty-five years ago, the labourers brewed their own beer, and that now none of them do it; that formerly they ate meat, cheese and bread, and they now live almost wholly on potatoes; that formerly it was a rare thing for a girl to be with child before she was married, and that now it is as rare that she is not, the parties being so poor that they are compelled to throw the expense of the wedding on the parish; that the felons in the jails and hulks live better than the honest labouring people, and that these latter commit thefts and robbery, in order to get into the jails and hulks, or to be transported; that men are set to draw waggons and carts like beasts of burden; that they are shut up like Negroes in Jamaica; that married men are forcibly separated from their wives to prevent them from breeding.”

Most “Ag Labs” were field workers or tended to the farm animals. Average wages for farm laborers rose from 8 shillings/11pence per week in 1795 to 9 shillings/6 pence per week in 1850, but in terms of how far the money went, wages effectively declined. Agricultural laborers were the worst paid, worst fed and worst housed of all classes of society in England. One agricultural laborer wrote “*The farmers makes slaves of us. I can’t hear no difference between a Christian and a nigger, except they flogs the niggers and starves the Christians; and I don’t know which I’d choose.*”

At the time of the 1851 British census, Joseph Shelley was living with another family in “Pacombe Cottage,” housing for farm workers on the 216-acre Paccombe Farm owned by Jonathan Taunton, who employed 17 farm laborers and an in-house servant. Paccombe Farm was located less than a mile east of Downton. The Paccombe Cottage building still stands today and is the home to Black Art Composites Ltd., an aerospace consulting and engineering company which designs unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs).

Joseph Shelley is presumed to have been the person of that name, listed as age 75, buried at Downton on 18 February 1854. Joseph and Sarah Shelley had at least five children, all baptized at Downton:

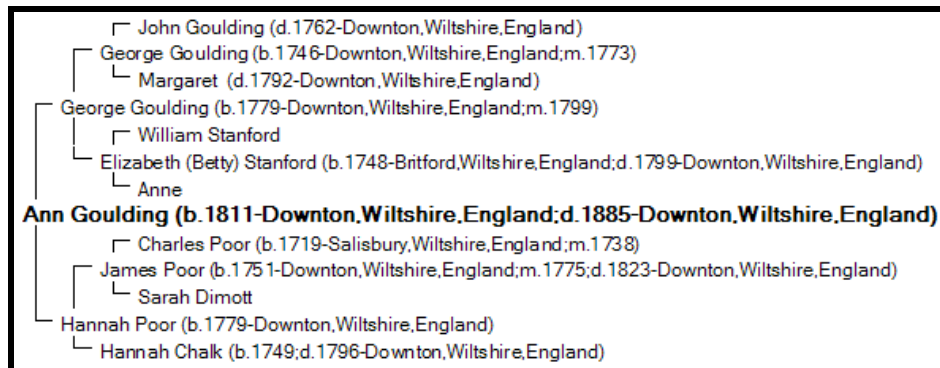
- | | | |
|-------|------------------------|--|
| i. | George Shelley | Baptized 28 Dec 1806, George married Susanna Dredge on 12 Jul 1828 at Downton. He was listed in the 1851 through 1871 census as a maltster, i.e., a brewer of beer. At the time of the 1861 census, he worked for the Avon Brewery in Salisbury. |
| + ii. | James Shelley | Baptized 9 Dec 1810, James was our direct ancestor. |
| iii. | William Shelley | Baptized 29 Mar 1818, William married Frances Mary Morgan |

- at Downton on 19 Oct 1837. William was buried at Downton on 19 Nov 1848.
- iv. **Mary Shelley** Baptized 18 Nov 1821, Mary married Thomas Britten on 25 May 1844 at Downton. Thomas was another dreaded “ag lab,” discussed above. They lived for years near the town of Wilton northwest of Salisbury. Both were still alive at the time of the 1891 census.
 - v. **Charles Shelley** Baptized 8 Aug 1824, “Charles Shelly,” aged “1 year & 8 months” was buried at Downton on 11 Mar 1826.

Joseph and Sarah Shelley may have had a baby girl born between children James and William. An infant named “Mary Anne Shelley” was buried 5 November 1814 at Downton.

Fourth Generation Shelley Family

James Shelley, baptized 9 December 1810, was an agricultural laborer like his ancestors. On 5 February 1831 James married at Downton to Ann Goulding, who had an extensive ancestry herself:



The first Goulding ancestor of whom we can be certain is John Goulding, who was buried at Downton on 18 October 1762. His wife Margaret was buried in the same place on 10 September 1792. Nothing else is known of them. John and Margaret Goulding had at least the following children (baptized at Downton):

- i. **Peggy Goulding** Baptized 29 Feb 1739/1740, Peggy married John Humby on 16 Jun 1760 at Downton.
- ii. **John Goulding** Baptized 7 May 1743, John married Rachel Beckford at Downton on 22 Feb 1770.
- + iii. **George Goulding** Baptized 15 Sep 1746, George was our direct ancestor.

Nothing else is known of George Goulding other than a few entries in the Downton parish registers. He married on 5 October 1773 to Elizabeth “Betty” Stanford, who was from the nearby parish of Britford. Betty was baptized 19 October 1748 at Britford, the daughter and second of nine children of William and Anne (Goodfellow) Stanford. In the early records, the parish is called “Burtford,” then “Birtford,” and finally “Britford.” The area is only a few miles from Downton. William Stanford of “East Harnham” in the parish of Britford left a will dated 29 October 1796, in which he left £80 to his daughter “Elizabeth wife of George Goulding.” He lived nearly another year since “William Stanford, Senior” was buried 3 October 1797 at “Harn.”

No death record for George Goulding has been located. His wife was likely the “Betty Goulding,

widow” buried at Downton on 23 March 1799 at age 51. George and Betty Goulding had the following children (all baptized at Downton):

- | | | |
|-------|------------------------|--|
| i. | John Goulding | Baptized 5 May 1775, there is no further record of John. |
| ii. | Betty Goulding | Baptized Jun 1776, there is no further record of Betty. |
| iii. | Peggy Goulding | Baptized Jun 1777, there is no further record of Peggy. |
| + iv. | George Goulding | Baptized 30 Apr 1779, George was our direct ancestor. |

George Goulding Jr., baptized during the time of the American Revolution, married Hannah Poor on 16 July 1799 at Downton when he was 20 years old. Hannah was the granddaughter of Charles Poor and Sarah Dimott, who married on 11 December 1738 at Landford, a small parish about 5½ miles east of Downton. Her parents were James Poor and Hannah Chalk, married at Downton on 6 Feb 1775. James Poor was baptized 29 December 1751 at Downton and died there on 27 January 1823. James’ wife Hannah died at Downton on 2 July 1796. James Poor may have been a carpenter and joiner by occupation since he was apprenticed as a teenager in 1767 to a William Dowding of Fordingbridge to learn that profession. James and Hannah Poor’s daughter, the Hannah Poor who married George Goulding, was baptized at Downton 11 December 1779. It was their daughter Ann Goulding who married James Shelley. Ann was baptized 28 July 1811 at Downton.

Returning to our fourth-generation ancestor James Shelley, according to several census records, James was born in Whaddon, a tiny parish about four miles north of Downton. The observation that Shelley children were born in different locations around Downton likely reflects the fact that the family were the equivalent of modern-day migrant farm workers, and lived and worked where farm labor was available.

James Shelley and Ann Goulding were married on 5 February 1831 at Downton, just five months before the baptism of their first child. In the 1830 book *Rural Rides* about the English agricultural laborers, mentioned previously, it was stated that “formerly it was a rare thing for a girl to be with child before she was married, and that now it is as rare that she is not.” This was an example of that. It saved the very poor families from having to pay for a wedding.

With the benefit of the English census, we gain a slight insight into the life of James Shelley. At the time of the 1851 census, James and his family lived on Slab Lane east of Downton; like most things in England, the road of that name is still there today. James was listed as an “Ag Labourer” in the census. By 1861, the family lived on Load Hill near the Paccombe Farm east of Downton; James was listed as a “shepherd,” an occupation he would keep the rest of his life. In the 1871 census, James and his wife Ann lived at Woodfalls in the parish of Downton, still listed as a “shepherd.” By this time only the youngest son William was still living at home. In the 1881 census, James and Ann lived at Redlynch in the parish of Downton, with James still listed as a shepherd at the age of 70.

According to an account written in December 1973 by Shelley descendant and author Frances Shelley Wees, James Shelley was described by his son William as a “shepherd” who was “harsh and cruel to his children.” The latter trait was one inherited by William.

James’ wife Ann died 20 February 1885 and was buried at Downton. James was still alive at the time of her death. No record of his death was recorded in the parish records. All of James and Ann’s children were baptized at Downton, and with the exception of their son William, only baptism dates are available as an estimate of their date of birth. They had eight children:

- | | | |
|----|----------------------|---|
| i. | Sarah Shelley | Baptized 10 Jul 1831, there is a record of a Sarah Shelley who married in Jun 1849 at Downton. No further record. |
|----|----------------------|---|

- ii. **Mary Shelley**

Baptized 16 Mar 1834, Mary had two children out of wedlock, Emily and George, according to census listings and descendant David Shelley of Downton. The son was David's great grandfather. Mary later married Edward Slavin, an Irishman born about 1831 at Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, Ireland. Edward was a "Chelsea pensioner," i.e., a British soldier who had been badly wounded and was pensioned out of the military. Mary and her husband lived at Redlynch in Downton parish, where he was a laborer. They were both still alive at the time of the 1891 census.
- iii. **Emma Shelley**

Baptized 23 Apr 1837, Emma married Mark Preston in Jun 1857 in Southampton, Hampshire, England, about 18 miles to the southeast of Downton. At the time of the 1861 census, her sister Mary was listed as a visitor, staying with Emma and her family in Southampton. Mark Preston was born in 1832 at Edgefield, Norfolk, England. The family lived at Alton, Hampshire at the time of the 1871 census and later at Weybridge, Surrey, where they were at the time of the 1881 through 1901 censuses. Mark Preston worked as a postman. Emma and Mark had nine children. Emma died in Jun 1908 and Mark Preston in Jun 1909.
- iv. **Ann Shelley**

Born about 1839, Ann and her sister Jane were both baptized on 15 May 1842 at Downton, leading one to believe they were twins. However, in the 1851 census, Ann is listed as 11 years old and Jane as 8. Evidently Ann was not baptized until after Jane was born. Ann married John Brittan in Sep 1858 and the couple lived in the town of Salisbury north of Downton. At the time of the 1861 census, John was listed as a house painter and Ann as a "Needle Woman," a quaint British term for a seamstress. John continued with his occupation as a house painter the rest of his life. "Annie Brittan," age 44, died in Jun 1885. John died Dec 1893.
- v. **Jane Shelley**

Baptized 15 May 1842, at the time of the 1861 census, 20-year-old Jane Shelley was listed as a "house servant" in the household of Alexander Semple in St. Pancras, Middlesex, now a part of London. No further record.
- vi. **George Shelley**

Baptized 2 Nov 1845, George was a "servant" for John Barnes, who owned a dairy farm at Britford at the time of the 1871 census. George married Sophia Dowty in Sep 1874 and the couple soon moved to Wales, where they lived near the town of Tonyrefail in Glamorgan County. The area was rife with coal mining, and George worked for a mine, though not as a miner. In the 1881 census, he was listed as a laborer, and in the 1901 census, he was identified as a "ostler above ground" (an ostler or hostler is a person who looks after horses). George and Sophia had at least six children. George died in Mar 1913 and Sophia in Mar 1930, both in Wales.
- vii. **Harriet Shelley**

Baptized 3 Sep 1848, Harriet died at age two at Downton on 4 Nov 1850.

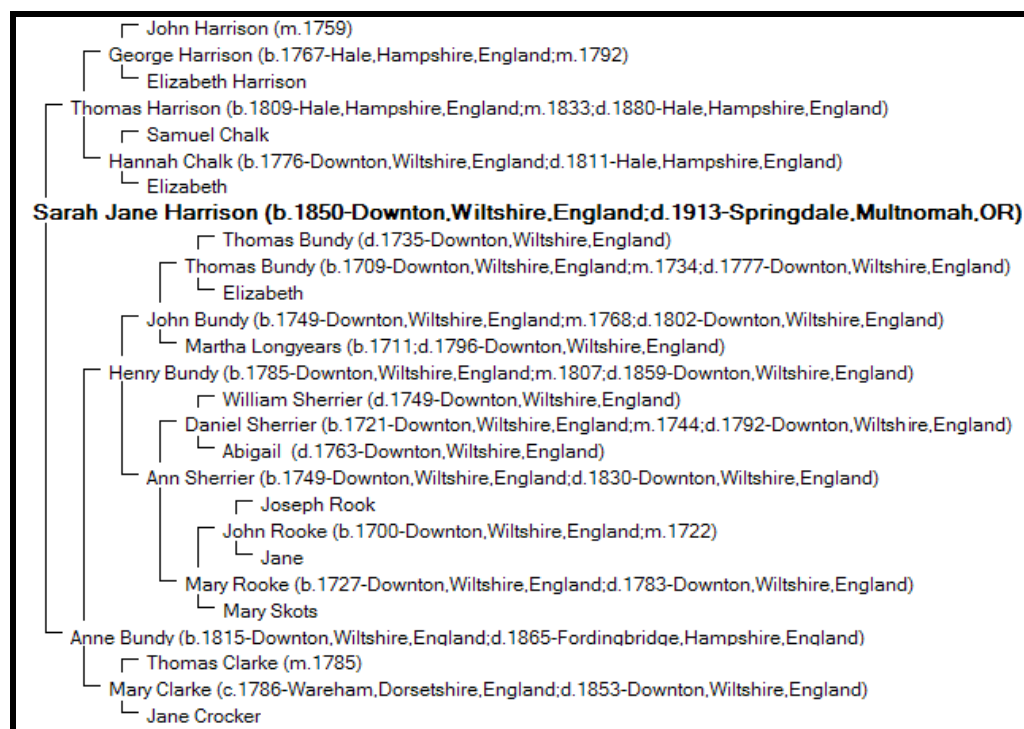
+ viii. **William Shelley**

Born 10 Sep 1851, and baptized 26 Oct 1851, William Shelley was our direct ancestor.

William Shelley was born at Downton, Wiltshire County, England on 10 September 1851, the youngest child of James Shelley and Ann Goulding. At the time of the 1871 British census, taken on the night of 2 April 1871, 19-year-old William was the only one of their children still living at home. William's occupation was listed as a miller. A few months later, on 12 October 1871, William married Sarah Jane Harrison. We will continue with the account of William Shelley after a description of the Harrison and related families.

Harrison and Related Families

Sarah Jane Harrison had a large lineage:



The Harrison family lived for years a few miles south of Downton in the neighboring county of Hampshire, where they lived in or around the tiny village of Hale. The distance between Hale and Downton is only about two miles.

The first Harrison ancestor of whom we can be certain is John Harrison who married Elizabeth Harrison, probably a distant cousin, on 29 October 1759 at Hale. Both bride and groom were noted to be “of Hale.” John and Elizabeth had at least one son, George Harrison, baptized 8 November 1767 “of y^e parish of Hale.” George married on 1 November 1792 at Downton to Hannah Chalk. Hannah was born 10 June 1776 at Downton, the youngest of six children born to Samuel and Elizabeth Chalk. No death or burial record has been found for George Harrison, but the records for Hale parish indicate that Hannah was buried on 1 November 1811 at age 33. This would place her birth about 1778. Since she was “of Downton parish” according to their marriage record, a check of the Downton baptism records indicates no Hannah Chalk baptized that year, although there was an Ann Chalk (parents Thomas and Hannah) baptized in 1778. The closest Hannah Chalk born to the date 1778 is the one baptized in 1776 to Samuel and Elizabeth Chalk. Since the marriage record lists Samuel Chalk as one

of the witnesses, it is assumed this is the correct Hannah Chalk.

Not to besmirch the reputation of an ancestor, but a person named “Hannah Chalk of Downton” appears in the Wiltshire Justice’s Minute Books for 1792 showing a bastardy order for Hannah on 30 October 1792. The father of the out of wedlock female child, born on 27 September 1792, was Ambrose Shelley, a Downton blacksmith. Could this have been the same Hannah Chalk who married George Harrison on 1 November 1792, just over a month after having a child by another man? Stranger things have happened.

George Harrison and Hannah Chalk had the following children (all baptized at Hale, England):

- | | | |
|---------|-------------------------|--|
| i. | Betty Harrison | Baptized 16 Aug 1795. |
| ii. | John Harrison | Baptized 31 Dec 1797. |
| iii. | James Harrison | Baptized 24 Feb 1799. |
| iv. | George Harrison | Baptized 6 Dec 1801. |
| v. | Francis Harrison | Baptized 12 Jun 1803. |
| vi. | Harry Harrison | Baptized 2 Jun 1805. |
| vii. | Charles Harrison | Baptized 4 Oct 1807. |
| + viii. | Thomas Harrison | Baptized 5 Nov 1809, Thomas was our direct ancestor. |
| ix. | Fanny Harrison | Baptized 25 Dec 1811. |

Thomas Harrison, baptized at Hale, Hampshire on 5 November 1809, married Ann Bundy. The oldest Bundy ancestor we can prove is Thomas Bundy, who died at Downton on 11 April 1735. He had a wife Elizabeth (last name unknown) and the couple had at least two children:

- | | | |
|------|---------------------|--|
| + i. | Thomas Bundy | Baptized 4 Oct 1709, Thomas Jr. was our direct ancestor. |
| ii. | Mary Bundy | Baptized 9 May 1712, Mary died at Downton on 3 Dec 1735. |

Thomas Bundy Jr. married Martha Longyears on 6 January 1734/1735 at Downton. Although no baptism record has been found for Martha Longyears, it is suspected that she was from Downton, as there were a number of people with that surname who lived in Downton during this period. In particular, on 4 January 1714/1715, a baptism record from Downton lists a daughter born to a Robert and Jane Longyears with the name of “Mathew,” an unlikely name for a daughter. This entry is undoubtedly a mistake, and was either a son with that name, or perhaps should have been “Martha.” In the Downton parish register for her marriage to Thomas Bundy, Martha Longyears was listed as being “of this parish”.

Thomas Bundy Jr. was buried at Downton on 26 September 1777, while his wife Martha was buried in the same location on 1 May 1796. Thomas and Martha Bundy had the following children (all baptized at Downton):

- | | | |
|------|----------------------|--|
| i. | Martha Bundy | Baptized 13 Sep 1736. |
| ii. | Robert Bundy | Baptized 9 Jan 1739/1740, Robert was buried at Downton on 19 Dec 1825. |
| iii. | James Bundy | Baptized 26 Dec 1743, James was buried at Downton on 13 Nov 1822. |
| iv. | Hannah Bundy | Baptized 7 Sep 1746. |
| + v. | John Bundy | Baptized 25 Jun 1749, John was our direct ancestor. |
| vi. | William Bundy | Baptized 25 Dec 1751, William was buried at Downton on 1 Jul 1818. |
| vii. | Ann Bundy | Baptized 7 Mar 1756. |

In addition, the Downton burial registers list a “Leah Bundy, daughter of Thomas Bundy” that was buried 6 November 1754. This could have been an infant that was never baptized.

John Bundy, our ancestor, was baptized 25 June 1749 at Downton. He married at age 19 to Ann Sherrier, the marriage occurring at Downton on 29 August 1768. Her surname is found spelled many ways, such as “Sherryer” and other ways. Her grandparents were William and Abigail Sherrier, who were buried at Downton 29 June 1749 and 1 May 1763 respectively. They had four children listed in the Downton parish registers:

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|---|
| i. | (Unknown) Sherrier | Baptized 23 Mar 1719, this first child of William and Abigail Sherrier was listed in the baptism register as a daughter, no name given. |
| + ii. | Daniel Sherrier | Baptized 20 Aug 1721, Daniel was our direct ancestor. |
| iii. | Mary Sherrier | Baptized 27 Feb 1723/1724. |
| iv. | Hannah Sherrier | Baptized 5 Sep 1725. |

Daniel Sherrier was a blacksmith, according to the Downton burial register. He married Mary Rooke, the daughter of John Rooke and Mary Skots, on 12 May 1744 at Landford, near Downton. Mary Rooke’s father, John Rooke, was baptized 24 April 1700 at Downton, the son of “Joseph and Jane Rook.” Daniel Sherrier’s wife, Mary Rooke, was baptized 30 November 1727 at Downton. She was just 16 when she married the 22-year-old Daniel Sherrier. Mary was buried 4 August 1783 and Daniel on 18 March 1792, both at Downton. Daniel Sherrier and Mary Rooke had the following children (all baptized at Downton):

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|--|
| i. | Daniel Sherrier | Baptized 27 Dec 1745. |
| + ii. | Ann Sherrier | Baptized 24 Oct 1749, Ann was our direct ancestor. |
| iii. | Hannah Sherrier | Baptized 30 Oct 1751. |
| iv. | Leah Sherrier | Baptized 1 Nov 1753. |
| v. | William Sherrier | Baptized 20 Oct 1755. |
| vi. | Richard Sherrier | Baptized 26 May 1760. |
| vii. | George Sherrier | Baptized 31 May 1762. |
| viii. | Jenny Sherrier | Baptized 27 May 1765. |
| ix. | Betty Sherrier | Baptized 26 Dec 1768. |

Ann Sherrier, who married the John Bundy mentioned previously, was baptized at Downton on 24 October 1749. John Bundy was buried on 3 Oct 1802 at Downton. His wife Ann survived him by over 27 years; she was buried at Downton on 3 Jan 1830. John Bundy and Ann Sherrier had the following children (all baptized at Downton):

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------|---|
| i. | Ann Bundy | Baptized 26 Dec 1768. |
| ii. | William Bundy | Baptized 24 Jun 1771. |
| iii. | John Bundy | Baptized 6 May 1776, John was buried at Downton on 24 Oct 1824. |
| iv. | George Bundy | Baptized 25 Dec 1778. |
| v. | Daniel Bundy | Baptized 26 Dec 1780. |
| + vi. | Henry Bundy | Baptized 21 Jul 1785, Henry was our direct ancestor. |

Henry Bundy, baptized 21 July 1785 at Downton, married Mary Clarke, who was different from the other ancestors mentioned above because she was not originally from Downton. Mary was born in the town of Wareham in the county of Dorset, a distance of about 32 miles from Downton. Genealogists typically get hives over the issue of someone in the 18th or 19th century marrying a person who lived farther away than what you could throw a rock. Okay, that’s a slight exaggeration, but the

point is that men from this period in history either married the girl next door, or one not too far down the road. But in this case, the information is correct.

Mary Clarke (or Clark) was the daughter of Thomas Clarke and Jane Crocker. Jane may have been the “Jenny Crocker” born to Robert and Mary Crocker at Lady St. Mary parish in Wareham on 31 July 1763 since Jane was listed as “Jenny” in the Wareham parish records for the birth of her second child. Thomas Clarke and Jane Crocker married 22 May 1785 at Wareham. The notation for the marriage in the parish records mentions Jane Crocker “of St. Martins,” meaning she was of that parish (the town of Wareham was large enough that it was divided into three parishes). There is also a record of a George Clarke, a mariner, who married on 23 June 1783 to Elizabeth Crocker at Wareham. Elizabeth may have been a sister to Jane.

St. Mary’s is an ancient church in Wareham and is known to be the resting place for several Anglo-Saxon kings. Unfortunately the town suffered a catastrophic fire in 1762 and parish registers previous to that date were lost. But the records after that date still exist, and indicate the baptisms of the following children to Thomas Clarke and Jane Crocker at Wareham:

- | | | |
|------|--------------------|---|
| + i. | Mary Clarke | Baptized 20 Aug 1786, Mary was our direct ancestor. |
| ii. | Bula Clarke | Baptized 16 Feb 1788. |
| iii. | John Clarke | Baptized 30 May 1790. |
| iv. | Ann Clarke | Baptized 28 Jul 1793. |

Henry Bundy married Mary Clarke on 9 August 1807 at Downton. Obviously, sometime between 1793, when Mary’s younger sister was baptized at Wareham, and the date of Mary’s marriage, the Clarke family moved to Downton. In both the 1841 and 1851 census, Henry and Mary Bundy were living at Downton. Verification of Mary’s birthplace comes from the 1851 census, when the census taker noted that she was born at “Wareham, Dorset.” Henry was listed as an “Ag Laborer.” Mary was buried 22 October 1853 and Henry Bundy on 3 January 1859, both at Downton. Henry Bundy and Mary Clarke had the following children, all baptized at Downton:

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------|--|
| i. | Jane Bundy | Baptized 8 Nov 1807. |
| ii. | John Bundy | Baptized 5 Aug 1810. |
| iii. | Henry Bundy | Baptized 20 Jun 1812, Henry was buried at Downton on 16 Jun 1867. |
| + iv. | Anne Bundy | Baptized 1 Jan 1815, Anne was our direct ancestor. |
| v. | George Bundy | Baptized 30 Mar 1817, George was buried at Downton on 19 Nov 1833. |
| vi. | Thomas Bundy | Baptized 20 Jan 1822. |
| vii. | Mary Bundy | Baptized 18 Apr 1824. |
| viii. | Charles Bundy | Baptized 30 Jul 1826. |
| ix. | Emma Bundy | Baptized 21 Mar 1830. |

The Downton burial registers list a “George Bundy, son of Henry and Mary, infant” that was buried 3 November 1809. Also listed in the burial registers is a “William Bundy, infant” that was buried 19 January 1819, which might have been another son of Henry and Mary Bundy.

Anne Bundy, our direct ancestor, married Thomas Harrison on 7 September 1833 at Downton. Like his father-in-law and so many others who lived in Downton, Thomas Harrison was an agricultural laborer. At the time of the 1841 and 1851 English census, Thomas Harrison and his wife Anne and children lived with Anne’s parents, Henry and Mary Bundy, in Downton, in an area known as Woodfalls. The distance from this part of Downton parish to Hale is less than $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile. At the

time of the 1861 census, Thomas Harrison and his family were living in Woodgreen Parish, next to Hale, and in 1871, in Hale itself. The total distance between any of these locations is less than two miles, even though Downton and Hale are in different counties (Wiltshire and Hampshire respectively).

As poor as the Shelley family was, the Harrison family appears to have been even more impoverished. Thomas Harrison's wife, the former Anne Bundy, died on 1 October 1865 at Fordingbridge, Hampshire. Fordingbridge was a larger town located several miles to the southwest and not a place the family ever lived. The reason Anne died in Fordingbridge is that Anne died in the Union Workhouse in Fordingbridge, indicating she was a pauper and probably unable to care for herself.

There were a number of reasons a person could end up in one of England's dreaded union workhouses. For example, you might be poverty-stricken, or an unwanted orphan, or an impoverished widow, or too old to work, or you were sick or deranged. The workhouse, sometimes nicknamed the Bastille, was a ruthless attempt in 19th century England to solve the problem of poverty. In England, legislation for providing relief to the poor dated back to 1572. The 1601 Poor Law Act gave responsibility to local parishes for looking after very poor people, who were able to claim assistance from the other citizens of the parish. Poor people were able to live at home while they received parish relief.

With the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act people receiving help from the parish had to live in a workhouse and could no longer live at home. In return for parish relief, they would be made to work in the workhouse; thus the origin of the term. The legislative act also allowed parishes to join together into "unions" to share the costs of building workhouses and running them. Eventually there were about 600 workhouses built around England, including the one at Fordingbridge. In 1929, workhouses were abolished and their responsibilities given to the counties.

Life inside a workhouse was miserable. By design, life was meant to be much tougher inside a workhouse than outside, and the buildings themselves were deliberately grim and intimidating. They were rife with illness and disease brought about by overcrowding and the starvation diet. When you were admitted to the workhouse, you were stripped, searched, washed and had your hair cropped. You were made to wear a prison-style uniform. If whole families were in a workhouse, women were kept separate from the men, including their husbands, at all times. Children were separated from adults, even their own parents. One well known story tells how a laborer gave notice to leave the workhouse with his wife and children only to be told "You cannot take your wife out. We buried her three weeks ago."

Inmates in a workhouse were made to do deliberately tedious work. There was strong objection to supporting "idlers," so work was designed to keep people busy and to subsidize the cost of relief provided by the parish. Tasks included gardening, cooking and sewing, corn milling, sack making, oakum picking (unraveling short lengths of rope) and crushing stone.

Food in the workhouses was notorious. Until 1842 all meals were taken in silence, and no cutlery was provided; inmates had to use their fingers. The meals were kept dull, predictable and tasteless. There were six official diets which were so meager they were described as "a slow process of starvation." A typical diet was six ounces of bread for breakfast, four ounces of bacon and three ounces of bread or potatoes for lunch, and six ounces of bread and two ounces of cheese for supper. The official ration in British prisons was double the workhouse food ration.

Why Anne Harrison was placed in the workhouse at Fordingbridge is not known; the records

concerning workhouse inmates are extremely skimpy. However, we can assume the family was not able to care for her on their own and Anne had to be institutionalized mid-19th century style. Thomas Harrison lived another fifteen years after his wife, and was buried at Hale, Hampshire on 2 September 1880. Thomas Harrison and Anne Bundy had the following children (all born at Downton, though only two were baptized there):

- | | | |
|--------|----------------------------|--|
| i. | Charlotte Harrison | Born about 1835, she was alive at the time of the 1851 census. No further record. |
| ii. | Lavinia Harrison | Baptized 9 Jul 1837 at Downton, Lavinia died before the time of the 1841 census. Her name may have been “Lavina” as a Lavina Harrison died Sep 1838 as noted in the British civil registrations. |
| iii. | Francis Harrison | Baptized 7 Jul 1839 at Downton, “Frank” Harrison married Ellen, last name unknown. |
| iv. | Emma Harrison | Born about 1843, she was alive at the time of the 1861 census. No further record. |
| v. | Mary Harrison | Born about 1846, she was alive at the time of the 1851 census. No further record. |
| vi. | Ann Harrison | Born about 1848, she is probably the Ann Harrison who married Henry Trimby in Mar 1871. They lived at Salisbury. Ann died in Jun 1889. |
| + vii. | Sarah Jane Harrison | Born 23 Feb 1850, Sarah Jane was our direct ancestor. |

Sarah Jane Harrison was born 23 February 1850 in Downton, England, the youngest of the children of Thomas Harrison and Anne Bundy. At the time of the 1871 census, her mother had died in the workhouse and Sarah Jane was the only child still living with her father. Sarah Jane Harrison would soon marry William Shelley, with whom we continue in the next chapter.

William Shelley

William Shelley and Sarah Jane Harrison, both born and raised in Downton, England, married 12 October 1871 at Hale, Hampshire, about two miles south of Downton. Hale was where Sarah Jane's father was living at the time. Just a few months before they married, the 1871 British census indicated William Shelley was a "miller," though what type of mill he worked in is not known.

The couple was young. When they married, William had just turned 20, while Sarah Jane was 21 years old. But there was some urgency in getting to the altar. Sarah was 4-5 months pregnant on their wedding day. Twenty one days after they married, William Shelley sailed for Canada. Sarah Jane stayed in England until after she had the baby, leaving for Canada seven and a half months after William. Evidently their departure from England was planned well before William and Sarah Jane were married. And it may not have been them who did the planning.

A little explanation about Downton's poor and their relationship with Canada is necessary. England had a long history of shipping less desirable portions of its population to its colonies, especially Australia and Canada. In 1836 the parish of Downton exported nearly ten percent of its population to Canada in a parish-sponsored mass emigration. A total of 220 people from Downton, plus 59 others from the nearby parishes of Standlynch and Whiteparish sailed on the *King William*, which was chartered on behalf of the parish with the express purpose of carrying these emigrants to Canada. The emigrants were mostly poor agricultural labourers, who joined friends and relatives who had gone to Canada on the American ship *Louisa* the year before.

The harvests during 1828-1830 had been very poor and an "agricultural depression" continued into the mid-1830s. Thousands of "ag labourers" were jobless throughout England, with Wiltshire particularly hard hit. The parish of Downton put the men to work on roads or in gravel pits. But it was a common belief at the time that "pauperism," i.e., being poor, was a character flaw, so there was nothing society could do to help. The solution was simple; get rid of the poor. Killing them was against the law, but sending them to another country wasn't. Emigration was considered a solution to many of society's problems, and it was widely believed the poor would be better off in the colonies.

British law permitted a parish to borrow money to fund the passage of paupers to a British colony. Downton borrowed £1000 and a suitable ship was found. Though the mass emigration of 1836 would never be repeated on that scale, the exporting of the poor was encouraged and both the parish and the wealthy assisted in the continued emigration of Downton's poor for decades. This was the case with William and Sarah Jane Shelley.

Two accounts of the Shelley family written by a granddaughter of William and Sarah Jane, the author Frances Shelley Wees, provides some insight into how the young couple were able to emigrate to Canada. In a 1979 account, Wees described William Shelley as "a wild boy and young man, always drinking and fighting." She wrote that after "suddenly" marrying Sarah Jane Harrison, William was "very soon helped by Sir Joseph Gough for whom he had been working" and "he left for Canada." Wees added that "I think Sir Joseph and Lady Adelaide thought that England would be better off without him."

Though she spelled the name wrong, the people Wees referred to were Joseph Goff and his wife, the former Adelaide Henrietta Louisa Hortense Knox, the daughter of Thomas Knox, the Earl of Ranfurly. The Goff family was part of the wealthy and snooty "landed gentry" in Britain. Joseph Goff, born in 1817, was titled a "squire." He owned Hale Manor (or Hale Park or Hale Estate or Hale Park Estate,

take your pick), and the land where the Harrison family lived was part of his manor, which encompassed 2,370 acres. In the nineteenth century *Kelly's Directory for Hampshire*, Goff was described as the "lord of the manor and sole landowner." The book *The History of Hale* by Gerald Lionel Joseph Goff (the son of Joseph Goff) describes that the village of Hale "was part of the Hale Park Estate as it had been for several centuries and as it would remain until 1920." The name "Thomas Harrison" is listed in the book for the year 1875 as being a resident of one of the cottages on the grounds of the manor.

Hale Manor existed at least as far back as 1329, when King Edward II confirmed "the Great Forest Charter." It was owned by a succession of families including West, Penruddocke, Archer, May, and then Goff, who bought the estate in 1836. In the second account of William Shelley by Frances Shelley Wees, written in 1973, she described that William left for Canada just three weeks after his marriage, writing "how he got the money for his passage is a bit of a mystery, but Aunt Nell said that 'Squire Goff helped him.'"

Squire Joseph Goff died 26 December 1872, a year after he assisted William Shelley, and later Sarah Jane and their infant son, emigrate to Canada. Goff had five sons, but none of them had any children. After the death of Joseph Goff's wife Adelaide in 1911, the estate went to the only surviving son, Algenon Goff. He, in turn, sold Hale Manor after World War I, and in 1920 the property was divided into 98 separate lots and sold.

Why Squire Goff decided to assist William Shelley and his wife and child emigrate to Canada is anyone's guess. It may have been an issue of money. The village of Hale was small; in the 1871 census it had a population of only 146. Nearly all of those people lived in cottages or small farms that were part of Hale Manor. Goff likely owned any storefronts or shops which operated in the village. He had even rebuilt and maintained the parish church at Hale. Goff may have thought of the people who lived at Hale as his responsibility.

Caring for the poor who lived in the village of Hale ultimately fell upon Joseph Goff. He undoubtedly was familiar with the Harrison family, which had lived in Hale for generations. One could surmise that perhaps Goff was aware that Sarah Jane Harrison was "with child," and as a potential unmarried mother was likely to become an additional financial burden to the parish which was on his manor. If he learned that William Shelley, whom Wees claimed worked for Goff, was the father he may have offered William a deal. Though entirely conjecture, the deal may have been something like 'marry Sarah Jane and I will help you get to Canada' where William would be eligible for free land. It was a win-win deal. Goff escaped the financial burden of assisting the family of another poor "ag laborer" and William Shelley got an opportunity to start fresh in a country where he could become a land owner, something completely unknown in his family.

William and Sarah Jane needed money to get to Canada and get established there. There were train fares to Liverpool, the cost of the steamship passage itself, and once in Canada, train fares from Quebec to Toronto. Then there were the provisions a family would need to get started. A handbill titled *Hints to Emigrants Going to Canada* printed about that time recommended emigrants have a total of £60 before beginning the trip. William and Sarah Jane were also eligible for assistance in a number of ways. There were a number of Immigration Aid Societies that assisted paupers in getting to Canada. Ontario would give each immigrant a \$6 refund bonus, but the fine print said that immigrants "assisted out to this Province by any society or individual have no claim to the Refund." Once in Ontario, pauper immigrants could stay in "immigrant sheds," receive food and be given railroad passes to wherever they wanted to go in the province.



The squire Joseph Goff assisted William Shelley and his wife, Sarah Jane Harrison, financially in emigrating to Canada. Goff was very wealthy and owned Hale Manor, shown here, located two miles south of Downton. Why Goff did this remains a matter of conjecture to this day.



The front and back of the Hale parish church at Hale, Hampshire, England, two miles south of Downton. This church is where William Shelley and Sarah Jane Harrison married on 12 October 1871. Just 21 days later, William sailed to Canada. Sarah was half-way through a pregnancy when she married William, and sailed to Canada seven months later with an infant son.



A very distant cousin, David Shelley of nearby Woodfalls, standing in the doorway of the Hale church. There are several photos of plaques on the walls of the church dedicated to members of the Goff family, including this one dedicated to Joseph Goff. Hale is a rather odd place, complete with wild horses from the nearby New Forest grazing around the area.

A son, William Thomas Shelley, was born to Sarah Jane after William Shelley had emigrated to Canada, and William did not see the infant until the latter was nearly eight months old. William Shelley, however, did not believe that William Thomas Shelley was his child. Frances Shelley Wees wrote of her grandfather “when he was angry with either his wife or his eldest son, William Thomas, ... used to say to Sarah ‘he’s not my son anyway.’” Granddaughter Helen Lucille Myers, interviewed in 2001, said that “Grandpa Shelley always referred to William Thomas Shelley as ‘the bastard.’ All of the Shelleys were quite short, except for William Thomas Shelley, who was very tall. Frances Wees told that Grandpa Shelley told her that Grandma Shelley got pregnant by another man, but she would pay for William Shelley to go to Canada if he would marry her.”

There are a lot of unanswered questions here. Squire Goff was a wealthy man, and it would not have been a serious imposition on him to assist William and Sarah Jane Shelley in their emigration to Canada, but why did Joseph Goff put up the money? Though William was known to be a mean and cruel person, why did he always insist the first son was not his child? Why was the first son taller than his siblings? Why did William Shelley tell a story about marrying Sarah Jane for money?

The answer to these questions could be another more sinister scenario, though highly speculative. Perhaps William Shelley really wasn’t the father of the baby. Perhaps William really was offered money to marry Sarah Jane Harrison and leave the country. Perhaps Joseph Goff, or one of his sons, had impregnated Sarah Jane Harrison, who lived on the grounds of the Goff’s Hale Manor. Paying a young man to marry her and emigrate to Canada with his new wife and child was certainly a way of dealing with a potentially embarrassing situation for the Goff family. It should be emphasized again that this scenario is highly speculative conjecture.

From Downton, William Shelley had to travel north about 225 miles to the port city of Liverpool, England. He probably made that trip by train. Downton had a train station beginning in 1866, and from there William could have ridden to Liverpool in a day. Once at Liverpool, William Shelley boarded a steamship belonging to the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company. The line was later known as the Allan Line after one of its founders, Hugh Allan. The ship, the *S.S. Scandinavian*, was relatively new, having been built in Glasgow, Scotland in 1870. Like many early steamships, it had a single funnel and three masts for sails in case the steam engine broke down. The iron-hulled ship with the clipper bow was 338 feet long and 40 feet wide. It was capable of speeds of eleven knots. The *Scandinavian* was eventually scrapped in Italy in 1899.

The *Scandinavian* departed Liverpool on 2 November 1871, and after a stop in Londonderry, Ireland, sailed for Canada with 213 passengers. Most of those passengers, including William Shelley, were in steerage. Steerage quarters were located beneath the first-class passenger decks and above the cargo hold, thus steerage was often called “between decks.” The spaces were dark and cramped. The good news was William Shelley did not have to endure the steerage conditions for long, since he and his traveling companion arrived at Quebec City in the province of Quebec, Canada on 12 November 1871, just ten days after leaving England.

William traveled to Canada with another emigrant named William Champion, who was from the town of Damerham, Wiltshire, about eight miles southwest of Downton. It is not known if the two knew one another before their voyage or not, but they ended up settling in the same area in Ontario, Canada and when Sarah Jane sailed to Canada seven and a half months later, she was accompanied by William Champion’s wife Ann. Both women had infant children with them on the voyage. Sarah Jane Shelley, with her son William Thomas Shelley, made the nearly identical trip that William did, sailing from Liverpool on 13 June 1872, stopping in Londonderry, and arriving in Quebec City twelve days later.

She sailed on the S.S. *Prussian*, the sister ship to the *Scandinavian* and a carbon copy of it.

Old advertisements for the Allan Line indicate the voyage from Liverpool to Quebec cost £6, 6 shillings for steerage class passengers. Passengers were allowed 20 cubic feet of baggage, roughly the size of a single large steamer trunk. Steerage passengers had to provide their own bedding and eating and drinking utensils, soap and towels for the trip. They were provided three meals a day in the “dining saloon.”

Once in Canada, William Shelley traveled by train from Quebec City west into the province of Ontario, probably to Toronto, and then north into “Upper Ontario” where free land was available in what became known as the Free Grant District. Canada’s Free Grant and Homestead Act of 1868 opened up three million acres of land for settlement by immigrants, established farmers and out-of-work industrial workers. Settlers could receive 100 acres of land free if they agreed to clear the land, have at least 15 acres under cultivation, and build a house at least 16 by 20 feet in size.

Just getting to the land was a feat in itself. Where William Shelley homesteaded in Ontario was about 150 miles north of Toronto. Settlers could travel part of the way by train, part by steamboat across Lake Simcoe, and then by one of the twenty “colonization roads” built by the Canadian government into the settlement areas. One of these roads was the Muskoka Road. This road was begun at Severn Bridge, Ontario in 1859, and went north until it reached the village of North Bay on Lake Nipissing by 1875. Today’s Highway 11 follows the route of the old Muskoka Road in many places. By 1885 the Grand Trunk Railway had reached the area where William Shelley settled. The area was also served by a dozen passenger steam boats and steam tugs which plied the Magnetawan River.

After reaching the area where they wanted to settle, immigrants explored the area for a suitable homestead and selected a surveyed lot on which to build. If there were no neighbors in the area, they built a lean-to near a source of water as a temporary shelter. Then they began the arduous task of clearing the timber and building the required dwelling. These were always log cabins made of pine. According to the terms of the homestead act, pine trees on the property remained the property of the Crown, with the exception that they could be used “for the purpose of building, fencing and fuel.” Logs intended for walls were squared off using a broad-axe designed for that purpose. Sawmills were quickly established which permitted logs to be cut into planks for floors or roof timbers. The roof was probably constructed from pine shakes.

The Free Grant lands were represented in a very favorable way, or as one book on the subject put it, they were “glowingly described in almost Biblical terms.” However, immigrant settlers found the going very difficult. Clearing 15 acres of dense forest was a huge task, and once clear, the land offered upper Canada’s ubiquitous rocks, which themselves had to be cleared. The soil in the region also turned out to be poorly suited to farming since it consisted largely of a dense clay. In short, the area was tough, hardscrabble farm land.

The land settled by William Shelley was at Katrine, Ontario, about 150 miles due north of the city of Toronto. Today the family’s land would be located on the east side of Highway 11 just south of Three Mile Lake Road and about four miles south of Burk’s Falls, Ontario. At one time there were several lumber mills and a couple of stores in the area. Today the area is sparsely settled, and the land that William Shelley homesteaded remains an undivided 100-acre parcel, but vacant land with no sign of any former buildings.

The 100-acre parcel homesteaded by William Shelley was near Doe Lake. An account about Katrine

DOMINION OF CANADA!

V.



R.

EMIGRATION TO THE PROVINCE OF ONTARIO.

To Capitalists, Tenant Farmers, Agricultural Labourers, Mechanics,
Day Labourers, and all parties desirous of improving their circumstances by emigrating to a new country.

The attention of intending Emigrants is invited to the great advantages presented by the Province of Ontario. Persons living on the interest of their money can easily get eight per cent. on first-class security.

TENANT FARMERS WITH LIMITED CAPITAL

Can buy and stock a Freehold Estate with the money needed to carry on a small farm in Britain. Good cleared land, with a dwelling, and good barn and out-houses upon it, can be purchased in desirable localities at from £4 to £10 Sig. per. acre. Farm hands can readily obtain work at good wages.

Among the inducements offered to intending Emigrants, by the Government, is

A FREE GRANT OF LAND

(WITHOUT ANY CHARGE WHATSOEVER.)

Every Head of a Family can obtain, on condition of settlement, a free grant of two hundred acres of land for himself, and one hundred acres additional for each member of his family, male or female, over eighteen years of age.

All Persons over 18 years of age can obtain a Free Grant of 100 Acres.

The Free Grants are protected by a Homestead Exemption Act; and are not liable to seizure for any debt incurred before the issue of the patent, or for twenty years after its issue. They are within easy access of the front settlements, and are supplied with regular postal communication.

REGISTERS OF THE LABOUR MARKET,

And of Improved Farms for sale, are kept at the Immigration Agencies in the Province, and arrangements are made for directing emigrants to those points where employment can be most readily obtained. Several new lines of railway and other public works are in course of construction, or about being commenced, which will afford employment to an almost unlimited number of labourers.

Persons desiring fuller information concerning the Province of Ontario, are invited to apply personally, or by letter, to the Canadian Government Emigration Agents in Europe, viz: WM. DIXON, 11 Adam Street, Adelphi, London, W.C.; J. G. MOYLAN, Dublin; CHARLES FOY, Belfast; DAVID SHAW, Glasgow; and E. SIMAYS, Continental Agent at Antwerp.

Also to the Emigration Agents in Canada, viz:

JOHN A. DONALDSON, Toronto; R. H. RAE, Hamilton; WM. J. WILLS, Ottawa; JAS. MACPHERSON, Kingston; L. STAFFORD, Quebec; J. J. DALEY, Montreal; E. CLAY, Halifax, Nova Scotia; ROBT. SHIVES, St. John, and J. G. LAYTON, Miramichi, New Brunswick.

From whom pamphlets, issued under the authority of the Government of Ontario, containing full particulars in relation to the character and resources of, and the cost of living, wages, &c., in the Province, can be obtained.

JOHN CARLING,

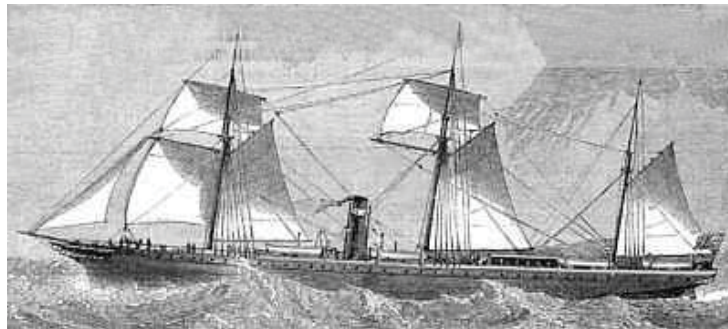
Commissioner of Agriculture and Public Works for the Province of Ontario.

DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION,
Toronto, October, 1869.

Please Post in a Good Position, for Public Information.

HUNTER, ROSE & CO. PRINTERS, TORONTO.

A typical emigration handbill from the era when William Shelley decided to leave England and emigrate to Canada. These posters were common in the parts of England where poor "ag workers" were a burden on the rest of British society, who were happy to see them leave England. Canada offered settlers 100 acres of land free if they would clear the land, get part under cultivation, and build a house of a required size.



Top, two small drawings of the *S.S. Scandinavian*, which carried William Shelley to Canada. Like many early steamships, it had three masts for sails in case the steam engine failed. The ship was capable of eleven knots. Bottom, the house that William Shelley built at Katrine, Ontario, long after the family abandoned it and moved to the United States.

found in the Burk's Falls Public Library described how Doe Lake was known as One Eye Lake by most of the early settlers. An old Indian who lived in the area in the 1920s told of the Indian tribes leaving the area after a "large one-eyed water serpent" was spotted in the lake. Reports by several people in the area in the 1930s also reported seeing such a creature. Eventually the lake became known as Doe Lake after a white doe was shot while swimming across the lake.

William and Sarah Jane Shelley lived at Katrine for 25 years. The family appears in both the 1881 and 1891 Canadian census. One piece of information that the Canadian census provides which you will not find on an English or American census is the religion of the family. At the time of the 1881 census, the Shelley family was noted by the census taker as being Wesleyan Methodist. The Methodist faith arose as a revival movement in the 18th century, largely from within the Church of England and primarily organized by John Wesley. In the 1891 census, the family's religion was listed as being "Brethren."

Though there are a number of religious groups who use the name "Brethren" as part of their name, from information obtained from Shelley descendants we know that the family of William Shelley were *Plymouth Brethren*. The principles of the Brethren included the rejection of a salaried ministry and insistence on women's silence. Traditionally "meetings" would not have a cross displayed inside or outside their place of worship, which were called meeting houses, meeting halls or meeting rooms. Most meetings were led by men, none of them ordained.

An article about the Plymouth Brethren published in the New York Times in 1892 described that the group objected to being called any denominational name and preferred to just be called Brethren. The Plymouth part came from the town of Plymouth, England, where they originated. The article went on to state the "ministers receive no stated salary and are called laboring brethren" and they "neither build nor own churches, and usually hire halls or other buildings."

In the 1891 census, the Shelley family was enumerated as one of only two families whose religion was listed as Brethren in their census subdistrict of Armour and Ryerson townships, encompassing over 135 square miles. The other family, also emigrants from England, was the Morgan family who also lived at Katrine near the Shelley family. A descendant of both families, Donna (Morgan) Herron, stated the two families were influenced by "laboring brethren" who came to Canada and both families converted. The two families remained close and like the Shelleys, the Morgans later emigrated to the United States and settled in the Portland area, though not at the same time as William Shelley and his family.

Descendant Silvy (Hunt) (Osborne) Strand had a similar story to tell about her grandfather William Shelley. She said he got acquainted with the Morgans and "William Morgan got Shelley to become a Brethren. William Shelley, who drank quite a lot in his younger days, quit drinking as a result of this conversion." Silvy stated the Shelley family "went to church but they called it 'meeting.' They didn't have a minister. Any man could get up and preach. They would go to other people's houses for 'meeting' in Canada. The Shelley family would often go to the Morgan's. They sang at meeting." Silvy also mentioned that "William Shelley became very religious and very strict and quite strange. He would sit and stare at the walls or ceiling for long periods of time."

Additional information of a personal nature concerning the Shelley family came out in interviews and documents found. For example, most of the Shelleys were short people. William Shelley was 5' 5" tall. His daughter Anna Shelley was tiny, well under five foot tall. From immigration records we know her sister Emma was 4' 9½", her brother Walter (depending on which record you want to

believe) was 5' 3½" or 5' 4½" and her brother Fred was 5' 4". The one exception was William Thomas Shelley, who was relatively tall.

By a number of accounts, William Shelley was described as a very mean person. Silvy Hunt said he was "very cruel. William beat his son Fred so bad one time that Anna had to go out behind the barn to throw up. Fred was deafened as a result of the beating and was deaf from that time on." Frances Shelley Wees described William Shelley as "a cruel man who loved to hurt people" and that he was a "harsh unforgiving father." William Shelley also hated Catholics. There was a family tradition that the Shelley family had once been wealthy but that the Catholics had taken all of their land. The notion lacks any credibility, but perhaps this was the root of the deep seated hatred that William Shelley had for Catholics.

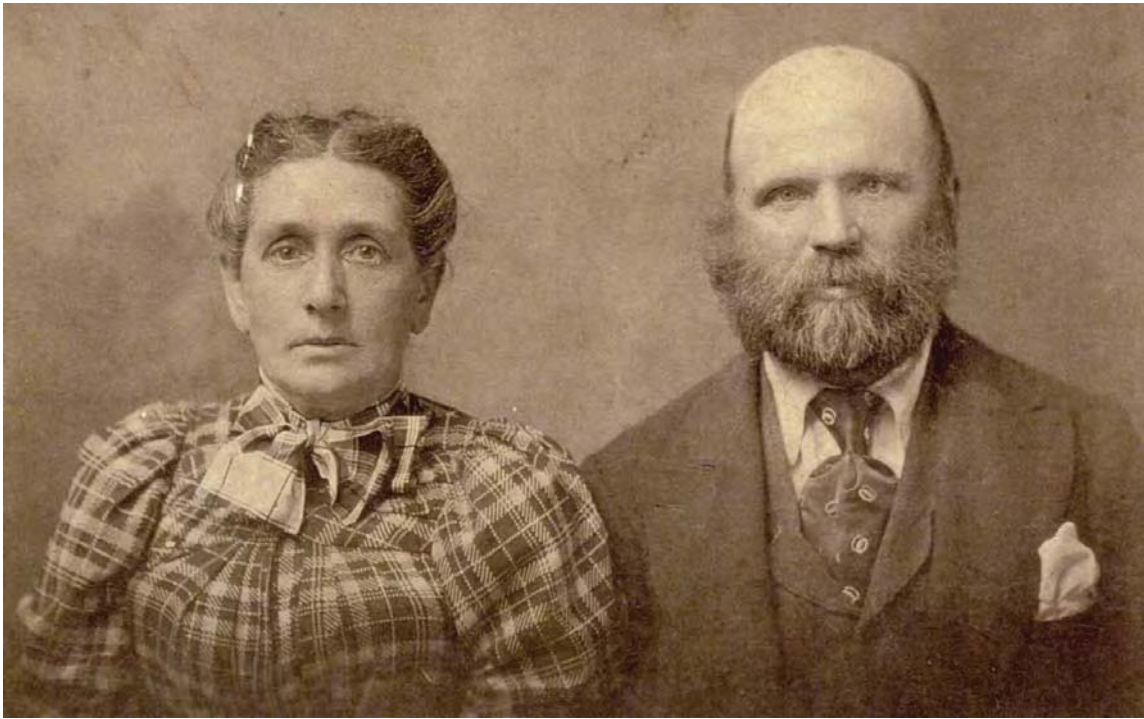
About 1896-1897, William Shelley and his family moved to the United States. Few of the Shelleys bothered to become naturalized citizens, but one who did was William's son Walter. Walter Shelley declared his intention to apply for citizenship in the United States in 1922. At that time, he declared that he had arrived in the United States at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan in October 1896. Walter did not follow through on his naturalization application and had to start over in 1935. On that second declaration for citizenship, he declared he came through the same port into the United States on 1 March 1897. In Walter's 1938 petition for naturalization he gave the same date.

Sault Ste. Marie, pronounced "Soo Saint Marie," is located on the eastern tip of Michigan's Upper Peninsula, on the Canadian border and separated from its twin city of Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario by the St. Marys River. Walter Shelley indicated in his naturalization documents that he, and by association, the rest of the Shelley family, arrived at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan aboard the Grand Trunk Railway. This rail line, the predecessor to the Canadian National Railway, ran west across Ontario just north of Lake Huron until the line entered the United States at Sault Ste. Marie. This rail line came to the Katrine area in 1885, and for the people of upper Ontario, it would have been the preferred method of travel to the United States.

After they entered the United States, the Shelley family remained in the upper midwest for a couple of years. Granddaughter Silvy Hunt recalled hearing that the family was in Wisconsin or Minnesota for a time. If one looks at a map, this correlates well with the fact that the family entered the United States at Sault Ste. Marie, knowledge that Silvy did not have. Silvy remembered her mother telling the story of coming to the United States by train: "the kids got off the train at one point and walked along the side of the train when the train was climbing a steep grade and was going very slow."

Silvy also thought the Shelley family was sponsored by another family in the United States and with whom they stayed for awhile before continuing on to Oregon. William Shelley's daughter-in-law Erma Shelley said that William had sold his land at Katrine, Ontario for \$400. She also said that "the Brethren" helped William and his family when they came to the United States. Granddaughter Helen Myers said the family "first came to Minnesota and worked. The kids were all farmed out to work and William Shelley kept the money, saving for the trip to Oregon. They later came to Portland by train." Helen Myers also stated that "three babies died young in Ontario," a fact verified by the 1910 census, in which Sarah Jane declared she was the mother of thirteen children, of whom only ten survived.

There was also a story that after being in the United States for a time, William Shelley heard the "cherries were as big as apples in Oregon," so they decided to go there. Again, they rode the train to Oregon. Even in those days it would have only taken three days. The naturalization papers for Walter Shelley indicate that though the family entered the United States on 1 March 1897, they had only been



Two photographs of William Shelley and his wife, Sarah Jane Harrison. The upper portrait may have been taken while the family still lived in Canada, while the lower photo was from the farm in east Multnomah County, Oregon.

in Multnomah County, Oregon “since Sept. 10, 1899.”

The county seat for Multnomah County is Portland, and this is where the Shelley family came. A check of property records for Multnomah County indicates that William and Sarah Jane Shelley bought a 12-acre farm east of Troutdale, Oregon on 6 November 1899, so if the family arrived in the Portland area in September as son Walter claimed, it took about eight weeks to find suitable farm property and purchase it. The nearly square parcel of land that William bought was located just south of what is today Mershon Road in the Springdale area about twenty miles east of Portland. William paid \$850 for the property and took a mortgage. William Shelley later bought another ten acres from an adjoining 30-acre parcel which his sons Fred and Walter purchased in 1902. According to granddaughter Silvy Hunt, William Shelley raised potatoes. Though the location of the Shelley farm is known to us today, the original farmhouse is gone and the property has been subdivided.

On 12 June 1913, Sarah Jane (Harrison) Shelley died at Springdale at age 63 of “chronic mitral insufficiency.” Thus her cause of death was from a defect in her heart, a condition when the mitral valve doesn’t close all the way and blood flows backward into the left upper heart chamber. This leads to a decrease in blood flow to the rest of the body. The condition may have been caused by a dysfunction or damage to the valve as the result of a mild heart attack. Sarah Jane was buried in Pounder Cemetery near Corbett.

Records of border crossings between the United States and Canada are skimpy and far from complete, but enough records exist to indicate that a number of William and Sarah Jane’s children went back and forth from Canada several times in the 1900-1930 time frame. A favorite destination of the Shelleys seems to have been the Regina and Moose Jaw area in the province of Saskatchewan. There is no record that William and Sarah Jane returned to Canada while Sarah Jane was alive, though they might have. However, after Sarah Jane died, William returned to Canada at least three times we know about, and possibly more.

On 4 December 1916, an immigration manifest of “alien passengers” applying for admission to the United States indicates that William Shelley arrived at the port of Eastport, Idaho aboard the Canadian Pacific Railway. The immigration officer noted William was a widower from Troutdale, Oregon and had left the United States via Vancouver, British Columbia in September 1916. William Shelley soon returned to Vancouver B.C., for he remarried there on 4 April 1917. His family back in the Portland area may have been somewhat distracted by the fact that the U.S. Senate voted on the same day to enter World War I on the Allied side, and Congress declared war against Germany two days later.

The woman William married was a widow named Ruth Holmes. Ruth had been born Ruth Cantelon on 4 September 1859 near Bluevale, Ontario, the daughter of Peter Cantelon (his name was often spelled Cantlon) and Elizabeth Richardson, both Irish immigrants. Ruth had married John Holmes at Wingham, Ontario in 1879 and the couple went on to have seven children. Ruth’s husband farmed in Ontario until the family moved west to Manitoba, where they settled on another farm near the small town of Boissevain about 1889. Later Ruth and her husband moved to Vancouver B.C., where John Holmes died on 9 October 1910.

Ruth Holmes was relatively wealthy, though most people were wealthy compared to William Shelley. Several of William’s grandchildren remarked that William’s second wife “had money” and photos of the couple show them with stylish and expensive clothes. When William and Ruth entered the United States on 10 November 1922 for a visit, they did not do so aboard a train, but arrived in Seattle on a steamship from Vancouver B.C. in the company of two of Ruth’s daughters. The Alien Certificate



The family of William Shelley and Sarah Jane Harrison. From left to right, Rose, Maggie, William Shelley, Will, Lavina, Emma, George, Fred, Susan, Sarah Jane, Walter and Anna. This family had more than its share of dysfunction. Fred, the son in the middle in the back, was very hard of hearing because of a severe beating his father gave him as a boy. Walter, at the right, married the first cousin his father “imported” from England. Susan lived with Maggie and her husband for years, and even had a child by Maggie’s husband. Will had two children who were so severely mentally retarded they were institutionalized. Rose had to divorce a husband after he brought another woman and his infant child home to live with them. Lavina, center front, really an unwed child by her “sister” Anna though raised as the daughter of William and Sarah, committed suicide shortly after learning the truth as an adult.



After the death of his wife Sarah Jane in 1913, William Shelley made several trips to western Canada, and in his travels met the widow Ruth (Cantelon) Holmes, the widow of John Holmes, in Vancouver, B.C. Like William, Ruth had come from the province of Ontario. Unlike William, Ruth had money, as might be evident from their clothing. William and Ruth married in 1917 and lived in Vancouver, B.C. until she died in 1936. William returned to Oregon, where he lived until his own death in 1940.



Top, the small and hard to find Pounder Cemetery on Littlepage Road in the Corbett area east of Portland, Oregon. It is in this cemetery that William Shelley and his wife Sarah Jane Shelley are buried. His grave does not have a grave marker. Her marker is not the original; there used to be an upright gravestone but all grave markers have been replaced with flat markers.

issued them indicated their destination was Portland, Oregon.

Other than visits to the Portland area after marrying Ruth Holmes in 1917, William Shelley lived in Vancouver B.C., evidently in Ruth's home there. After nineteen years of marriage, Ruth Shelley died on 5 June 1936 at the age of 76 and was buried at Mountain View Cemetery in Vancouver. After her death, William returned to Oregon, where he lived until his own death at the age of 88. William Shelley had a cerebral hemorrhage on 11 February 1940 and died 6 April 1940 as a result of it. Like his first wife Sarah Jane, he was buried in Pounder Cemetery in the Corbett area. The small cemetery is located on Littlepage Road about 0.3 mile south of Crown Point Highway (GPS coordinates: 45.5259, -122.2782).

William and Sarah Jane Shelley had the following children (the first born in Hale, England and the rest at Katrine, Ontario in Canada):

- i. **William Thomas Shelley** Born 22 Feb 1872 on Hale Manor in Hampshire, England, there is some question as to who the father of William Thomas Shelley was, as mentioned previously. Certainly the cantankerous William Shelley always insisted William Thomas was not his son. On 14 Sep 1902, "Will" married Erma Beatrice Johnson, who was born in Mt. Pleasant, Michigan on 6 Nov 1882. According to Frances Shelley Wees, because of William Shelley's nasty comments about Will being a "bastard," Erma's religious beliefs caused her to worry endlessly about her children. This was because of the passage in the Bible (Deuteronomy 23:2) that a "bastard shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord even to his tenth generation." Will and Erma had five children, of which two were severely mentally retarded, and later in life had to be committed to the Oregon State Hospital of *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* fame. Silvy Hunt remembered going to Salem to visit them in the institution and stated "the two could not talk but made howling sounds." The two children, Curtis and Pearl, were born with a condition called phenylketonuria according to Frances Shelley Wees, which is a rare condition in which a baby's body is missing the ability to properly break down a certain amino acid. Without this ability, two substances build up in the body and attack the central nervous system and cause brain damage. The condition is inherited, and only happens when both parents pass on a defective gene to their offspring. Phenylketonuria was not understood at the time Will's children were born, but today all newborns are screened with a simple blood test shortly after birth and the condition is easily treated. Will farmed for a time at Springdale next to his father's farm but later moved to the east Gresham area. On 28 Feb 1942 Will had an accident while at home and broke both bones in his lower leg. He was admitted to Multnomah County Hospital in Portland, but while there, developed other problems and Will had a heart attack on 11 Apr 1942 while in the hospital. He was buried in Forest Lawn Cemetery in Gresham. His widow Erma died 29 Nov 1961.

+ ii. **Anna Shelley**

Born 19 May 1873, Anna was our direct ancestor.

iii. **Rosemina Emily Shelley**

Born 6 Jun 1875, “Rose” Shelley married Ralph Eaton Johnson on 3 Aug 1901. Ralph was the brother of Erma Johnson, who married Will Shelley. Ralph was born 23 May 1880 in Mt. Pleasant, Michigan. The couple had three children born within a three year period, but then things went wrong with the marriage. In 1907 Rose filed for divorce, claiming “on or about the 31st day of July, 1906 the defendant ... abandoned and deserted the plaintiff.” Rose testified in a divorce hearing that Ralph had brought another woman to live with them. The woman was ostensibly hired by Ralph Johnson as a housekeeper for the family, but in reality was Ralph’s lover. Rose testified “her name was Mrs. James and he was acquainted with this woman for a long time before I knew it, and he brought her there for three weeks, and he didn’t ask me if he could or anything; he brought her there against my will and she stayed there for three weeks in my house, so I got tired of it and I told her to go, and to take her things and leave as soon as she could, and she left a few days after, and then he left with her. He cried the morning she left, and so he went with her and never returned.” Rose may have been told that the housekeeper was “Mrs. James,” but her real name was Ida Jane. What Rose also didn’t know was that Ida had given birth to a son named Ralph Eaton Johnson Jr. in Portland on 31 Mar 1906, a few months before Ralph tried the “housekeeper” ruse. Ralph was a poster child for the common female assertion that “men are dogs.” The judge granted Rose the divorce on 17 Jan 1908, granting Rose \$20 per month in alimony, which Ralph Johnson did not dispute. Ralph moved to Pocatello, Idaho with Ida and the couple married there two months after Ralph’s divorce. Late in life, Rose married a man named Swan Rhymer. He died 14 Jun 1939 and Rose on 9 Oct 1949, both deaths occurring in Gresham, Oregon. It would be a shame to mention Rose Shelley and not mention her daughter Frances Shelley Wees, who became a noted Canadian author. Frances Shelley Wees has been called the mother of Canadian detective fiction and wrote at least 24 novels or serials that appeared in magazines. Even President Richard Nixon, in an address to the Canadian Parliament in 1972, quoted Frances when he said “It has been said that Canada is bounded ‘on the north by gold, on the west by the East, on the east by history -- and on the south by friends.’” The quote is from a poem by Frances Shelley Wees titled *Geography Lesson*. Though out of print for years, her stories and books can be found for sale on Internet sites to this day.

iv. **Fredreck Dunken Shelley**

Born 28 May 1878, both of Fred’s given names had a strange spelling, confirmed in records and his own signature. Fred was the son his father beat so badly that Fred was nearly deaf. His

sister Anna witnessed the beating and was so traumatized she “had to go out behind the barn to throw up.” Shelley descendants Silvy Hunt recalled “Fred was very hard of hearing as a result of the beating from his father” and Helen Myers remembered “Uncle Fred was very deaf and had a large hearing aid.” Fred was one of several of the Shelley children who left the United States for a time to live in western Canada. Naturalization records indicate Fred immigrated to the United States a second time on 24 Oct 1917 aboard a ship from Vancouver B.C., returning from Regina, Saskatchewan. Fred Shelley didn’t marry until he was 41 years old, when on 21 Jun 1919 he married a German immigrant named Christine Fudickar, who was born in Neviges, Germany on 6 Sep 1874. One Shelley descendant recalled that “his wife Christine had quite an accent.” Fred and his wife lived on a little farm on S. Roberts Avenue in Gresham, Oregon where he grew berries. Fred Shelley petitioned to become a U.S. citizen on 23 March 1923 but was denied citizenship because he declared he was a conscientious objector and refused to bear arms in the defense of the United States. There is no record that Fred ever became a U.S. citizen. Fred and his wife were making jelly one day and Fred was melting paraffin to seal the jars. He spilled the boiling paraffin on his hand and it melted his skin clear to the bone and he had very bad scars after that. Fred’s wife died of a toxic nodular goiter on 10 Apr 1934 in Multnomah Hospital, one day after having an operation to remove her thyroid gland. Christine was buried in Pounder Cemetery. During World War II, there was a fourth draft registration conducted on 27 Apr 1942 that came to be called the “old man’s registration” because it was for men between 45 and 64 years old. Fred Shelley registered with the draft board and his card indicates he was an “inmate” at the “Multnomah Farm” in Troutdale, Oregon. This was the Multnomah County Poor Farm, an institution intended to help the poor become self-sufficient through farming. Today the facility is known as Edgefield Manor, a McMenamin’s hotel, restaurant and micro-brewery. Fred died 13 Jan 1951. Fred and his wife never had any children.

- v. **Walter Edward Shelley** Born 27 Dec 1879, Walter Shelley stayed at home and worked on the family farm until Walter was in his early 30’s. On 25 May 1912 in Portland, Walter married Ellen Harrison, who was his first cousin (the daughter of his mother’s brother). Ellen was born in Hampshire, England on 7 Oct 1888, and had just arrived from England shortly before her marriage to Walter Shelley. Immigration documents indicate Ellen sailed from Liverpool, England on 29 Dec 1911 aboard the steamship *Empress of Ireland*, arriving in St. John, New Brunswick seven days later. Ellen crossed Canada by train and entered the United States at Sumas, Washington on 12 Jan 1912. Shelley

descendant Silvy Hunt remembered that Walter and his wife were first cousins, and this is verified by the ship manifest, on which Ellen declared her nearest relative in England was her father Frank Harrison. Frank was the brother of Sarah Jane Harrison, Walter's mother. Two Shelley descendants remembered that Ellen was always called "Nelly" or "Nell." Silvy also recalled that Ellen "was friendly but no one in the family liked her. She talked to everyone and told all the family secrets. She told the secret of Anna's unwed birth to everyone." Silvy told of the family always joking that "they wished she had sailed on the Titanic," which sank just three months after Ellen sailed to the United States. Ellen arrived with \$25 and indicated to the immigration officer that her fare to come to the United States was paid by her uncle William Shelley of Troutdale, Oregon, which was her destination in this country. The fact that Ellen Harrison, a large, heavy woman, married Walter just four and a half months after his father paid for her passage to Oregon makes those with a suspicious streak wonder if this was some kind of odd "arranged" marriage. Whether it was arranged or not, it certainly was odd. Marriage certificates were not granted to two individuals who were first cousins, so it must be assumed that this subject did not come up when the couple applied to Multnomah County for their document. After he married, Walter found jobs in Portland, working in the shipyards, as a machinist in a paper mill, in a lumber mill, etc. Walter was one of the few members of the Shelley family who bothered to become a naturalized citizen of the United States, and was granted citizenship in 1938. Silvy also recalled Walter lived with his sister Anna for a time in Portland and paid room and board. Silvy remembers that Walter and Anna had some type of an argument over a five dollar bill. Anna got mad at Walter and threw the bill on the floor, where it lay for several days with Anna telling her children not to touch the money on the floor. The fact that Walter and Ellen Shelley were first cousins took its toll. According to Silvy Hunt, the couple's first child was born dead and their only other child, a son Stanley Lloyd Shelley, was born a deaf mute. Lloyd was sent to the deaf school in Salem and learned to sign. Walter Shelley died 8 Jul 1951 and his wife Ellen on 10 Apr 1961.

vi. **Margaret Shelley**

Born 11 Dec 1881, "Maggie" Shelley married Albert Floyd Chamberlain, who always went by "Bert." They married 16 Sep 1901, Maggie being the third of three Shelley daughters to marry within five months of one another in 1901. The couple lived in the Springdale area on the old Chamberlain farm that had belonged to Bert's father. This farm, which comprised more than 115 acres at one time, was located on Chamberlain Road (named for the family) about a half mile north of Mershon Road. According to a brief account about him in the book

Living East of the Sandy, Bert “farmed, fished commercially and brined cucumbers for Libby, McNeil and Libby (and also made dill pickles of local renown).” Bert Chamberlain fathered six children, all sons, though one of them was not by his wife but his sister-in-law (see the account below about Susan Shelley). Two of the six sons were killed while relatively young. The eldest son, Bennett “Ben” Chamberlain was killed 10 Sep 1920 in Portland when a furniture truck backed over him. Ben worked for the Powers Furniture Company, which had a warehouse on Union Avenue, and Ben was helping the driver of the furniture truck back up to the loading dock of the warehouse. Ben was standing on the running board of a parked truck signaling the driver of the other truck when he suddenly fell headlong under the rear wheel of the moving truck. The wheel ran over his head, crushing the base of his skull. Ben appeared to have fainted according to a witness who was standing just a few feet away, but was unable to react fast enough to save Ben. Another son, Arthur Chamberlain, suffered fatal injuries when he was a passenger in a car driven by Patrick Casey which struck a disabled truck on 82nd Avenue in Portland on 15 Nov 1937. Casey was indicted for involuntary manslaughter, but the charge was later dismissed. One of Art’s children was also killed when a plow tipped over on the child. Bert died of a heart attack in Multnomah Hospital on 8 Dec 1949. Margaret died a year and a half later on 30 Jun 1951. Both are buried in Douglass Cemetery in Troutdale.

vii. **Susannah Shelley**

Born 3 Sep 1883, Susannah Shelley was listed that way in the Canadian birth records, but she always went by Susan or Susie. She lived with her sister Maggie and Maggie’s husband Bert Chamberlain for a number of years, appearing in that household at the time of both the 1910 and 1920 census. Susan became pregnant by her sister’s husband and gave birth to a son Earl Lafayette Chamberlain on 27 Jul 1908. The son was raised in the Chamberlain family and Susan continued to live with her sister and her family for years after, working as a housekeeper for another family. About a month after the 1920 census was taken, on 26 Feb 1920, Susan married William Jasper Mershon, who was born in Kentucky in 1874. He was 46 and she was 36 when they married, a first marriage for both. Jasper was a farmer in the Springdale area and the couple lived on the “Old Wire Trail,” an old Indian trail that later was the site of the telegraph line when it went through the area. Susan and Jasper had one son, Duane Mershon, born 19 Aug 1922. But tragedy would strike again and Duane was killed on 15 Aug 1937, just four days before his 15th birthday. Duane was riding with two other young men, Lester Sones and Virgil Porter, in a Ford Model A coupe when they had a head-on collision with a street car. An interview with Lester Sones of Kingman, Arizona in 2001 provided facts about the incident not available in news

accounts at the time of the incident. Sones said the three had driven from Springdale, where they all lived, to the Sellwood district of Portland to go to the Oaks Park skating rink. Lester, who was 20, was driving and Virgil was in the passenger seat, with Duane in the middle between them. They were on Milwaukie Avenue following a street car which had three girls in the rear “drawing their attention.” Lester whipped the Model A into the oncoming lane to pass the streetcar and almost immediately hit a second streetcar coming the opposite direction. The force of the collision drove the motor back into the car, killing Duane instantly and severely injuring Lester and Virgil, both of whom were in the hospital for about three weeks. Lester Sones, 86 years old when he was interviewed, suffered a cracked skull and suffered from complications from that the rest of his life. He added he still thought often about the accident and about Duane Mershon. Sones died in 2004. Jasper Mershon died 28 Dec 1958 and Susan on 17 Mar 1969. Susan left the farm to her son Earl Chamberlain. One of Earl’s sons, Owen Chamberlain, lived on the place until he committed suicide on 10 Sep 1999.

viii. Emma Shelley

Born 2 Aug 1884, Emma married Malcolm Anderson Smith on 22 Dec 1916 in Portland, Oregon. Malcolm was also from Ontario, Canada, born 16 Feb 1889 in a place called Mecunoma, only about 30 miles from where Emma was born. The tiny village of Mecunoma no longer exists, but it was on the Old Nipissing Road and references to a hotel in that village called *Bummers’ Roost* (which burned in 1926) can be found on some maps. After their marriage, Emma and Malcolm moved back to Canada, living first at Moosejaw in Saskatchewan, and then in Vancouver, British Columbia, where according to their daughter Helen Smith they lived with William Shelley and his second wife. They returned to the Portland area in June 1920. Emma became a naturalized United States citizen during World War II, being naturalized on 7 May 1942 in Salinas, California. Malcolm Smith worked first as an electrician and later as a carpenter. Emma and Malcolm had three daughters and a son. Their two oldest children were born in Canada, while the younger two were born in Portland. Their eldest daughter Margaret contracted polio when she was seven and had to learn to walk all over again, and walked with a limp the rest of her life. Malcolm died 18 Dec 1967 and Emma on 3 Feb 1978, both in Portland. They are buried in Douglass Cemetery in Gresham.

ix. Lavina May Shelley

Born 3 May 1887, Lavina May was the only one of the ten children born to William and Sarah Jane Shelley who survived infancy but did not survive to adulthood. She was also the first of two Shelley children given that name. Civil registration of births and deaths began in Ontario in 1869, but many of the records were recorded well after the fact. Entries were added

on 20 Apr 1888 for eight of the nine children born to William and Sarah Jane Shelley at Katrine, Ontario. The last child, not yet born, was recorded a year later. Civil registrations show the birth of Lavina May Shelley but not her death, though incomplete death records are not uncommon during this early period. However, Lavina certainly died by the time she was three.

x. **George Francis Shelley**

Born 7 Feb 1889, George married Rose Louise Bourgeois on 23 Feb 1913. Rose had come to Springdale with her immigrant parents in 1909. George opened a feed and grain store in Springdale, where he bought and sold grain, hay and other supplies to dairy and poultry farmers. His feed store was directly across the street from the present-day Springdale School. In 1925, George bought a truck with plans to operate a trucking business from Portland up the Columbia River Gorge. He picked up cucumbers from the farmers and delivered them to a cannery in Portland. He also drove a milk truck, visiting dairy farms and picking up milk. Later in life, he drove a school bus for the Corbett School District and served as a volunteer fireman. The family lived in a home right on the historic Columbia River Highway. George and Rose raised seven children, though one died from influenza when he was six. Rose died 29 Sep 1954, and George died 17 Jul 1958 while visiting in Spokane. Both were buried in Douglass Cemetery in Gresham, Oregon.

Anna Shelley

Our direct ancestor, Anna Shelley, was the first of the Shelley children born in Canada. Anna, who did not have a middle name, was born 19 May 1873 at Katrine in Ontario, Canada and grew up there. She did not have a happy childhood living in a family with a strict and severe father, who along with his other numerous flaws, was a religious nut who enjoyed beating the hell out of his kids.

Anna's daughter Silvy recalled stories her mother told from Anna Shelley's days of growing up at Katrine. The family had a maple sugar tree and they caught sap from the tree until they had enough for maple sugar candy. That was a treat for them. Anna told about a lake that she rowed across when she was a teenager, which was probably Doe Lake. The family was so poor, Anna did not have a coat, so when she went to school she had to wear her mother's shawl. She only went to the "third reader" in school. *Readers* were a series of books widely used in schools from the mid-19th century to the mid-20th century, and are still used today in some private schools and in home schooling.

Shelley descendants Silvy Hunt and Helen Myers recalled nearly identical stories about Anna becoming pregnant when she was 16 years old. Helen stated that "Anna Shelley went to work for a doctor in Canada and got pregnant by him. Grandpa Shelley went to talk to the doctor, who wanted to marry Anna, but ended up receiving \$100 from the doctor instead." Silvy knew a few more details: "while Anna was in Canada, she did housework for a doctor whose wife had died. The doctor had three children. Anna became pregnant with Lavina May, but Grandpa would not let Anna and the doctor marry. When the child was born, she lived with the Shelley family." Silvy was able to recall an old photograph of Anna standing in a white apron beside her mother and Anna was visibly



Top left, William and Sarah Jane Shelley in the family vehicle. Lower left, Fred, William Shelley, George, Sarah Jane and Walter in the back; Anna Hunt, Lloyd Shelley and Emma Smith in the front. William was quite religious but somehow found being both a bible pounder and a child pounder to be compatible. Lloyd Shelley, Walter's son, was a deaf mute, an example of why first cousins should not marry. Right, Rose (Shelley) Johnson with the hat with her two children Marvin and Frances, Sarah Jane standing at right, and Lavina Shelley and Anna (Shelley) Hunt sitting in front. The child Frances went on to become a highly successful author of two dozen novels.



Top, George Shelley and his wife Rose Bourgeois. They lived in a home right on the old Columbia River Highway. George and Rose had seven children. Bottom, Susan Shelley, her husband Jasper Mershon and their son Duane. Before marrying, Susan lived with her sister; the arrangement evidently included conjugal rights since she had a child by her sister's husband. After the birth of that child, Susan continued to live with her sister's family, the child being raised by them. The son Duane Mershon died when the Model A he was riding in as a passenger had a head-on with a streetcar.



The adults in the top photo are, left to right, Rose (Bourgeois) Shelley (wife of George Shelley), Christine Fudickar and her husband Fred Shelley, “Nelly” Harrison and her husband Walter Shelley. The children, left to right, are Ruth Shelley, Jack Morgan and Lloyd Shelley. Lower left, Bert Chamberlain and his four sons, three by his wife Maggie Shelley and one by his wife’s sister Susan. Lower right, “Nelly” Harrison and Walter Shelley.

pregnant.

Records partially confirm the story. Ontario civil registration birth records show a daughter “Levina Shelley” born to mother “Ann Shelley” of Katrine on 26 September 1890, with no father listed. Attempts to identify the doctor who had fathered Anna’s child from census records were unsuccessful. It would appear perhaps the doctor, his reputation probably in tatters, had left the area, for no widower physician with younger children could be identified in the 1891 census in all of Ontario’s Armour and Ryerson townships (encompassing 135 square miles), the area where the Shelley family lived. The 1891 census and American census records for 1900 and 1910 confirm the story that Lavina was raised as a member of the William Shelley family, in which Lavina was always listed as a daughter of William and Sarah Jane Shelley.

After coming to Oregon, “Anna was kicked out of the family” according to her daughter Silvy. Anna has never been located in the 1900 census, but she was not listed as living in the household of her father in Springdale. Neither were several of William Shelley’s other adult children; four of them were working jobs and boarding with other families. Sons Fred and Walter were working as farm laborers and daughters Rose and Margaret as domestics, all in the close-in east side of Portland. Anna was likely in the same area as well, since the 1899 Portland city directory lists “Annie Shelley” as a domestic living at 700 E. Burnside Street. The 1900-1901 Portland city directory (one directory covered both years) listed “Annie Shelly” and her sister “Susan Shelly” as being domestics for the household at 400 Holladay Avenue in east Portland.

The family who lived at that address was headed by Robert M. Wade. As one might imagine for someone who employed two domestics, Robert M. Wade was quite wealthy. He owned R. M. Wade & Company, an agricultural implement dealer, which at the time was located at 321 E. Clay. Robert Marshall Wade was born in Missouri in 1835 and came to Oregon via the Oregon trail in 1850. His early adult years were spent in the mining towns of Yreka, California and Auburn, Oregon supplying miners with equipment. After the mining declined Wade got into the farm equipment business. In 1865, he founded R. M. Wade & Company to supply farmers with equipment and supplies. The company sold McCormick reapers, Oliver plows, Van Brunt Seeders, wagons, and all types of buggies. The company was managed by Robert M. Wade until his death in 1915.

After Wade’s death, the company was run by Edward Newbegin, his son-in-law and who was living with Wade and his family at the time of the 1900 census. Interestingly enough, R. M. Wade & Company still operates to this day, and may be the oldest continuously operating company in Oregon. The company, located on Allen Boulevard in Beaverton, is still family-owned and still a distributor for farm equipment and lawn and garden equipment.

The connection to Robert M. Wade and his family is significant because Anna Shelley’s daughter Silvy always told the story about Anna working for a family that sold “tractors” and that Anna “accompanied that family to Seaside, where she met George Hunt.” Train excursions from Portland to the beaches began in May 1898 when the Astoria & Columbia River Railway was completed. The railway followed the Northern Pacific line north from Portland, then crossed the Columbia River at Kalama and ran down the southern bank of the Columbia to Astoria, then south to Seaside, where the rail line terminated. The 118-mile train trip took a little over four hours each way and cost only 25¢, replacing an overnight trip by steamer down the river. Seaside was advertised as the “resort of the people” where people come to “enjoy the ocean breeze and the level stretches of sand” and “where sun bathing is perfect.”

For people like Anna Shelley and George W. Hunt, who had never seen the ocean, the trip had to have been an extremely memorable one. Silvy recalled hearing her mother tell that she had planned to marry the first man who asked her. She did just that. The man she married was George Warren Hunt, a divorced man ten years her senior, and a carpenter who only worked when he could find work. Not exactly the best of prospects, but after meeting Anna Shelley at the beach in Seaside, he was the first man to ask her to marry him.

The story of Anna Shelley will be continued with the account of George W. Hunt. But first, we should provide an account of the out-of-wedlock child of Anna Shelley, who was raised by her grandparents as one of their children.

Lavina May Shelley

The daughter of Anna Shelley by a never-identified doctor and born at Katrine, Ontario on 26 September 1890, Lavina May Shelley was given the same name as Anna's younger sister who died young just a couple of years before. Born out of wedlock, Lavina was raised by Anna's parents as one of their own, and Lavina did not learn her much-older sister Anna was really her mother until Lavina was an adult with children of her own. When he was little, Anna's son Alden started calling Lavina "Aunt Viney," a nickname that stuck. Little did he or Anna's other children realize that "Aunt Viney" was really their half-sister.

Accompanying the family to Oregon when she was about nine, Lavina May Shelley married Henry Edward Morgan on 25 June 1913 across the river in Vancouver, Washington. Henry was the son of William Morgan, who was responsible for William Shelley converting to the Brethren religion. Like the Shelley children, Henry Morgan had grown up near the village of Katrine in Ontario, Canada where the two families had been neighbors. The Morgan family came to the United States in 1903, several years after the Shelley family had arrived.

Henry and Lavina Morgan lived in northeast Portland where Henry worked for the gas company as a machinist. The couple had three sons: Jack, Donald and Dale Morgan. On 22 July 1925 Lavina committed suicide. Shelley descendant Donna (Morgan) Herron voiced the opinion that Lavina suffered from postpartum depression, which is certainly possible since her third child was just seven months old. Postpartum depression is a form of clinical depression which may last up to a year following childbirth. In an era when suicides were reported in gory detail by the daily newspapers, the Portland papers reported that Lavina had "melancholy because of continued ill health" and had been hospitalized "for a nervous breakdown" shortly before taking her own life. She had been released by the hospital and was at home at 1325 Garfield Avenue and under the care of a private nurse when she killed herself.

Shortly before noon Lavina eluded her nurse and slipped into the bathroom, locked the door, climbed into the bathtub, and slit her left wrist twice with a razor blade. When it was discovered she was missing, Henry Morgan went outside and broke the bathroom window, and hoisted his oldest son Jack through the window with instructions to unlock the bathroom door. The newspapers reported that Lavina was already dead by the time the family got to her. A coroner's inquiry was held, but the death certificate did not disclose anything beyond the fact that Lavina died by bleeding to death from her slit left wrist. Lavina was buried in Portland's Rose City Cemetery.

Anna (Shelley) Hunt was notified of the suicide attempt and traveled by streetcar from her home in Lents across Portland to Lavina's home but, of course, there was nothing she could do. Whether or

not postpartum depression was contributory to Lavina's state of mind, there was another reason for her depressed state. She had recently learned what many others in the family already knew but Lavina did not, namely that she was Anna's daughter and not the daughter of William and Sarah Jane Shelley. Lavina was 34 years old and married and had never been told that Anna was really her mother and not her older sister. Lavina learned this in a cruel way, overhearing some of her relatives talking about her on the phone.

Before World War II, nearly all home telephones were on "party lines," where you shared a line with anywhere from two to twenty other households. Different ringing cadences were used by the phone company to alert subscribers if an incoming call was for them. It was common phone etiquette to hold your conversations to about five minutes so others might make a call. And of course anyone on the party line could pick up their receiver and listen in to your conversation, and party line eavesdropping was a national sport. It was not until the early 1970s that private lines became nearly universal.

Lavina was eavesdropping on a call one day when two of her Morgan relatives spoke of Lavina being a "bastard child" of the person Lavina always thought was her older sister. Several family descendants told virtually the same story. Silvy Hunt said that "Lavina had learned that Anna was her illegitimate mother over the telephone (on a party line) while she was listening in on someone else's conversation." Helen Myers stated "Regarding Lavina, Aunt Annie told the story during World War II; Lavina had picked up the phone to use it and two of her Morgan relatives were talking about her on the phone. They called her a bastard; it was soon after that she slit her wrists." Donna (Morgan) Herron stated in an interview that it was Louise "Lou" Morgan, the wife of Henry Morgan's brother William, whom Lavina overheard on the phone.

Two years later, on 11 August 1927, Henry Morgan remarried to Blanche L. Berney, who was born 7 November 1901 in Bluelight, Washington, which is in the middle of nowhere in eastern Washington. Blanche graduated from the School of Nursing at the University of Oregon. Henry Morgan started several businesses. Most of his family were farmers, so he started a trucking business with his brother Hector. That worked out okay until one day they had a bad accident, and without any insurance, they went out of business. Henry and Blanche Morgan went on to own the Physicians and Hospital Supply Company in Portland. The business was located at 10th and Taylor in downtown Portland. The company grew and Henry did well financially. Henry ran the business for about twenty years before selling it. The company is no longer in business. Donna Herron remembers that her father Henry "loved fishing, especially salmon fishing. He could do anything and fix anything. He was a loving kind person." The Morgans and the Shelleys remained very close; Henry Morgan was especially close to Fred Shelley.

Henry Morgan died 21 April 1976 in Portland and Blanche on 4 December 1990. Henry's three sons by Lavina all became quite accomplished. Jack went to Linfield College for two years before working with his father at the Physicians and Hospital Supply Company, where he was a salesperson. Jack ended up moving to Boise and starting his own surgical supply company there called Intermountain Surgical, also no longer in business. Jack died 16 September 1997 in Boise. Don Morgan went to Oregon State University, worked for Westinghouse back east, but left to move to Boise and join his brother in the surgical supply business. Don then decided to go to Stanford and get his doctorate, and moved to Palo Alto. He taught at the university level, eventually becoming the head of the Industrial Engineering department at Cal Poly. Don died 29 May 2007 in San Luis Obispo, California. Delbert "Dale" Morgan was a decorated Army veteran in World War II, serving in the 188th Airborne Division, participating in the invasion of the Philippines and the occupation of Japan. He went to Willamette University after the war and was a salesperson for a number of different companies,



Top, Lavina Shelley and her husband Henry Morgan and their oldest son Jack. Bottom, two of their children, Don and Jack Morgan. Lavina was the daughter of Anna Shelley by a man never identified, but was raised as part of the family of William and Sarah Jane Shelley. Not long after accidentally learning the truth about this, she slit her left wrist in the bathtub and bled to death.

especially medical sales. Dale also sang baritone in various quartets and was a member of the international award-winning barbershop chorus *Masters of Harmony*. Dale died 25 February 2007 in Pleasanton, California. Henry Morgan's daughter by his second wife Blanche, Donna Morgan, went to Wheaton College near Chicago, and later went to law school and graduated when she was 60. Her husband, Orley R. Herron, served as a university president for many years, first for Greenville College and then National-Louis University for twenty years. As of this writing, they are both retired and live in Lake Forest, Illinois near Chicago.

Oddly enough, even after Lavina committed suicide, the family did not disclose that she had been the daughter of Anna and not Anna's parents. It was not until the 1940s, during World War II, that Anna told her own family about her teenage pregnancy and giving birth to Lavina.

George Warren Hunt

George Warren Hunt was born 14 June 1863 at Thorntown in Boone County, Indiana. He was the fifth of seven children born to his Quaker parents, Nathan T. Hunt and Mary M. Morris. George was born at the height of the American Civil War; the Battle of Chancellorsville, the Siege of Vicksburg and the Battle of Gettysburg all took place within six weeks of his birth. Though the nation was focused primarily on the Civil War which raged around them, a number of other important events occurred in 1863. Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation abolishing slavery, the fire extinguisher was patented, Arizona and Idaho became United States territories, West Virginia was admitted as the 35th state, Thanksgiving was proclaimed a national holiday, and Lincoln delivered the Gettysburg Address. The newspaper publisher William Randolph Hearst and automobile tycoon Henry Ford were both born within weeks of George W. Hunt.

George W. Hunt was raised in Thorntown, Indiana. In 1870 the town had a population of 1526, not greatly different from the current population. George was raised as a Quaker and, as a child, attended Friend's meetings at the Sugar Plain meeting house a mile west of Thorntown. He was just eight years old when his father died while deeply involved in the messy bankruptcy of George's grandfather and the loss of the family hardware business at Thorntown.

Shortly before he turned ten, George moved with his widowed mother and siblings to Parke County, Indiana, where George's mother had been born and raised, and where she had extended family. At the time, his mother was embroiled in a financial dispute with another Quaker, Joseph Hill, who had partnered with George's father and grandfather in the hardware business. Because George's mother refused to submit the dispute to arbitration as encouraged by her fellow Quakers, Mary Hunt was disowned just after the Hunt family moved to Parke County. While living there, near the village of Bloomingdale, George continued in the solemn ways of the Quaker church, attending Bloomingdale meeting with his mother.

In 1875 Mary M. Hunt remarried to Millican Mills, a widower nearly fifteen years her senior from neighboring Vermilion Monthly Meeting in Illinois. George was twelve when this occurred. At the time of the 1880 census, George was living with his mother and stepfather in Parke County, Indiana. His older brothers were gone from home by this time and only 17 year old George and his ten year old sister Idella remained in the household. Though his stepfather was listed as a farmer, George Hunt was listed as a "day laborer." Since the census taker noted a neighbor's stepson "works on farm," a notation not used for George, the implication is that George worked elsewhere and did not assist his stepfather with the farm chores.

George soon left home. In 1881, his stepfather, mother and sister moved to Kansas; George did not accompany them in that move. Whether he stayed behind in Parke County, Indiana or moved to Iowa about this time is not clear, but by the late-1880s George had moved to Des Moines, Iowa, where two of his older brothers were living. When he moved, George also left the Quaker religion behind as well. After they left home, none of the sons of Nathan and Mary Hunt pursued the Quaker religion. Only their daughter, Idella, followed the Quaker religion, and she too eventually abandoned it.

The first record of George W. Hunt in Des Moines is the 1889-1890 city directory, in which George is shown living with his brother Charles F. Hunt. Both men were listed as firemen for the Des Moines Electric Railway Company. In this case, a "fireman" didn't put out fires, he kept them going. The electric railway in Des Moines was among the first in the country, opened in 1888. It required electrical wires along the routes the electric trolley cars followed, and a steam power plant to provide



The earliest known photograph of George Warren Hunt, who does not look like a happy camper. This old tintype portrait was dated on the back "1-12-1866," meaning it was likely taken at Thorntown, Indiana where George was born. Early photographers who used the tintype process often travelled to different towns following fairs or carnivals, and the photo may have been taken at that time. George was about 2½ years old in the photo.

the electricity for the motors. The power plant was on the east side of the Des Moines River and the duties of the firemen were to keep the fire going in the steam boilers and add water to the boiler as needed. Most of the men in the power plant earned 15 cents an hour and worked ten-hour days. The electric railway continued to be used in Des Moines until 1950, when it was abandoned in favor of buses.

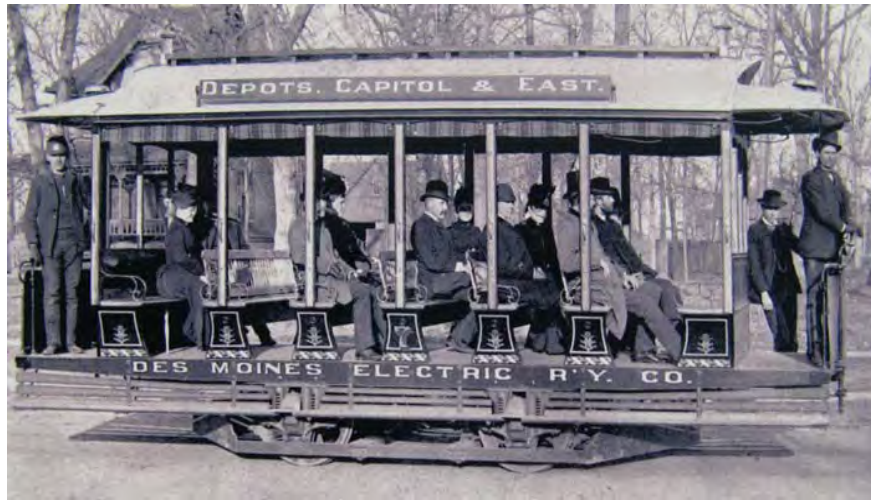
On 26 July 1889, George W. Hunt married Edith Gertrude Lambert in Des Moines before a Justice of the Peace. A notice appeared in the *Des Moines Leader* newspaper on 27 July 1889 announcing the two had been granted a marriage license and married the previous day. What is more interesting (and potentially risqué) is that the address provided by the newspaper for George was “320 Grand avenue” and Edith’s was “of the same place.”

When they married, Edith had just turned 19, while George was 26 years old. Edith was born 17 July 1870 near Montezuma in Poweshiek County, Iowa, the daughter of George Henry Lambert and Martha Augusta Rose. Both of Edith’s parents were born in New York but both came west to Illinois with their families before the Civil War. Edith’s father was the son of an English immigrant from Hadlow, England, and enlisted as a private in the Union Army on 19 September 1861 and trained with the 9th Illinois Cavalry regiment. This unit was organized at Camp Douglas, near Chicago and mustered into service by 30 November 1861. Because of a “disability,” Edith’s father was discharged 18 December 1861. Separate regiment records indicate George H. Lambert was “rejected.” This occurred before the unit entered into combat since the regiment did not leave Chicago until the following February.

Edith’s parents later divorced. At the time of the 1880 census, Martha Lambert, a 33-year-old divorcée with two young children, was living with a 48-year-old widower with two children of his own in the small town of Tama, Iowa, about 60 miles northeast of Des Moines. It is a good assumption that Martha was the subject of considerable gossip among the ladies of Tama. Both of Edith’s parents later remarried. Her father eventually moved to California and died in Oakland on 16 May 1918. Edith’s mother remarried on 22 Dec 1888 to Thomas Wallace in Des Moines, seven months before Edith married George Hunt. Wallace either died or the couple later divorced. Martha became a Mormon and eventually moved to Salt Lake City, where she died 6 December 1916. She is buried in the Salt Lake City Cemetery under the name “Martha A. Lambert.” Edith was the fourth of five children; she had an older brother, Alden Aldrich Lambert, who went to prison for about ten years for molesting a female. Because of this, he was shunned by the family and had no further contact with them later in life.

Four children were born to George and Edith Hunt in Des Moines, though one died in infancy. The terribly incomplete birth records for Polk County, Iowa (where Des Moines is located) list the births for only two of the four children, and only provides the name of one of them. The two record entries, seven years apart, do indicate the two children were child number one and four born to George and Edith Hunt. Confirmation of this comes from the 1900 census, the only census which asked women how many children they had given birth to and how many of those children were still alive. The information Edith provided the census taker in 1900 indicates she was the mother of four children, of whom three survived.

Appearance in the Des Moines city directories is sporadic for all the Hunt brothers, and George W. Hunt appears in the directories only for the years 1891, 1896, 1897 and 1898. He was usually listed as a carpenter by profession, as he was when he and Edith married in 1889. It was an occupation he would pursue the rest of his life. After the birth of their fourth child, George and Edith’s marriage began to go south. In the 1898 city directory, Edith G. Hunt was listed as living at 1533 Lyon Street,



Early Des Moines, Iowa where George W. Hunt went as a young man. He was there by about 1889, when he lived with his brother Charles F. Hunt, both working as firemen for the Des Moines Electric Railway Company in their power plant. He married in Des Moines and began working as a carpenter, an occupation he would pursue the rest of his life. George lived in Des Moines about ten years.

while George was listed as rooming in the Hotel Lakota. George was working as a “room tender” in a billiard hall. That would be the last year either appeared in the Des Moines city directory.

A major bone of contention between George Hunt and his wife Edith was her conversion to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (i.e., the LDS or Mormon church). LDS church records indicate that Edith Hunt was baptized as LDS on 16 May 1898. Edith’s mother and brother also converted to Mormonism, and all three would remain with that faith for the remainder of their lives. Having been raised in a strict Quaker environment, George W. Hunt evidently enjoyed his freedom from religious repression and was angry with his wife for her LDS conversion. This issue would remain a major problem for the couple and would ultimately result in their divorce.

In late 1898 or very early 1899, George and Edith Hunt, evidently enjoying a temporary cease-fire in their matrimonial hostilities, moved to Portland, Oregon. The decision for that move was likely based on the fact that George’s mother, sister and brother-in-law had relocated there two years prior. George’s brother, Charles F. Hunt, either accompanied George and his family in the move from Des Moines to Portland, or came separately about the same time. The time of this move also corresponded closely with the death of George and Charles’ older brother Thomas, who died at the age of 45 in June of 1899. Charles and Thomas had evidently been close since they partnered in an express business in Des Moines. Perhaps with Thomas’ death, Charles decided to move to Portland where all the other members of the family were except the brother William N. Hunt, who would join the rest of the family there within two years.

Once in Portland, George W. Hunt began to show up in the city directories for that city. There were two other men listed in the directories named George Hunt; one was mining engineer and the other, George Washington Hunt, a wealthy railroad magnate. For the most part, it is easy to distinguish between the three since our ancestor was always listed as a carpenter. George W. Hunt, as well as his brother Charles F. Hunt, first appear in the 1899-1900 Portland city directory. George and his family lived in the Kenilworth neighborhood of east Portland.

Kenilworth was, and remains today, a neighborhood in southeast Portland, lying between SE 26th Ave. on the west and SE Foster Rd. on the east, and between SE Powell Blvd. on the north and SE Holgate Blvd. on the south. The Kenilworth neighborhood was platted in 1889 and was named after Sir Walter Scott’s 1821 novel *Kenilworth*, a romantic novel set in Elizabethan England. Many of the streets in the neighborhood took their names from this novel and other novels by Scott.

The relationship between George and Edith was not going well. The following article appeared in the 10 January 1899 edition of the *Oregonian*, the Portland daily newspaper:

DIDN'T LIKE MORMONISM.

Why G. W. Hunt Rebuked His Wife and Mother

G. W. Hunt, a recent arrival from Des Moines, Ia., was up before Judge Hennessy charged with assault on his wife, Edith Hunt, and her mother, Martha Wallace. The hearing resulted in his acquittal. Hunt's wife and mother-in-law are both Mormon converts of about a year's standing, and have been in the habit of holding revival meetings in Hunt's house, contrary to his repeated protestations. Hunt came home Saturday evening, and, finding a lot of Mormon literature in the house, proceeded thoroughly to examine the same. After becoming disgusted with the teachings of polygamy he decided to burn the obnoxious pamphlets. Sunday morning, while he was trying to do so, both women endeavored to prevent it. On the stand they contradicted themselves several times and decided their case by testifying that they did not practice or believe in polygamy, but they



Early photograph of George Warren Hunt, probably taken when he still lived in Des Moines, Iowa in the 1890s.

believed and executed God Almighty's commands, and he commanded the Mormons to practice polygamy. Deputy District Attorney Paddock maintained that polygamy was not practiced in the Mormon church, and said he would prove his assertions by a Mormon elder present, who, on investigation, proved to be Attorney Horace G. Lake. After a lengthy argument as to what constituted Mormonism (Mr. Paddock proving himself quite a champion of the faith), Hunt was acquitted of the charge against him.

Over a hundred years ago, newspaper reporters made it a practice to hang out in the courts, where they found all kinds of juicy stuff to write about, whether it was a lawsuit, probate issues or divorce proceedings. The more personal, the better, and the more the readers enjoyed it. So it should be no surprise that just over a year later, on 14 January 1900, the *Oregonian* printed this as part of its court coverage:

Edith G. Hunt seeks to obtain a divorce from George W. Hunt because of cruel treatment. There are three children as the issue of the union, of whom she demands the legal custody. Mrs. Hunt avers that the defendant has been guilty of outrageous and contemptible conduct, applying to her the most infamous and opprobrious epithets, and cursing and swearing at her and her mother and the children. She states also in her complaint that her husband has frequently struck her and worked himself into such paroxysms of rage that she has feared for her life. The parties were married in Iowa in 1889. Mrs. Hunt filed an affidavit to the effect that the defendant has threatened to take the children from her if she applied for a divorce, and the court issued a restraining order, enjoining him from in any manner interfering with her or the children, or going about the premises occupied by the plaintiff.

Reporters in 1900, like those today, were not clever enough to come up with phrases like “opprobrious epithets” or “paroxysms of rage.” That verbiage was lifted from the complaint filed by the attorney for Edith Hunt on 13 January 1900 accusing her husband of being the usual sub-human dog in the treatment of his “faithful, true and obedient” wife. The Multnomah County court records make reference to the prerequisite “cruel and inhuman treatment” of the wife, noting that this pattern of abuse began “a short time after their marriage” and made the wife’s life “insufferable, unbearable and burdensome.” George was accused of “outrageous and contemptible conduct” and called Edith such “vile names that they are unfit for publication.” It was also stated that George “frequently struck the plaintiff, kicked her and thrown her about” and used “vulgar and obscene language in the presence” of Edith, her mother and the children.

George, as required for sub-human dogs, denied everything. Based on Edith allegations, the court ordered George to “refrain from annoying or having any control over the defendant or the children.” Edith’s attorney filed an affidavit with the court in which Edith claimed George was “a strong, robust, able-bodied man, a carpenter and joiner by trade, and that he has been employed during the past year a good part of the time at the wages of \$2.25 per day.” Despite the wages, Edith claimed George had “contributed for my apparel \$1.00 for a hat, \$2.25 for one pair of shoes, and that no other or further amounts has he at any time expended upon me and for me by way of wearing apparel and money for my personal use.” Edith further claimed that George had contributed only ten dollars for the support of three children, had paid no rent for the past year, and had “bought but a few dollars of provisions for the support of the family.” Edith claimed the family was supported by her and her mother by doing “manual labor.”

George also filed an affidavit through his attorney, admitting he was paid \$2.25 a day when he worked but that “there is but little steady work to be procured during the winter months” (it was January when

this was happening). He went on to deny everything Edith had stated in her affidavit, claiming that he had contributed much more for the support of her and the children than she claimed, that he had furnished a “suitable and proper house to live in” and that Edith had provided nothing for the rent. George further claimed that his wife and mother-in-law had not worked as Edith had claimed.

Because the court was left with a typical “he said, she said” standoff, a hearing was held on 15 March 1900 in Multnomah County Circuit Court. Edith testified, as did her mother and two other women as witnesses, all impugning the integrity of George Hunt, who did not appear in court. Ten typewritten pages of testimony provide an interesting, albeit one-sided, perspective into the couple’s problems.

Edith testified about the incident a year before when George “went to burn up some magazines that belonged to mama.” Of course, the pieces of Mormon literature weren’t exactly “magazines,” but Edith testified that when George tried to put the “magazines” in the stove, she put the literature on her trunk and sat on them, but that George “jerked me by the arm and bruised me and cursed me.” According to Edith, her mother “heard the noise and came down and she started to the stove to get them out ... and he jerked mama and almost threw her on the floor, but she went back against the wall.” Edith also testified about George being abusive towards their children. She told the court about a time when George wanted one of his boys to go to the store to get him some tobacco. The boy had been ill and was being kept out of school, and the boy protested, saying “I am sick and I don’t feel like going.” According to Edith, George called the boy a “God damn little bastard son of a bitch” and forced him to go anyway.

Martha Wallace, Edith’s mother, testified that George had “always ill treated and abused” Edith and “never provided for her as a husband should.” She told the court of an incident which occurred back in Des Moines when George hollered to one of his sons playing out in the yard to “come into the house you little son of a bitch or I will beat the hell out of you.” She also told of another incident which occurred in Portland when Edith was “correcting the baby, a little tot of two years, and Mr. Hunt came up behind her and kicked her and she fell onto the floor, and he swore at her and called her bad names, a bitch and a slut and one thing and another that way.”

Two neighbor ladies also testified against George. Ada McMonnies lived across the street from the Hunt family and testified that she had heard George call Edith “abusive names and swear at the children on different occasions.” Ada also testified that George “never bought a stick of wood, and all she had was what she picked up with the exception of quite a little that I took over.” One day Edith “undertook to get dinner by picking up some and when he came home, the fire was out and the dinner was cold and he came in and called her very vulgar names.” When asked by the attorney what George had called Edith, Ada testified that he “called her a God Damned lazy whore, and said all she cared to do was to sit around.”

Mrs. McMonnies also told the court about George’s neglect of his children, claiming the family was “almost destitute during the time we were living out there.” She recalled one day when George had “gone over to Portland” by streetcar “early in the morning” and Edith came to McMonnies “about six or seven o’clock with the baby, and it was crying because it was hungry and she wanted to know if I would give it some bread and milk, the child hadn’t had anything to eat all day.” The child mentioned was Edith’s two year old daughter Alice. McMonnies went on to describe that on several occasions Edith had “come over with all the children saying they were hungry, and many times I have been in the house and there was nothing at all to eat.”

A second witness, Mrs. E. M. Levery, who lived in the house next to the Hunts in the Kenilworth area of east Portland, testified that she had “heard him at one time abusing her for paying a debt that he honestly owed; at another time I heard him cursing and swearing, that was at the time he kicked her that she spoke of. I didn’t see him kick her, but heard him cursing and swearing.” Levery testified that George “was very abusive, cursing and abusing and not providing” for his family. Levery recalled “I went over at one time and the little baby was complaining and crying and I couldn’t understand it and finally I went into the pantry to get something to eat. There was not a thing in the pantry and I have known that to be the case many times, or no wood to cook it with.”

The witness was asked by Edith’s attorney if George provided anything of any consequence for the family’s support. Levery answered “No sir, not a thing.” The attorney asked the witness “That was provided by whom?” Levery answered “By Mrs. Hunt and her mother. I have taken care of the children time after time when she went out to wash and work for people.” When asked if she had heard George call the children abusive names, the witness testified “I heard him call the little boy one morning. He was washing to go to school, and he was not as quick as he thought he should be, and he called him a ‘little son of a bitch.’”

The hearing was held before Circuit Court Judge John B. Cleland, and on the day of the hearing, 15 March 1900, Cleland granted the divorce to Edith Hunt, as well as custody of the couple’s three children. George was granted weekly visitation rights of the children “as long as he conducts himself towards the plaintiff and the said minor children in a decent and orderly manner.” The children were identified in the court documents as Herbert G. Hunt, Frank C. Hunt and Alice V. Hunt.

Less than three months later, on 8 June 1900, the census taker for the 1900 census recorded “G. W. Hunt” as living in the household of George’s brother-in-law, Henry B. Powell, George’s sister Idella and his mother Mary M. Mills in the Mt. Tabor area of east Portland. The census taker noted George was divorced and that he was a carpenter who had been unemployed for five months. For years, Edith and the children could not be located in the 1900 census. She was eventually identified as the “Edith Wallace” living in Hood River with her mother Martha Wallace and Edith’s three children, Herbert, Frank and Alice, all listed by the census taker with the surname Wallace.

Before continuing with an account of George’s second family, we should finish the tale of his first wife Edith and George’s children by her.

Edith G. Lambert

Details are sketchy about where the former Edith G. Lambert was some of the time after her divorce from George Hunt. As mentioned, she and her three children left Portland soon after her March 1900 divorce from George Hunt, since they were living with Edith’s mother in Hood River in June of the same year when the census was taken. With her conversion to the Mormon religion, Edith soon gravitated to the mother ship of that religion, Salt Lake City. A listing for “Edith G. Hunt (wid George)” appears in the 1901 Salt Lake City city directory. It was not uncommon during this period of history for divorced women to be listed as “widows.” This label almost certainly originated with Edith herself, who likely wanted to avoid the stigma of being a divorcee.

Edith was listed as living at 2 Aikens Court in Salt Lake City, while her brother and mother were living at 309 E. 1st South. The latter residence, apparently a boarding house, was also home to an individual named Monico C. Chavez, so we can assume Edith met him while visiting her mother and brother. On 9 December 1901, Edith married Monico Chavez in the Mormon Temple in Salt Lake

City. The ceremony was conducted by a bishop of the Mormon Church, and the two witnesses who signed the marriage license were Edith's mother Martha A. Wallace and her brother Clarence C. Lambert.

Almost nothing is known about Monico Chavez. He is probably the person of that name who was listed in the 1900 census living in Guadalupe County, New Mexico near the town of La Junta, and who was a sheep herder. The likelihood of that link is heightened by the fact that this person was the same age as Edith, single and the only person named "Monico Chavez" in the entire United States according to census indexes. Edith Hunt and Monico Chavez were evidently both recent converts to the Mormon church and had both recently arrived in Salt Lake City.

Nothing else is known about Monico Chavez. It does not appear that Edith and Monico were together for very long and they had no children together. No trace has been found of Monico Chavez in later census records. No listing for Edith has been located in the 1910 census. Her mother, Martha Wallace, was living in the small town of Carbondale, Colorado in 1910, with Edith's daughter Alice Hunt, age 10 (she was actually 12). Edith and her sons were not listed as living in the same town, and their whereabouts at that time are unknown. Edith's mother died on 6 December 1916 in Salt Lake City and was buried in the Salt Lake City Cemetery under the name Martha A. Lambert. Edith's brother, Clarence Lambert, who along with their mother was also a Mormon convert, died in Salt Lake City on 24 December 1936.

When Edith's daughter Alice married in 1913, Alice was listed as a resident of Woodinville, Washington, near Seattle. Since Alice was not yet 16 when she married, presumably her mother lived there as well. Edith signed the marriage certificate as "Mrs. Edith Hunt." On 19 January 1916, "Edith Gertrude Hunt" married for a third time to Otto Fredrick Joens in Seattle, Washington. Otto was a naturalized citizen who had come to this country from Germany, where he was born 9 February 1882. The couple soon moved to the Spokane area, where they were farming near Mead, Washington at the time Otto was required to register for the draft in 1917-1918 after World War I had begun. At the time of the 1920 census, "Edith Joens" was living with her married daughter Alice and her husband in the city of Spokane. The census taker noted Edith was married, though an entry for Otto Joens does not appear in that census. The census information was taken in January of that year, and a death record indicates Otto Joens died 29 April 1920 in Spokane, Washington, just a few months after the census was taken.

About 1921, Edith married for a fourth and final time to Fred Henry Osborne, who was born 15 December 1881 in Allegan, Michigan. The place and exact date of their marriage is not known, but it was evidently not in the state of Washington. As with all of her husbands other than George Hunt, Fred was younger than Edith. Edith remained married to Fred Osborne and lived in Spokane, Washington for the rest of her life. For many years they lived in a little house at 1716 W. College Avenue in Spokane, where they were living when registration for the "Old Man's Draft" was held during World War II. After Pearl Harbor, a series of draft registrations were conducted, the fourth in April 1942 for men who were between 45 and 64 years old, thus the nickname. Due to privacy laws, this is the only registration currently available to the public, and it provides a great deal of information about the men who registered, including their full name, address, physical characteristics, and date and place of birth. It was indicated Fred Osborne had a "double scar and broken thumbs."

Denny Jones, Edith's great-grandson, remembered that Edith liked classic and western comic books, "things like the Count of Monte Cristo, Robin Hood, Red Ryder, etc." He also recalled the house on College Avenue and that Edith had a small kerosene stove on legs that she burned in the winter to help



Four photographs of Edith G. Lambert, the first wife of George W. Hunt. The photo at the top left was possibly taken when she was married to George. The couple divorced in 1900. The bottom two photos were taken as Edith was walking down the street in Spokane in the 1940s.



Edith G. Lambert married four times. After George W. Hunt, there were a couple of brief marriages until Edith married Fred H. Osborne about 1921. They remained married until Edith's death in 1954. They lived in Spokane, Washington. Edith remained a member of the Mormon church the rest of her life, an issue that caused her divorce from George W. Hunt.

stay warm. Edith died 3 September 1954 in the Spokane Sanitarium, a 101-bed nursing home in Spokane. Today it is the North Central Care Center. She died from bronchial pneumonia after suffering a stroke and Edith was buried at Fairmont Memorial Park cemetery in Spokane. Edith's husband Fred Osborne died 24 December 1969 and was buried in Greenwood Memorial Terrace in Spokane.

Children of George Hunt and Edith Lambert

George W. Hunt and Edith G. Lambert, following their marriage in Des Moines, Iowa, had four children, though one of them evidently died at childbirth or very soon after. The only evidence we have of the fourth child is the very incomplete birth records for Polk County, Iowa (of which Des Moines is the county seat) which recorded the births of two of the four children, listing them as the first and fourth children born to George and Edith Hunt. The children (all born in Des Moines, Iowa) were:

- i. **Herbert George Hunt** Born 21 Sep 1890, Herbert came to Portland with his parents when he was about eight years old. Because his parents soon divorced there, Herbert accompanied his mother and grandmother to Hood River a little over a year later. As with his brother and sister, Herbert was raised in the LDS (Mormon) religion and pursued that religion as an adult. His whereabouts during his teenage years remain unknown. Despite the fact he does not appear in the 1910 census, from LDS records for Bancroft, Idaho we know he was there about that time. Brigham Young himself organized the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association (MIA), intending to "help young men develop their gifts, to stand up and speak, and to bear testimony" and Herbert was a member of that organization. A book titled *Book of Remembrance of Bancroft Ward and Village of Bancroft* even has a picture of Herbert, who served as an officer in the MIA group in 1925. The brainwashing of Mormon males increases at age 12, when they can become members of the *Deacon's Quorum*, a group which is supposed to watch over the Church's younger members. LDS records for the Bancroft ward indicate Herbert Hunt served as secretary of the ward's Deacon's Quorum as early as 4 Jan 1909, a position he held for several years. In 1917, the draft registration for World War I listed Herbert as living in Bancroft, Idaho, where he was clerk for "Fisher & Allen" in Bancroft. The latter reference was to a hardware store, since the 1920 census indicated Herbert was a hardware store clerk. The Bancroft LDS book lists Herbert as a World War I veteran. Herbert was married at the time of the draft registration, having wed Martha Alvira Simons on 4 Jun 1917 in Pocatello, Idaho. Martha was the daughter of Joseph Simons and Sarah Elizabeth Fluiett, who were LDS from Utah who had migrated north into Idaho and settled near the tiny town of Chesterfield. About 1925, Herbert G. Hunt moved his family to Spokane, Washington, where his mother was living. According to Herbert's daughter-in-law Ruth (Kniefel) Hunt, there was a story about a family feud over

a chair when Herbert and his family moved away from Bancroft, and Herbert allegedly “had little contact with the rest of his family in his later years.” Herbert was listed on his World War II draft registration card as working for the Spokane Casket Company. He was listed as being 5' 3½" tall and weighing 145 pounds. According to Ruth, Herbert worked as a maintenance man for a building in Spokane for many years. Herbert's wife Martha died 28 Mar 1960 and Herbert on 9 Mar 1967, both in Spokane. The couple only had one child, Herbert Frank Hunt, born 28 Apr 1918 in Bancroft, Idaho, and who always went by “Frank.” Frank served in the Navy in World War II and settled in Seattle after the war. Frank married twice, first to someone named Margaret, last name unknown, and second to Ruth J. Kniefel on 16 Mar 1955 in Seattle. Frank was a toolmaker who worked first for Western Gear Corporation, which manufactured the BARC (Barge, Amphibious Re-Supply Craft) for the U.S. Army. A BARC was a large four-wheeled, two-propellered cross between a truck and a landing craft and weighed 90 tons. Frank later worked for Boeing for 27 years. Frank Hunt died 1 Mar 1978 in Seattle and was buried in Washington Memorial Park in Seattle. He and Ruth had three children: Jim, Janet and Jeff Hunt.

ii. **(unknown) Hunt**

The second child, sex unknown, was likely born about 1892-1893, but died either at birth or soon after.

iii. **Frank C. Hunt**

Born 25 Mar 1894, Frank's middle name remains unknown to us. He was not listed in the Des Moines birth registers, though he almost certainly was born there. “Frank C. Hunt” was listed as a 5-year-old child during his parents' divorce proceedings in Portland and as “Frank C. Wallace” in the 1900 census when he was enumerated as a member of his grandmother's household in Hood River, Oregon. The 1900 census, which listed each person's month and year of birth, noted that Frank was born in March 1894. Frank's full date of birth came from his draft registration for World War I, on which it was recorded he was born in Des Moines, Iowa. After the United States entered World War I in April 1917, it was quickly realized that a draft was essential to raise the large numbers of troops needed, since voluntary enlistment had not produced the needed number of men. Establishment of a draft was controversial, but President Wilson characterized it as necessary to make “shirkers” play their part in the war. About 24 million men born between 1873 and 1900 (an estimated 98 percent of adult men in America) completed draft registration cards. Three different registration days were held, the first on 5 Jun 1917. On registration day, businesses and schools closed down in most communities and bars closed most everywhere. Registration started at seven in the morning and lasted until late at night. In most cities, noisy devices like boat horns, whistles and church bells were used to announce the start of the registration; in Jackson, Mississippi,

cannons at the old state capitol building were to have been fired, but they couldn't find any gunpowder. In most places, volunteer staff at the local draft office filled in the information on the card, and the registrant then signed his name. A photo taken in New York City shows an all-female staff at a long table interviewing seated registrants. Many of these women were teachers from the city schools, which had closed for the day. Exceptions were made for men hospitalized and unable to go to the draft office. In those cases, a deputized registrar made a tour of the hospital registering men unable to leave the hospital, or those in the hospital could appoint someone to obtain the registration card prior to registration day. This was the case for Frank Hunt. At the time of the registration, Frank was listed as having a home address on Juneau Street in Seattle, but it was noted that he was in the County Hospital at the time the information for the registration was taken. It was also noted on his draft registration card that Frank Hunt claimed an exemption from the draft because of "gallstones," presumably the reason he was in the hospital. Frank signed the card with an "X" mark, likely because he was near death rather than illiterate. Like nearly all cards from the first registration, the date on his draft card was "June 5, 1917." However we can be relatively certain the information was collected prior to registration day because the death records for the state of Washington note that Frank Hunt died the day before, on 4 Jun 1917. He was 23.

iv. Alice Vera Hunt

Born 28 Jul 1897, Alice was only two years old when her parents divorced. She is the only one in the family who has been located at the time of the 1910 census; Alice was staying with her grandmother, Martha Wallace, in Carbondale, Colorado. According to Alice's grandson, Denny Jones, Alice only went to school through the fifth grade. By 1913, 15-year-old Alice was living in Woodinville, Washington near Seattle when she married, though she claimed she was sixteen on the marriage certificate. On 28 Jun 1913 in Seattle in an LDS ceremony, Alice married 18-year-old Orland Clarence Parker (who claimed he was 19). The marriage evidently occurred with the blessing of Alice's mother since a witness who signed the marriage certificate was "Mrs. Edith Hunt." Orland Parker was born 3 Nov 1894 in Springdale, Arkansas, the son of Theodore Parker and Theresa "Jennie" Plater. On the marriage certificate, Orland listed his occupation as a chiropodist, which is like a podiatrist, i.e., a foot doctor. A chiropodist is a specialist who treats minor ailments of the foot, often involving routine procedures such as the cutting of ingrown toenails and the removal of corns and calluses. At the time of the 1917 draft registration, Orland Parker lived at 4246 Juneau Street in Seattle and was listed as a self-employed chiropodist in Seattle. This was the same address given by Frank Hunt in the draft



By his first wife, Edith G. Lambert, George W. Hunt had four children, though only three survived. The oldest, Herbert George Hunt, is on the right in the first photo; he lived in Spokane and died there in 1967. The other son, Frank C. Hunt, died at age 23 in Seattle from gallstones. George's daughter, Alice Vera Hunt, was 12 years old when her photo was taken.



Alice V. Hunt was only two years old when her parents, George and Edith Hunt, divorced in early 1900. In 1913 Alice married when she was 15 years old to 18-year-old Orland C. Parker, right. The marriage took place in Seattle in an LDS ceremony attended by her mother. Parker was a chiropodist, a type of foot doctor. The couple divorced when Alice was about 30, and she never remarried. Alice lived in Spokane most of her life and died there in 1985.

registration, so it appears Frank was living with his sister and her husband in 1917. Alice always spoke of her brother Frank and was very upset by his death. About 1918-1919, Orland and Alice Parker moved to Spokane with their two young daughters. They were still together in 1927, but soon divorced. On 6 Sep 1929, when he was 35, Orland Parker married 19-year-old Mona Jackson. Mona died on 29 Jan 1933 when she was just 22. Though divorced when she was about 30, Alice Parker never remarried. Orland Parker died in Spokane on 1 Mar 1969. Alice V. (Hunt) Parker died in Spokane on 4 May 1985 at the age of 87. Alice and Orland had two daughters, Naomi Alice Parker, born 24 Aug 1914, and Dorothy O. Parker, born 19 Jul 1917. Both daughters are now deceased.

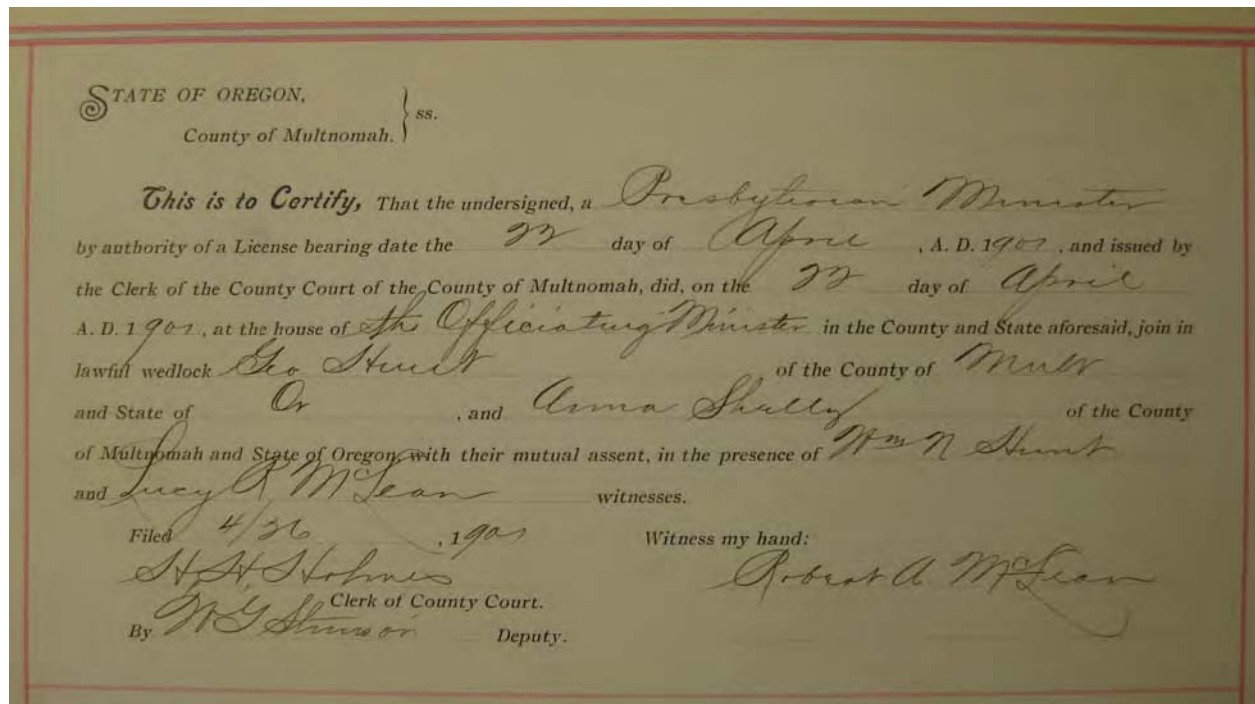
George W. Hunt's Second Family

Following his divorce from his wife Edith, George Warren Hunt remained in Portland, Oregon, and lived there the rest of his life except for times he found work out of the city. As mentioned previously, George was living with his sister and brother-in-law in the Mt. Tabor area of Portland at the time of the 1900 census. In an interesting irony, living just two doors away was Clyde Van Blaricom and his family. Clyde's daughter would eventually marry George's son, resulting in the compiler responsible for all the tommyrot you're reading.

Sometime in 1900, George made an excursion to the beaches of the Oregon coast (the reason we know it was in 1900 will be made evident in a moment). Despite the fact that Portland is only about 60 miles east of the Pacific Ocean, because of mountainous terrain getting there is not real easy even today, let alone in 1900. As described previously, train excursions from Portland to the Oregon beaches began in May 1898 when the Astoria & Columbia River Railway was completed. Following the Northern Pacific rail line north from Portland, the train crossed the Columbia at Kalama and followed the Columbia River to Astoria, then south to Seaside, where the rail line terminated. Seaside quickly became a popular tourist attraction for people in Portland since the 118-mile train trip only took about four hours one way and cost a mere 25¢, the equivalent of about six or seven dollars today.

It was at Seaside that George W. Hunt met Anna Shelley, who was there with the family who owned R. M. Wade & Company, for whom she worked as a domestic. George and Anna's daughter Silvy recalled her mother's story about Anna working for a family that sold "tractors" and that Anna "accompanied that family to Seaside, where she met George Hunt." Silvy remembered hearing her mother tell that she had planned to marry the first man who asked her. That man was George Warren Hunt, divorced, out of work much of the time, and ten years older than Anna. But he was the first man to ask Anna to marry him, so he got the job.

George W. Hunt and Anna Shelley married in Portland, Oregon on 22 April 1901. They were married by a Presbyterian minister named Robert A. McLean. The minister's wife Lucy served as one of the required witnesses, while the second was George's brother William N. Hunt. George had been divorced only thirteen months when he married Anna. Usually we would have little idea how long George and Anna had known one another before they married. Had it been only several weeks, several months, or nearly a year? But in George and Anna's case, there is a clue. Three and a half months after they married, Anna gave birth to the couple's first child. Thus we may assume that George and Anna were intimately acquainted with one another from at least early November 1900.



George Warren Hunt and Anna Shelley married on 22 April 1901 in Portland. It was evidently a very small ceremony since George's brother Will signed as one of the witnesses, and since Anna apparently didn't have anyone from her side of the family there, the minister's wife signed as the second witness. George and Anna had met at the beach in Seaside, Oregon. There was starting to be some urgency for the marriage since Anna was about five and a half months pregnant when they married.

Therefore, it is likely the couple met at the beach at Seaside, Oregon during the summer of 1900.

Having babies would become a full-time activity in the Hunt household. Between having a head start with the first child, quickly having a second, and then having twins, Anna and George would become the parents of four children in a span of just over two years and eight months following their wedding. We are probably safe in assuming the household was utter chaos.

Early city directories for the city of Portland give us an idea where the family lived (though the very earliest directories often only indicated a neighborhood). In the 1900-1901 directory, before he remarried, George Hunt was listed as living in "Center Addition" (boarding in the home of his brother-in-law Henry Powell in the Mt. Tabor area in east Portland). In the 1901-1902 directory (possibly before he married), George was living at "545 Washington" in downtown Portland. The city directories began to be identified by just a single year beginning in 1902, and in that directory, George lived at "421 E. Pine," which today would be 601 SE Pine, a location where all the old buildings are gone and is now a parking lot. In 1903, the family lived in the Sunnyside neighborhood, today an area of east Portland between Stark and Hawthorne streets east of E. 30th Avenue. By 1904, the family of six was living at "346 E. 37th," which today would be 1814 SE 37th Avenue. The small house on 37th Avenue is still there, though historic building records indicate it was remodeled in 1911 after a fire. Birth records for the city of Portland also indicate this was the family's address at the time the twins Alden and Elden were born in 1904.

All the city directory entries for George Hunt, from his first appearance in them in 1899 until his death, indicate he was a carpenter. The year 1905 was the one exception to that. In the 1905 directory, still residing at "346 E. 37th," was the entry "Hunt George W (Hunt & Black)." Elsewhere in the same directory was the entry "Hunt & Black (George W Hunt, Frank Black), restaurant 388 26th N." The entry "Hunt & Black" was also listed in the business listings (the early equivalent of the Yellow Pages) under restaurants.

Evidently George Hunt and a partner named Frank Black decided to start a restaurant. The address was in what today is known as northwest Portland, on NW 26th Avenue between Thurman and Upshur streets. The original building is gone, and today the building on the site is Cine Rent West, a production studio (and since the building now faces Upshur, the address is 2580 NW Upshur Street). The restaurant was short lived. The following year, the 1906 directory listed George Hunt as a carpenter again, and he would continue to be listed that way for the remainder of his life.

Until about 1912, the family lived at various locations on the east side of Portland, and after that, in North Portland. The family exhibited a pattern of moving around a lot; on only two occasions was the family listed at the same address in two consecutive annual directories. The reason was possibly because George moved to where the work was. In that respect, as an often out-of-work carpenter who would move to an area where houses were being built, George was essentially an itinerant laborer.

Support for that hypothesis comes from the fact that two editions of the Portland city directories, in 1909 and 1914, omitted a listing for George Hunt. By itself, that proves nothing, since city directories often missed families known to have always lived in the city. But the 1910 census, taken in May of that year, listed George and Anna Hunt, by this time with five children, living on a rented farm in the south part of Hood River, Oregon. George's occupation was a carpenter, and the census taker noted he worked as a self-employed contractor. Based on that, we can probably assume he was building houses in the area. George Hunt left few other records, and never owned a home or property.

George and Anna's youngest child, daughter Silvy, lived to be 93, outliving all of her siblings by 23 years. Though she was young when her father died, Silvy remembered him and the stories her mother and brothers and sisters told of George Hunt. The George Hunt described by Silvy bears little resemblance to the same man who married Edith Lambert and went through the nasty divorce described previously. Silvy remembered her father as a "happy-go-lucky man." Daughter Doris used to tell of playfully holding her father's nose while he was eating, which George would play along with and seemed to enjoy. Perhaps the most significant departure from the image painted of her husband by George's first wife was Silvy's memory that she never heard her parents argue. But she did say "Anna had a hard time because there was never enough money."

Silvy remembered her father was musical and played the guitar. Silvy recalled that George was "a general laborer and a carpenter, but didn't work very steady. He also worked with another man cutting people's firewood." She also thought he belonged to the W.O.W. (Woodworkers of the World), a group similar to the Masons and Oddfellows. Silvy also remembered hearing that her father occasionally helped his brother Charles with his circus dog act. George Hunt would stand out front and act as a barker, yelling "come on, see the show."

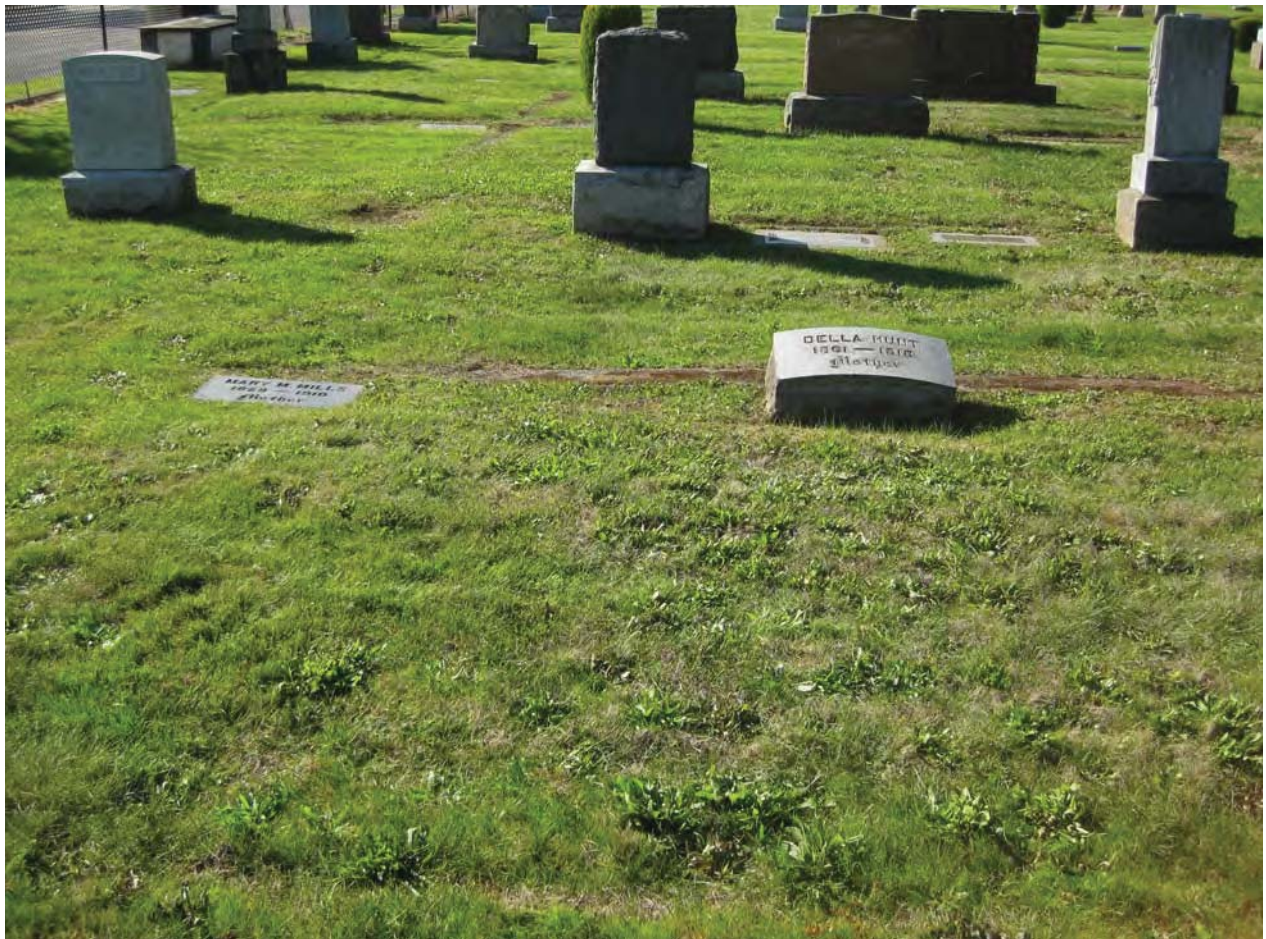
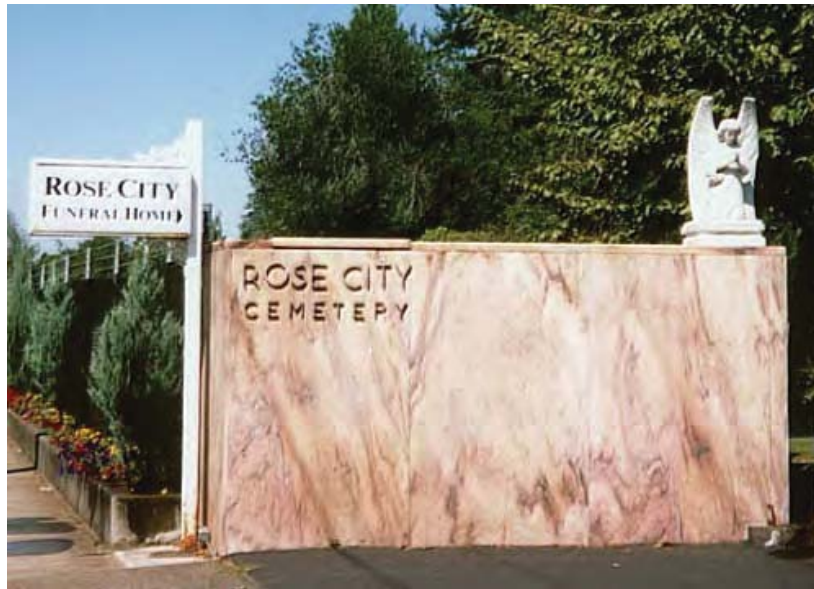
George W. Hunt died on 30 March 1917 in the Multnomah County Hospital, which was torn down in 1923 and replaced by a building that is now part of the Oregon Health Sciences University (OHSU). The County Hospital provided medical care to the county's indigent. Silvy remembered that her father died from "Bright's disease." As usual Silvy's memory was very accurate. His death certificate indicates George Hunt died from chronic interstitial nephritis, a fatal kidney disease commonly called Bright's disease at the time. Though not common, President Chester A. Arthur, Emily Dickinson, Gregor Mendel, Rowland Macy (founder of Macy's department store), and Richard W. Sears (founder of Sears, Roebuck) all died of Bright's disease.

Named for an English physician who first described the disease in 1827, Bright's disease is a chronic disease of the kidneys, which usually ended in kidney failure. The symptoms are usually severe: back pain, phantom testicular pain in males, elevated blood pressure, vomiting and fever. An accumulation of fluid in body tissue varies from a slight puffiness of the face to an accumulation of fluid sufficient to distend the whole body. Sometimes severely restricted breathing is common. Today interstitial nephritis can generally be treated successfully and only rarely causes permanent kidney damage resulting in kidney failure.

George Hunt's death certificate indicated he had suffered from Bright's disease for seven years, and that he was in the hospital for 30 days before he died. Silvy recalled that when her father died, Anna came home from the hospital and told the children their father had died. Silvy was told that "Papa had asked about 'his little sweetheart,' a reference to Silvy. George Hunt, who died at the age of 53, was buried in Rose City Cemetery in Portland on 2 April 1917. His grave has no marker.

When George Hunt died he did not leave a will, nor was there any probate for his estate. The reason was simple; other than a few personal items such as his tools, George's estate was not worth enough for the process to occur. The family had always been poor, but with George's death, the family was left nearly destitute. Anna was left a widow at the age of 43, with six children to care for, ranging in age from fifteen down to five years old.

With the death of their father and the only breadwinner in the family, the older children all quit school. The twins, Alden and Elden, had just turned 13 and were in the seventh grade. Along with their older brother and sister, Howard and Thelma, the pair found jobs. At first, Anna worked menial jobs, often



George Warren Hunt became very sick in 1917 and was in the hospital for a month before he died of a fatal kidney disease then called Bright's disease, quite treatable today. He left a 43-year-old widow, six children and no money. He was buried in Rose City Cemetery in Portland next to his mother. In the lower photo, you can see his mother's grave marker at the left and his sister-in-law Della's marker at the right. George's grave, between the two, has no gravestone.

doing “housework in the homes of wealthy families” for 25 cents per hour according to daughter Silvy. Doris took care of Silvy during the day while Anna did this. Anna later got a job in a restaurant. Elden got a job with a butcher and Silvy could still remember over 80 years later what a treat it was when one day Elden brought home a pound of hamburger for the family. Alden worked as a clerk for Roberts Brothers and Howard got a job as a streetcar conductor.

Anna Hunt contracted smallpox while she worked in the restaurant and brought it home to the rest of the family. The health officials quarantined the family for about six weeks. When Anna broke out in red welts, she said this was the “meanness coming out of me.” A woman who lived across the street called the welfare office and arranged for them to leave five quarts of milk every morning for the destitute family. According to Silvy, the whole family contracted smallpox.

The family was quarantined a second time when Silvy was about six, this time with diphtheria. Again the entire family was quarantined, with the exception of Howard. Doris was the only one who got the disease, and Silvy remembered that she woke up in the middle of the night and saw her mother swabbing Doris’ throat. Silvy also remembered that Elden contracted the flu during the horrible 1918 influenza pandemic. Elden was the only member of the family who caught the flu; Silvy recalled that Elden complained that his knees ached as a result of the flu.

At the time he died, George Hunt’s family lived at 1402 Rodney Street in Portland, a house that is still there today though the address today is 6636 N.E. Rodney Avenue. Anna and the children continued to live in the house for several years following George’s death, appearing at that address in the 1918 and 1920 Portland city directories (there was no directory for 1919). In 1921 and 1922, the family was living at 1423 Lenore Street (the original houses on this block are all gone, most being rebuilt in the 1950s). This address was only a half mile from the Rodney Avenue address.

In 1923-1924, the family moved a fair distance to what was then a very rural southeast Portland. Perhaps more significant, they began living in a home which they owned, something quite new to the family. Anna Hunt purchased a parcel of land on contract from the Western Oregon Trust Company for a down payment of \$10 in 1923 and her sons proceeded to build a house on the property. The original address of the property was 10404 56th Ave. SE (using Portland’s old address system), which later became 10404 SE Ellis Street, and today is 5604 SE 104th Ave. According to Silvy, Alden was working for Roberts Brothers in Portland and received a “\$200 bonus for Christmas” and the family used the money to buy the lot and build the house.

The story is partially confirmed by the 1923 Portland city directory, which indicates the family was living at the southeast Portland address, and that Alden Hunt was a “wrapper” for “Roberts Bros.” Roberts Brothers operated a store at the corner of 3rd and Morrison in downtown Portland for 74 years. At the time Alden worked there, its business was primarily dry goods, though the store later sold home furnishings. Described in the *Portland Oregonian* in 1960 when the store closed as a “bargain center for the thrifty, green stamp-saving housewives of the city,” the company was described as “an astutely managed” company.

Silvy was rarely wrong with her facts, and she may not have been in this case either, but the sum of \$200 in 1923 would be the equivalent of about \$2,500 today. That’s a rather generous Christmas bonus to give to a low-level employee who was not quite 20 years old, but it is certainly possible that the company’s employees each received what was then the equivalent of two month’s salary as a bonus.

It would seem that being the sons of a carpenter, the Hunt boys had learned something about building houses while growing up, and had likely assisted their father on many a non-school day. The eldest, Howard, probably worked with his father regularly since he did not attend school beyond elementary school. Silvy stated “Howard and the other boys built a house on the lot. Howard built a chimney that was crooked, so he talked to a man who told him how to build it right.” Silvy remembered that Howard got up on the roof of the house and pushed the chimney over with his legs and then rebuilt it properly. County property records validate Silvy’s story and indicate the original structure was built in 1923. The house exists today, but it has been extensively modified.

By this time, most of Anna’s children were old enough to marry and move away from home. Two of Anna’s children married in 1921 and three of them in 1926. By the latter year, only the youngest daughter Silvy was left at home. Even worse, by 1926, Anna’s daughters Lavina and Thelma had died (though at the time none of Anna’s other children knew Lavina was Anna’s daughter).

Anna Hunt stayed in her home at 5604 SE 104th Ave (modern address) until about 1928-1929, when she sold or traded the house for a “lunchroom on Holgate at about 18th or 19th near the rail tracks,” according to Silvy. Silvy remembered that she and her mother lived in the back of the lunchroom made of cement blocks, while Anna also rented the garage of the lunchroom to a roomer. The 1929 Portland city directory verifies this, indicating that Anna Hunt operated a business known as “Mothers Lunch Room” at 944 E 18th, living at the same location. The following year, in the 1930 city directory, the restaurant was listed with the address of 666 Holgate though it was the same building (it was located on the corner of 18th and Holgate). Building records indicate the building was relatively new at the time, having been built in 1925. The building is still there today, though the modern address is 1806 SE Holgate Blvd.

Silvy recalled that Anna soon traded or sold the lunchroom on Holgate for another on Grand Avenue in Portland. Again the old city directories verify Silvy’s uncanny memory. The 1931 directory indicates “Mrs. Anna Hunt” operated a restaurant at 46 Grand Avenue and lived nearby at 474 E. Oak. The modern address is 316 S.E. Grand Avenue and the building houses a restaurant to this day. The establishment has changed names many times, having been Jimmy’s Café in the 1960s, Father’s Inn in the 1970s, etc. Today the building houses the Nicholas Restaurant, which specializes in Lebanese food.

Later, Anna Hunt, according to Silvy, “traded or sold the restaurant on Grand Ave. for the Semaphore on Holgate. Anna still ran the Semaphore after 1930 but was out of the restaurant business by ‘no later than 1935’”. Once again, Silvy’s recall was nearly perfect (though it appears the restaurant was not called the Semaphore until after Anna sold it). The city directory for 1932 and 1933 showed that Anna operated the Crossways Café at 643 Holgate (old style address), while the 1934 directory indicates the Crossways Café was located at 1639 SE Holgate Blvd. (Beginning in 1931, Portland began renumbering its streets, changing to standardized street naming patterns, and changing house numbers from 20 per block to 100 per block.) The Crossways Café was later renamed the Semaphore Restaurant (the name Silvy recalled) and still operates as the Semaphore Restaurant and Lounge at the same location on the corner of 17th and Holgate to this day.

Anna Hunt lived in Portland the rest of her life, first in rentals for several years, and then after 1940, in a little house at 6132 N.E. 35th Avenue. She was still living there when Anna died on 1 September 1957 at age 84, though she spent some time at the end in a care facility due to ill health. Anna was buried four days later in Lincoln Memorial Cemetery in southeast Portland.



About 1927-1928, Anna Hunt and her one remaining child at home, daughter Silvy, moved to the building in the upper photo, on Holgate Blvd. in Portland. Anna operated a restaurant called “Mothers Lunch Room” from this location while she and Silvy lived in the back. The garage you can see in the photo was rented to a boarder. By 1931 Anna had closed this business and started a restaurant on Grand Avenue next to the present-day Andy and Bax military surplus store (lower). That location serves as a restaurant to this day.



For several years about 1932-1934, Anna Hunt operated the Crossways Café at 643 Holgate (old style address; today 1639 SE Holgate) in Portland. This was about the time the house numbering system changed in Portland and the top photo shows both numbers. The building, extensively modified, is still the popular Semaphore Restaurant to this day (bottom).



Top, a photo of Anna Hunt taken in August 1942, when she was 69 years old. For the latter years of her life, Anna lived in the little house (bottom) at 6132 N.E. 35th Avenue in Portland, a home she still owned when she died in 1957 at age 84.

Besides her daughter Lavina, whom Anna had by an unknown doctor when she was 17 and still living at Katrine in Canada, she had another six children following her marriage to George W. Hunt:

- | | | |
|--------|----------------------------|----------------|
| i. | Howard Morris Hunt | b. 6 Aug 1901 |
| ii. | Thelma Lillian Hunt | b. 27 Oct 1902 |
| + iii. | Alden George Hunt | b. 3 Jan 1904 |
| iv. | Elden Harrison Hunt | b. 3 Jan 1904 |
| v. | Doris May Hunt | b. 12 Feb 1907 |
| vi. | Silvy Grace Hunt | b. 9 Jul 1911 |

A brief account of each of George and Anna Hunt's children will be given in the next chapter.



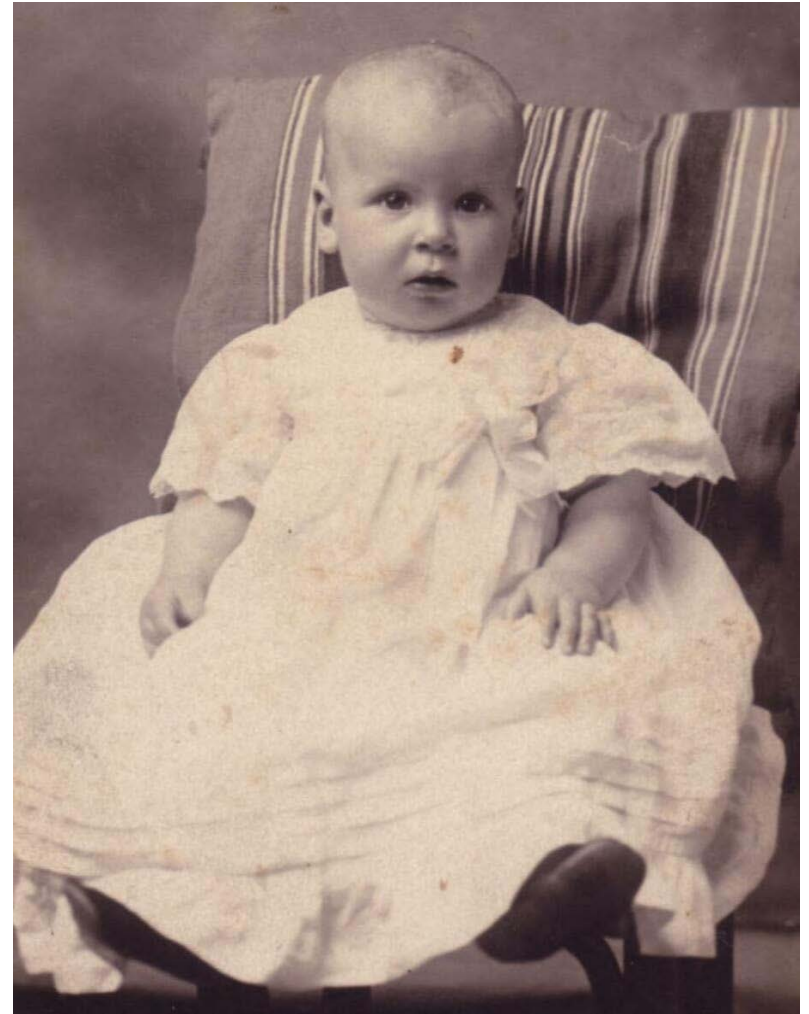
A family photo of George W. Hunt and his family, probably taken about 1906. George and Anna are in the back, complete with family dog. The children, from left to right, are Thelma, Elden, Alden and Howard. Though Alden and Elden were twins, they didn't look much alike. There are two secrets in telling them apart in early photos. Elden had a broader face than Alden, and Alden's left ear was an "elf ear," with a little point at the top, which he had his whole life.



The children of George and Anna Hunt, probably taken about 1906-1907. In the back, Howard and Thelma, and seated, Elden on the left and Alden on the right. Even into the early 20th century it was the custom for all young children to wear dresses, primarily because of the lack of toilet training and the fact that dresses were easier to make and better allowed for growth of the child. “Breeching” was the occasion when a small boy was first allowed to wear breeches (pants) and was considered an important rite of passage in the life of a boy.



A slightly later family photo of George and Anna Hunt and their children, probably taken about 1909. George is holding the youngest, Doris. The other kids, left to right, are Howard, Alden, Elden and Thelma.



Anna Hunt and, left to right, Doris, Howard, Thelma, Alden (standing) and Elden (sitting). Right, an early photo of Silvy, the sixth and last child, born in 1911.

The Children of George and Anna Hunt

It is believed all six of the children of George Warren Hunt, by his second wife, the former Anna Shelley, were born in Portland, Oregon, though we know the family briefly lived in other parts of the state during the time George and Anna were married. Anna was “with child” when she and George married, since Howard was born just three and a half months after their marriage.

Howard Morris Hunt

Howard was born 6 August 1901, the same year as Clark Gable, Linus Pauling, Gary Cooper, Nelson Eddy, Rudy Vallee, Louis Armstrong, Ed Sullivan and Walt Disney. Howard was given the middle name of *Morris*, his paternal grandmother’s maiden name. For some reason, Howard was convinced his middle name should have been pronounced like the French name *Maurice*, and pronounced it that way himself, a source of amusement to other family members. Evidently Howard’s belief in the pronunciation of his middle name started as a young man since the 1924 Portland city directory listed Howard as “H. Maurice Hunt.” It is a possibility he never even knew his grandmother’s maiden name was Morris.

Howard was only 15 when his father died. But by this time, he was no longer in school and was probably working by helping his father build houses. It was very common in the early 1900s for children to go to work following graduation from elementary school. An article in the June 1922 edition of the *Journal of the National Education Association* showed high school attendance was only 3.3% in 1900, 5.1% in 1910 and 10.2% in 1920. Even these bleak statistics were skewed towards children of higher income families. Nearly all children of poorer families attended elementary school to learn the “three R’s” and then went to work.

Howard had some skills as a carpenter, almost certainly learned from his father, since he and his younger twin brothers built a house for their mother about 1923. Evidently masonry was not one of Howard’s stronger skills since his sister Silvy told the story of the chimney that Howard built being crooked and Howard going up on the roof and pushing the “chimney over with his legs” and rebuilding it properly.

On 17 October 1921, when he was 20, Howard married Mayme Etta McClain in Vancouver, Washington. Mayme was born 17 September 1905 in Northport, Stevens County, Washington, and thus had just turned 16 when the couple married. Howard’s sister Silvy said that “he got Mayme pregnant and they had to get married.” This assertion is evidently accurate since their first child, daughter May, was born about seven and a half months after the couple’s marriage.

Silvy’s assessment of Howard was that he was “ornery and gruff.” The compiler’s personal memories of Howard verify that he could be as Silvy remembered, but Howard also had a good sense of humor as well and was quick to laugh at things he found funny. Silvy remarked that Howard “got a job and got fired because he always talked about the Catholics, which he got from his grandfather William Shelley.” She also remembered that Howard “got a job as a conductor on the streetcar” when Silvy was about 12-13 years old.

Portland city directory entries show that Howard had a number of different jobs before World War II, including messenger, ship worker, metal worker, carman and driver. The job of “carman” was the one recalled by Silvy. Howard worked for Portland Electric Power Company (PEPCO), which later changed its name to Pacific Northwest Public Service Company. Portland Electric Power was later

reorganized as Portland General Electric (PGE) and its electric trolley subsidiary became known as the Portland Traction Company (today Tri-Met). As in the 1930s, today Tri-Met operates an unprofitable mass transit system.

Howard's streetcar job landed him on the front page of the *Portland Oregonian*. The 20 July 1929 edition of the newspaper carried the following headline and article:

CARMAN ROUTES ROBBER

Howard Hunt Hits Man Who Flees Into Brush at End of Line

Howard Hunt, motorman-conductor of a Broadway street car, was accosted by a robber early today at the end of the carline at East Twenty-ninth and Mason streets. He hit the man in the face. The robber, about 30 years old, fled into the brush. Police later received a report of another attempt to hold up a street car at the same point at 1 o'clock, but had learned no details.

The man who tried to rob Howard got punched in the face for his efforts; we can likely assume he would have agreed with Silvy that Howard was "ornery and gruff."

Howard Hunt evidently later had a night job, and as a result he again found himself on the front page of the *Portland Oregonian*. Two years later, the 9 June 1931 edition of the newspaper carried the following story:

ROBBER GETS \$6000 FROM OIL COMPANY

GILMORE PLANT WATCHMAN BOUND AND GAGGED

Sledge Hammer Used to Batter Safe

Cash and indorsed (sic) checks said to amount to more than \$6000 were taken early yesterday from the battered safe of the Gilmore Oil company, Columbia boulevard near Kenton, by a masked robber who bound and gagged Howard M. Hunt, 1872 Courtney street, night watchman at the plant, and then worked for more than an hour to gain entrance to the safe. The loot represented the entire receipts for Saturday and Sunday, according to C. H. Pruner, 1238 Reed College Place, company manager. Hunt told officers who investigated that about 1:30 A.M., while he was working on one of the company trucks, the burglar covered him with a gun and forced him into the manager's office, where he was bound and gagged. Keys taken from Hunt's pocket allowed access to every door of the plant and soon Hunt heard the sounds of an attack on the safe. Securely bound, Hunt was discovered about 6 A.M. when William Durig, 704 East Fifty-second street North, driver for the Gilmore company, arrived and investigated. Advised to climb in the window by Hunt, who had managed to remove the gag, Durig did so and released the watchman. According to a report of Deputy Sheriff's Heitkemper and Love, a heavy sledge hammer had been used to demolish the vault to obtain its contents. A description of the robber, who apparently worked alone, was to the effect that he was about 5 feet 8 inches tall, weighed about 190 pounds, and carried a nickel-plated gun. Description of a coupe with orange trim, which had been seen near the scene of the robbery and which may have been manned by a confederate, also was turned over to the sheriff's office.

The Gilmore Oil Company was a large oil and gasoline distributor on the west coast, and who operated cream and red service stations with a large sign depicting a lion on top the building. The company was noted for its ingenious marketing, including Gilmore comic books, "Gilmore Cub" newspapers with interesting and unusual facts, the latest racing news, candy suckers in the shape of a lion and other promotional items. Gilmore later sold out to what today is Mobil Oil. The Courtney Street address for Howard and Mayme from city directories confirm the individual in the newspaper

account was Howard Morris Hunt.

There is no indication that the man who robbed Gilmore Oil was ever caught, since nothing appeared in the newspaper about the robber being apprehended. The following article in the *Oregonian* did appear about six weeks later, in the 21 July 1931 edition of the paper:

Burglars Frightened Away

Two fence-climbing burglars failed in their intentions early yesterday when they were shooed away by George Martin, night watchman for the Gilmore Oil company, Columbia boulevard and Hurst street. Martin saw the men climbing up the fence, shouted at them, and the intruders fled down some nearby railroad tracks. Police when summoned could not find the men.

We may assume from this that Howard Hunt was no longer the night watchman for Gilmore Oil Company. He might have still been employed by the company, since he was listed in city directories from 1932 to 1936 as being a “driver,” though an employer was not listed.

By 1938, Howard was listed as being a welder, again without an employer listed, and during World War II, worked for Willamette Iron & Steel in the shipyards, probably in the same capacity. For much of the remainder of his working life, Howard worked as a sheet metal worker. He worked for a number of years for the Ray F. Becker Company, which became one of the nation’s leading fabricators of gas station canopies. The company was later purchased by an international aluminum conglomerate, but two employees bought the gas station operation and continue to this day as Becker Canopies in Gladstone, Oregon.

Howard and Mayme lived in a lot of different locations around Portland, but by at least 1952 had purchased a home at 2019 SE 117th Avenue, where Howard would live the rest of his life. Late in life, Mayme had an aneurism, which the doctors said “blew up her brain.” She lived another ten years, but was in a care facility and didn’t know anyone. Mayme died in the Tigard nursing home where she had been placed.

According to his daughter Shirley, Howard always said that nobody was going to have to take care of him when he got older. It was something he was real firm about. After Mayme was placed in the care facility, Howard had to fend for himself, something he was not particularly good at. He didn’t cook, so Howard went out for dinner to a restaurant every evening. In November 1981, he caught a bad cold and Howard couldn’t leave the house and he had nothing to eat. His daughter Laurice had been looking in on him, and offered to have him stay at her house until his cold was better, but Howard refused. Evidently depressed about the situation, Howard shot himself while at home sitting in his recliner. All of his children were very upset over this because, despite being 80, he was in good health.

Howard died on 9 November 1981, while Mayme lived in a vegetative state until 3 February 1989. Both were buried in the cemetery at Sunset Hills Memorial Park in west Portland. Howard and Mayme Hunt had the following children:

i. **May Etta Hunt**

Born 7 Jun 1922 in Tygh Valley, Oregon, May, named for her mother, married Ralph Morrow, who had been in the Marine Corps in World War II. He and May were married in Portland. Ralph worked as a school janitor for the Klamath Falls school system for many years, while May worked as a cook for the Klamath Falls school system, cooking at several different schools. They had two boys, Dennis and Thomas Morrow.



Howard Morris Hunt, the oldest of the children of George and Anna Hunt, born 1901. Bottom, Howard and his family, the photo taken about 1936. Howard's wife Mayme is at the right, then May, Laurice, Howard Milton, with Howard holding daughter Shirley. Another daughter, Sharon, would be born about five years later.

- May died 25 Jul 1991 and Ralph on 30 Mar 1999, both in Klamath Falls.
- ii. **Laurice Myrtle Hunt** Born 12 Feb 1924, Laurice married Dean Leslie Ostrander on 15 Jan 1944 in Vancouver, Washington. However, Laurice and Dean Ostrander were divorced after a short time. On 24 Jan 1950, Laurice married Ron Flanagan, and they lived in Portland, where Ron worked in production for the Albers Milling Company for many years. Laurice worked for several companies, including as a data entry operator. They had four children: Larry, Phyllis, Wayne and Carol Ann (who died on 29 Oct 1972 when she was six). Laurice died in Portland on 5 Apr 2000.
- iii. **Howard Milton Hunt** Born 30 Dec 1927, Howard Jr. married Nellie H. Luchs in Vancouver, Washington on 11 Jan 1946. On 22 Jul 1954, Howard was indicted for assault with intent to commit rape, the indictment alleging that Howard had assaulted 17-year-old Neva Osborne on 12 Jul 1954. According to the *Oregonian* newspaper, he was “charged with attempting to drag the young woman into brush along a residential street. His defense was that he stumbled as he walked past the girl and that they both fell into a brushy ditch.” Howard Jr.’s sister Shirley said Howard “lost his hat in the wind and was chasing it down an alley, where this girl was.” A trial was held in October 1954 and it “took less than a half hour” for Howard Jr. to be found not guilty. Howard owned Hunt’s Sanitary Service and had a garbage route for more than 30 years. He and his wife Nellie had a son Robert and a daughter Mary. Howard Milton Hunt died of cancer on 24 May 2006 in Portland.
- iv. **Shirley Ann Hunt** Born 16 Jul 1935, Shirley was the primary source for information on this side of the family. Shirley was born in the woods, where her father was working at the time on a logging job. The nearest town was DeSmet, Idaho, so that’s where the birth was recorded. On 21 Aug 1953, Shirley married Robert S. Caples in Vancouver, Washington, but the marriage ended in divorce after 8½ years. On 31 May 1963, Shirley remarried to Robert J. Beagle in Winnemucca, Nevada. Robert worked construction for years, operating heavy equipment. Shirley worked as a data entry operator for a few years and also worked for Sequent Computers before they were bought by IBM. Shirley had two children by her first husband and three more by Robert Beagle.
- v. **Sharon Kay Hunt** Born 4 Aug 1941, Sharon married Harlon Alfred Smith on 8 Jul 1963 in Clackamas County, Oregon. Harlon was a welder most of his life. Sharon worked a few jobs early in her marriage, but mostly stayed at home, raising a family of two boys and a girl. Harlon died 28 Jul 2010. Sharon continues to live in Newberg, Oregon.

Thelma Lillian Hunt

Thelma was born 27 October 1902 in Portland, Oregon, the second child of George W. Hunt and Anna Shelley. She was born less than 15 months after her older brother Howard. The compiler of this work met all of the children of George and Anna (his aunts and uncles), with the exception of Thelma. In fact, it would not be an understatement to say that learning of Thelma's existence came as quite a shock, since no mention of her was ever made in the compiler's family. This was not because Thelma was a bad person or was disliked, but simply because she died many years ago.

Thelma, though only 14 when her father died, soon went to work along with other members of the family. The 1920 city directory indicated Thelma was a "dispenser" for the Perkins Hotel Pharmacy at 293 Washington in downtown Portland. Silvy recalled that Thelma "had a birthday party the first year after her father died" (this would have likely been either 1917 or 1918). One of the individuals who attended the party was Russell Davis, who according to the city directory, lived nearby. Thelma and Russell soon began dating.

According to Silvy, Thelma had become engaged to Russell about 1919-1920 and for her 18th birthday "made up her mind to visit Russell over the objections of her mother." Russell was evidently working in Hood River, Oregon at the time. Thelma and Russell had a mutual friend by the name of Loverne Loughheed, who owned a motorcycle with a sidecar, and he agreed to take Thelma to Hood River. Thelma got to Hood River and attended the birthday party for her and was returning to Portland late at night when the motorcycle hit a truck. The newspaper coverage at the time tells the story:

Oregon Journal (evening edition - Thursday, 28 October 1920)

Thelma Hunt Hurt in Crash Between Cycle and Truck

Miss Thelma Hunt, 18 years old, Lenore street and Durham avenue, cash-girl at a department store, was thrown off a motorcycle which she was riding with Laverne Longheed near the Automobile club house on the Columbia river highway at 2:30 o'clock this morning. She was badly injured, according to reports from St. Vincents hospital, where she was taken by the Arrow ambulance. The motorcycle had hit a truck in the darkness. Longheed, who lives at 501 East Forty-sixth street north, was injured, but not seriously. The driver of the truck was Ray Hamilton of Marmot, Clackamas county. He was driving a new truck, No. 100034, with an empty trailer, and was traveling easterly on the highway without lights on his machine. Both truck and motorcycle went into the ditch. Hamilton will be arrested on a charge of violating the state motor vehicle law by driving his car without lights.

Portland Oregonian (morning edition - Friday, 29 October 1920)

GIRL CLERK BADLY HURT

Ray Hamilton, truck driver of Marmot, is in the county jail charged with driving without lights, and Thelma Hunt, a clerk in Roberts Bros. store, at a late hour last night was still unconscious at St. Vincent's hospital as the result of an early-morning collision on the Columbia highway. The accident occurred a third of a mile west of the Sandy river bridge, at the Automobile club, at 2 A.M., when Hamilton ran into a motorcycle ridden by the girl and Loverne Longheed of 511 East Forty-sixth street north. Miss Hunt was riding in a side car on the motorcycle, which was headed for Portland, and the machine was just rounding a curve when the crash came. Hamilton is alleged to have had no lights on his truck. The big machine crushed the smaller vehicle and the side car was so wrapped around the girl that she had to be pulled out. Longheed escaped with a few bruises. The couple were given first aid by a doctor at San Vista and an ambulance was called. It was found that the girl had been cut on one leg and her head was seriously injured. Deputy Sheriff Rexford visited the scene of the accident and, after an investigation, said he

believed the truck driver entirely responsible. Hamilton, he said, had come to town for a trailer and was taking it out to his work, east of Bull Run. Miss Hunt is 18 years of age and lives at Durham and Lenore streets.

Oregon Journal (evening edition - Friday, 29 October 1920)

Driver Whose Truck Smash Hurt Woman Is Released on Bail

Ray Hamilton of Marmot, driver of the truck which crashed into Laverne Longheed's motorcycle on the Columbia river highway early Thursday morning, inflicting serious injuries to Thelma Hunt, Lenore street and Durham avenue, was released from the county jail Thursday night on \$1000 bail. He is charged with driving without lights. Miss Hunt was reported still unconscious this morning at St. Vincents hospital. She was riding in a sidecar on the motorcycle when the accident occurred near the Automobile club house. Hamilton was arrested after an investigation conducted by Deputy Sheriff Rexford. Longheed, who lives at 511 East Forty-sixth street, was only slightly injured. Miss Hunt and her escort were returning from Hood River, where they had attended a little birthday party in her honor. They made the night trip after the party so the girl would be back in time to work next day at the department store where she is employed.

In all of recorded history, there has never been a single instance of a newspaper account that was completely accurate, and this case is no exception. The friend of Russell and Thelma was named *Loverne Lougheed*, who was about the same age as his two friends. Lougheed died in Santa Rosa, California in 1978. Silvy remembers being told that the truck was in the wrong lane. According to Silvy, the motorcycle sidecar ended up completely underneath the truck and wasn't discovered until the police were nearly ready to leave the accident scene. Silvy stated Thelma was unconscious for two weeks, and remained in the hospital for a long time. She eventually recovered though and was released. At the time of her release from the hospital, Anna Hunt and the rest of the children were quarantined with diphtheria, and Thelma could not return home. So Thelma stayed with the Lougheed family for the duration of the quarantine and eventually was able to return home. Loverne Lougheed later married Russell's sister, Clara Davis.

Thelma Hunt and Russell Charles Davis married in Anna Hunt's home on 12 January 1921, a few months after the accident. Russell and Thelma Davis appear in the Portland city directories for 1921 through 1923. The first two years, the couple lived a few doors away from Anna Hunt, with Russell listed as a painter. In 1923, after Anna and the younger children had moved to the house that Howard and his brothers built, Russell and Thelma moved to west Portland, where Russell worked as a welder.

Meanwhile, Thelma had become pregnant and stayed with her mother briefly while Russell worked a job in central Oregon (Silvy thought to pick apples). Thelma went to Tygh Valley, Oregon while she was still pregnant and Anna went there to stay with Thelma when she gave birth. Daughters Silvy and Doris stayed with Howard's mother-in-law while Anna was in Tygh Valley to assist Thelma. Thelma gave birth to a daughter, Jean Thelma Davis, on 5 April 1922.

But Thelma soon developed inflammatory rheumatism. Anna took care of her for awhile but as her condition worsened, Thelma was put into Mt. Scott General Hospital, a small facility that once stood at the site of the Fred Meyer store at 82nd and Foster in southeast Portland. Thelma died in the hospital on 18 August 1923. Her death certificate indicates she died of acute endocarditis, an inflammation of the lining membrane of the heart. The two afflictions are often connected. An estimated 60-85% of all cases of endocarditis result from acute inflammatory rheumatism, and according to the statistics of Bellevue Hospital in New York City, one third to one half of cases of inflammatory rheumatism are complicated by endocarditis. The small hospital where Thelma died closed not long after her

death. A classified ad in the *Oregonian* on 16 November 1924 offered the building “for rent, equipment for sale, cash or terms. Possession at once. Can be seen at any time.”

Thelma was buried two days after her death in Rose City Cemetery, where her father was interred. Russell moved to New York after Thelma’s death, where his older brother Frank Davis had settled and married after returning from World War I. Meanwhile, Anna Hunt raised her granddaughter Jean, and Silvy had a younger “sister” for a time. After several years, Russell Davis remarried in New York to Cecilia May Stewart on 7 April 1927. Russell contacted his younger brother, Sam Davis, who had remained in Portland, and asked him to bring Jean to New York. In a phone conversation with Sam’s widow, Connie Davis, in 1985, Connie told of Sam taking Jean to New York about 1927. Jean’s family in Oregon never saw her again.

Russell and his new wife went to South America on a job after Jean joined her father in New York and the whole family lived in Venezuela for a while (Silvy thought about six months to a year). Silvy also believed Russell flew airplanes while in South America. Russell and his wife returned to New York and Jean wrote to her grandmother that it was awfully cold there. Several years after joining her father in New York, Jean became ill with, of all things, inflammatory rheumatism. As with her mother, the disease took Jean’s life. Jean had just turned ten when she died. Although medical literature states the transmission of inflammatory rheumatism to offspring is not automatic, genetics will eventually predispose the child to have more risk. Such was obviously the case with Jean Davis.

Although it was known from letters written by Russell’s in-laws in New York that Jean had died, for years the details of her death were unknown. Anna Hunt received a letter from Russell’s sister-in-law Florence (who lived at Astoria, New York, on Long Island) postmarked 11 April 1932, telling of Jean being very sick and that there was “not much hope.” A second letter (unfortunately, with no date and no surviving envelope) later arrived saying that Jean had died of “rheumatism of the heart” on “Wednesday the 20th.” It was assumed, based on the date and day of the week mentioned in the letter, that Jean had died 20 April 1932.

The letters Anna Hunt received mentioned Jean had died in a “sanitarium upstate.” It was known from several records that the family of Russell Davis’ new wife lived in or near Saugerties, New York. A 1931 ship manifest record for Russell Davis returning from South America mentioned “Saugerties, New York” as his destination. Also a 1929 letter written by young Jean to her grandmother had a return address of “Cementon, N.Y.,” near Saugerties. The letter informing Anna Hunt of Jean’s death mentioned the “wife’s people” lived at Saugerties and stated Jean was buried in “West Point Cemetery,” though this was assumed to be an error and probably a reference to West Camp Cemetery, near Saugerties. It was also mentioned Jean was buried near Russell’s baby girl by his second wife, who died at birth.

Russell Davis had suffered a great deal of emotional pain. His first wife had died, and now his only child by his first wife had died as well. The 11 April 1932 letter to Anna Hunt also referred to the fact that “Russell’s wife’s father shot himself with a shotgun last week.” Whether this had anything to do with Jean’s illness is unknown. A request was made to the New York Dept. of Health for more information concerning the death of Jean Thelma Davis in 1932. Despite significant fees paid for the search, no such record was found despite what was described by them as a “diligent search.” No further information was known for several years.

Russell Davis, by his second wife Cecilia May Stewart, had a second family, several of whom are still alive. Russell and his new family ultimately returned to Oregon. He died 6 February 1973 in Auburn,



Two photos, top, of Thelma Lillian Hunt, the second child of George and Anna Hunt. Lower left, her husband, Russell Davis, and lower right, her daughter, Jean Thelma Davis. When she turned 18, Thelma was severely injured when the motorcycle sidecar she was riding in collided with a truck. She later recovered, but after marrying Russell and having a child, she died as a result of inflammatory rheumatism. The daughter Jean was raised for a time by Anna Hunt, until she went to live with Russell and his new wife in New York. Jean also died from the effects of inflammatory rheumatism shortly after she turned 10 years old.

Washington at age 72.

Thelma Hunt and Russell Davis had the following child:

- i. **Jean Thelma Davis** Born 5 April 1922, Jean was raised by Anna Hunt for several years following the death of Thelma. After she rejoined her father in New York when she was about five, Jean lived for a time in Venezuela in South America with her father and stepmother while Russell Davis worked there for an oil company. Several years after striking out with the New York state health department, it was learned that vital records are also recorded at the “town” level in that state. As a result, an independent researcher was asked to look into the matter and a record was discovered in the Saugerties town death register. The problem with the search of state records was immediately obvious: the death was recorded under the name “Gene Davis.” Finally, the details became known. Jean Davis died in Beers Sanitarium on 20 April 1932. The cause of death was “valvular heart disease” (endocarditis), with a contributory cause being “inflammatory rheumatism,” a virtual replica of Thelma’s death. The death record indicated Jean was buried in West Camp Cemetery on 23 April 1932.

Elden Harrison Hunt

With the addition of the fraternal twins Alden George Hunt and Elden Harrison Hunt, born 3 January 1904, there were now four children in the Hunt family despite George and Anna having been married less than three years. According to their sister Silvy, Alden was the older of the two by ten minutes. An account of Alden will be given in the next chapter.

At the time the twins were born, it was common to give children middle names based on a grandmother’s maiden name. Elden’s older brother Howard received the middle name of *Morris*, the maiden name of his father’s mother. So it should be no surprise that Elden’s middle name was *Harrison*, the maiden name of his maternal grandmother. Though Alden and Elden were twins, they didn’t look much alike, and Elden was several inches taller than his twin. And as is the case with some sets of twins, they weren’t particularly close as adults. Of the six children of George and Anna Hunt, Elden was arguably the “black sheep” of the family. Though he drank too much at times, never had any money, never owned any property, had trouble staying in a relationship, and was a bit of a loner, Elden was soft-spoken and a favorite with his younger sisters. Elden was the tallest member of the Hunt family and had brown wavy hair.

Like the other kids in the family, in order to help support the family, Elden went to work after his father died. Silvy remembered Elden got a job with a butcher and could remember what a treat it was when one day he brought home a pound of hamburger for the family. Elden worked a lot of different jobs in his life, many quite menial due to a limited education; entries in the Portland city directory through the years give us clues as to some of them. Though the 1920 census indicates that both Alden and Elden did not have jobs, that was likely because of their age; census takers automatically wrote “none” for the occupation of those 16 and younger. In all likelihood, both were working by that time.

The 1921-1922 city directories show Elden was a messenger for the Postal Telegraph-Cable Company,

which had several offices in Portland. It also appears Elden lived with his sister Thelma and her husband Russell, who were only a few doors away from Anna Hunt and the rest of the family. Elden moved with the family in 1923, when he joined his brothers in building a house for the family in the Lents area of southeast Portland. He was listed as still being a telegram messenger in 1923, but by 1924 he was listed as a “chauffeur” for the Pacific Wholesale Drug Company in downtown Portland. In 1925 Elden was listed as a “furniture worker” and in 1926 as a “florist.” In 1927 and 1928 he was a “car cleaner” for Braley & Graham, an automobile dealership for “Dodge Brothers Motor Cars” that boldly claimed “no moving starter parts when the car is in motion - no starter chain - no noise - no wear.” The Braley & Graham dealership still exists in the Portland area to this day.

Elden continued to live at home and help support the family until he married on 15 October 1926 in Vancouver, Washington. He married Edna I. Couch, the daughter of Edmund and Alma Couch of Portland. After that, Elden rented a home for him and his wife on the west side of Portland. In 1929, Elden was listed in the city directory as a “washer” for the Columbia Gorge Motor Coach System, a bus company that operated buses from Portland to Salt Lake, Spokane, Boise and many towns in eastern Oregon. The company, operating from downtown Portland, was later acquired by Pickwick Stages, which in turn, was bought by Greyhound.

There is no listing in the 1930 city directory for Elden, but the 1931 directory indicates he was a restaurant worker and living in northwest Portland with Edna. By this time, the couple had a son who was nearly two years old. But the marriage had begun to go south and Elden filed for divorce in Multnomah County in September 1930, claiming through his attorney that the “defendant has continually refused to remain at home and keep house for this plaintiff and their minor child.” Elden further claimed that Edna “has frequently and on divers occasions sought the company of other men, including the company of Philipinos” and that while Edna was “associating with other men as above stated, she contracted a serious venereal disease, which she transmitted to this plaintiff.”

Edna denied the allegations, saying Elden knew they were untrue. She filed counter-claims of her own, stating that she worked as a waitress and that Elden took her wages of \$12.50 per week from her, and that Elden was “indolent and shiftless.” Elden denied her counter-claims, stating that Edna would not stay at home and that “I was forced to place the baby in the custody of my brother’s home in order that the child would receive proper care and nursing.” Elden requested the child remain in the custody of his brother until the conclusion of the case. However, after all the claims and counter-claims, the “parties reconciled their differences” and the divorce case was dismissed on 14 April 1931.

The peace and harmony was very short-lived and Edna filed for divorce six weeks later, on 1 June 1931, at which time she was living with her mother at 689 Northrup Street in Portland. A hearing was held a month later and Edna alleged that Elden “never supported us properly” and that he “is awfully jealous,” and that “at times he has struck me and called me names.” Edna was able to provide two specific incidents for the court. She claimed that after reuniting with Elden “about the 1st day of April, 1931,” that on 12 April 1931 Elden “struck me and hurt my arm and accused me of being immoral, and he went away and left us and he hasn’t supported us since.” Edna also testified that on 17 May 1931, Elden broke into her mother’s home and took their child with the assistance of his brother and sister-in-law (more about this incident later). The divorce was awarded on 6 July 1931, ordering Elden to pay \$20 per month in child support and \$75 in attorney’s fees. Edna eventually moved to Los Angeles, where her father was living, and remarried (last name Cooper). She died in Los Angeles on 17 September 1969.

Elden’s whereabouts for the next five years are unknown, as he does not appear in the city directories

again until 1937. On 23 April 1935, Elden married Florence Dean in Vancouver, Washington, and the 1937 and 1938 Portland city directories show Elden and Florence living in Portland, where Elden was listed as a “laborer.” Once again, the marriage would be short-lived. Florence filed for divorce, claiming Elden was “of a jealous disposition and would become angry without cause and on one occasion blacked plaintiff’s eye” and that he claimed the “plaintiff was untrue to him and was familiar with men other than defendant,” claims which Florence denied. Florence further alleged Elden “was very lazy” and “on numerous occasions defendant would tell plaintiff that he was going to look for work and would be away from their home a month at a time.”

Florence claimed in the suit that Elden left her for good in October 1938 and was living in Mason City, Washington when the suit was filed on 29 March 1939. Elden did not respond to the suit and never appeared before the court. The divorce was granted on 4 May 1939 and Florence was allowed to resume use of her maiden name of Dean.

Elden once again disappeared from the Portland city directories, and his name did not appear again as a resident of Portland until 1950. The claim in the divorce that Elden was living in Mason City, Washington in 1939 is a clue to his whereabouts and activity. Mason City was on the shore of the Columbia River just downriver from the Grand Coulee Dam, and was created by the federal government and the dam’s contractor, the Silas Mason Company of New York, during the construction of the dam between 1933 and 1942. This would indicate Elden was working at the dam site before World War II.

Elden also was in the merchant marine for several years. How long he did this is not known, but it certainly helps to explain his absence from Portland at times. It is not known which ports he sailed from most of the time, but it appears to have been Seattle most of the time. Old Seattle passenger and crew lists indicate Elden H. Hunt (confirmed by his birth date) sailed between Yokohama or Sasebo, in Japan, and Seattle from 1950 through 1953. On one occasion, the ship on which Elden sailed returned to San Francisco rather than Seattle. Some of the ships on which he sailed were the *USNS Gen. M. C. Meigs*, *Frederick Funston*, *Gen Hugh J Gaffey*, *General Simon B Buckner*, and *General H B Freeman*. All the ships were Navy ships, using the prefix USNS (United States Naval Ship), however the ships operated under the Military Sea Transportation Service (MSTS) and were civilian manned. All the ships Elden sailed on were military transport ships and were utilized in transporting troops, equipment and supplies to the staging areas in Japan during the Korean War. Nearly all the crew lists identified Elden as a “wiper,” a entry-level member of the ship’s engine department crew. A wiper was basically a janitor who cleaned, chipped and scraped old paint, repainted, and assisted others when needed. Adhering to the girl in every port concept, according to his sister Silvy, Elden “met a Japanese girl who was a school teacher.”

When in Portland, Elden evidently stayed with other members of the family. The 1950 city directory showed Elden was a “factory worker” and lived at 6132 NE 35th Avenue, in the house owned by his mother Anna at that time. In the 1953-1954 directory, he was listed as a “seaman” and lived with his sister Doris at 3420 SW Carolina. In the 1955 directory, still rooming with his sister Doris and her husband, Elden was listed as a “building engineer” for Charles F. Berg, a store in downtown Portland. Charles F. Berg was a major women’s apparel store, with its signature location at 615 SW Broadway. Begun in 1921, Charles F. Berg moved to the Broadway location in 1930 and renovated the store in the art deco style featuring ornate and lavish interior fixtures such as a Tiffany-designed elevator and a very unique facade which includes inlays of 14-karat gold. Berg always leased the store, and when the store sold to new owners in 1983, the store closed to make way for smaller retail shops and offices. The building continues to be known as the Charles F. Berg building and is listed on the National

Certificate of Marriage A 9503

STATE OF WASHINGTON } ss.
County of Clark

I HEREBY CERTIFY, That on the 15th day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and twenty-six at Vancouver in the County and State aforesaid, I, the undersigned, a clergyman, by authority of a License bearing date the 15th day of Oct A. D. 1926, and issued by the County Auditor of Clark County, Washington,

DID JOIN IN LAWFUL WEDLOCK

Elden H. Hunt of the County of Mult State of Ore and
Edna I. Couch of the County of " State of "

IN THE PRESENCE OF

Witnesses Alden G. Hunt Lucas B. Deeg
Myer A. Hunt clergyman

Signed: Elden H. Hunt Groom. OCT 22 1926
Signed: Edna I. Couch Bride.

Certificate of Marriage 62993

STATE OF WASHINGTON } ss.
County of Clark

I hereby Certify, That on the 23rd day of April in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and 35 at 1914 Franklin St. Vancouver in the County and State aforesaid, I, the undersigned, a Minister, by authority of a License bearing date the 23rd day of April A.D. 1935, and issued by the County Auditor of Clark County, Washington,

Did Join in Lawful Wedlock

at 3:10 o'clock PM
Elden H. Hunt of the County of Mult State of Ore and
Florence P. Dean of the County of " State of "

Paul L. Kunzmann
NAME OF PARTY PERFORMING MARRIAGE
Minister OFFICIAL POSITION

IN THE PRESENCE OF

Mary E. Hallack Signed: Elden H. Hunt GROOM
W. H. Pollock Signed: Florence P. Dean BRIDE

NOTE—This Certificate must be returned to County Clerk of the County in which marriage is performed within ten days of the date of marriage.

FILED
APR 30 1935
CLARK COUNTY, WASH.

Certificate of Marriage B36127

STATE OF WASHINGTON } ss.
County of Clark

I hereby Certify, That on the 18th day of April in the year of our Lord, one thousand nine hundred and 59 at Vancouver in the County and State aforesaid, I, the undersigned, a Justice of the Peace, by authority of a License bearing date the 11th day of April A. D. 1959 and issued by the County Auditor of Clark County, Washington

Did Join in Lawful Wedlock

at 11:10 o'clock AM
Elden H. Hunt of the County of Mult State of Ore and
Olivia May Brent of the County of Mult State of Ore

IN THE PRESENCE OF

Ford P. Sullivan Walter H. Collins
NAME OF PARTY PERFORMING MARRIAGE
Justice of the Peace OFFICIAL POSITION

Signed: Elden H. Hunt GROOM Date of birth Jan 3 1904
Signed: Olivia May Brent BRIDE Date of birth April 28 1912

CERTIFICATE OF TRUE COPY

STATE OF WASHINGTON } ss.
County of Clark

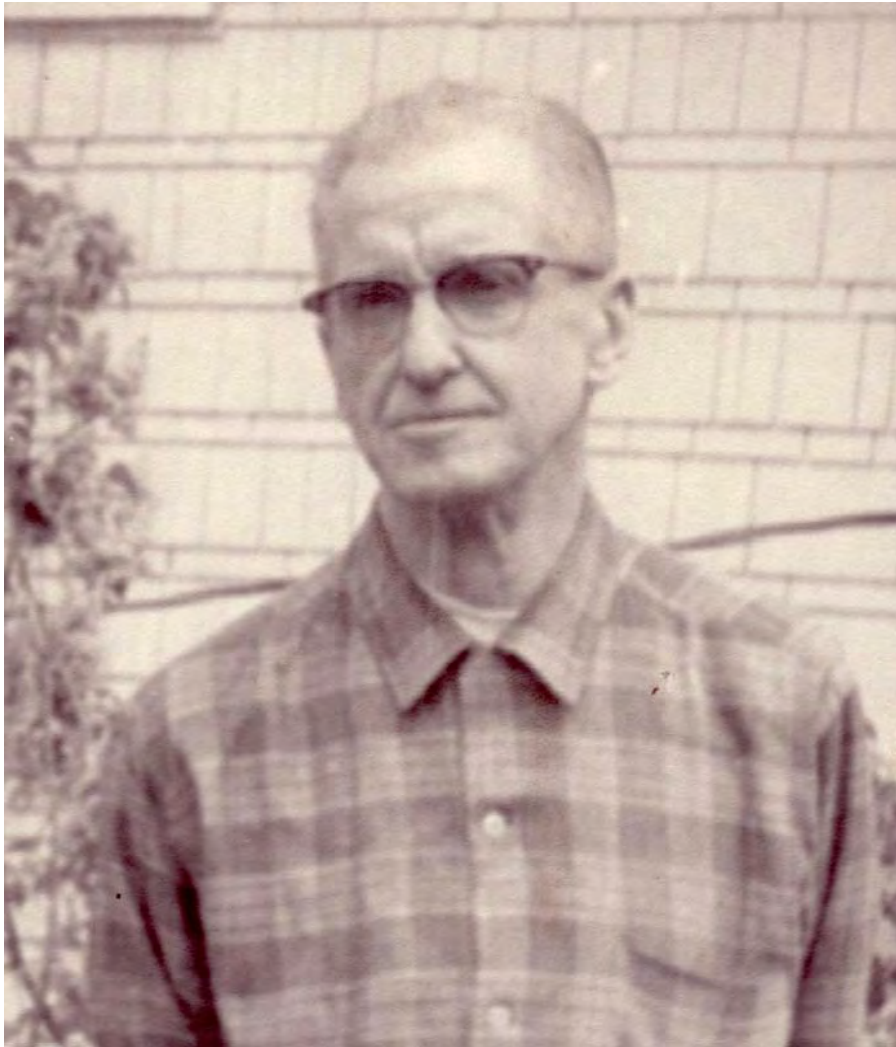
I, Bruce Worthington, hereby certify that I am County Auditor of Clark County, Washington, and as such officer am custodian of the official records of said County; that I have compared the foregoing copy of the Marriage Certificate with the original thereof, and that the same is a complete, true and correct reproduction of said original.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my official seal this 18th day of April A. D. 1959

FILED
APR 20 1959
BRUCE WORTHINGTON, Auditor, Clark Co.
By CLARK Deputy

NOTE—This Certificate must be returned to Clark County Auditor, Vancouver, Wash., within ten days of date of marriage.

Elden Harrison Hunt married three times, each time in Vancouver, Washington. Like his father, he never owned any real estate, and when Elden died at age 64, he had a negative net worth.



Two photographs of Elden H. Hunt late in life. He never developed a trade, instead working odd jobs for many years. He did spend several years at sea with the merchant marine, mostly on routes between Seattle and Japanese ports. For the last 13 years of his life, Elden worked as a maintenance man for the Charles F. Berg store in downtown Portland, the closest he got to much stability in his life. Elden was well-liked by his family but was not around all that much.

Register of Historic Places.

While employed at Charles F. Berg, Elden tried his hand at marriage one more time. Once again, he got married in Vancouver, this time to Alena May Brant, whom he married on 18 April 1959. It is not clear if Elden and Alena ever divorced or not; if so there is no record of it in the state of Oregon. Elden's sister Doris, who provided the information which appeared on his death certificate, evidently thought he was still married when Elden died, since his death certificate indicates he was married. Elden Hunt continued to be a maintenance man at the Charles F. Berg store for the rest of his life. For the last 7-8 years of his life, he lived at 526 SE 14th Avenue in Portland, in an eight-unit apartment building that is still there.

Elden had a "massive myocardial infarct" (massive heart attack) on 24 June 1968 and was hospitalized in Good Samaritan Hospital in Portland, but died instantly of a "cardiac rupture" nine days later, at 2:00 a.m. on 3 July 1968, while still hospitalized. He was buried in Lincoln Memorial Park cemetery in southeast Portland. His death led to a bit of a tiff among his siblings, because he died with an estimated net worth of \$358, primarily a final paycheck and accrued vacation pay from Charles F. Berg, a 1953 Chevrolet sedan and about \$50 in miscellaneous personal possessions. The car was sold for \$100, but his debts (mostly Elden's medical bills and the expense of burying him) came to \$1383. His sister Doris, who had been closest to Elden, arranged for his funeral, and the other siblings refused to contribute to settling the debt of his estate. Elden's debts were paid on a pro rata basis from the minimal assets available.

Elden Hunt, by his first wife Edna Couch, had one son:

i. **Elden Eugene Hunt**

Born 13 Oct 1928, the boy was called *Gene* by the family, and to help differentiate him from his father, he will be referred to that way here. After Elden's divorce from his first wife, Edna was awarded custody of their son, and Elden lost track of the boy, as apparently eventually did the mother. Regarding Gene, Silvy Hunt said that "no one knows what happened to him. Even Elden didn't know what happened to him." According to the probate record for Elden Hunt, a "due and diligent effort was made to ascertain the whereabouts of Eugene Hunt, son of the decedent. Inquiries from relatives and others indicated that the whereabouts of Eugene Hunt were unknown ...". Slight efforts to locate Gene were made by the compiler but they were not successful. Though there were hints that he was still in Portland, Gene did not have a phone number, owned no property, and did not have a driver's license. Complicating things even more was the fact there were two individuals named "Elden Eugene Hunt" who lived in Portland at the same time and who were nearly the same age. Due to privacy laws, it is often easier to identify and locate people after they have died than when they are alive. Such was the case with Elden Eugene Hunt and his history did not fully surface until after his death in 2007. As dysfunctional as his father was, Gene Hunt was far worse. He dropped out of school after the fifth grade, he seems to have held only very menial jobs, and he spent time in prison. Perhaps most telling was the fact he married ten times. Yes, you read that right. Ten times. Each marriage only

lasted a matter of months, in some cases, weeks, and there were also ten divorces. It is evident that he wanted to marry women, but had no interest whatsoever in being a husband. A great many hours were spent sifting through marriage and divorce records in several jurisdictions to determine that Elden Eugene Hunt married the following women (with, when known, the duration of the marriage):

1. Winnifred Emily Wright: 24 Nov 1948 - 16 Jun 1950
 ch: Laura Lee Hunt, b. 27 Sep 1949
2. Alberta Diane Binnall: 2 Mar 1951 - 24 Oct 1952
3. Darlene Enyart: 21 Aug 1953 - 15 May 1956
4. Virginia M. Chatas: 19 Sep 1956 - 26 Nov 1958
5. Irene K. Skellenger: 26 Aug 1959 - 23 Dec 1959
6. Juanita May Rains: 11 Mar 1960 - 10 May 1961
7. Adora LaMae Guerra: 18 May 1965 - ?
8. Cassandra Andrzejewski: 3 Aug 1968 - 16 May 1969
9. Barbara Ellen Kuykendall: 29 Dec 1972 - 8 Jun 1975
10. Mildred Louise Quinn: 1 May 1976 - 13 Sep 1976

The first nine marriages took place in Washington, in either the towns of Vancouver or Stevenson (Clark and Skamania counties respectively). The tenth marriage occurred in Washington County, Oregon. Nine divorces were identified, seven in Portland (Multnomah County) and two in Washington County, Oregon. The tenth divorce may have occurred in another jurisdiction outside of the Portland area, or may not have occurred at all. Gene enlisted in the Army Air Corps in Portland on 19 Jan 1946, but served just six months and was discharged. When he married for the first time in 1948, his address was listed as the Bellevue Hotel in downtown Portland, a skid row hotel that rented sleeping rooms for \$4 a week. Gene's station in life never much improved. On 11 Sep 1958, Gene stole a \$15 man's wrist watch and a \$130 woman's synthetic fur coat from Sears Roebuck at 524 NE Grand Avenue in Portland. He was arrested at the store and later indicted for larceny. Gene pled guilty and on 17 Oct 1958 was placed on three years probation. But on 25 Aug 1960 Gene's probation was revoked and an arrest warrant issued because he had violated the terms of his probation. His probation required that Gene not change his residence or employment without approval, make every effort to find employment, support his dependents, and not enter into a contract of marriage without the consent of his probation officer. On 2 Dec 1960 Gene was sentenced to three years in prison. The transcript of the sentencing hearing provide some insights into Elden Eugene Hunt. His attorney argued Gene "can't read, he can't write. He has a mental complex. And he had a job for a short time down with the Journal, worked there." The attorney stated Gene had trouble getting a job because he was illiterate. The judge responded that Gene's "attitude has never been good with

Nine of the ten known marriages for Elden Eugene Hunt, all occurring in Washington. The tenth took place in Washington County, Oregon.

respect to his parole officer” and that his attitude “had not been one of cooperation.” The judge stated for the record that “when arrested, the subject was operating a 1953 Plymouth four door sedan” and that Gene had owned the car only five weeks, buying the car from a dealer in St. Johns in exchange for an emerald ring which he valued at \$700. Gene had a license but no insurance for the car. Gene claimed he had been given the ring by a man “some time ago” but the judge noted Portland police “had attempted at one time to tie the subject in with the theft of jewelry from a jewelry store window in 1958. It is quite possible that the emerald ring referred to above could have been part of the stolen property.” Further, the judge noted “the subject insists that he cannot read or write” but a “report received from the Veteran’s Administration Hospital on November 10, 1958 reveals that ‘as to his ability to read or write, he finally admitted that he could write.’” When Gene addressed the judge, he said the car “was the first thing I ever owned in my life” and claimed he was using the car to deliver newspapers. When asked if he had anything further to say, Gene requested that he be allowed to go to the VA hospital instead of prison. The judge asked if he needed medical attention, and Gene responded “it would be better there than to be marked as an ex-convict, and that is something that isn’t going to help me in any way, and I know that I need help.” The District Attorney noted that Gene had been diagnosed by the VA hospital “as a passive aggressive personality, aggressive type, severe chronic, treated, unchanged.” A “Mr. Mitchell, from the Presbyterian Church” spoke on Gene’s behalf and told of trying to rehabilitate him, find him employment, etc. The judge was unimpressed and Gene spent three years in the Oregon State Penitentiary. The divorce proceedings for Gene’s ten wives had a pretty common theme: the women claimed Gene had been cruel and abusive and demanded money from them. In one case, he refused to live with the woman because her children “make him nervous.” In another case, the woman testified they had “never resided together as husband and wife” and that he “married her solely for the purpose of securing support and has refused to seek any employment, and did practice a fraud upon said defendant.” In two of the divorce cases, the women sought annulments when they learned of his prison record, so Gene had been right when he stated his record of being an ex-convict wasn’t going to help him. Elden Eugene Hunt must have been quite charismatic to have “conned” ten women into marriage. Only one child seems to have resulted from Gene’s ten marriages and that was from the first wife. The daughter, Laura Lee Hunt, was born 27 Sep 1949. She never knew her father since her parents separated very early. Laura Lee had a career in the military, married and had two children, settling in Texas. Unfortunately, she committed

suicide on 16 May 2010. Following her death, her daughter posted information about her and her family on *ancestry.com* and the compiler discovered her that way. Jodi Gibbs, daughter of Laura Lee Hunt and granddaughter of Elden Eugene Hunt, lives in Fort Worth, Texas. Several years ago, after having a child, Jodi became curious about family medical history, and proceeded to track down Gene by paying a professional “people finder” service. She discovered Gene did not have a phone, but Jodi had his address, so she called some of the neighbors provided by the service. Jodi talked to a neighbor who lived just down the hall from Gene and the neighbor passed a message to Gene from Jodi. Gene called her and they talked for a while. Gene assured Jodi there were no medical issues and even gave her the name of his VA doctor. Jodi contacted the doctor and received the information she wanted. Satisfied, Jodi moved on with her life, and had nearly forgotten the whole issue. But one day, Jodi got a call from Gene’s doctor. Gene had fallen on a sidewalk and was taken to the hospital, and was incapacitated. He had blood clots in his legs and required emergency surgery, and with no next of kin known to the VA except Jodi, they called and asked for permission to operate. She gave it, and flew to Portland to see the grandfather she had never met. They met and talked in the VA hospital. Somebody needed to act as his guardian, so she secured a power of attorney to assist him. She spent several days in Portland and then flew back to Dallas. A week after she returned home, she got a call from the hospital informing her Elden Eugene Hunt had died. Jodi got on another airplane and flew to Portland a second time. She arranged to have his body cremated and after a discussion with her mother, returned to Dallas with his ashes. The ashes sat on Laura Lee’s shelf for over two years until Laura Lee committed suicide. After that, Jodi arranged to have Elden’s remains buried in the Dallas-Fort Worth National Cemetery. Gene had lived in apartment 206 at 910 SW Park in downtown Portland, with the assistance of Section 8 government housing. Gene had lived in the apartment for eight years and Jodi mentioned the apartment was crammed with everything Gene had ever received. He was a hoarder and never threw anything away. Jodi spent four days cleaning the apartment out, removing bag after bag to the trash. After some further research, it appeared Gene might have had another daughter. At least, someone named “Eldon Eugene Hunt” (note the spelling of first name) had a daughter named Tamara. But with additional investigation, this turned out to be the second person with that name mentioned previously. This man was born 6 May 1929 in Trenton, Nebraska and lived for many years in the Portland area. With the same uncommon name and about eight months apart in age, it was easy for the two men to be confused for one another. The “second Elden” lives today



The “mystery cousin” no one knew about, Elden Eugene Hunt. The son of Elden H. Hunt by his first marriage, “Gene” Hunt disappeared and lived in skidrow apartments or public housing most of his life. He had no contact with any other family members and even his father did not know what happened to Gene. Top left, a photo as a boy and, top right, shortly before he died. Gene had fallen outside on a sidewalk and hit his head and was hospitalized, but did not recover from other medical problems. His cremated remains were buried in the Dallas-Fort Worth National Cemetery by his granddaughter. The grave marker is technically incorrect, since Gene did not join the Army Air Corps until 1946, and thus did not participate in World War II.

in McKenzie, Tennessee and when interviewed, told of going down to the Portland Air base to join the Air Force when the Korean War broke out. The officers there accused him of having been in the Army and having “gone AWOL,” but Eldon insisted he had never been in the service. Eldon laughed and said he had told that story countless times. He also told of receiving a letter from his sister while he lived in Alaska years ago, with an enclosed clipping from the *Oregonian* about a person with his name shoplifting some items from Sears. His sister jokingly wanted to know if he had slipped back in town without telling them and done that. If our Gene Hunt had gone “Absent WithOut Leave (AWOL)”, that would help explain why he was discharged from the Army Air Corps after just six months.

Doris May Hunt

Doris was born 12 February 1907 in Portland, Oregon, the fifth child of George W. Hunt and Anna Shelley. On 30 January 1926, Judge George Simpson married 18-year-old Doris and 20-year-old Carl Burch Davis in the Superior Court chambers in Vancouver, Washington. Carl was born 17 March 1905 in Cottage Grove, Oregon, the son of Chester Davis and Ida Gertrude Burch. By the time of the 1920 census, the family was living in southeast Portland. Doris worked at the Meier and Frank department store when she was young.

Following their marriage, Doris and Carl Davis lived in several locations in Portland, including the house that today is at 10130 SE Ellis Street, which, built in 1927, was new at the time and just a few blocks from Anna Hunt’s home. By 1930, they were living in North Portland on Willamette Blvd., when Carl was working for the Albina Marine Iron Works. In the 1930 census, Anna Hunt and Doris’ sister Silvy were living with Doris and Carl. That same year, the 28 June 1930 edition of the *Oregonian* reported “Carl Davis, about 25, had his driver’s license revoked for a year when he was found guilty on a speeding charge.”

After learning the basics of being an electrician while a seaman at a young age, Carl Davis joined his friend Damon Trout in starting a house wiring business called Davis & Trout. About 1930-1931, Carl and Damon then started Marine Electric Company, which began in a 20x40 foot shop on N. Russell Street in Portland. Trout later bought Carl’s half of the business when jobs were scarce. After Pearl Harbor, Marine Electric became swamped with numerous military contracts and by the end of 1943 the company had 500 employees. The company grew into the largest electric marine facility on the west coast and Damon Trout became very wealthy. Remaining good friends, at one point Trout offered Carl his half of the business back for the same \$500 he’d paid for it, but Carl refused, saying it wouldn’t be right.

After leaving Marine Electric, Carl went to work for the Forest Service, where he was a radio technician in the Forest Service Radio Laboratory. The radio lab had been moved to Portland in 1933 when the radio station KEX moved their station’s location, abandoning a building and two 220-foot steel towers at 122nd Avenue and Glisan Street. In that facility, the Forest Service developed cutting edge radio technology for use in fire fighting. Carl worked in that lab for about 15 years, building prototypes of newly-designed radios. He did not make a lot of money, since the book *Radio for the Fireline, A History of Electronic Communication in the Forest Service* mentions his salary in 1939

was \$1620 per year, less than the lab paid its draftsman and secretary, and the equivalent of \$25,000 annually today. But Carl would probably have pointed out that money wasn't everything. As an electronic genius and amateur radio operator, Carl got to work with brilliant engineers and build and test new experimental radio circuits everyday.

After World War II broke out, the Forest Service was put in charge of spotting enemy planes, called the Aircraft Warning System (AWS). The Forest Service's network of fire lookouts across the country, developed over the years for fire detection and equipped with telephone and radio links, provided excellent observation points from which to spot approaching enemy aircraft. In addition, new lightweight portable radios were needed and their design and testing became the highest priority for the radio lab. Never staffed with more than eight people over the years, the lab suddenly had new technicians and was turned into a mini-factory, turning out several portable radio models. By 1944, the lab built 877 radio units. In addition, the lab contracted with local Portland firms to produce more than two dozen different types of radios.

During the war, the radio lab designed and built a "Walkie-Talkie," a backpack-style radio similar to one developed for the army in 1940. These radios were carried by coast and beach patrols during the war, and Carl told of an incident one time when he had taken the family to the Oregon coast and encountered a man patrolling the beach with one of these radios on his back. Carl went up to the man and asked him what he thought of the radio, and complaining of the weight of the unit, the man said he "wished the guy who made this thing had it shoved up his ass." Carl never divulged who he was, and laughed about that incident for years.

Shortly after the war, Carl Davis and others in the radio lab also built one of the very first "Handie-Talkies," a VHF FM handheld radio that weighed nine pounds, was 4"x6"x14" and had a seven-foot collapsible whip antenna. The term "HT" is still used today to describe handheld two-way radios. The book *Radio for the Fireline* mentions that in October 1948 two engineers from the Forest Service radio lab went on a 28-day tour of the eastern United States and showed their cutting-edge developments to large companies. The representatives of these companies were all astounded because the handheld radio was the first of its kind (a version of an FM handheld being developed by the Army was still 18 months away at this point) and the radio lab had produced a radio "that none of the companies had."

The Forest Service radio lab in Portland closed in 1951 when it was moved to the Washington D.C. area. Carl left the lab at that time and went to work for the Army Corps of Engineers. He worked first at the Bonneville Dam and later at the McNary Dam near Umatilla, Oregon. He worked in a section that was in charge of the installation and maintenance of all the dam's instruments and electronics, including meters, recorders and radios.

There is one other interesting tidbit about Carl Davis. Anyone knowledgeable about the history of model airplanes knows the name Jim Walker, founder of the American Junior Aircraft Company in Portland, Oregon. He may have been the best-known, most influential figure in the model aircraft industry and his company produced an estimated 232 million ready-to-fly kits over a period of three decades until Walker's death in 1958. He was the consummate promoter and showman, and some of the stunts he pulled off in promoting model aircraft are legendary.

During his career, Walker filed 31 patents, a few of which changed the course of model aviation. Before the use of radio control, model airplanes were flown on the end of a string; Walker invented the U-Control, a two-wire control system which allowed the flyer to control the pitch of the plane as



Carl Burch Davis, top left, as a young man. Bottom, Carl (far right) was originally a partner in the Marine Electric Company, but later decided to leave the company and his partner bought him out. The partner went on to become very wealthy when Marine Electric grew tremendously as a result of World War II. Meanwhile, Carl went on to work in the Forest Service Radio Laboratory in east Portland. Upper right, in a photo taken before World War II, Harold Lawson (left), Logan Belleville and Carl Davis (right) shown checking a VHF radio prototype in the radio lab. All three men were brilliant and ham radio operators. Lawson was an engineer who designed many of the new radios. Belleville, who left the lab for MIT to do radar research when the war broke out, later returned to Portland and became Tektronix's second engineer.

it flew around in circles. He also invented a sound-controlled airplane; the flyer could run beneath the plane tooting a horn or beating a drum to control it. Later, Walker was an early developer of radio-controlled model aircraft. In the later years of his life, Walker was also famous for his remote-controlled lawnmower. He was always in demand at model sportsman shows, and the radio-controlled lawnmower was a big hit. The press loved his “invention” and Walker was even featured in magazines like *Popular Science* and *Popular Mechanics*.

Carl Davis was a good friend of Jim Walker, who was also a ham radio operator. Carl and Walker collaborated on the development of both the radio-controlled model airplane and the remote-controlled lawnmower. Carl’s sons remember watching their father mow the lawn while sitting on the front porch of their home. And according to Jim Davis, it was Carl who built the first radio-controlled airplane for Walker.

In 1935 Carl and Doris had purchased a house at 3420 SW Carolina in Portland. As an amateur radio operator, Carl installed a 60-foot tower with a beam antenna at the home. They owned this house for years, and lived there most of the time, though jobs sometimes required that Carl live elsewhere. Carl Davis was still working at the dam in Umatilla until 13 August 1957, when he suffered a heart attack and died in the hospital at Hermiston, Oregon at age 52. Doris never remarried and continued to live at her home in southwest Portland until shortly before her death on 9 July 1981. Both Carl and Doris Davis are buried in Lincoln Memorial Park cemetery in southeast Portland.

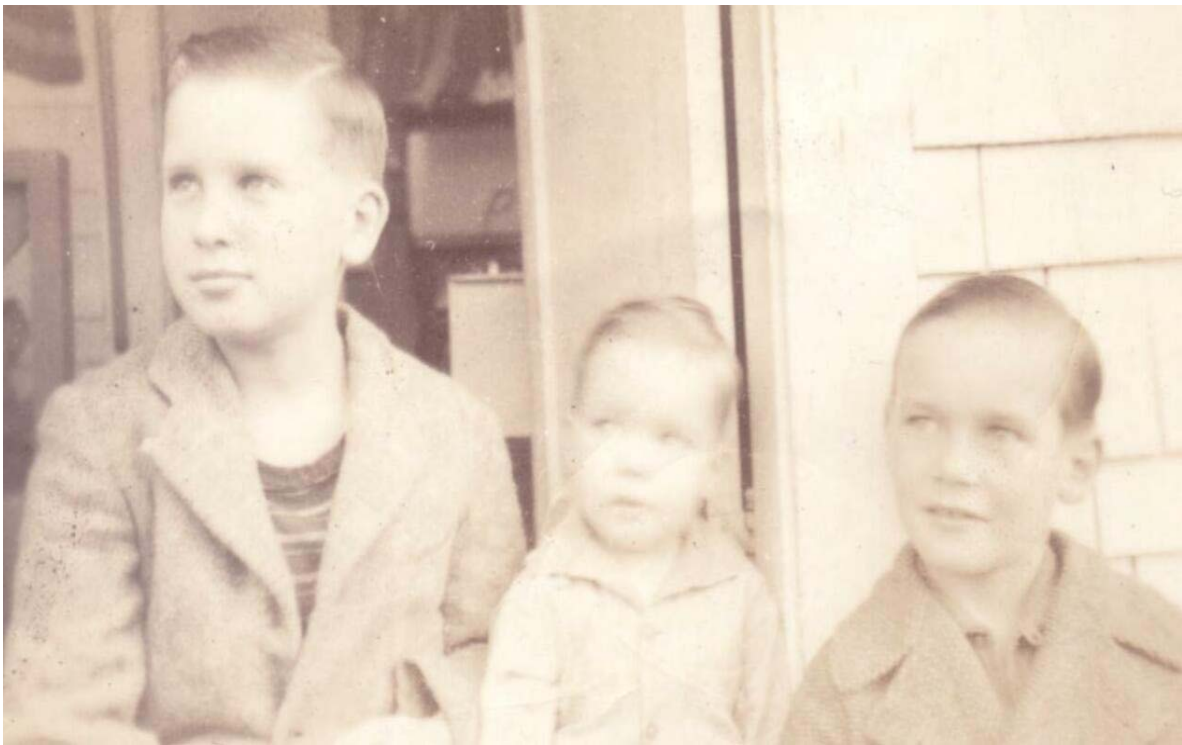
Doris and Carl Davis had three sons:

- i. **Jack Amos Davis** Born 19 Sep 1926, Jack married Beverly Jean Armitage on 18 Jan 1948. Beverly was born 7 May 1928. They had two children: Donna Lee Davis and Jerry Allen Davis. Jack was a machinist and master tool and die maker. He was also a “car guy” who had a love for antique cars; he restored a 1911 Model T and a 1912 Overland among other models. Jack died 8 Jun 1996.
- ii. **Harold Keith Davis** Born 21 May 1930, “Hal” married (1) Carol D. Bennett. They had two children: Steven Elden Davis and Julie L. Davis. Hal then married (2) Hazel Frances Hammond. Hal worked for 29 years for the Corps of Engineers, including 13 years as a control room operator. He retired from The Dalles Dam and lives in The Dalles, Oregon. His primary hobby is boating.
- iii. **James Elden Davis** Born 31 Jan 1937, Jim married (1) Margaret Ann Barnhart, by whom he had two children, Tawnie Marie Davis and Terry Carl Davis, and (2) Judith Ann Boldt on 22 Aug 1969. Jim worked for a number of different companies, including in the machine shop at Omark Industries. Jim and Judy live in Kennewick, Washington. Judy made significant contributions to this work.

Silvy Grace Hunt

Silvy was the youngest of the six children born to George W. Hunt and Anna Shelley. She also outlived all of her brothers and sisters by 23 years and though she didn’t know it, served as a consultant for this work by means of a near perfect memory despite living to be 93 years old.

Silvy finished grade school while Anna lived at Lents. While her mother had the lunchroom on



Doris May Hunt was born in 1907, the same year as Gene Autry, Arlene Francis, Katherine Hepburn, Robert Young, Barbara Stanwyck and John Wayne. Top left, Doris as a young woman, and top right, at age 72. Doris married Carl Davis in 1926 and the couple had three sons Jack, Jim and Harold.

southeast Holgate near the train yard, Silvy worked as a waitress in the restaurant. They got a lot of workers from the train yard in the lunchroom. One of those workers was William Franklin Osborne (who always went by Frank). One day after having had lunch there, he called the lunchroom and asked to speak to Silvy. Despite being 26 years older than Silvy, who was just 17 at the time, Silvy went out with him and ended up falling in love with Frank. He was born 27 March 1885 in Winfield, Kansas, the son of Charles Osborne and Mary Ellen Stuart.

Frank Osborne was married before, to a woman named Bessie Sigafoose, the daughter of Moses Sigafoose and Mary Jane Armstrong, who both were from West Virginia. When and where this marriage occurred is not known, but it was likely to have been in Chicago, Illinois about 1908-1909. At the time of the 1910 census, "Frank Osbourne" and his wife of one year were living with Bessie's parents in Chicago's Ward 31, where he worked as machinist for the railroad. Bessie was two years younger than Frank, according to the 1900 census, born in February 1887. By the time of the 1920 census, Frank Osborne and his wife Bessie were still in Chicago, though they now lived in a home of their own along with three boarders. They had no children, and it does not appear there were any children from this marriage. Once again, Frank was listed as a machinist in a "rail road shop."

By the time of the 1930 census, Frank's married sister and their mother were living in Portland, and Frank must have arrived about that time. What happened to Bessie is not known, but there is a good possibility they divorced in Chicago. She may have been the "Bessie Osborne" who died in Chicago on 16 Dec 1941. Frank Osborne and Silvy Hunt married in Vancouver on the day after Christmas, 26 December 1930. She was 19 and he was 45 years old. Frank worked the rest of his life as a machinist in the round house for the Southern Pacific Railway and, according to Silvy, was a very quiet man. Silvy and her husband lived in various locations around southeast Portland until buying a small home at 4523 SE 35th Avenue. Frank Osborne died 8 March 1952 in Portland.

The *Oregonian* newspaper carried several notices of his death and funeral, two of which are quite strange. A funeral notice in the paper the day after Frank's death stated:

Williams (Osborne), March 8, Frank, of 4523 SE 35th, Beloved husband of Silvy G.; father of Lois M. and William F.; brother of Martha E. Hilton, Milwaukie, Or.

The implication was the decedent's name was Frank Williams (with *Osborne* in parentheses). But it was not as odd as the short article about Frank's death which appeared on page 17 of the *Oregonian* the same day:

Frank Williams, 66, who was Frank Osborne before his name was changed legally, died in a Portland hospital Saturday after a short illness. He lived at 4523 S.E. 35th avenue. He was born March 27, 1885, in Winfield, Kan., and had lived in Portland 30 years. During most of his life here he was a machinist for Southern Pacific railway. Services will be Monday at 3 p.m. at Little Chapel of the Chimes, under auspices of Mt. Hood Masonic lodge, of which he was a member. Survivors are the widow, Sylvia; two sons, Lewis and William W. Williams, Portland, and a sister, Mrs. Martha Hilton, Milwaukie.

Only the funeral notice printed in the *Oregonian* the following day, 10 March 1952, by the Masonic Lodge made much sense:

Mt. Hood Lodge No. 157, AF&AM, special communication Monday, March 10, at 3 pm at the Little Chapel of the Chimes to conduct the funeral service of our late brother, William Frank Osborne. Members Mt. Hood lodge please attend.

The death record retained by the state of Oregon has William Frank Osborne's name on it, not Frank Williams. The whole issue of the change in name remains a mystery to this day. Frank Osborne was

buried at Lincoln Memorial cemetery in southeast Portland. After Frank's death, Silvy went to work. She sold real estate for a time, and also worked as an assembly person at Iron Fireman Manufacturing Company, which made automatic coal stokers for home coal furnaces.

On 13 May 1955, Silvy married Melvin Carl Strand, whom she met at a dance. Mel had just gotten out of the hospital after being treated for tuberculosis. He worked as a salesman most of his life. During the time he was married to Silvy, he worked for a number of companies like Union Interchange, Rails Magazine and General Home Products. Mel later worked as a cook or waiter for several restaurants like the Peter Pan Drive-In and the Labor Temple Restaurant. During the time they were married, Silvy and Mel bought another house at 4638 NE Failing Street in Portland. Mel died 18 July 1979. A veteran, Mel was buried in Willamette National cemetery.

A review of old newspapers turned up some interesting items. The 9 December 1934 edition of the *Oregonian* stated "Melvin Carl Strand," 739 NE 93rd Avenue in Portland, had his driver's license revoked for driving while intoxicated. A year and a half later, the 25 April 1936 edition of the *Oregonian* carried this item: "Melvin C. Strand," salesman for a candy company, was held to answer to the grand jury yesterday on a charge of contributing to the delinquency of a minor," a charge which involved "a minor girl."

After Mel's death, Silvy continued to live in the house on Failing Street in northeast Portland until she eventually moved into a home on the property of her daughter Lois in Brush Prairie, Washington. Silvy died 21 August 2004 at age 93. Her funeral was held five days later in the Memorial Gardens Funeral Chapel in Vancouver. Silvy Hunt, by her first husband Frank Osborne, had the following children:

- i. **Lois Marie Osborne** Born 14 Mar 1932, Lois married Harold Howard Stempel Jr. on 14 Feb 1953 in Portland. The couple later divorced and Lois spent many years with a female partner. Lois worked as a bridge tender for Burlington Northern Railroad and lived in Brush Prairie, Washington. She died 10 Aug 2007 of emphysema.
- ii. **William Frank Osborne** Born 8 Jun 1935, "Bill" married Ruby Marcille Schaefer on 14 Sep 1958 in Portland. The couple had four children (William Frank, Richard Allen, Ronald Eugene and Tammy Lynn). Bill and Ruby later divorced. Bill married (2) Sandy (last name unknown), from whom he also divorced. Bill currently lives in Reno, Nevada.

The only child of George Warren Hunt and Anna Shelley not accounted for is the twin of Elden, Alden Hunt, our direct ancestor. His story continues in the next chapter.



Silvy Grace Hunt, born 9 July 1911, was the last of the six children of George and Anna Hunt. Silvy acted as a “consultant” for this work, contributing an endless supply of facts and tidbits about the Hunt and Shelley families. Top, an old photo of Silvy and her husband Frank Osborne. Bottom, Silvy in the middle with her daughter Lois and son Bill.

Alden George Hunt

This family history ends with an account of Alden George Hunt, the third of the six children of George Warren Hunt and Anna Shelley (though he and Elden were twins, Alden was older by ten minutes, so Elden was the fourth child), and the father of the compiler of this work.

Alden George Hunt was born Sunday, 3 January 1904, in Portland, Oregon. The *Oregonian* newspaper carried news of the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition that was being planned for the following year in Portland, news of the impending war between Russia and Japan that was brewing in the far east, and the tragic Iroquois Theater fire, which occurred in Chicago four days prior to Alden's birth. The fire was the deadliest theater fire and the worst single-building fire in United States history. At least 605 people died as a result of the fire but not all the deaths were reported, as some of the bodies were removed from the scene. Entire pages of the newspaper were devoted to the situation in Chicago.

Within six months of Alden's birth, race car driver Barney Oldfield drove a Ford 999 at a record one mile per minute; Marie Curie announced her discovery of radium; the *Daily Mirror* of London began operating as the first tabloid newspaper in the world; Panama declared its independence from Colombia; the Wright brothers flew their Flyer for 12 seconds in the first powered airplane flight; the first hot fudge sundae was served; William Harley and three Davidson brothers began production of their first motorized bike in a Milwaukee basement; the United States took over construction of the Panama Canal; and the first Olympic games to be held in the United States opened in St. Louis.

Actors Ray Bolger and Cary Grant were born the same month as Alden Hunt. Others born within a few months of him were Jimmy Dorsey, Glenn Miller, Theodor Seuss Geisel (Dr. Seuss), J. Robert Oppenheimer (head of the Manhattan Project), William "Count" Basie, Johnny Weissmuller, Ralph Bellamy and Peter Lorre.

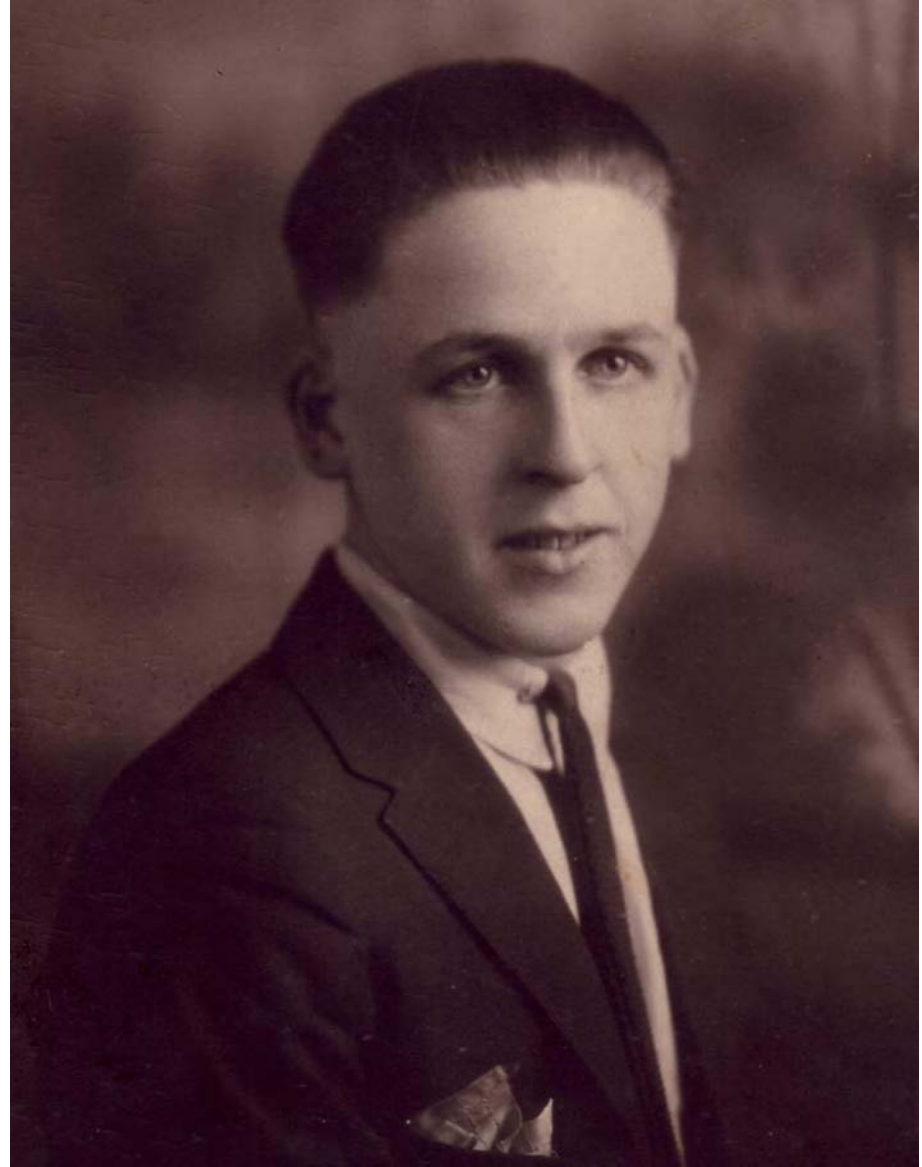
The birth of Alden and Elden Hunt was recorded in the relatively new City of Portland birth register. The entry in that record indicates that the family lived at "37th E. Hawthorne." Use of addresses like this (basically just intersections) were nothing more than indicators of what part of the city people lived in rather than actual street addresses (and likely represented the nearest street car station). But from old city directories we know that the family lived at 346 E 37th in 1904 and 1905. That is the old-style numbering system used by Portland up to the 1930s. Today the house would be found at 1814 SE 37th Avenue, located about three blocks south of Hawthorne. The little yellow house which sits back from the street still exists today.

Alden was in the seventh grade in 1917 when his father died, and though he had just turned 13, both he and Elden quit school to go to work. The family lived at 1402 Rodney Street when George Hunt died, and the house is still there today though the modern address is 6636 N.E. Rodney Avenue. Alden and his family lived in the house for several years following George's death, with all but the youngest siblings doing what they could to help support the family. Among other things, Alden and Howard went downtown to the movie theaters and sang during intermission for the tips they could earn.

It is not known if this was his first job, but Alden went to work for Roberts Brothers, a downtown department store located at 3rd and Morrison. The store began in 1886 and for years was strictly a dry goods store, selling fabric in an era when much clothing was still hand sewn. Later, Roberts Brothers became a general department store. As described in a 1960 newspaper article, shoppers "coming in



Top, the house where George and Anna Hunt lived when the twins Alden and Elden were born in January 1904. Determining that was no small task. The Portland city birth register indicates the family lived at “37th E. Hawthorne” when the twins were born, which 1904 and 1905 city directories confirm as “346 E 37th.” The modern (post 1933) address is “1814 SE 37th Ave.,” determined from historic home inspection permits. Then a trip to the address to take a photo of this trash heap. Bottom, Elden (holding the dog nicknamed “I don’t want to hold still for this picture”) and Alden.



Alden, left, at age 15. Would you want this young thug to grow up and marry your mother? On the right, Alden a few years later in a formal portrait.

for their notions and materials would spot a table lamp or a chair they wanted and Roberts Bros. became a place to buy all kinds of household goods.” The store closed in 1960 after the new Morrison bridge changed the traffic pattern downtown and killed off the store’s business.

While he still lived at home, Alden’s name first appeared in the Portland city directory in 1921, when he was 17. He was listed as a clerk in both 1921 and 1922, though the name of his employer was not given. In 1923, Alden was listed as a “wrapper” for “Roberts Bros.,” which at the time primarily sold fabrics of all kinds, as well as shoes, “union suits” and silk hosiery. A union suit was one-piece long underwear, which had the now-famous butt flap. Roberts Brothers evidently treated its employees quite well, since at the time Alden worked there, the store had a policy of closing at 1:00 pm on Wednesdays in the summer so that “our employees might enjoy a well-earned half-holiday during the hot months of July and August.” Roberts Brothers encouraged other stores to follow their lead, but when they didn’t, the short-lived trend was dropped. Such kind treatment of its employees by Roberts Brothers could help explain the aforementioned family story that Alden received a \$200 Christmas bonus from the store, which the family used to help buy a lot in Lents and later build a house on it for Anna Hunt.

Sometime during the mid-1920s Alden Hunt met Neta Marie Van Blaricom. Neta was born 17 May 1909 in Portland, the eldest child of Clyde Wily Van Blaricom and Nellie Bly Nutter. Her father had a penchant for giving his children strange names, and “Neta” was no exception. She changed the spelling to “Nita” about 1931. The Portland city directories listed Neta’s name spelled with an “e” until 1933, at which time her name began being spelled “Nita.” Alden G. Hunt and Neta M. Van Blaricom married on 17 April 1926 in Vancouver, Washington; Alden was 22 and Neta was 16.

The 1925 Portland city directory indicated Alden was a “metalworker” and in 1926 a “machinist.” But by 1928, Alden’s trade was listed as a “welder,” an occupation he would pursue for many years. Though his employer wasn’t listed in the 1928 directory, the company Alden worked for was Iron Fireman, which was listed in the 1929 and 1930 directories. The Iron Fireman Manufacturing Company had an interesting history, as described in the 3 February 1936 issue of *Time Magazine*. Two young men, Thomas Banfield and Cyrus Parker, were partners in a Portland construction firm started in 1909, but later bought a local iron works as “an adjunct to their contracting.” Among the iron works’ assets were jigs, tools and drawings for a mechanical coal stoker. Though the original owners showed the stoker worth \$5,000 on their books, the new owners considered it worthless. The original idea for the stoker reportedly occurred to a greenhouse operator who got tired of getting out of bed in the middle of the night to stoke his coal furnace. The iron works had already built a few crude versions of their stoker, and several months after the iron works changed hands, inquiries began to come in from people who had seen the prototype stoker in operation. Suddenly realizing they had a business opportunity, the two contractors dusted off the old plans, developed an improved model, and soon the small stoker was launched nationally under one of the most clever trade names ever coined: Iron Fireman. Their product allowed coal to be “conveyed from bin to furnace without the intervention of a shovel” and the company quickly grew, becoming the largest manufacturer of mechanical stokers in the country, with plants in Cleveland and Toronto as well as Portland.

In 1931, Alden’s twin was going through a nasty divorce with his wife Edna, who claimed Elden hit her and called her names. Edna also claimed that on 17 May 1931, Elden broke into her mother’s home and took their child Gene with the assistance of his brother and sister-in-law. This testimony is confirmed by a short article in the *Oregonian* newspaper on 19 May 1931, which stated:

Assault and Battery Charged

On warrants charging disorderly conduct, Elden Hunt, 26, 291 Stark street; Alden Hunt,

Certificate of Marriage 48030

STATE OF WASHINGTON }
County of Clarke } ss.

I HEREBY CERTIFY, That on the Seventeenth day of
April in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and Twenty Six
at Vancouver in the County and State aforesaid, I, the undersigned,
a Minister, by authority of a License bearing date the 17 day
of April A. D. 1926, and issued by the County Auditor of Clarke County, Washington,

DID JOIN IN LAWFUL WEDLOCK

Alden G. Hunt of the County of Multnomah State of Oregon and
Neta Van Blaricom of the County of Multnomah State of "

IN THE PRESENCE OF

Witnesses { Carl Davis Rev. J. E. Hutcheson
Mrs. Nellie Van Blaricom Vancouver Wash
Signed: Alden G. Hunt Groom.
Signed: Neta Van Blaricom Bride.

FILED
APR 22 1926
SCHAEFER, CO. CLERK
B. K. L. DEP.

NOTE—This Certificate must be returned to the County Clerk of the County in which marriage is performed within ten days of the date of marriage

Proof that Gary, Darrell and Roger Hunt were legitimate. Like many Portlanders, Alden G. Hunt and Neta M. Van Blaricom married in Vancouver, Washington because a marriage license there did not require a waiting period nor a blood test. Neta later changed the spelling of her name to Nita. Alden's brother-in-law and the bride's mother acted as witnesses.

27, 186 Chapman street, and Mrs. Anita Hunt, 22, 186 Chapman street, were arrested by police last night. The brothers were accused also of assault and battery. According to the police docket, the complainant was Mrs. Alma Richardson.

Despite the typical number of errors in accuracy in the newspaper account, it appears Alden and Nita, along with Elden, were arrested for their involvement in the child snatching of Elden's son Gene from Edna's mother. No followup article concerning the arrest of "Bonnie and Clyde" Hunt appeared in the *Oregonian*, so the outcome of this arrest remains unknown. In all likelihood, the charges were dismissed.

Meanwhile, the storm clouds of divorce loomed close to home. On 25 July 1931, less than two months after the "Bonnie and Clyde" incident, Nita M. Hunt filed for divorce from Alden. Through her attorney, Floyd D. Moore, Nita claimed the usual "cruel and inhuman treatment" and "mental pain and anguish" over a period of two years. Specifically, it was alleged that "during the summer of 1929, while plaintiff was absent from her home, the defendant conducted himself in a grossly improper manner while in the presence of another woman, which plaintiff did not discover until several months thereafter, and when the defendant was taken to task about his conduct, he admitted that it was true."

It was further alleged in the suit that "during the latter part of the summer of 1930, after an argument had ensued between plaintiff and defendant over some domestic problems, the defendant became enraged and threw plaintiff on the bed and slapped her face and otherwise abused her." Nita claimed Alden would not take her to see her mother in Lents and "objects to giving due consideration and the usual courtesies to plaintiff's people to which they are entitled." Alden was accused of having worked only three months in the past two years, "alleging that he cannot find work and has compelled plaintiff on her meager salary to support him, thereby compelling plaintiff and defendant to live in the cheapest of quarters and subsist on a small amount of funds; that his conduct is that of a lazy and indolent man." Finally, Nita alleged that Alden "has grown cold toward plaintiff and has on several occasions told her he no longer cares for her."

Okay, Alden was a dog and got caught with another woman, but "lazy and indolent"? Give us a break. Nothing further regarding the divorce action appeared in the Multnomah court records until an Order of Dismissal was filed by Nita's attorney on 28 December 1934. Evidently, Nita had a change in heart and the judge ordered the case be dismissed. Obviously, this outcome had significant impact on this family history since at the time of the divorce action, no children had yet been born, and with the lack of a compiler for this work, there would be no book.

Listed in the city directories as a welder from 1928 through 1931, Alden and Nita were missing in the 1932 city directory. It was about this time that, not being able to find work, Alden went to California. Alden's brother-in-law, Cle Van Blaricom, recalled that "Alden went to California first by riding a freight train. He got a job at the Pig 'n Whistle in downtown Los Angeles, which was a fancy restaurant where even movie stars would come in." Cle later went to California himself and got a job in the same restaurant as a busboy. Cle remembered one time when he accidentally dumped water on Aimee McPherson, a very famous evangelist of the time.

Cle recalled that after getting the restaurant job, Alden returned to Portland, and he and Nita went back to California in a Maxwell touring car. Cle said the "car was about a 1925 model and had side curtains and a 'rag roof.' Alden built boxes on the running boards to store some of their stuff. The car leaked oil so bad that Alden put a can under the engine near the rear main seal, catching the oil that leaked so he could pour it back in. He had to stop every 20 or 30 miles to do this." Nita's sister Betty also remembers that Alden and Nita went to Los Angeles to find work, and that they stayed for a time with

Laura and Dick Pritchard (Laura was Nita's cousin). Alden and Nita then lived in Alhambra (a Los Angeles suburb) for over a year on \$25 per week.

The Pig 'n Whistle restaurant was famous at the time. Built in 1927 next door to the Egyptian Theater on Hollywood Boulevard and just down the street from Grauman's Chinese Theater, the Pig 'n Whistle was a favorite stop for the Hollywood elite. The Egyptian Theater had opened five years earlier with the world's first movie premiere (Douglas Fairbanks' *Robin Hood*) in 1922. When the Pig 'n Whistle was built, movie theaters didn't have concession counters in their lobbies, so movie-goers couldn't eat in the theater. So an enterprising individual took advantage of the opportunity and opened the family restaurant and soda fountain right next door to the Egyptian, where movie-goers could have a meal before or after seeing the film. A side entrance to the restaurant opened right into the courtyard in front of the Egyptian Theater, so movie-goers could easily move from the restaurant to the theater and vice versa.

From 1927 to the late 1940s, the Pig 'N Whistle served a loyal Hollywood audience and became something of a Hollywood landmark. Spencer Tracy, Loretta Young, Howard Hughes and Barbara Stanwyck all dined there, and Shirley Temple was a regular. A story in *Film Fan* magazine describes young Judy Garland's day out with friends at the Pig 'n Whistle in 1939, the year she made *The Wizard of Oz*. The Hollywood landmark also hosted the first Oscar after-party. Although the Pig 'N Whistle contained an ice cream parlor and a candy counter in front, with dining in the back, it was a fine, elegant restaurant, due in no small part to its spectacular interior decor, a Gothic mix of ornate dark woods, heavy beams, paneled ceiling and stained-glass windows. An organ player entertained guests up front.

The restaurant eventually closed and the building declined for years, becoming the site of a pizza parlor for a time. In March 2001, the restaurant re-opened as the Pig 'n Whistle after a \$1.5 million restoration, with the landmark space returned to its original Art Deco luster, using old photographs to help reconstruct the interior. The restaurant remains where it always was, right next to the recently-renovated Egyptian Theater, complete with the side entrance to the Egyptian's exotic courtyard. The original dancing pig logo was even preserved. The Pig 'N Whistle is located at 6714 Hollywood Boulevard in Los Angeles.

How long Alden worked there is not known, or even what he did. But a good guess is that he was a waiter, for several photographs from the era survive showing Alden in a fancy outfit. After earning some money, Alden and Nita returned to Portland from California. Cle described that Alden built "a wooden base and erected a tent in the yard" of Nita's folks on Raymond Street, and he and Nita lived there briefly until he found work. The 1933 Portland city directory listed Alden and Nita as living at 1016 N. Simpson, and listed Alden as a "driver." This may be explained by Cle's story that "Alden and Elden each bought a Model A dump truck and went to work for the WPA. This lasted about a year. Alden later removed the dump bed from his truck and converted the truck to a semi, pulling a trailer that he bought." Cle remembered helping Alden move some cattle from eastern Oregon to a farm near Rainier using this truck. Besides the cattle, Cle recalled the trailer also had one horse. When they got to Rainier and tried to unload the cattle, the cattle got loose and ran off in all directions. Cle jumped on the horse and tried to round the cattle up, spending hours riding bareback. They eventually got all the cattle into the pen, but Cle said he couldn't walk for two days.

Alden was always a restless jack-of-all-trades type who had many different jobs in his life. He even worked in eastern Oregon on a ranch "riding fence" when he was young, a job which required he sometimes be off alone for several days a time. Cle remembered Alden "could do anything; he was



Top, Nita Hunt in a photo taken in 1930 when she was 21. It was the Depression and within a year or two Alden hopped a freight train to Los Angeles to check on job opportunities there. He secured a job in the trendy Pig 'N Whistle restaurant in Hollywood and returned to Portland by train to get Nita. They drove to L.A. in what appears to be a 1924 Maxwell Model 25-C touring car, bottom. The Maxwell, never known for its quality, had a 34-hp 4-cylinder engine with a 3-speed gearbox, and a terrible oil leak. Alden hung a can under the engine to catch the oil, stopping every half hour or so to pour it back into the engine. This photo was taken near Sacramento. You can see the storage space Alden built on the running boards for their luggage.



Two photos, both taken in the winter of 1932 while Alden and Nita Hunt lived in the Alhambra area of Los Angeles. Alden worked as a waiter in the Pig 'n Whistle restaurant in Hollywood. There is no explanation for the wild outfit Nita has on in the photo at the right.

a good welder, mechanic and carpenter.” Alden was always looking for a better way to make a living and tried more than a few. As an example, he had his own sport shop and lawn mower sharpening business for awhile, and bought a fishing boat about 1938 to try his hand at commercial fishing. At different times, Alden also dabbled in raising chickens, had his own welding business, tried raising chinchillas and operated a small dairy farm. Cle remembered Alden’s lawn mower sharpener business in the Parkrose area of Portland, but said Alden “screwed every customer he had by charging them for stuff he didn’t do. He lost his repeat customers and eventually went out of business.”

Cle also recalled Alden’s attempt at being a commercial fisherman. The fishing boat was named the *Nita M* and was about 25 feet long. Cle remembered the story of one time when Alden was anchored off Newport, spending the night on the ocean. When Alden woke up in the morning, there was about a foot of water in the bottom of the boat. Alden bailed for a while until he was able to get the water level down and find the source of the leak. He discovered the packing had come out from around the propeller shaft. Always innovative, Alden had some pork rinds with him and cut them into a shape and stuffed them into the hole around the propeller shaft. It worked so well he left them there for several months.

City directories showed Alden and Nita moved around quite a bit in the 1930s: 7051 N. Mobile Ave. (1934), 1029 N. Stafford (1935), 4736 N.E. Going (1936), and 6013 S.E. Bush (1937-1938). When an occupation was listed for Alden, it was always “welder.” In 1936, he worked for the Moore Dry Kiln Company of Oregon, a manufacturer in north Portland of dry kilns for lumber mills. A successor company, Irvington-Moore, still manufactures kilns for the forest products industry to this day. In 1938, Alden was listed as working as a welder for the Albina Engine & Machine Works, a ship repair yard that was located on north River Street, in the Albina section of Portland, just upstream from the present-day Fremont Bridge. This ship yard was later closed. In 1941, Alden worked for Willamette Iron & Steel, but returned to Albina Engine & Machine Works in 1943-1944.

Alden was working in one of the many shipyards around Portland during World War II, though both the Willamette Iron & Steel and Albina Engine & Machine Works shipyards were small and lived in the shadow of Henry Kaiser’s three giant shipyards on the Columbia. Albina turned out 38 sub-chasers with about 4500 workers, and as described in a article in *Time Magazine* on 27 September 1943, kept its workers content with some rather innovative ideas. For example, when workers complained about high vegetable prices, Albina persuaded farmers to bring their produce right to the yard gates at shift-change times. As a result employees could buy peaches for \$2 a box, which sold for \$2.89 elsewhere. When workers ran short of alarm clocks and washing machines, Albina bought up 800 old clocks, sent as far as St. Louis for broken-down washing machines, had them fixed up and sold them at cost. Other Albina ideas included selling lilies to workers at cost at Easter, or for the less pious, special Varga-style-girl calendars any time. During the war, Alden worked as a welder, including teaching the skill to new shipyard workers.

By 1940, with two children in the family, Alden and Nita had a home of their own for the first time. The city directory in 1940 listed the family’s address as 7023 NE Alberta Street, a home that Alden built, finishing it during World War II. Alden, Nita and their two sons lived for a time in the garage on the property while Alden worked on the house. Alden used a horse and a drag bucket called a *slip scraper* to dig the basement, finishing the corners with a hand shovel. Alden had been gathering building materials for some time in anticipation of coming war shortages, and was able to complete the house in 1942. Alden and Nita got a loan from a bank to buy the needed building materials, a note which was paid on 22 August 1942. The 1000-square foot house had a basement the same size and a 400 sq. ft. finished attic, as well as round-top door which the home retains to this day.



The small fishing boat owned by Alden Hunt, docked at Newport in 1938. Alden, always looking for a better way to make a living, had decided to try commercial fishing, and fished up and down the Oregon coast. Perhaps he got Nita to go along with the idea by offering to name the boat after her.

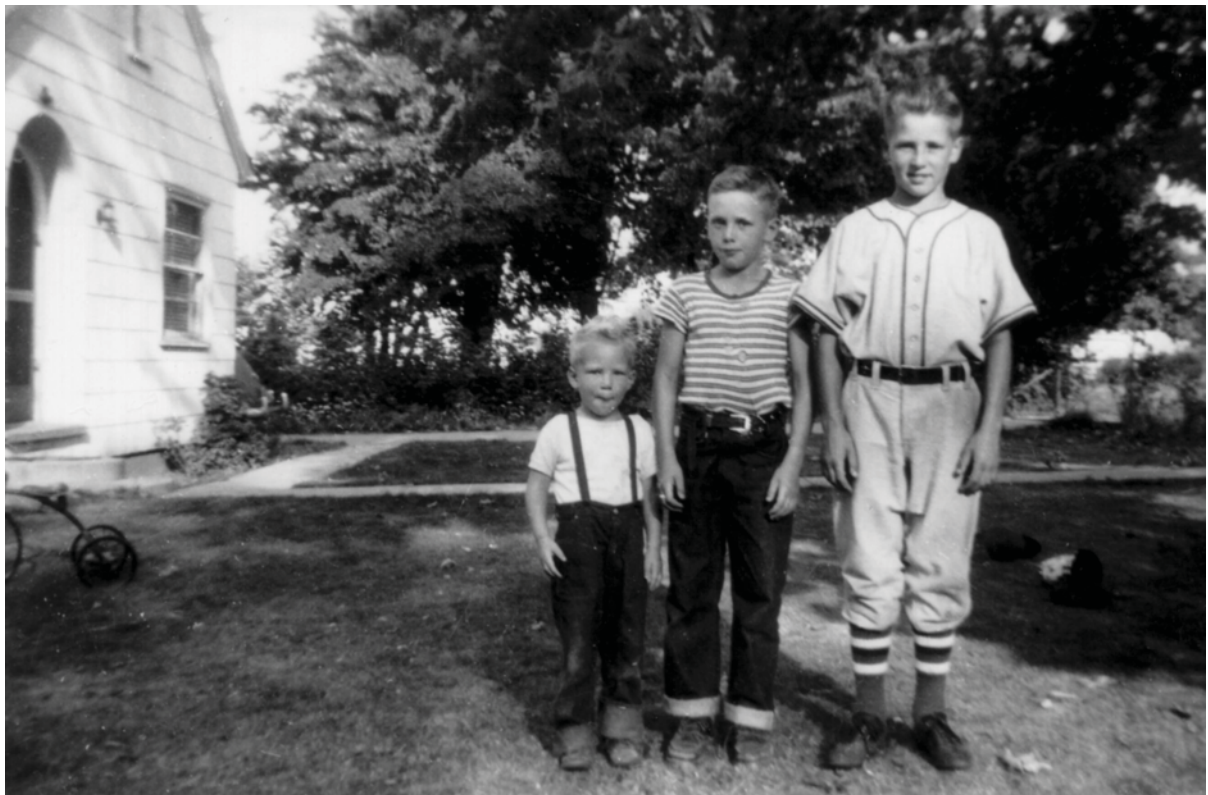
His sister Silvy described Alden as “feisty like a banty rooster.” Alden was nicknamed *Pedro* by the family, and Silvy claimed the Russell Davis family started the nickname. Alden was not beyond having sticky fingers. After his stint working at the Pig ‘n Whistle during the Depression, Alden was known to have somehow acquired a set of Pig ‘n Whistle silverware, and during World War II, Alden accumulated a number of items from the shipyards. Evidently anything which could fit into a lunch box was fair game, but Alden really outdid himself when he coiled a large rope around his body and, with a bulky coat on, walked out through the shipyard’s security gates at shift change.

Alden was also very creative and inventive. He was always coming up with novel ideas, and often built some rather bizarre contraptions. For example, the Alberta house had an electric freezer in the basement which Alden built from scratch, a large hinged box insulated with cork. He came up with the idea of windshield wipers with “squirters” integrated into the wiper itself. Alden also had an ingenious idea for a set of hydraulic wheels that could lift a car off the ground and allow it to be rolled at right angles into a parking spot.

After World War II ended and the shipyards all closed or shrank drastically in size, thousands of workers were returned to the normal labor force, which had a hard time absorbing them all. For a time after the war, Alden tried a number of different things, none of them very successful. For example, he worked for a man named Sam who had a used car lot. Alden was a lot boy and mechanic, washing cars and doing repairs as needed to get the cars running well and ready to sell. Alden evidently enjoyed the work, but the pay was low. About this same time, Alden also started a small shuffleboard repair business out of his home. He went to bars and other places that had either deck or table shuffleboard courts and repaired and resurfaced the playing surfaces and pucks. He tried this home business for a couple of years until it was clear it would not be much of a success. Alden also tried operating a small sport shop on Sandy Boulevard about 107th Avenue, near the Schwary’s grocery store. Called Jiffy Sport Shop, Alden sold boat motors, fishing equipment and tackle, etc. The store struggled several years, with Alden adding the mower sharpening service mentioned previously. Alden finally admitted defeat and closed the store.

Later, probably about 1948-1949, Alden got a job as a welder for Mixermobile, a new company whose signature product was a machine which mixed concrete and raised it to be poured into forms in one operation. The company also manufactured lifts and scoops (the Scoopmobile) and other somewhat bizarre products, including a combination bulldozer and power scoop with an 84-inch blade at one end and a cubic yard bucket at the other, and a combination of the Mixermobile and Scoopmobile which served as a portable concrete mixing plant which the company claimed capable of pouring 50 yards of concrete per hour. Mixermobile had a large plant at 8027 NE Killingsworth in Portland which even included its own airstrip. Today the large building and grounds serves as an equipment yard for Hoffman Construction.

Alden worked as a reserve deputy for the Multnomah County Sheriff’s Office from the latter part of World War II until at least 1948. He was still a reserve deputy at the time of the Vanport flood, which occurred on Memorial Day in 1948. Vanport City, currently the site of Delta Park and Portland International Raceway in Portland, was so named because of its proximity to both Portland and Vancouver, Washington. Vanport was a hastily constructed city of public housing used to house workers at the Kaiser Shipyards, and was home to 40,000 people, about 40 percent of them African-American, making it Oregon’s second-largest city at the time, and the largest public housing project in the nation. After the war, Vanport lost more than half of its population, dropping to 18,500, as many wartime workers left the area.



The first home owned by Alden and Nita Hunt, located at 7023 NE Alberta Street in Portland. After living in rental homes for nearly 14 years, Alden and Nita bought a lot in the Paddock Gardens subdivision from the Paddock family and Alden built first a garage and then a home on the lot. The family lived in the garage while Alden finished the house. Alden and Nita's three sons, from the right, Gary, Darrell and Roger. There's obviously something wrong with the small one.

Vanport was especially vulnerable to flooding since it was built on reclaimed lowlands along the Columbia River, with the lowest point about 15 feet below the water level of the river. River levels in the spring of 1948 were the highest seen since 1894 and about 4:17 p.m. on Memorial Day a railroad dike burst, sending a 10-foot wall of water into the area. An emergency siren began to sound shortly after the initial breach, and residents began to head up Denver Avenue to higher ground. The city was underwater by nightfall leaving its inhabitants homeless. Fifteen people died and the city was a complete loss. It was a major disaster, and on 11 June 1948, President Truman flew to Portland to examine the damage. Looting was a huge problem, and as part of his duties as a reserve deputy, Alden patrolled the area following the flood.

The family lived in the house on Alberta street until early 1951, when Alden and Nita, now with three sons, moved to a dairy farm on Griffiths Lane near Carus, Oregon, in Clackamas County between Oregon City and Mulino. Alden had probably been influenced by the dairy farm his brother-in-law Ervin Van Blaricom owned near Molalla, leading to Alden's desire to try farming himself. Alden and Nita completed the purchase of the farm on 17 January 1951 and sold their home on Alberta Street in Portland on 13 February 1951, moving that month to the farm. The farm was 62.9 acres in size and had not been lived in for a while. Alden had to do some repairs on the house as well as stock the farm with livestock. The farm had a large plum orchard which had fallen into neglect, and Alden hoped to revive it and make money selling the fruit for prunes. However, like a lot of things, that didn't work out as well as Alden had hoped.

Alden started with the purchase of three Jersey milk cows for the farm, and later added three more. The six cows were hand milked both morning and night by Alden and his eldest son Gary until Alden later purchased a milking machine. Besides the dairy cows, Alden later added pigs and chickens, a World War II-era John Deere model LA tractor, and even a horse that Alden boarded on the farm for its owner. Besides milking cows morning and night, Alden continued to work full time at Mixermobile, driving about 23 miles each way daily in his 1934 Chevrolet pickup. The stress of working a full-time job and trying to run a farm became too much (remember, Alden was "lazy and indolent") and Alden and Nita soon decided to sell the farm. In August 1952, they moved to a house in Clackamas and gave up any ideas of being farmers. The sale of the farm to William and Dorothy Bettger became official on 12 November 1952.

When Alden and Nita moved to the home in Clackamas, they were accompanied by sons Darrell and Roger, but not by Gary. Gary really liked the small high school he attended at Molalla and had decided he would not move with the family back to the Portland area. This caused a major disagreement between him and his father, who was not about to let a 17-year-old son move out on his own before he had even finished high school. In the end, however, Gary's stubbornness prevailed over Alden's stubbornness and Gary lived in a boarding house in Molalla during his senior year of high school. One of the reasons behind the move to Clackamas was that the two younger sons were about to start new schools. Darrell was about to start high school and Roger, eight years younger, was about to start elementary school. Scholastic opportunities at Clackamas were considerably better than at the rural farm near Carus, which had a two-room school house for grades one through eight.

The house Alden and Nita moved to was on Highway 213 (82nd Avenue) where Highway 212 joined it, a home Alden had driven by twice a day on his way to and from work at Mixermobile. The house had a double lot with a small orchard, which might have appealed to the "wanna-be farmer" in Alden. The house was later moved when the I-205 freeway was built; its previous location was right in the middle of Highway 212 on the west side of 82nd Drive in Clackamas.



Top, a photo of the family taken 17 April 1951 for Alden and Nita's 25th wedding anniversary, shortly after they had purchased a dairy farm near Carus, Oregon. Bottom, Alden and Nita in December 1959.

Alden continued to work at Mixermobile for a time, but later went to work for Screw Machine Products, which had opened a new plant in 1952 at 7737 NE Killingsworth, next door to Mixermobile. Screw Machine Products leased the building, which was owned by Kaiser-Frazer and had been previously used for about a year to assemble Kaiser automobiles. Besides making license plates for the states of Oregon, Washington, Alaska and Hawaii, Screw Machine Products grew into the largest army ordinance producer in the Portland area, eventually holding millions of dollars in government contracts for boosters and rifle grenades. They later built hydraulic crew maintenance stands to replace cumbersome scaffolding used to perform maintenance work on the tail or fuselage of large military aircraft like the B-52 bomber. The company built other less exciting products too, like aluminum pie plates and specialized locks for camping trailers. But Screw Machine Products grew too fast and filed for bankruptcy in March 1957; within months all of the assets of the company were sold at auction.

With the closure of Screw Machine Products in 1957, Alden was left without a job. He and Nita probably had some serious discussions at this point, for they soon decided to buy a motel on the Oregon coast and go into the motel business. They soon purchased Canyon Drive Apartments, a 16-unit motel at Delake, Oregon from a couple named Hansen, who were seeking to retire. The Hansens stayed on for a while and helped teach Alden and Nita all the things involved in the operation of a motel. The town of Delake is not called that anymore, but is now part of the town of Lincoln City. The Canyon Drive Apartments were located on what today is SW 11th Drive in Lincoln City. The motel buildings, built in 1926, were torn down years ago and replaced with condominiums. But a park currently located where the office once stood is called Canyon Drive Park.

Though the motel was old when Alden and Nita purchased it and was in need of some modernization, Alden tackled the work eagerly. For example, the only heat in each of the motel's units was from a fireplace. So Alden purchased baseboard heaters and installed electric heat in each unit, having to run new wiring through the two buildings and upgrade the building's electrical panels. The motel's sixteen units, twelve of which faced the ocean and four "inside" units without a view, were not modern even for the 1950s. But what the motel lacked in amenities it made up for in location. The Canyon Drive Apartments had one of the best ocean front locations on the entire Oregon coast, with the beach about forty feet away from the units. Its very close proximity to the ocean never became more evident than during severe winter storms, when wind-blown sea water breaking against the seawall would come over the top of the three-story structure and drench people standing on the street side of the buildings. On another occasion, a piece of driftwood picked up by the waves crashing against the seawall went through a second-story picture window. Sometimes you can be a little too close to the ocean!

But the location of the motel made it popular as a beach vacation site, and the units were often full during the summer months. Alden and Nita did reasonably well financially, though the motel was a lot of work, and required they hire maids to help clean during the busy summer months, a task they handled themselves during the slower winter months. After about four years, Alden and Nita decided to sell Canyon Drive Apartments at Delake and buy a newer, more conventional motel situated along Highway 101 in Depoe Bay, Oregon, twelve miles to the south of Delake. This was the Four Winds Motel, a 21-unit motel on the east side of the highway, which was more suited for overnight stays of people traveling through the area or staying in Depoe Bay for the fishing. The bay of the same name is a six-acre harbor which the town promotes as the world's smallest.

Unfortunately, Alden and Nita Hunt were quite naive when it came to commercial real estate transactions. Though they should have demanded tax information to confirm the level of business

represented for the Four Winds Motel, they did not and they were clearly swindled by being shown a set of “cooked books.” Alden and Nita realized after just one summer that the business was not producing nearly the level of room rentals that had been represented by the seller. They consulted an attorney and were advised to quietly and quickly close the motel and move away in a stealthy manner. They did, and soon moved to a rental house back in Delake. Alden and Nita sued the party from whom they had purchased the Four Winds Motel, and ultimately prevailed and were able to recoup their investment.

For over a year Alden tried to find employment in the Lincoln City area but there was little work available. Alden drove school bus very briefly, until he was fired for driving it into the ditch one morning, and then worked for a contractor building a log bridge near Waldport, Oregon. But there was little work to be found and in 1963 he returned to Portland to find a job at something he could do better than almost anyone, welding. He parked a camper on the property of his mother-in-law, Nellie Van Blaricom, in Portland and lived in it for several months while working in Portland. Meanwhile, Nita alternated between the beach and Portland, torn between having to care for her husband and her youngest but totally worthless son, who was only months away from graduating from high school. When the Columbus Day Storm hit the Oregon coast on 12 October 1962 with winds of over 150 mph in some places, Alden and Nita were in Portland and son Roger was in Delake. It was days before the highways to the coast were reopened and they were unable to contact their son by telephone for two days. Though the local high school lost part of its roof and school was out for days, Roger and the rental house were unscathed.

After attending the high school graduation of their youngest son, Alden and Nita left the Lincoln City area the next morning, and returned to Portland, where they had bought a home. During the time they had lived at the beach, Alden Hunt experienced something he had never known before in his life: income above and beyond just a subsistent working man’s wage. Though the Canyon Drive Apartments had certainly not made them wealthy, Alden and Nita had an opportunity to save some extra income more than at any time before. They used part of that extra income on 12 January 1959 to buy an older four-plex apartment at 1721-1727 NE 16th Avenue in Portland, a 8000-square foot building that had been built in 1910, and is still there today. They kept this property for over six years, selling it on 20 May 1965 for \$23,000 (its value today would be about a half million dollars). They sold the property on a contract which was not paid off until 8 September 1970.

Alden and Nita Hunt also bought another apartment building on 22 January 1963, one that today is the Avon Manor Condominiums at the northeast corner of 909 NE Brazee Street in Portland. They paid \$105,000 for this 13-unit property, paying \$10,000 down and \$600 in monthly payments. This was a major purchase, roughly equivalent to a \$750,000 purchase today. This was a quiet part of Alden and Nita’s retirement plan (they didn’t talk much about owning this property) and enjoyed the income stream from it for years. Nita did not sell this property until after Alden died. Some years later the apartments were converted to the condominiums which are at that location today.

After his return from the Oregon coast, Alden Hunt went back to work. He got a job as a welder for the Belleview Manufacturing Company, welding brackets and drums for what would later be known as Warn winches. Founded in 1948, Warn Industries started selling locking hubs for surplus World War II Jeeps, converting thousands of them into useful on-road vehicles. Warn Industries farmed out the production of the hubs to Belleview Manufacturing in Portland, located at 5040 SE Milwaukie Avenue. Belleview later developed another revolutionary product on its own, the electric winch. The Belleview winch was the first winch produced for recreational use, and it was marketed through Warn Industries. The companies later merged, and the Portland company became known as Warn-

Bellevue, and later, Warn Industries. Originally best known for their logging hub, Warn today is recognized more for its winches, and the company makes winches for trucks, SUVs, ATVs, industrial applications and emergency responders. Warn Industries is still in business and is located in Clackamas, Oregon.

When Alden worked there, the winch business was a small part of the company's revenue, and the winch division was in a smaller building separate from the main production plant. The supervisor of the winch division, and Alden's boss, was Louie Barone. As hard as this may be to believe given a name like Louie Barone (pronounced "buh-roan-ee"), he was Italian and hot-blooded and quick tempered as they came. Never very prone to hand out accolades, Louie once stated confidentially that Alden Hunt was "the best welder I've ever seen, and I've seen a lot of them."

After returning from the Oregon coast, Alden and Nita embarked on a frenzy of house buying and selling. The six years from 1964 to Alden's death in 1970 were a blur of real estate activity. On 21 April 1964, they bought a house at 7930 SE Overland Street in Portland, only to sell it a year later on 16 April 1965. On 26 March 1965 Alden and Nita bought a trailer park at 820 NW Wade Street in Estacada, Oregon for \$30,000 (\$4000 down and the rest in \$200 monthly payments). They had hoped this could provide a good retirement income, but once again, they got cheated. It was later discovered the trailer park had been clandestinely connected years before to the city's sewer system without the city's knowledge, and as a result, Alden and Nita received a staggering retroactive sewer bill. Once again they sued the seller and were able to prevail, recovering their investment. On 28 February 1966 they sold the trailer park back to the previous owner.

On 30 June 1965 Alden and Nita bought a home at 5740 SE Tenino in Portland, only to sell it ten months later. On 5 May 1966 they bought a home at 8910 SE Rural Street for \$10,000, which they sold 1 February 1968 for \$12,000. Four days later they bought a house at 7209 SE Henderson Street for \$11,000, selling it on 3 September 1969 for \$14,000. With this sale, they moved to John Day, where they had purchased another trailer park. But oddly, Alden decided he didn't like the view (or lack of) and decided to sell it as well. On 22 January 1970, the migratory couple bought a house at 7540 SE Rural Street in Portland.

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1968, Alden Hunt suffered a heart attack. With Nita away to attend "Mom's Weekend" at Oregon State University, Alden and his brother Howard had gone fishing on the Clackamas River. On the way back home, with Howard driving, Alden became nauseous and instructed Howard to pull over. By the time they got back to Portland, Alden had gotten worse and something was so clearly wrong, Howard called an ambulance. It was likely the only reason Alden survived. Though hospitalized in the Oregon City hospital for a time, Alden recovered, though he was never quite the same physically. He returned to work at Warn Industries for a short time, but retired from there in 1969. After selling the trailer park in John Day and returning to Portland, Alden and Nita made a final trip in their pickup back to John Day to gather up a few remaining items they had not moved. In particular, Alden wanted to get a workbench he had left behind when they moved back to Portland. Nita had tried to talk him out of it, but in the process of loading the workbench into the pickup, Alden suffered a second, and fatal, heart attack. Nita later claimed Alden died in her arms right there on the ground in John Day. This occurred on 7 April 1970.

Alden's body was brought back to Portland and he was buried in the cemetery at Sunset Hills Memorial Park in west Portland. The reason for that odd choice in burial sites (Alden and Nita never lived in west Portland) was that Anna Hunt had purchased a number of burial sites for the family years before when they were relatively cheap. Alden was buried on Saturday, 11 April 1970.

Alden Hunt was generally a “happy-go-lucky” kind of guy. He loved to tell jokes, and usually had a good supply of them. He was a small man physically, but was wiry and stronger than he appeared. Alden was quick with a smile and loved to greet people with a folksy “howdy doody,” embarrassing his youngest teenage son to no end. One of Alden’s enviable qualities was an incredible “Rube Goldberg” skill to fix almost anything. He had no fear when it came to tackling projects. One humorous incident occurred after the move to the beach, when Alden decided Canyon Drive Apartments needed tide flags, colored to indicate to swimmers whether the tide was going in or out. There was one problem; there was no flagpole and they were expensive to purchase. Alden simply found a nice straight tree in some woods a couple of miles away, cut it down without regard to whom it belonged, and brought it back to the motel by dragging it with a rope behind his old pickup, including crossing busy Highway 101. By the time the tree arrived at Canyon Drive, it was completely debarked and actually looked like a flagpole.

Though he usually had a friendly demeanor, Alden was also one you didn’t want to mess with. A couple of incidents indicate this. The Four Winds Motel in Depoe Bay was a long building parallel with the coastline with both ocean-side rooms and rooms in the back without a view, which rented at a lower rate. The rooms in the rear of the building offered parallel parking, with parking spaces marked with their corresponding room numbers. Unfortunately, the spacing of the parking spaces did not match the spacing of the rooms, and some patrons had to park a few feet farther away from their rooms than they liked. This was an annoying problem for the motel owner and patrons alike, but the design offered few better solutions. Alden made it a habit to always ask patrons to park in the designated spaces, otherwise as other patrons arrived, complaints of “someone is in my parking space” would mushroom. One time a patron refused to move his vehicle to the designated parking space. Alden politely asked him twice to move his car, and even offered to do it for him if he would loan Alden the keys to the vehicle. The man still refused, slamming the room door in Alden’s face. Alden got his pickup and a chain and proceeded to drag the car to its designated parking spot by backing up and ramming forward against the chain hooked to the man’s car. The man came out of the room and offered to move the car, and peace ensued.

Proving he never lost the “feisty” nature Silvy described regarding Alden, in the last couple of years of his life there was another similar incident. One day he and Nita went to the Fred Meyer store near 82nd and Foster in southeast Portland. It was a warm summer day and the parking lot was nearly full. Alden waited while a car backed out of a parking spot. As soon as the car vacated the parking spot, another car coming from the opposite direction quickly dove into the spot, and a young man got out of the car and taunted Alden, yelling “you’re going to have to be faster than that, old man!” Alden found another parking spot, gathered some tools, went over to the man’s car, and removed the valve stems from all four of the vehicle’s tires. With a straight face, Alden later described he felt so bad by what he had done, he used some pliers to crush the valve stems to try to stop the escaping air.

Following Alden’s death, on 28 August 1970 Nita sold the house she and Alden had bought at 7540 SE Rural Street for \$12,500 and moved to a smaller house she bought on 10 July 1970 at 5921 SE Carlton Street for \$8500. She continued to live in this house for four years, until she sold it on 12 July 1974 for \$16,500. During the time she lived in the home on Carlton Street, Nita met Vernon Clifford Schuster at a dance. Born 4 January 1916 in Klickitat County, Washington to William H. Schuster and Elsie Beavie, Vern was seven years younger than Nita. But the two seemed to hit it off, and despite the fact there was some nagging discomfort felt by more than one Hunt son, Nita and Vern married in a Portland ceremony on 20 February 1972.

The marriage was very short-lived. After their wedding, Vern Schuster suddenly displayed a tendency

to disappear for a couple of days from time to time and did so more than once in the less than eight weeks the couple were married. Nita knew by then she had made a big mistake. Vern had driven off one day and had been gone for days when Nita learned he had died on 15 April 1972 in a skid row hotel in downtown Portland. Nita learned from police that Vern had gone on a drinking binge, had not taken the diabetes medication he needed, and died from the diabetes as a result. His obituary stated he died of diabetes “in his home” but that was patently incorrect. Vern had been a U.S. Army veteran and was buried in Willamette National Cemetery four days later.

Almost nothing was known about Vern Schuster, other than he had been a self-employed truck driver, had lived in Portland for 40 years, and was alleged to have been a private pilot at one time. He also had two sons, John and William, and two daughters, Judith and Verna, by a previous marriage. The following article in the *Oregonian* on 24 September 1956 shed a little more light on Vern Schuster:

Car Mishaps Fatal to Two

Two persons died Sunday because of highway automobile accidents in Oregon. One, a driver identified as Robert E. Will, 35, 4950 S.W. Barbur boulevard, Portland attorney, was killed Sunday afternoon and his wife seriously injured in a head-on collision between their car and a truck on U.S. highway 97 about 11 miles north of Bend. Operating the truck and apparently not injured was Vernon C. Schuster, Glencullen, Portland. The truck was traveling south and the auto north. The oncoming truck crushed the car under its engine and shoved it back on the highway about 35 yards. The badly injured woman could not be removed before wrecking equipment reached the scene. A doctor administered first aid while she was still pinned in the car. She was taken to the St. Charles Memorial Hospital in Bend. Her condition is critical. State police did not immediately piece together details leading up to the accident. Witnesses said the accident occurred after the truck swung around a car, also going south. The Portland couple was apparently returning from a vacation trip, police said.

The article went on to describe a second, unrelated fatal accident. A followup article in the newspaper the next day indicated the man’s wife, Arlene Will, lived a little over 24 hours before dying from her massive injuries the next evening. Schuster was hospitalized as well for several days. Little other information was discovered regarding the accident, other than the truck had been loaded with apples when it struck the car carrying the couple who died.

Following Vern’s death, Nita later made a trip to Manzanita on the Oregon coast to see some very old friends (dating back to the Alberta Street home) and Nita was introduced to a widower who lived next door to them. This person was Arthur John Galloway, born 6 September 1917 in Portland, and who was eight years younger than Nita (perhaps she was trying to find a husband she could outlive). After a much longer courtship than with the previous husband, Nita and Art married in a church at Nehalem, Oregon on 17 February 1974. It was soon after marrying Art that Nita sold her home on Carlton Street in Portland, and moved to the coast to live with Art in his home at Manzanita. Art had built the house at Manzanita for the retirement of him and his previous wife, Marie, who had died a year before.

Art soon sold the beach house at Manzanita, and Nita and Art spent years sharing their time between homes in Woodburn, Oregon and Yuma, Arizona, depending upon the time of year and the current migratory pattern for snowbirds. They also spent time traveling in their motorhome, although in their later years, health problems prevented them from doing as much of that as they would have liked. After 25 years of marriage, Art died of pancreatic cancer on 29 December 1999 at his home in Woodburn, Oregon. By this time Nita’s already failing health had deteriorated all the more and she spent the last three months of her life in a care facility. Many in the family believe she died of a

broken heart, since she talked often of missing Art in her last weeks.

In her last few years, Nita became increasingly confused as the effects of old age dementia took hold. This led to some degree of frustration for members of the family, especially her husband Art. One time while in Yuma, Art was working on a project and had to go into town for some materials. He asked Nita if she wanted to ride into town with him. She said no, that she was going to take a nap. Art went to town, got his materials, and returned to the house. While still working on the project, Nita appeared, all dressed up. She said she was ready to go to town and wanted to buy a purse. Art cleaned up, drove her to town, and she bought a purse that looked suspiciously similar to the other dozen or so purses she already owned. Art, as usual, never said a thing.

Nita's dementia also led to some humorous moments, which will be fondly remembered by the immediate family. While living in the Woodburn care facility the last few weeks of her life, Nita became convinced that the staff and ownership of the home was Catholic, despite the fact that the care facility is non-secular. Nita remarked one day to her sister Betty that she herself, while much younger, might have become Catholic were it not for her parents. Nita said "you know, they were both prostitutes." Betty, playing along, said "don't you mean they were both Protestants?" Nita replied, "oh that's right, prostitutes." Nita died 10 February 2000, just 43 days after Art died. She had been married to Alden Hunt for nearly 44 years and nearly 26 years to Art Galloway. In all, Nita was married 70 of her 90 years.

Alden G. Hunt and Nita M. Van Blaricom had the following children:

- i. **(unnamed) Hunt** A male child was stillborn to Alden and Nita in 1933. Nita always blamed the doctor for the death of the child, because the physician was "late getting there" for the home delivery. She and Alden even talked to an attorney about suing the doctor, but were advised against it. According to Gary, the child was to have been named Donald.
- ii. **Gary Alden Hunt** Born 19 Apr 1935, Gary was born in Portland and grew up there until the family moved to the farm at Carus. He attended Rigler Grade School, which is still located where it was in Gary's time at 5401 NE Prescott Street. He also went to Grant High School for one year before attending Molalla High School for three years. After high school, Gary went to work for Crown Zellerbach, a corporation formed in 1928 with the merger of Zellerbach Corporation and Crown Willamette. Crown was acquired in 1986 by the James River Company, which was itself acquired by Georgia Pacific in 2000. Gary married Janice Lorraine Sumpter on 9 Jul 1955 in Molalla, Oregon. Lorraine was born 29 Jan 1937 in Emmett, Idaho. Gary eventually left Crown Zellerbach and bought a small ready-mix concrete business in Newport, Washington, which he operated some years before retiring. Gary and Lorraine had three children: Cathy LaRae Hunt (b. 10 May 1957), David Gary Hunt (b. 28 May 1959), and Brenda Marie Hunt (b. 21 Aug 1961), all born in Silverton, Oregon. Today, Gary and Lorraine split their time between homes in Newport, Washington and Yuma, Arizona.
- iii. **Darrell Lee Hunt** Born 17 Aug 1938, Darrell also attended Rigler Grade School

in Portland until the family's move to the farm, where he graduated with a class of five from the two-room elementary school at Carus. Not long after, Darrell moved with his parents to Clackamas and attended Clackamas High School for four years. After high school, Darrell joined the U.S. Navy and served two years in the Philippines. After leaving the Navy, Darrell came to the Lincoln City area where his parents were living and on 12 Mar 1960 married Donna Justesen. They had one son, Dennis Victor Hunt, born 14 Jan 1961 in Florence, Oregon. Darrell and Donna divorced 6 Jan 1964 in Clackamas County. On 24 Feb 1964 in Clark County, Washington, Darrell married Arlene Pearl (Hughes) Howard, who had a daughter named Traci Lynne, born 14 Jan 1962. Darrell and Arlene had a son Jerry Ray Hunt, born 6 Mar 1967 in Portland. Darrell and Arlene later divorced and he married Janis Louise Lincoln, born 13 Jun 1946 in San Mateo, California. They married 11 Apr 1986 in Craig, Colorado, where they live half the year, the other half in Yuma, Arizona. Darrell worked construction much of his life, mostly driving trucks, but is now retired.

iv. **Roger Dale Hunt**

Born 2 May 1946, Roger has to be held solely responsible for all this tommyrot. Eleven years younger than Gary and eight years younger than Darrell, Roger could never get his mother to admit he was a mistake, only that he "was unplanned" (technically, "improperly timed intercourse"). Roger attended Clackamas Grade School for five years and Oceanlake Grade School for three years. After graduating from Taft High School (Taft, Oregon, now part of Lincoln City), he attended Oregon State University for four years and Portland State University for four more to get a couple of degrees in mathematics. Roger married three times: (1) Pamela Marie Gibbons on 3 Jun 1972, (2) Marilyn Estella (Kesterson) West on 18 May 1985, and (3) Diane Marie Heynderickx on 5 May 2005. Mercifully and for the betterment of civilization in general, Roger never had any children. Roger worked for Crown Zellerbach, Boise Cascade and Decision Dynamics as a computer programmer and systems analyst before starting several companies in which he had a financial stake, including Audio Uncommon (a stereo store in northeast Portland), Xytex Corporation (a manufacturer of industrial engineering instrumentation), and Polar Systems (a computer networking company). Roger retired after 16 years as the president of Polar Systems, which continues today as a highly successful network consulting company, and one of the largest companies of its kind in the Pacific Northwest. Today, Roger and Diane split their time between homes in Tillamook, Oregon, and Yuma, Arizona.

This completes the family history of the Hunt family, or at least that portion of the family from which the compiler of this work descends. This book traced the branch of the family which descended from the Welsh Quaker, William Hunt, who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1719 and whose descendants

eventually came to Portland, Oregon about 1899. It described the many Quaker ancestors, a sober and solemn lot, some of whom date back to the earliest times of European settlement in America. No punches were pulled, and historical accounts were described as they happened. Some of these ancestors were hanged. One was burned to death. Some were whipped. Divorces and arrests happened. It was the way it was.

There is much more that could have been told, and believe it or not, the most difficult part of writing a book like this is not deciding what to include but what has to be left out. Since many of the people mentioned in this chapter are still alive, family history is still being made. Some of the grandchildren of Alden George Hunt already have grandchildren of their own. Much more could be written about them and their families but that task will be left to others. Perhaps they will find this book to be of value as a starting point.

Index

Please note this is a name-only index. Only names as they appear below are indexed. Sometimes there may be references to the same person on other pages, e.g., referring to him by first name only, which will not appear in the index. Also, persons not significant to the family history (e.g., someone who may have sold land to an ancestor, or who was mentioned in a deed) are not usually indexed. In order to keep the index to a semi-reasonable length, persons too distant from the “ancestral tree” are also not indexed. As an example, all siblings of direct ancestors, as well as their spouses, are indexed but not, say, that spouse’s parents.

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